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SWPS

Gender Differences in Perception of Sexual Harassment

by

Anna Studzińska

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
doctor of psychology (France) and doctor of social sciences (Poland)

Université Toulouse - Jean Jaurès, Toulouse, France

Szkoła Wyższa Psychologii Społecznej, Warsaw, Poland

2015

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Abstract

The studies presented in this thesis deal with the phenomenon of minimization of the perceived male suffering which results from sexual harassment (SH). Although clinical studies show that male victims of SH suffer at least as much as female victims of SH, I believe that in lay perceptions male victims are seen to suffer less and perpetrators of SH on men are evaluated in a less negative way than perpetrators of SH on women. This effect can stem from the fact that men are stereotypically perceived as more agentic than women, and women are perceived as more communal than men. Moreover, as shown by research on dyadic morality conducted by Gray and Wegner (2009), people high on the dimension of agency are seen as moral agents and people high on the dimension of experience – as moral patients. Furthermore, moral agents are seen as suffering less than moral patients. Therefore, I hypothesize that women (“natural” moral patients) are perceived to suffer more following SH than men (“natural” moral agents) and that those who hurt “natural” moral patients (women) are evaluated in a worse way than those who hurt “natural” moral agents (men).

The following hypothesis were subjected for empirical study in this dissertation:

1. the suffering of men who became victims of SH, is perceived as smaller compared to the suffering of women-victims of SH
2. perpetrators of SH, whose victims are men, compared to perpetrators whose victims are women, are evaluated better

I present six studies that deal with social perception of male and female victims and perpetrators of SH. In Study 1 I established that only two types of SH - sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention – are perceived to be SH (among Polish students). Therefore, the studies that follow concentrated on social perception of those two types of SH.

In Studies 2 and 3, I asked the participants to read a randomly assigned vignette describing a case of opposite-sex SH (Study 2) or opposite-sex SH or financial extortion (Study 3) of an intern and to evaluate the perceived suffering of the victims and to evaluate their perpetrators. Both studies showed that a female victim is perceived as suffering less than a male victim following SH or financial extortion and a perpetrator whose victim is female is evaluated in a more negative way than a perpetrator whose victim is male.

In subsequent studies (4, 5 and 6) I used the same methodology. However, the vignettes I presented were based on real-life stories, rather than ones that I created, and showed a mix of unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion (rather than pure case of coercion). Moreover, the participants were randomly assigned to one of four versions of the vignette – either the same- or opposite-sex SH by either a man or a woman.

Study 4 showed an influence of the sex of the perpetrator on the perception of a victim's suffering - a victim of SH by a man was seen to suffer more than a victim of SH by a woman, and a male perpetrator was evaluated worse than a female perpetrator. This led me to put forward an alternative hypothesis (2B) that female perpetrators of SH are evaluated in a less negative way than male perpetrators of SH.

Finally, Studies 5 and 6 showed that a female victim is perceived as suffering more than a male victim. In summary, the majority of present studies supports Hypothesis 1 that a female victim of SH is seen as suffering more than a male victim of SH. Further, Studies 5 and 6 showed that a female perpetrator is evaluated less negatively and punished to a lesser degree than a male perpetrator, supporting the Hypothesis 2B rather than 2A. However, a series of mediation analyses conducted in Study 6 showed that the perception of the perpetrator and punishment proposed for him or her can be influenced by the sex of the victim (and not the sex of the perpetrator; giving support to Hypothesis 2A). When the victim is female (vs male), the participants feel more anger which causes them to evaluate the perpetrator more negatively.

Key words: victim perception, perpetrator perception, sexual harassment, perception of suffering, sex differences in evaluation

INTRODUCTION

Now Joseph was taken down to Egypt, and Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, the captain of the guard, an Egyptian, bought him from the Ishmaelites who had brought him down there. (...) Now Joseph was handsome and good-looking. And after a time his master's wife cast her eyes on Joseph and said, 'Lie with me.' But he refused (...) And although she spoke to Joseph day after day, he would not consent to lie beside her or to be with her. One day, however, when he went into the house to do his work, and while no one else was in the house, she caught hold of his garment, saying, 'Lie with me!' But he left his garment in her hand, and fled and ran outside. (Genesis, 39: 1-13)

The story of Joseph of Egypt is probably the first written account of sexual harassment (SH) in history, in which, no less, the victim is a man, and the perpetrator is a woman. The studies presented in this work concern the social perception of victims and perpetrators of SH acts depending on their gender. That is, I try to answer the following question: How do people nowadays perceive the harm caused to people like Joseph, by those like Potiphar's wife and how do they evaluate Potiphar's wife and her actions?

In this short Biblical story, Joseph becomes a victim of two types of SH: unwanted sexual attention, when Potiphar's wife runs around the house trying to catch him and sexually abuse him, and further on we learn that there may have been an element of sexual coercion, as Potiphar's wife punishes Joseph for not submitting to her will. We do not find the third type of SH – gender harassment with its three subtypes. But maybe Potiphar's wife told Joseph that he should lie with her because he looks like he needs it (lewd comments); maybe she made a joke that he's not really a man if he doesn't want to lie with her (enforcement of gender role), or maybe she said that both Joseph and Potiphar are the same, and like all men, are good for nothing (negative gender related remarks). According

to the literature on SH, all of the mentioned behaviors are examples of SH. So what exactly is SH?

SH is any verbal or nonverbal behavior concerning one's sexuality or gender that results in violation of one's dignity, by creating "an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment." (Śledzińska-Simon, 2011).¹ In the studies I will present in this work, I use the typology of SH suggested by Fitzgerald, Gelfand and Drasgow (1995) and further developed by Waldo, Berdahl and Fitzgerald (1998). It assumes the existence of three types of SH which I already mentioned above, namely:

1. Sexual coercion – threatening or promising a victim that if s/he agrees to a sexual contact, s/he will be granted some privileges (for example a promotion, a better grade from an exam), or will be spared from negative consequences (for example, being fired or failing an exam)
2. Unwanted sexual attention – frequent touching of the victim, aggressive attempts to create an intimate or sexual relationship with the victim
3. Gender harassment:
 - 3a. lewd comments – for example jokes referencing sexuality, offensive comments about person's looks or sex life, showing pornographic pictures
 - 3b. enforcement of gender role – for example ridiculing a man who takes days off to look after his children, commenting that a woman should wear a makeup to look more feminine
 - 3c. negative gender related remarks – for example saying that men think only about one thing, or that women cannot be good managers

¹ Unless otherwise specified, all translations from Polish by Anna Studzińska

The last two subtypes of gender harassment (enforcement of gender role and negative gender remarks), were defined as a result of studies carried out on male victims of SH. It seems that those two types occur more often to men than to woman, or at least bother men more than they bother women (Waldo et al., 1998).

In Poland, where the studies presented in this thesis were carried out, most high-profile cases of SH, like for example “sex scandal in Samoobrona” (a SH case in a political party), harassment of female-clerks by the mayor of Olsztyn, or SH of employees of a Frito Lay factory, concern female-victims and male-perpetrators. Those stories reach the headlines and are publicly discussed for a long period and are analyzed and described at length by NGOs.

Does it mean that Joseph of Egypt was the first and the last male victim of SH? Not really. Cases in which men become victims of SH are not as publicized as those where the issue concerns women, and so finding press release or articles describing male-victims in popular newspapers or magazines is much more difficult. Cases such as those of a young male clerk harassed by an older-female executive (Sijka & Cieslik, 2004), a male-employee of a PR company harassed by his direct (female) boss (Stasinska, 2010) or male-workers of a company producing saunas harassed by their male supervisor (Szternel, 2010) do not get catchy names like “sex scandal in the sauna” and are not widely discussed. Meanwhile, the cases of SH of men, although not as common as cases of SH of women, are more common than one might think. It has been estimated that around 42-50% of women and 15% of men will become victims of one of the forms of SH (Charney & Russell, 1994). Clearly, although the number of female-victims is greater, we cannot say that SH concerns only

women. In addition, more and more men report cases of SH (Foote & Goodman-Delahunty, 2005) and numerous studies show that men fall victim to SH (ex. Kearney & Rochlen, 2011; Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald, 1998).

But maybe the exemplary Joseph does not suffer because of Potiphar's wife's behavior? If we ask him how would it make him feel if a female colleague suggested having sex, he might say that it would be flattering (Konrad & Gutek, 1986) and that if the harasser was an attractive woman, it would not be really be SH (LaRocca & Kromrey, 1999). However, the studies on actual SH victims show a different picture. SH victims suffer from numerous psychological and somatic symptoms of SH. They are affected, among others, with depression, anxiety, headaches, insomnia or weight loss (Charney & Russell, 1994). Overview of research on SH victims suggests that when the level of harassment is the same, men and women are influenced by it to the same extent and in some studies it is the men that suffer more. A number of studies showed that male and female victims of SH experience the same levels of depression and anxiety (Birkeland, Bjorkelo, Notelaers, & Einarsen, 2010). Studies on former American military personnel showed that men had higher levels of PTSD due to SH than women (Street, Gradus, & Stafford, 2007), that at high levels of SH it was the men that had more depressive symptoms and a lower general quality of psychological health. Another study conducted on the Gulf War I veterans (Vogt, Pless, King & King, 2005) yielded a similar pattern of results. With high levels of SH, the number of depression and anxiety symptoms increased sharply among men, and almost did not change among women. We can thus say, that SH has a large impact on people's mental health

and that this is true for both men and women and that both men and women are sensitive to SH's influence on their well-being.

However, perceptions of SH by those who were not victims of SH do not reflect the reality. When participants were asked how would they feel as SH victims, in the cases of all types of SH women assumed that they would experience more anxiety than men (Berdahl, Magley & Waldo, 1996). An already mentioned study conducted by Konrad and Gutek (1986) showed that the majority of men believed that if a female-colleague offers them sex they will interpret it as flattery and only the minority thought they might find this situation offensive. The answers were exactly the opposite for women. Moreover, a case of SH of a woman by a man was categorized as SH to a larger extent than a case when a woman harassed a man (McKinney, 1992; Katz, Hannon & Whitten, 1996), or in the case of same-sex harassment (Runtz & O'Donnell, 2003). Thus, taking into consideration that men become victims of SH, which causes the same psychological problems among them as it does among women, I suggest that there exists a minimization of male suffering effect due to the fact that men are not perceived by the general public to be affected by SH. This effect occurs when the suffering of male-victims of SH is perceived as smaller than the suffering of female-victims of SH, and when the perpetrators of SH whose victims are men are evaluated in a less negative way than those who victimize women.

I draw these hypotheses from research on gender stereotypes and from the dyadic morality model. First of all, women as a category are evaluated better than men (Glick et al., 2004) and they are seen as more moral/communal/passive than men, who are perceived as more

agentic/competent/active than women (Bosak, Sczesny, & Eagly, 2008; Spence & Buckner, 2000; Eagly & Mladnic, 1994). Secondly, a cognitive template of a moral interaction includes two parties: a moral agent and a moral patient. A moral agent who has intentions, goals, is active and does (good or bad) things to other people, while a moral patient is passive and just receives whatever is coming from the moral agent. (Gray, Young, & Waytz, 2012; Gray & Wegner, 2009). As the stereotype of a woman places her in the inactive position, a woman seems to be a “natural” moral patient, while a stereotype of a man places him in the active position – making him a “natural” moral agent. The studies conducted by Gray and Wegner (2009) also showed that moral patients are seen as more prone to experience pain than moral agents, while moral agents are perceived as more responsible for their actions than moral patients. This is why I expected that: (1) A moral agent (a man) is seen as more resistant to pain than a moral patient (a woman), and that this is why a harassed man is perceived as suffering less than a harassed woman; (2) A person who hurts a man, is hurting somebody who is – by definition – a moral agent, so this person will be evaluated better than somebody who is hurting a moral patient. In line with this analysis, I put forward the hypothesis that:

1. In social perception, the perceived suffering of men who became victims of SH is lower than the suffering of women-victims of SH. Specifically, men are perceived as experiencing less stress, depression and somatic symptoms, as seeing SH in a more positive way and as experiencing less negative emotions as a result of SH.
2. In lay perception, perpetrators of SH, whose victims are men, as compared to perpetrators whose victims are women, are evaluated higher

on the dimensions of communion and agency, are more liked and respected and deserve lighter punishment.

In order to test these predictions, I carried out six studies. The aim of Study 1 was to examine the perception of different types of SH and their victims and perpetrators, depending on their gender. I tested both same- and opposite-sex SH. The results of this study showed that only sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention were considered to be SH by my Polish participants. This is why in the subsequent studies I focused on those types of SH. In Studies 2 and 3, the participants were presented with a description of a case of sexual coercion (Study 2) or a case of sexual coercion or financial extortion (Study 3). In both studies, the cases described only opposite-sex SH. The participants were asked to read a randomly assigned story and to evaluate the perpetrator and assess psychological consequences for the victim. In subsequent studies (Study 4, 5, 6) I used the same methodology, however the stories I used were not created by me, but taken from newspapers and literature on SH. As such they presented more realistic (externally valid) and detailed descriptions of actual situations and included unwanted sexual attention and instances of sexual coercion. In this series of studies I also decided to use all configurations of a victim's and perpetrator's sex to establish which has a stronger influence over the perceptions of the victim's suffering and features of the perpetrator.

The results supported the first hypothesis concerning the perception of the victim's suffering, such that male victims were perceived as suffering less than the female victims. When same- and opposite- sex SH cases were analyzed the second hypothesis received no support, which led me to a different

hypothesis, namely that the SH perpetrators who are male are evaluated in a more negative way than SH perpetrators who are female. This hypothesis was supported across the studies. Finally, a significant sequential mediation from the last study showed that with an increase in the participant's anger following the sexual harassment of a female victim, the evaluation of the perpetrator can be mediated by the perceived suffering of the victim. This supports the idea that the sex of the victim can be the driving force in the evaluation of the perpetrator.

CHAPTER 1.

Sexual harassment and its social perception

The aim of the research presented in this work was to verify the existence of the minimization of male suffering following sexual harassment (SH). This effect is supposed to occur when (1) female victims of SH are perceived as suffering less than male victims of SH and (2) perpetrators of SH on men are evaluated more favorably than perpetrators of SH on women.

The first chapter of this thesis consists of three main sections. In the first part I concentrate on the definition and social perception of SH. I will start by illustrating how SH is conceptualized and perceived; i.e. I will define SH and present how I understand this concept and show where the definition I use came from. I will also demonstrate how the understanding of SH by women and men can seem different but how their experiences are in fact similar. Moreover, I will show how people perceive SH, and what kind of behaviors are usually considered to be SH. In the third part, I will present the prevalence of SH and the consequences it has on the well-being of its victims. I will show that SH is a grave problem, as it has been estimated that approximately 42-50% of women and 15% of men will be exposed to some form of SH during their lives (Charney & Russell, 1994), some of which will cause serious mental health problems, such as anxiety, depression or dissociative disorders (Street, 2009). Finally, I will discuss gender stereotypes concerning men's agency and women's emotionality and I will show how the concept of the minimization of male suffering can be explained with the concept of dyadic morality, as presented by Gray and Wegner (2009).

Conceptualizing and Measuring Sexual Harassment

I have chosen to base the definition of SH used throughout this work on empirical research conducted by Fitzgerald, Gelfand and Drasgow (1995;

Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995; Fitzgerald, Magley, Drasgow, & Waldo, 1999) and Berdahl, Magley and Waldo (1996; Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald, 1998). As such, I consider SH to be any behavior (verbal and nonverbal) that refers to one's gender or sexuality that is perceived by the recipient as unwanted and unpleasant, that causes him or her to feel harassed, humiliated, or threatened or that influences his or her work and creates hostile work environment (Mandal, 2001). Following the works of the aforementioned authors, I assume that there are three distinct types of SH:

1. Sexual coercion – extortion of sexual behaviors, i.e. demanding sexual favors in exchange for employment, promotion, a passing grade, etc.
2. Unwanted sexual attention - which includes such behaviors as: sexual touching, sex-related jokes;
3. Gender harassment – behaviors that can insult a person because of the person's gender

(explanations of different types of SH, based on: Mandal, 2001, p. 5).

Moreover, based on the studies on male victims of SH conducted by Waldo et al. (1998), I consider three additional subtypes of gender harassment (in brackets - examples of corresponding items/ experiences in Sexual Harassment of Men Scale, from Waldo et al., 1998, p. 66):

(3a) lewd comments (*said offensive or dirty stories or jokes; said offensive things about how you look, your body, or your sex life; showed, used, or handed out dirty pictures or stories (for example, pornography)*)

(3b) enforcement of the traditional (fe)male gender role (*said you weren't "man enough"; pressured you into doing things you did not want to by accusing you*

of not being a “real man”; made you treat women badly when you did not want to)

(3c) negative gender-related remarks about (wo)men (*often made negative comments about men (for example, saying that men have only one thing on their minds); said things to put men down (for example, that men don't make good supervisors)*).

The first systematic analysis of SH was carried out in 1980 by Till (in: Gelfand et al., 1995), who analyzed responses to an open-ended question about SH experiences of female college students. Till concluded that SH can be seen as a continuum with gender harassment being the least and sexual imposition or assault the most severe types of SH. Starting off with the categories of SH suggested by Till, Fitzgerald and Shullman (1985, in: Gelfand, et al., 1995) and Fitzgerald and Hesson-McInnis (1989, in: Gelfand, et al., 1995) developed the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ). Depending on the version, this tool consists of 20 (Fitzgerald et al., 1995) or 25 (Gelfand, et al., 1995) items²; and each item describes a concrete behavior. In most versions of SEQ (for example SEQ-E, SEQ-W, SEQ-DoD – as described below) and when usually used, the respondents are presented with a list of behaviors (for example: *told offensive or dirty stories or jokes, made you uncomfortable by staring at you (for example at your butt), hinted you might get some reward for doing something sexual*) and asked to state how often they experienced each of the behaviors (*never, once,*

² In their critique of SEQ Gutek, Murphy and Douma (2004) mention an 18 items version of SEQ, an eight item long version of SEQ (SEQ-s), a 26 item long Armed Forces version of SEQ (SEQ-DoD) and a 16-item long SEQ-DoD-s. As such, they claim that: “(...) there is really no SEQ per se, but rather a family of related questionnaires, confusingly all labeled under the rubric of the SEQ.” (p. 462).

I agree that there is no standardized version of SEQ, however what all of the versions have in common is that they consider SH to have three sub-types, as used throughout this work.

more than once), although sometimes they are also asked who was their perpetrator (*only men, mostly men, men and women, mostly women, only women*) or how upset the behavior in question made them (*not at all upset – very much upset*). Overall, the SEQ lists a number of harassing behaviors, as shown in the examples above, and different SEQ versions asks different questions that about them (How often? Who? How upset *did* it make you? How anxious *would* it make you? Etc.). The idea to use specific behavioral terms is quite appealing, because an example of behavior leaves no (or very little) room for interpretation, while asking “were you ever sexually harassed?” can give different responses, depending on a particular person’s definition of SH.

Exploratory factor analysis of SEQ showed it to include all of the SH types suggested by Till, but to have a three-factor solution (rather than five factors suggested by Till). Specifically, Gelfand, Fitzgerald and Drasgow (1995; Fitzgerald, Gelfand & Drasgow, 1995) propose that the three types of SH are: gender harassment (which covers the first factor in Till’s classification), unwanted sexual attention (seductive behavior and sexual imposition or assault in Till’s classification) and sexual coercion (sexual bribery and threat of punishment for noncompliance in Till’s classification). However, they claim that these are separate types of SH rather than different levels of SH on a continuum, and each of the types can have different levels of severity. The authors (Gelfand, et al., 1995) state: “(...) sexual harassment is a behavioral construct composed of three related, but conceptually distinct and nonoverlapping dimensions: *gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion*; (...) these categories are necessary and sufficient to classify

any particular incident of harassment; and (...) they constitute the irreducible minimum of the construct as it is currently understood (...)" (p. 167).

Measuring Sexual Harassment in Women

As I will show below a number of studies were carried out in order to confirm this structure of SH and to show that it is valid across different work and education settings and different cultures. However, while the authors claim that "[SEQ is] the most theoretically and psychometrically sophisticated instrument available" (Fitzgerald et al., 1995, p. 428) further analyses by different researchers showed that it has numerous flaws (Gutek et al., 2004). Most importantly – in the context of the present study – SEQ does not capture the experiences of men who have fallen victim to SH. However, studies based on SEQ that were conducted by Waldo et al. (1998) concerned precisely SH of men and new sub-categories of gender harassment were added to SEQ to better capture the experiences of men. Gelfand and colleagues (1995) originally tested their three-dimensional conception of SH on three large samples of women; Sample 1 included 1746 female university students in the US, Sample 2 – 389 female university students from Brazil and Sample 3 – 307 female university employees. The participants filled a 25-item original version of SEQ; either a student version (SEQ-E; Samples 1 and 2) or employee version (SEQ-W). The two versions differ slightly, i.e. SEQ-E asks about experiences with a professor or an instructor (Have you ever been in a situation where a professor or an instructor told suggestive stories?) and SEQ-W asks about a supervisor or a coworker (Have you ever been in a situation where a supervisor or a coworker told suggestive stories?). The authors found that both versions of SEQ had a high reliability and validity; further they conducted confirmatory factor analysis

for each group and its results supported a three factor solution in all of the studied samples; and an analysis carried out on all three samples simultaneously also showed a three factor solution supporting the claim that there are three types of SH: gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion. Thereby, the authors confirmed the three factor structure of SH in different environments (employees, students) and in different cultures (USA, Brazil).

Following that study, Fitzgerald et al. (1995) continued their work on the SEQ and created a revised version. From the original version of SEQ, they chose the items that were unidimensional, most reliable and least skewed and additionally created a new set of items, where once again each new item expressed a type of SH in behavioral terms. This gave them a set of 54 behavioral items, that were then tested on a sample of 150 female graduate students (a pilot study). After conducting item and reliability analysis, the authors decided to keep 20 items from the scale. This new, revised scale (SEQ-W) was then validated on a sample of 1188 employees of a public utility company (1156 completed questionnaires, 448 women). The results showed a stable three-factor solution, and the authors state that “[f]rom a behavioral perspective, the three categories appear to be both parsimonious and comprehensive, that is, necessary and sufficient” (p. 438). Finally, the authors mention other studies which showed how high scores on SEQ translate to low satisfaction with coworkers and supervisors (Zickar, 1994, in Fitzgerald et al., 1995), high organizational withdrawal and low commitment as well as high psychological distress (Schneider & Gradus, 1994, in Fitzgerald et al., 1995),

and worse psychological well-being (Gelfand & Drasgow, 1994, in Fitzgerald et al., 1995)³.

Results of a large-scale study on military personnel (22399 women and 5855 men) conducted for the US Department of Defense (Fitzgerald, Magley, Drasgow, & Waldo, 1999; Magley, Waldo, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 1999; Donovan & Drasgow, 1999) showed that the items of the original SEQ do not reflect the SH experiences of men. In this study, SEQ was revised and adapted to military settings, thus creating a new version of the tool – SEQ-DoD. SEQ-DoD consists of 26 items, and the participants are asked to state if and how often they experienced each of the harassing behaviors (0 – never, 1 – once or twice, 2 – sometimes, 3 – often, 4 – very often), but the analysis were carried out as if the scale was dichotomous with the answers: never (0) and at least once (answers 1 to 4) (Donovan & Drasgow, 1999). The authors first looked at the structure of SEQ-DoD among female participants. Unlike female civilian samples, this study showed SH of women to consist of four subtypes: sexual coercion, unwanted sexual attention, and two subtypes of gender harassment: sexist hostility (a sample item: *Treated you differently because of your sex (for example, mistreated, slighted, or ignored you)*) and sexual hostility (*Repeatedly told sexual stories or jokes that were offensive to you*). It is possible that the concept of sexist hostility came out as a separate factor, because the study concerned women working in a male-dominated environment, and having “masculine” jobs, in which case it might be understandable that their sex “stood out” and caused them extra difficulties in a workplace. The previous studies, on

³ The results of the studies conducted by Schneider and Swan, Gelfand and Drasgow and Zickar, were all presented at the annual conference of the Society for Industrial/Organizational Psychology in Nashville, TN in April 1994, thus I was unable to reach the original source

the other hand, included female participants occupying non-gendered positions. The 4-factor model was subsequently tested on a sample of men from the same study (Fitzgerald et al., 1999) and it turned out that all of the sexual coercion and sexual assault items had to be excluded because of very low rates. However, the authors state that other than this particular exclusion, the structure of SH was the same among men and women. Nonetheless, a differential test functioning (DTF) analysis⁴ carried out by Donovan and Drasgow (1999) on exactly the same data showed that SEQ-DoD does not function in the same way among men and women. However, they state that removing the four Gender harassment – sexist hostility items⁵ will give a scale that works for both sexes. Once again, considering the sample that was studied, this result is understandable: women in the army are the minority, so it comes as no surprise that they are harassed there because of their sex more frequently than men. Overall, we can say that the research on civilian and army female samples showed SH to consist of three types: sexual coercion, unwanted sexual attention and gender harassment, with gender harassment having two sub-types in the case of women working in the army.

Measuring Sexual Harassment in Men and Women

The first attempt at measuring the SH of men with the use of SEQ was made by Berdahl et al. (1996). They posit that for both men and women a

⁴ DTF analysis is used to find out if one can expect that people from two different groups but with the same experiences will have an equal final score on the analyzed tool; i.e. in the discussed case that a man and a woman with the same SH experiences will have an equal final score on SEQ-DoD

⁵ The items in question are: *Threatened you “differently” because of your sex (for example, mistreated, slighted, or ignored you); Displayed, used, or distributed sexist or suggestive materials (for example, pictures, stories, or pornography which you found offensive); Made offensive sexist remarks (for example suggesting that people of your sex are not suited for the kind of work you do); Put you down or was condescending to you because of your sex.*

behavior can be seen as harassing when they feel that they have lost control “over personal and professional status and security” (p. 531). However, women perceive as harassing those behaviors that reinforce a traditional, submissive role of a woman, while for men it is the behaviors that challenge male dominance that are considered to be harassing. Thus, they suggest that different methods should be used when studying SH of men and women and that behaviors typically considered to be SH will cause more anxiety among women than among men, as those behaviors represent SH as understood by women. Therefore, in their first study, they asked 138 students to respond to a version of SEQ in which they were supposed to indicate how much anxiety *would* they feel should they be a target of a given behavior (*no anxiety to extreme anxiety*) by a person of the opposite sex. The authors calculated three separate scores: sexual coercion, unwanted sexual attention and gender harassment. In accordance with their hypothesis, women stated that they would experience more overall anxiety than men did. Both men and women found sexual coercion to be the most anxiety provoking, women thought they would experience more anxiety from unwanted sexual attention than from gender harassment, while for the men gender harassment was seen as provoking as much anxiety as sexual coercion, and more than unwanted sexual attention.

In their second study, they asked 697 male employees of a public utility company to respond to a modified version of SEQ and 459 female employees to respond to the original version. The male participants were asked to state how bothered (*not at all bothered to extremely bothered*) they *would* be by each of the behaviors and the female participants how often they experienced each of the behaviors on a scale ranging from 1 to 5. The adult male employees (unlike

students from the first study) thought that they would be bothered the most by sexual coercion, then unwanted sexual attention and the least bothered by gender harassment. The mean score for both sexual coercion and unwanted sexual harassment was above the scale midpoints, respectively 3.74 ($SD = 1.10$) and 3.19 ($SD = 1.08$). As the female employees answered a different question, we do not know how bothered they think they would have been by each type of SH compared to the male employees. The participating men were also asked in an open-ended question if they were ever sexually harassed, if yes – what exactly happened and what – in their opinion – constitutes SH of men. Only 218 men responded to the question and the majority of them stated they were never sexually harassed. In fact, out of 161 men who answered the first question, only 17 declared they were sexually harassed. Answering the question on what constitutes SH of men, the participants brought up unwanted sexual attention most often, followed by gender harassment. Analyzing the descriptions of different forms of gender harassment, the authors concluded that there are three different types of gender harassment that the men mention frequently: lewd comments, negative remarks about men and enforcement of the male gender role⁶. As for the perceptions of SH described in the open-end question, the authors state that when asked about the possibility of being sexually harassed about the same number of men find it to be positive and amusing and to be negative and annoying.

We can see that men who experienced SH seem to conceptualize SH somewhat differently from women. Although both sexes are clear on sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention being types of SH, there is a range of

⁶ Referenced in the text as: General lewd language and personal comments, Negative stereotyping of men, Harassment for deviating from the male gender role (p. 540).

gender harassment behaviors that were not taken into consideration when studying SH before, but that men find disturbing. Most notably, male adults mention additional behaviors (negative comments about men and enforcement of gender role) that they characterize as SH. While the authors state that the three subtypes of gender harassment are specific to men, I believe that only enforcement of gender role came out as a specific sub-type. Looking at the items describing gender harassment – sexual hostility mentioned before as a sub-type present among the female army employees⁷, we can see that they in fact constitute lewd comments mentioned by the civilian men. While items covering gender harassment – sexist hostility⁸ can be seen as a subtype of gender harassment – negative remarks about men; the fact that this type of SH did not occur in a male military sample does not mean that it could not emerge in a different sample of men (for example male childminder, male nurse, etc.). And it did in fact emerge in the just described adult sample of men in the study by Berdahl et al. (1996). That being said, it seems that only the enforcement of the (male) gender role did not appear as a separate type of gender harassment in any previously mentioned studies. In contrast, cases of enforcement of the female gender role are well known. In a famous Hopkins vs. Price Waterhouse case described by Fiske, Bersoff, Borgida, Deux and Heilman (1991), the plaintiff – Ann Hopkins mentions being told that her chances of becoming a partner in the accountancy firm would increase if she “walk[s] more femininely, talk[s] more femininely, dress[es] more femininely, wear[s] make-up, ha[s] her

⁷ Examples of items include: *told stories or jokes that were offensive to you, made crude and offensive sexual remarks, either publicly (for example in your workplace) or to you privately*

⁸ Examples of items include: *made offensive sexist remarks (for example, suggesting that people of your sex are not suited for the kind of work you do); put you down or was condescending to you because of your sex*

hair styled, and wear[s] jewelry” (Hopkins v. Price Waterhouse, 1985, p. 1117, in Fiske et al., 1991, p. 1050).

Overall, when asked about SH both men and women talk about and have experienced sexual coercion, unwanted sexual attention, lewd comments (sexual hostility) and negative gender remarks (sexist hostility). However, while both sexes experience enforcement of gender role, it was the men who mentioned it as a form of SH. Summing up, and as shown on Figure 1, I believe SH of both women and men can take on three different forms: (1) sexual coercion, (2) unwanted sexual attention and (3) gender harassment with three subtypes: (3a) lewd comments, (3b) negative remarks about (wo)men and (3c) enforcement of the (fe)male gender role.

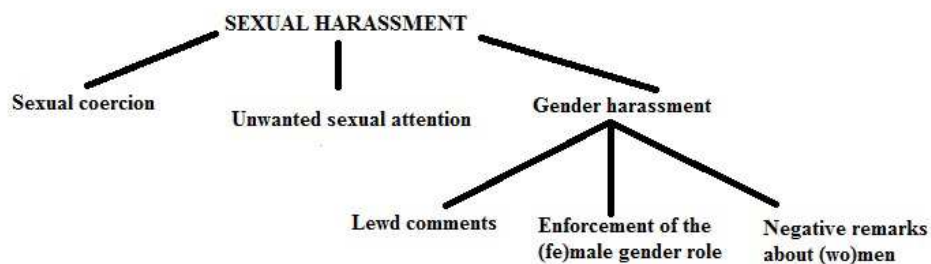


Figure 1.
Diagram of the sexual harassment terminology used in the present work.

The typology of SH as just described, was established based on empirical research of actual SH victims and their experiences. What is also of importance for the research described in this thesis, and what I am about to present, is how those different types of SH are perceived by the general public. In the following part I will discuss what behaviors, that SH constitute SH, are also considered to be SH by common people.

Lay Perceptions of Sexual Harassment

Frazier, Cochran and Olson (1995) presented a literature review and, in addition, an analysis of some unpublished data concerning the types of behaviors that are considered to be SH, the influence of the status of the perpetrator on the evaluation of SH behaviors and on differences in perception of SH depending on the sex of the participants. In the review part of their paper, the authors cite numerous studies, all of which indicate that gender harassment is perceived as less harassing than sexual coercion or unwanted sexual attention. Moreover, depending on the studied sample and the methodology used, gender harassment was considered to be SH by 20% to 50% of the participants, while unwanted sexual attention or sexual coercion were considered to be SH by most of the participants. In summary, they state that some behaviors (the behaviors I refer to as unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion) are considered to be SH by most people, while others (gender harassment) only by some.

Frazier et al. (1995) also collected data from 848 faculty members, 847 civil service staff, 581 graduate students and 1361 undergraduate students from the University of Minnesota. The participants indicated whether they considered a behavior (from a list of 10 behaviors; examples include: unwanted sexual teasing, jokes, remarks; any suggested sexual involvement by faculty) to be SH. The lowest SH consideration score was 71% (stereotyped jokes) and the highest 99% (unwanted touching and unwanted pressure for sexual activity). Showing that the participants in this study were likely to consider all types of SH (sexual coercion, unwanted sexual attention and gender harassment) to be SH. The authors also note that the undergraduate students are less likely to label the behaviors I call gender harassment as SH, compared to the other three studied

groups. Concerning the status of the perpetrator, the authors conclude that when SH is perpetrated by a person of an equal status (a fellow student, a peer) it might be perceived as a bit less harassing than when the perpetrator has a higher status (a professor, a boss) but it is considered SH nevertheless. Finally, there are some sex differences in the perception of certain behaviors as SH, i.e., women tend to perceive more behaviors as harassing than men, and it is especially visible with respect to ambiguous behaviors. However, the differences are in fact quite small, explain very little of the variance and appear only on certain measures. This conclusion is also supported by a metaanalysis conducted by Rotundo, Nguyen and Sacket (2001), which showed that the overall mean difference between men and women in perception of different behaviors as harassing was only 0.30. In addition, when different behaviors were analyzed separately the biggest differences were observed for gender harassment type of behaviors (for example: derogatory attitudes – impersonal $d = 0.34$) and not for sexual coercion ($d = 0.18$) or unwanted sexual attention (sexual propositions $d = 0.18$) (all d values found on p. 918).

Perception of Sexual Harassment Questionnaire

Katz, Hannon and Whitten (1996) used a Perception of Sexual Harassment Questionnaire (PHSQ) to see how the sex of participants, the interaction of the sex of the victim and the sex of the perpetrator and the type of the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator will influence the perception of particular behaviors as harassing. They presented their participants ($N = 197$, 153 women; college undergraduates) with a list of 20 behaviors that described an act of SH conducted by a supervisor on an employee (20 examples), professor on a student (20 examples), or a college student on a

college student (20 examples). Half of the participants received a version where the perpetrator was a male and the victim was female, the other half – the perpetrator was female and the victim was male. The participants had to answer to what degree each of the behaviors was an example of SH (1 – definitely is not sexual harassment, 4 – unsure, 7 – definitely is sexual harassment). The authors do not present a full list of the behaviors, but the examples they provide show that the study concerned mostly unwanted sexual attention (“... *tickles [her] on the ribs*”) and sexual coercion (“*says [to her]: ‘If you don’t make love to me, I’ll make it difficult for you’*”), and none of the examples depicted gender harassment⁹. The final score was obtained by summing up the points given to each of the behaviors for each of the interactions (i.e. three perception scores per participant). The results showed that men and women agreed about the degree to which a particular behavior was harassing if the perpetrator was male and the victim was female, but when the perpetrator was female (and the victim – male), women thought it was more harassing than men. What is more, the sex of the perpetrator/victim influenced the male participants, as they evaluated a male perpetrator to be more harassing than a female perpetrator, but for the women the interactions were equally harassing irrespectively of the perpetrator’s sex. Finally, when the harassment occurred between a supervisor and an employee, and between a professor and a student the interactions were seen as more harassing than when the perpetrator and the victim were both students. Summarizing, both men and women think that a behavior constitutes SH to a larger extent when the perpetrator is a man and the victim is a woman, and men are not sure if a description of a SH act on a man by a woman

⁹ We know the tool includes examples of gender harassment from the article by Runtz and O’Donnell (2003) described in the following paragraphs

constitutes SH. I can see two major shortcomings in this study. Firstly, that it is not possible to establish how different subtypes of SH influence the perception of SH, as the different subtypes were analyzed together. Secondly, it is not possible to know how the sex of the victim and the perpetrator interact, as the authors studied only cases of opposite-sex SH.

These issues were addressed by Runtz and O'Donnell (2003) in a study in which they also used PHSQ. They used the same 20 interactions as Katz et al. (1996) but only the ones describing a situation involving a student and a professor. However they added two same-sex versions creating a total of four conditions. They also provided a definition of SH and administered the PSHQ which asked about personal experiences of SH¹⁰. Half of the participants received the definition of SH before and half after the PHSQ. Just as in the original version, the participants were asked to state to what degree the interaction constituted SH (1 – definitely is not, 4 – not sure, 7 – definitely is). The authors conducted a principal component analysis, that showed that the tested interactions load two factors and one separate item. The first factor is called “sexualized touching, looks, and verbal comments” (p. 969) and it corresponds to what I call unwanted sexual attention; the second factor was “nonsexualized touching, dirty jokes, and attention” (p. 969) – which corresponds to gender harassment, and the single item is “John says to Kathy, ‘If you don’t have sex with me, I’ll make it difficult for you’” which is sexual

¹⁰ Reading the definition of SH influenced the responses such that the men who read the definition before filling out the questionnaire perceived the situations as SH to a lesser extent than men who got the definition afterwards, and the opposite was true for the women – reading the definition beforehand made them perceive the situations as SH to a larger extent; no relationship was found between the personal experiences and the responses to the PHSQ

coercion. This study, conducted with a different tool (i.e. not SEQ), also showed SH to consist of three main types.

The analysis for all three types of SH at once, showed that both men and women perceive a male professor harassing a female student as SH to a larger extent than when it is a female professor harassing a female or a male student, or a male professor harassing a male student. However, for the men it was the prototypic case of a man harassing a woman that constituted SH more than the other three cases; while for the women both opposite-sex SH cases were seen as SH to a larger extent than the two same-sex cases. When analyzing each of the factors separately it turns out that both men and women agree that sexual coercion constitutes SH (respectively $M = 6.95$, $SD = 0.25$; $M = 7.00$, $SD = 0.00$), and so does unwanted sexual attention (overall $M = 4.78$, $SD = 1.07$) while gender harassment is not considered to be SH ($M = 2.69$, $SD = 1.03$). Men only considered male on female unwanted sexual attention to be SH; and both unwanted sexual attention and gender harassment were seen as SH to larger extent by women than men.

Those two studies with the use of PHSQ show once again that men are more tolerant than women in their judgments of SH behaviors and that the prototypical version of SH, i.e. a man harassing a woman is more likely to be considered to be SH than a woman harassing a man or a woman or a man harassing a man. Additionally, only the prototypical types of SH are considered to be SH, i.e. people view unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion as cases of SH, but they do not see gender harassment to be a type of SH.

Categorization of Behaviors as Sexual Harassment

The two PHSQ studies analyzed the influence of the sex of the victim and the perpetrator on the evaluation of different behaviors. The studies I describe below took into consideration other variables related to the participants or to the victim that can influence the categorization of acts as SH.

A widely cited study by Konrad and Gutek (1986) showed how different variables can influence the perceptions of what is or is not SH. The authors presented a list of eight behaviors (2x sexual coercion, 4x unwanted sexual attention, 2x lewd comments – according to my labeling) to 827 employed women and 405 employed men and asked them, among others, if they experienced those behaviors, are those behaviors SH, or would they feel flattered or insulted if they were the targets of those behaviors. Over 90% of men and women agreed that sexual coercion acts are a form of SH; from 58.6 to 84.3% agreed that touching that was meant to be sexual and looks or gestures of a sexual nature that were meant to be insulting (unwanted sexual attention) are a form of SH; 70.3% of men and 85.5% of women agreed that comments of a sexual nature that were meant to be insulting (gender harassment/lewd comments) are a form of SH (p. 429). The most frequently quoted result of this study is that 67% of men said they would be flattered and 17% would be insulted, while 67% of women would be insulted and 17% would be flattered by the behaviors from the list. Furthermore, this anticipated feeling of flattery/insult then influences the categorization of different acts as SH. Women who thought the behaviors would insult them were more likely to label all of the behaviors as SH, compared to women who would be flattered. Men who thought they would be insulted found sexual touching and sexual looks and

gestures (gender harassment) to be SH to a larger extent than men who would be flattered.

Frazier et al. (1995) and Konrad and Gutek (1986) provided their participants with lists of behaviors and asked to judge them on different scales. In both cases, the results indicated that all three types of SH were considered SH. Surprisingly, in the Konrad and Gutek (1986) study, lewd comments (a type of gender harassment) were perceived as SH to a larger extent than unwanted sexual attention. We can suspect that when asking about behaviors in this general manner, the participants imagined a typical SH scenario with a female victim and a male perpetrator, however this remains unclear.

Ohse and Stockdale (2008) were interested in testing how age, sex and student/non-student status can influence the categorization of different behaviors as SH. They presented the participants (561 students, 404 non-students, 575 women, 395 men) with a definition of hostile work environment SH¹¹ and a vignette describing a male on female SH, where the female employee was exposed to lewd comments coming from her supervisor. Both men and women, and students and non-students evaluated this behavior to be SH and to be unwelcomed by the victim. However, women and non-students thought it to be more unwelcomed than men and students; and women considered it to be SH to a larger extent than men. Osman (2004) analyzed how different facial responses (a smile, a frown, control) to either unwanted sexual attention or to a lewd comment influenced the perception of it as SH in cases of male on female SH. Measured for both men and women, as well as for men and

¹¹ “When an employee is subjected to unwelcome sexual conduct that a reasonable person would view as sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive work environment” (p. 246)

women separately, the results of her study indicate that when the victim smiled the situation was considered as SH to a lesser extent than when the victim frowned or when the facial expression was not mentioned. Moreover, lewd comment was seen to constitute SH to a lesser degree than unwanted sexual attention. LaRocca and Kromrey (1999) tested how the sex of the victim/perpetrator and their attractiveness influence the perception of an act as SH and the perception of personal attributes of both the perpetrator and the victim. They presented their participants with a vignette describing a case of unwanted sexual attention SH, with attached photos of both the victim and the perpetrator differing in attractiveness levels. They found that for women when the female perpetrator was attractive – the behavior was an example of SH to a larger extent than when the perpetrator was unattractive and when the male perpetrator was attractive it was less of a SH act than when he was unattractive. The exactly opposite pattern of results was found for male participants. Moreover, women thought that when the victim was attractive it was SH to a larger extent than when the victim was unattractive, whereas men thought the opposite. Furthermore, compared to a male perpetrator, a female perpetrator was perceived as having a more engaging interpersonal style (i.e. as being nicer), as having more personal power and her behavior was seen as more appropriate. An attractive perpetrator was also perceived to have more personal power than an unattractive one. Men also thought that the behavior of an attractive perpetrator was more appropriate than that of an unattractive one. As for the victim, men thought that an attractive victim was more receptive than an unattractive victim.

An interesting study concerning the perception of SH of men was conducted by Stockdale, Gandolfo Berry, Schneider and Cao (2004). They

conducted their research on a sample of 343 undergraduate students (45% male) and 246 working adults (42% male). As there were no differences between the two samples on the outcome variables, their results were combined. The authors distinguish two types of SH: rejection-based SH and approach-based SH. The rejection-based SH includes “behaviors that imply a desire to humiliate, punish, or otherwise drive away the target. It tends to be perpetrated by men who desire to police hypermasculine gender norms or punish men who do not conform to such gender roles” (p. 159) – we can thus say that it is what I call gender harassment, and I will refer to it as such. The approach-based SH “consists of unwanted sexual advances or sexual attention” – and I will refer to it as unwanted sexual attention. The participants were asked to read a detailed account of a SH case where the victim was male, and the perpetrator was either male or female and where the described case was either a case of gender harassment or of unwanted sexual attention. The participants found gender harassment to be SH to a larger extent and the situation to present a hostile work environment¹² case to a larger extent when the victim was male and the perpetrator was female. And conversely, unwanted sexual attention was considered to be SH and a case of a hostile work environment more when the perpetrator and the victim were both male. That is, the gender harassment of a man is perceived as worse when perpetrated by a woman and unwanted sexual attention aimed at a man is perceived as worse when perpetrated by a man. This

¹² The participants were provided with the following definition of hostile work environment SH: “is defined as harassing conduct that was sufficiently severe or pervasive as to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive working environment. To constitute harassment, the conduct must be unwelcome as determined by whether the target of the conduct considered it unwelcome, not whether the alleged harasser perceived it that way. A hostile work environment is determined by focusing on the perspective of a reasonable person—would a reasonable person have been offended by the conduct in question?” (p. 162)

shows that people can see some forms of SH of men as quite serious and that both the type of SH and the perpetrator's sex are important factors when evaluating the gravity of SH acts.

A big advantage of this study is that it concentrates on a type of SH that was first noticed when discussing the issue of SH of men (gender harassment/enforcement of gender role). However, from the perspective of my research questions, its downside is that it did not compare SH of men to the SH of women. Thus while we see that SH of men can be seen as a serious issue, it does not answer the question if it is seen as more or less serious than the SH of women.

Summing up, the majority of studies show that sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention are categorized as SH. A large number of studies also show that gender harassment (lewd comments and enforcement of gender role¹³) is quite often categorized as SH. Gender harassment, as a type of SH was added to definitions of SH after participants of SH studies showed that they consider this kinds of behaviors to be in fact examples of SH.

Perception of and Expected Reactions of Victims and Perpetrators of Sexual Harassment

Some of the studies mentioned above describe other dependent variables measured in SH perception studies rather than categorization as SH. The Konrad and Gutek (1986) study measured if people thought they would be flattered or insulted by different SH acts. Ohse and Stockdale (2008) wanted to see if SH was perceived as unwelcomed by the victim and in the LaRocca and Kromrey (1999) study the participants evaluated the interpersonal style and personal

¹³ To the best of my knowledge there are no studies that analyzed negative gender remarks separately

power of a SH perpetrator and the appropriateness of his/her behavior. A number of other studies focused on similar dependent variables, such as appropriateness, victim's responsibility, anxiety or the source of these kinds of behaviors (causal attribution).

One of the first studies on the perception of both female and male victims of SH was conducted by Marks and Nelson (1993). They asked 127 undergraduate students to rate four videotaped vignettes in which they manipulated sex of the victim and the perpetrator (male perpetrator and female victim, female perpetrator and male victim) and the seriousness of the offense (lewd comment and a "suggestive" touch or just a lewd comment) and asked the participants to evaluate how inappropriate was the observed behavior. As it turned out, the sex of the perpetrator/victim did not influence the judgment; but the comment and a touch were seen as more inappropriate than just a comment, and the female participants judged both cases as more inappropriate than the male participants.

Valentine-French and Radtke (1989) studied the influence of victim's and perpetrator's sex and their reaction to SH (unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion) on the perception of the victim's and perpetrator's responsibility. Female victims were seen as more responsible for the situation, and especially so by the participating women. Moreover, women thought that a victim who self-blames is less responsible than a victim who blames the perpetrator or who does not react at all (control condition). For men it was the victim from the control condition that was the least responsible, compared to a victim who blamed him/herself and a victim who blamed the perpetrator. Finally, a perpetrator was seen as more responsible when s/he harassed a

woman rather than a man. Conversely, results of a survey presented by Gutek (1981, in Jensen and Gutek, 1982) showed men to consider a female victim of SH to be more responsible for SH than women did. DeJudicibus and McCabe (2001) continued the work on perceptions of responsibility/blame of the victim of SH and the influence of the participants' traits and personal experiences on their judgment. They presented a list of 12 SH scenarios (6 opposite sex SH both male on female and female on male, 6 same sex SH; unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion) and asked the participants to evaluate whether the target was to blame for what happened. Strangely enough, the authors did not analyze the perceptions of blame separately for male and female victims/perpetrators, but rather create one general "blame" score. This is unfortunate for my research question, as the authors could have analyzed how the sex of the victim, the perpetrator and the interaction of the two influence peoples' perceptions. The victim was seen as more to blame by men than by women, by sexist participants than by non-sexist ones and by workers than by university students.

In a study by Gordon, Cohen, Graner and Rogelberg (2005) 1306 participants (658 males) had to estimate seriousness of an offense they were reading about and to what extent the behavior of the perpetrator reflected what kind of person s/he was (causal attribution). The descriptions concerned both male and female victims and perpetrators and the authors manipulated the level of seriousness of the offense. It was either just a lewd comment: "you look very attractive in this suit, [y]ou should wear it more often" or the comment and touching on the shoulder or the comment and touching on the knee. When the incident included a comment or a comment and touch on the shoulder both men and women

though it was more serious when it was perpetrated by a man on a man than when perpetrated by a woman on a man (the participating men also thought it was also more serious in case of knee touching). Interestingly, and in line with research on causal attribution, where the more unusual events are more likely to provoke causal attributions (Hastie, 1984), the participants were more likely to make a causal attribution when the perpetrator was female. That is, if a woman was the perpetrator the offending behavior had to be rooted in her personality more than for a man who was the perpetrator. As already noted when discussing the results of the study by Berdahl et al. (1996) young men thought they would experience less anxiety after SH than young women; adult men thought they would be slightly bothered by sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention, and among those men who decided to fill out the open-end part of the study, half thought that it would be amusing to experience SH.

The Prevalence of Sexual Harassment

As shown above, people seem to believe that when the victim is male, SH is not really SH and that men do not think that SH would cause them anxiety. We could ask if maybe people are vigilant observers of society and they know what they are talking about: men are not concerned about SH and it does not bother them. Usually when SH is discussed, it describes the experiences of women harassed by men, while the cases of male victims or the cases of same-sex SH, be it with a male or a female victim, are ignored. In this part I will discuss studies regarding the prevalence of SH of men and women in Europe, as well as studies on prevalence of SH in Poland (as this is where the studies described in this thesis were conducted) and in the USA. I will show that while

SH happens more often to women, men fall victim of SH surprisingly often and they suffer similar consequences following SH as women.

The Prevalence of Sexual Harassment in Europe

The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (referred to hereinafter as: the Foundation) conducts studies concerning the quality of work and employment in Europe; in their report from 2007, they compared results of two surveys concerning workplace violence in Europe, carried out in 1995/1996 and 2000. The results showed that 1% of European men and 3% (1996) and 4% (2000) of European women declared experiencing SH in the past 12 months. 5% of men and 8% (2000) of women in the European Union were aware of SH happening at their workplace. Different studies mentioned in this report show that SH happens across EU. In Denmark (in the 2000 study) 3.2% of women and 0.5% of men and in the Netherlands 4.6% of men and 16.5% of women admitted being exposed to unwanted sexual attention (p. 15). In Spain 18.3% of women and 8.8% of men experienced SH. Additionally, the Foundation publishes on its website numerous short reports considering the prevalence of SH in different European countries¹⁴. A study conducted in Czech Republic on a representative sample of 1025 respondents showed that 13% of women and 4% of men say they have experienced SH, while respectively 14.5% and 17.7% witnessed somebody else being sexually harassed (Vaskova, 2006). In Slovakia a study on a representative sample of 1041 active adults showed that 36.7% experienced some form of SH (the most commonly occurring one being sexual jokes) and 55.5% witnessed SH of someone else. The report states that women experienced SH twice as often as

¹⁴ The studies are not related to each other but rather carried out by different institutions in different countries, this is why they report their data in different ways.

men, but no data was provided to establish what percentage of men and women out of the whole sample experienced SH (Holubova, 2007). However, in a private correspondence (Holubova, personal communication, November 21, 2014) the author shared the raw numbers, which show that 224 women and 159 men experienced at least one form of SH; while 329 men and 249 women witnessed someone else being sexually harassed. However, 609 people witnessed a man being harassed and 1531 witnessed a woman being harassed. Results from a study carried out in Slovenia on 1820 participants (75.3% women) showed 28.3% of women and 23.4% of men to have experiences of verbal SH, 16.9% and 9.3% (respectively) non-verbal SH, 17.1% and 8.1% physical SH and 1.1% and 0.5% sexual coercion (Trbanc, 2008). In Spain, out of 2007 employed women, 14.9% experienced SH according to the definition given in Section 1, although only 9.9% labeled it as SH. 14.7% experienced verbal pressure SH (9.4% labeled it as SH), 4.0% - psychological pressure SH (3.6%) and 2.2% - physical pressure (2.1%) (Corral & de Munain, 2006).

A report on SH compiled for the European Commission (1998) also sheds some light on the prevalence of SH in Europe. According to their data, around 40 to 50% of employed women in the EU experienced unwanted sexual attention; verbal SH is the most common and experienced by around 60% of employed women, while sexual assault is reported by less than 5%. The first part of the report - called the Dutch study - concentrated on different studies carried out in the following EU countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. It shows that around 30 to 50% of women and 10% of men in those countries experienced SH. Depending on the country, the numbers varied

greatly (in some countries the data on the SH of men was not available). For example, depending on the place of employment/depending on the study, in Finland, from 9 to 34% of women and from 3 to 30% of men experienced SH; in Ireland (respectively) from 14% to 25% and from 1% to 5%; in Sweden from 2% to 53% and from 1% to 14%; and in the UK from 47% to 90% and from 9% to 51%. The most common types of SH are verbal (56% - 81%) and nonverbal SH (50% - 90%) (what I call: gender harassment), then physical SH (unwanted sexual attention; 7% – 58%) and quid quo pro (sexual coercion) is the least common (1% - 11%).

The second part of the report – called the Spanish study – concentrated on SH at work in Spain, France, Greece, Italy and Portugal. Studies carried out in those countries between 1985 and 1989 showed that 34% to 84% of women experienced some form of SH. More recent studies presented in the report concentrated only on the SH of women, except for two studies carried out in Portugal. The first one was a study conducted in 1994 on public administration staff (n = 708) that showed that 7% of women and 7% of men experienced SH at work. The second one was conducted around Lisbon (n = 170; 70 men) and 40% of the participating women and 43% of the participating men admitted they experienced SH.

The Prevalence of Sexual Harassment in Poland

Information concerning SH in the Polish population is important for the present set of studies, which were carried out in Poland. The Polish law mentions SH in the Labor Code (Chapter IIa, Equal Treatment in Employment, Article 183a, section 6) and refers to it as a type of gender discrimination:

Discrimination based on gender is any undesired behavior of a sexual nature or referring to the employee's gender whose aim or effect is violation of the employee's dignity, especially creating a threatening, hostile, humiliating, degrading atmosphere; such behavior can be comprised of physical, verbal and non-verbal elements (sexual harassment) (European Institute for Gender Equality [EIGE], n.d.).

SH is not a criminal offence in Poland but according to numerous law scholars (Sledzinska-Simon, 2011; Kedziora, 2008; Holyst, 2004) it can be prosecuted under Articles 197 and 199 of the Polish Criminal Code, i.e., Article 197, section 1: "Whoever subjects a person to sexual intercourse through violence, illegal threat or deceit, shall be subject to the penalty of deprivation of liberty from 2 to 12 years."; and Article 197, section 2: "Whoever makes a person submit to another sexual act or to perform such an act in a manner defined in section 1 [through violence, illegal threat or deceit] shall be subject to the penalty of deprivation of liberty from 6 months to 8 years"; and Article 199, section 1: "Whoever, abusing a relationship of dependence or by taking advantage of a critical situation, subjects such a person to sexual intercourse or makes him/her submit to another sexual act or to perform such an act shall be subject to the penalty of deprivation of liberty for up to 3 years" (EIGE, n.d.). In 2011 in Poland 65 SH cases were filed with courts. In 2012 it was 20 cases with courts and eleven complaints to Chief Labor Inspectorate. Overall, between 2007 and 2012, 152 trials concerning SH started in Poland (Kim, 2013).

As for the prevalence of SH in Poland, I was unable to find a large-scale study conducted by the state or a government agency¹⁵. I found a mention of a public opinion survey from 1994 in which 4% of women admitted to being sexually harassed (in Pietrzak, 2006). A study conducted for newspaper Rzeczpospolita by Sopot Social Research Laboratory¹⁶ in 1998 (in Pietrzak, 2006; in Gornikowska-Zwolak, 2011) showed 7% of the respondents admitted experiencing SH at their workplace. A series of studies about the prevalence of SH was conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS) for a newspaper Gazeta Wyborcza and Wysokie Obcasy in 1999 (in Pietrzak, 2006), 2003 (Knysz, 2005), 2007 (Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej (CBOS), 2007) and 2015 (Sulej and Jablonska, 2015; Roszak, 2015). The study from 1999 (in Pietrzak, 2006) showed that 28% of women experienced SH. Two studies were conducted in May and June 2003 on a random and representative sample of 1260 Poles (Knysz, 2005). In May 2003, CBOS asked if the people experienced “sexual harassment, such as: unwanted advances, erotic teasing, sexual suggestions” and 6.2% of the respondents answered yes. As this number seemed low in comparison to the 28% from the year 1999, the study was rerun in June, however the participants were asked if they experienced: “unwanted advances, erotic teasing, sexual suggestions” without the mention of “sexual harassment”. In this case 17.1% of the respondents admitted experiencing it; 2% of men and 8% of women said that they had experienced SH a few times. The 2007 CBOS study conducted on 424 participants, showed that 22% of respondents saw

¹⁵ The Polish army does not conduct a separate study on SH, but I was told by the Military Bureau of Social Research that this issue sometimes comes up in studies on social pathologies in the army.

¹⁶ Known since as Partner in Business Strategies (PBS)

examples of lewd comments in their place of education or work, 11% - unwanted sexual attention and 2% knew of sexual coercion cases. As for personal experiences of SH, 5% of men and 13% of women in the sample experienced at least one form of SH. In the 2015 study (Sulej and Jablonska, 2015; Roszak, 2015) the authors asked “Have you ever experienced unwanted courtship, erotic provocations, sexual proposals?”. The sample consisted of 980 people (476 men) (Roszak, personal communication, January 6, 2015). 11.3% of women and 6.8% of men answered either “often” or “a few times”, 12.7% of women and 14.7% of men – rarely and over 70% in both groups answered “never”. As the authors did not ask the questions from the 2007 study, it is not possible to analyze gender harassment separately from unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion.

A phone survey on 500 people carried out in 2006 for *Gazeta Wyborcza* by PBS showed that 73% of the respondents believe that SH happens in Poland with 20% thinking that it happens often and 53% - from time to time.

Interestingly, in this survey there were no differences between male and female respondents. In a survey of 126 women (Brzoska, unpublished Master’s thesis, in Gornikowska-Zwolak, 2011), 75% believed that SH was very common, but only 13% stated that they heard about SH happening in their workplace.

A study by Roszak and Gober (2012) on 818 Polish adults (72 men) showed that 85% of women and 44% of men experienced SH in the public space (street harassment) and that men and women agree on the definition of SH in the public space.

In a qualitative study conducted in Poland by Minesota Advocates for Human Rights, Women’s Rights Center in Warsaw, and International Women’s Human

Rights Clinic at Georgetown University Law Center (2002) a director of an NGO stated that he believes around fifty percent of Polish women experience SH in the workplace. A legal and human resources manager said that sexual comments and jokes, or viewing of Internet pornography and graphic cartoons often occur in the office. In addition, interviewed women described numerous cases of unwanted sexual attention, such as a boss smelling their hair or purposefully brushing against them.

The Prevalence of Sexual Harassment in the United States of America

In the United States a study of 8000 (57% men) federal employees conducted by the US Merit Systems Protection Board (1994) showed that 19% of men and 44% of women experienced some form of SH in the workplace. Sexual remarks, jokes and teasing (i.e. lewd comments) were the most common type of SH (14% of men and 37% of women) followed by uninvited sexual looks and gestures (9% and 29%). Attempted rape or rape/assault were the least common and occurred to 2% of men and 4% of women. While the authors of the study did not ask about sexual coercion or subtypes of gender harassment (lewd comments being the exception), in the open-ended question some participants mentioned this kind of SH. For example: “he has repeatedly (...) said disgusting and vulgar things about women. I have gone home or stayed home many times so I wouldn’t have to face him or hear the remarks (...)” (negative remarks about women, p. 24). Jackson and Newman (2004) reanalyzed the data provided by the US Merit Systems Protection Board to see how different personal characteristics can influence the probability of being sexually harassed. They only analyzed the data concerning those participants who “experienced uninvited and unwanted sexual attention” (p. 708). Firstly

they noticed that women are more likely to be sexually harassed than men. They then conducted the analysis separately for men and women. They found that for women the probability of being sexually harassed increases with education, pay grade, and the number of male co-workers and whether they work in a blue collar job. For men the likelihood of being sexually harassed increases when they are widowers, have all female coworkers and a female supervisor. Both men and women are more likely to experience SH when they are single or divorced and are trainees and not regular employees.

In some of the already discussed studies concerning the perception of SH, their authors asked about previous SH experience, which sheds some light on the prevalence of SH. DeJudicibus and McCabe (2001) studied how different moderators can influence peoples' perceptions of SH. One of the predictors they asked about was prior SH experience; they included a list of different SH acts (mostly unwanted sexual attention and one sexual coercion item) and a vast majority of their participants experienced SH. In their workers sample (30 women, 32 men) 73% of the female workers and 88% of the male workers experienced SH and in their students sample (102 women, 18 men) 94% of the female and 78% of the male students experienced it. In a large study conducted by Konrad and Gutek (1986) out of eight hundred twenty-seven women, 293 experienced either unwanted sexual attention or sexual coercion (Jensen & Gutek, 1982). The authors do not mention the number of men ($n = 405$) who experienced SH, but we know that some of them did as the effects of SH on men are mentioned in the paper. In the already mentioned study by Rutz and O'Donnell (2003) on perception of SH, the participants were asked about their own SH experiences. Out of 135 women who participated in the study 31 stated

they experienced SH and out of 106 men – 3 had this kind of experience. The authors found no significant differences between those women and men in terms of how upsetting they found SH, however the sample of men who experienced SH was extremely small.

Hitlan, Schneider and Walsh (2006) asked 208 employed female students (78% of Hispanic origins) how many different SH behaviors they experienced in the last 24 months and how many different SH behaviors they observed or heard of in the last 24 months. They used SEQ (own experiences) and a modified version of SEQ (others' experiences). As it turned out, 78% of the women experienced at least one sexually harassing behavior in the last 24 months. 70% experienced and 59% have seen other people experience gender harassment; 53% experienced and 43.5% have seen other people experience unwanted sexual attention. Overall, 64% experienced and saw someone experience SH; 14% experienced SH but never witnessed someone else's SH experiences; 5.3% only witnessed someone else being harassed and 16.4% was never a victim of SH and never saw anyone be a victim of SH.

Another notable article concerning specifically SH of men was published by Waldo et al. in 1998. The authors hypothesized that not only men are victims of SH but also that when men fall victim to SH, their oppressor is usually another man. They conducted a study on three samples of men – Sample 1 consisted of 378 employees of a large public utility company, Sample 2 of 209 faculty and staff of a large university, Sample 3 of 420 employees of a food processing plant. They used the Sexual Harassment of Men Scale (a version of SEQ) with different 5-point response scales. All of the participants answered how often a particular behavior occurred (*never, once or twice, sometimes,*

often, most of the time) and who their perpetrator was (*men only, mostly men, men and women, mostly women, women only*). The participants in Sample 2 were also asked to state how upsetting they found the behaviors (*not at all upsetting to extremely upsetting*) and those in Sample 3 were asked to describe in details one incident that had the greatest effect on them. The results showed that across all three samples a minimum of 46.9% of the participants experienced some form of SH. The one occurring most often was lewd comments, followed by negative remarks about men, unwanted sexual attention, enforcing the male gender role and – the least common – sexual coercion (1.9% in Sample 1, 0% in Sample 2, and 3.6% in Sample 3).

Gerrity (2000) was also interested only in the SH of men. She analyzed the data of 112 male university employees who answered the SEQ¹⁷. In this sample, 60% of the participants experienced at least one of the SH behaviors listed in the questionnaire, although 95% stated that they never experienced SH. 60% experienced gender harassment and 21% experienced seductive behavior (what I would call unwanted sexual attention) and 4.5% indicated experiencing one behavior from a sexual imposition (also what I would call unwanted sexual attention) subscale: “A coworker deliberately touched you (e.g., laid his/her hand on your bare arm, or put an arm on your shoulders) in a way that made you feel uncomfortable” (p. 142).

Kearney and Rochlen (2012) were interested in the difference in prevalence of SH among Mexican American and Caucasian American college students. They found that while only 5.4% of the students from both groups said

¹⁷ A version of SEQ from 1985 by Fitzgerald and Shullman, before the previously described revisions included the following subscales: gender harassment, seductive behavior, sexual bribery, sexual coercion and sexual imposition

explicitly that they were ever sexually harassed, as much as 73.7% of Mexican American and 84.4% of Caucasian American students had experienced at least one of the behaviors from the SEQ. On average, the Mexican American students experienced 6.72 behaviors and Caucasian students 10.04, which is a significant difference. Although the authors used SEQ, they did not provide the values for each of the subscales. As such, we do not know if the students experienced rather gender harassment or unwanted sexual attention and if one of the categories of behaviors occurred more often for one of the groups.

The prevalence of sexual harassment in the US Army. Numerous studies of SH experiences were carried out on the American military samples. While we have to keep in mind that those are very specific samples, we can clearly see from research conducted in the military that both women and men become victims of SH¹⁸. I believe it is important to include those results as a large percentage of knowledge we have about SH, and especially SH of men, comes from the military samples. Every few years, the American Department of Defense [DoD] conducts a large-scale survey of active duty members to establish the prevalence of SH in the American army. The questions used in their studies are derived from the SEQ (Fitzgerald et al., 1995) and show the three types of SH. Their last study was conducted in 2012 (DoD, 2013) on 63 177 male and 45 301 female members (DoD, 2012). Overall, 23% of women and 4% of men experienced SH. 41% of women and 20% of men experienced

¹⁸ Military vs civilian status was used as a potential moderator in a meta-analysis of the consequences of SH conducted by Willness, Steel and Lee (2007); the results showed it to be a significant moderator only in case of work satisfaction, such that SH affected military personnel's work satisfaction to a larger extent than the civilian personnel's. Other outcome variables, such as supervisor satisfaction, coworker satisfaction, organizational commitment, mental health and physical health were not influenced by the military vs civilian status of the sample.

gender harassment, 23% of women and 5% of men – unwanted sexual attention and 8% of women and 2% of men – sexual coercion. In most cases those numbers are not different than those obtained in their previous, i.e. 2010, survey, but are lower than those from 2006. According to the Department of Veteran Affairs (VA, 2014) 1 in 4 female and 1 in 100 male veterans experienced military sexual trauma. Translating that to raw numbers, the data from VA for 2008 (in Street, 2009) showed that 48106 female and 43693 male veterans experienced sexual trauma. A study conducted with the use of SEQ-DoD on 2319 female and 1627 male former reservists (Street, Gradus, Stafford, & Kelly, 2007) showed that 72.8% of women and 42.0% of men experienced one of the forms of SH, with lewd comments being the most common and sexual coercion the least common form of SH. Vogt, Pless, King and King (2005) asked Gulf War I veterans about the frequency of their SH experiences using a subscale of Deployment Risk and Resilience Inventory which covers a whole range of SH – from sexual remarks to forced sexual activity. Both men and women experienced SH, however women did experience it more often than men and this difference was statistically significant and large ($r = - 0.41$).

A study on the DoD data from 1995 conducted by Langhout et al. (2005) analyzed cases of SH with the emphasis on a significant SH experience (i.e. “the situation that had the greatest effect”, p. 984). They created 15 SH categories, to see how often which types of SH occur individually and how often they co-occur. They noted 5576 cases of sexist hostility (what I call: negative remarks about (wo)men), 2629 cases of sexual hostility (lewd comments), 1977 of unwanted sexual attention, followed by mixed types of SH, like sexist hostility and sexual hostility (1003), sexual hostility and unwanted sexual attention

(593), etc. Sexual coercion without other types of SH occurred 143. The top three the least often occurring SH types were sexist hostility, unwanted sexual attention and coercion (51 cases), sexist hostility, sexual hostility and coercion (39) and sexual hostility and coercion (19).

An analysis of DoD data from 1995 collected from 28296 service members (22372 women) conducted by Magley, Waldo, Drasgow and Fitzgerald (1999) showed that overall it is women who are more often sexually harassed, as they obtained higher total SEQ-DoD scores and higher scores on each of the subscales. However men also experience all of the subtypes of SH. Negative gender remarks are the most often occurring type of SH for both men and women, and sexual coercion – the least often.

Among American Army veterans screened for Military Sexual Trauma (includes both unwanted sexual attention, sexual coercion and sexual assault) 22% of female and 1% of male veterans had such experiences. While the difference in the percentage is very large, it translates to 29418 women and 31797 men who experienced sexual trauma, showing that in the military it might be the men who (in terms of raw numbers) experience it more often (Kimerling, Gima, Smith, Street, & Frayne, 2007).

Overall, a multitude of studies shows that SH occurs across Europe and North America, at work (be it an office job, or a job in a military base) and at school and to both men and women. The described studies show that SH can happen to anyone and anywhere and that being a man does not protect from becoming a victim of SH. Granted, whether we look at percentages or at raw numbers, women usually become victims of SH much often than men; however, men do fall victim to all types of SH. Moreover, two subcategories of gender

harassment were defined because of men's SH experiences; showing that the SH of men covers a wide range of experiences, from lewd comments, negative remarks about men, enforcement of the gender role, through unwanted sexual attention and even (albeit very rarely) sexual coercion. We might ask if maybe men are the stronger sex, and the instances of SH do not bother them, and possibly that men find them amusing. The next part of this chapter will show that this is not the case and that men do suffer as a result of SH just as much as women do.

The Consequences of Sexual Harassment

Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand and Magley (1997) proposed and tested an integrated model of antecedents and consequences of SH. They showed that organizational climate and job gender context influence the perception of SH at the workplace, and those SH experiences influence one's job satisfaction levels and the number of psychological symptoms (such as subjective well-being, depression, anxiety), which in turn influences number of physical symptoms. And that influences one's work and job withdrawal. Their study conducted on 357 working women showed that the women who experienced SH were also suffering from more psychological issues (and indirectly physical ones) and reported lower job satisfaction. A meta-analysis of the antecedents and consequences of SH based on the model of Fitzgerald et al. (1997) conducted by Willness, Steel and Lee (2007) also showed the influence of SH on numerous psychological outcomes. The effect of SH on subjective well-being was small ($r = -.119$, $k = 11$), but for general mental health (including anxiety, depression, sadness or negative mood measures), PTSD and for physical health (including nausea, headaches, exhaustion) the effect sizes

were medium (respectively $r = -.273$, $k = 29$; $r = .247$, $k = 9$ and $r = -.247$, $k = 16$). Charney and Russell (1994) in their overview of SH note that SH can have numerous psychosocial consequences, as it can influence the victims' careers, work or school performance, personal relationships, self-esteem, well-being or their physical health (p. 13). They state that over 90% of SH victims report experiencing emotional distress and their symptoms include: "anger, fear, depression, crying spells, anxiety, irritability, loss of self-esteem, feelings of humiliation and alienation, and a sense of helplessness and vulnerability (...) headaches, decreased appetite, weight loss, decreased sleep and an increased frequency of respiratory or urinary tract infections" (p. 13). In similar vein, Jensen and Gutek (1982) in their study of 135 victims of SH note that 20% of them experienced depression, 68% - anger, and 80% - disgust. Further, experiencing this kind of negative affect increased the likelihood of suffering from loss of motivation, and feeling distracted at work as well as from somatic symptoms like headaches or sleeplessness.

In the Hitlan et al. (2006) study on female employed students the number of SH behaviors, the duration of SH and seeing SH of others were positively correlated with how upset the participants were in case of gender harassment, and the frequency of contact with the harasser was negatively correlated with how upset they were. Moreover, the results of hierarchical regression analysis showed, that when controlling for affective disposition, the level of being upset with gender harassment increased with the number of one's own SH experiences, with the frequency of SH of other people that they witnessed and with how upset they were by SH of other people and decreases with the number of witnessed behaviors.

Considering unwanted sexual attention, its upsettingness correlated positively with the number of behaviors and with how upset a person was when witnessing other people being harassed. The regression analysis showed that the participants were more upset with their own SH experienced when they experienced more SH, and when they were more upset when witnessing the SH of others. Surprisingly, the participants were more upset when the duration of their own SH decreased. However, as the authors note, this might be due to the fact that unwanted sexual attention consists of both physical acts, such as touching, and verbal acts such as asking for dates and possibly physical acts while shorter in duration are also more upsetting, while verbal acts might be repeated numerous times (thus longer duration) but less upsetting. The authors tested this hypothesis, and verbal forms of SH were experienced more often and were less upsetting and (as a trend) lasted shorter.

The consequences of Sexual Harassment for Men

In the aforementioned study by Waldo et al. (1998) on male samples (Sample 1 - large public utility company, Sample 2 - large university, Sample 3 - food processing plant), Sample 2 participants were asked how upsetting they found the SH behaviors they experienced (*not at all upsetting to extremely upsetting*) and Sample 3 described one incident that had the greatest effect on them. Concerning the emotional reactions that the harassed men from Sample 2 had, they found lewd comments the least upsetting and enforcing the male gender role the most upsetting. As no men in this sample declared experiencing sexual coercion, we do not know how upsetting they would have found this type of SH. Concerning the “Specific incident” that was asked from the participants in Sample 3, most of them reported their perpetrator to be a female coworker

(rather than their manager or supervisor). Interestingly, those who decided to describe the specific incident differed significantly from the participants who skipped that question, i.e. overall they experienced more SH. They found the specific incident to be only slightly offensive, upsetting and making them angry. Summing up, the authors found that men are quite often sexually harassed at their place of employment and that the sex of the perpetrator is largely linked to the type of SH, with women being more frequently the perpetrators of sexual coercion, unwanted sexual attention and negative remarks about men and men the perpetrators of lewd comments and enforcement of the male gender role (all three samples); yet the incident of SH that had the largest effect on the participants was the one perpetrated by a female coworker (Sample 3). Moreover, the male victims of SH declared to be only slightly upset by their experiences (Sample 2 and Sample 3) and they found it only slightly offensive and angering (Sample 3). However, the authors did not ask what type of SH the participants described in the specific incident section.

In a study by Gerrity (2000) the male university employees experienced only gender harassment and seductive behavior (unwanted sexual attention), and the author decided to compare those two groups to each other. The findings show that seductive behavior had a stronger negative impact on the participants' life (emotional health, depression, anxiety, relationship with family, self-esteem, physical health) and on their job productivity. Moreover, those who experienced seductive behavior experienced more intrusive thoughts about it and tried more to avoid those thoughts.

The Consequences of Sexual Harassment for Men and Women

Settles, Harrell, Buchanan and Yap (2011; Settles, Buchanan, Yap, & Harrell, 2014) conducted analysis on the DoD 2002 data. They took into consideration only the participants who endorsed at least one experience from the SEQ-DoD, which gave them a sample of 4540 women and 1764 men. The authors were interested in finding out how different appraisals of the SH experience can influence the psychological distress of the victims. They found out that for all three types of SH: gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion perceiving one's SH experience as frightening is linked to an increased level of psychological distress for both men and women. While perceiving it as bothersome is linked to psychological distress only for men (Settles et al., 2011), perceiving the overall experience of SH as frightening is linked to higher psychological distress for both men and women, but the relationship is stronger for men (Settles et al., 2014).

The abovementioned study of former army reservists (Street et al., 2007) showed that while women were more likely to experience any form of SH, it was the men that suffered more. In a regression analysis with participants' sex, sexual harassment and the interaction of the two as the predictors and depression, PTSD and general mental health as the dependent variables, it was the SH that turned out to be the significant individual predictor of all three outcomes. However, for depression and general mental health the interaction of SH and sex was significant and at higher levels of SH men reported more depression and worse mental health than women. Finally, when cases of attempted or completed sexual assault were removed and the same regression analysis was run – a significant interaction between SH and participant's sex

showed men to have more PTSD symptoms than women. Similarly, the Vogt et al. (2005) study showed that with the increased levels of SH exposure, the levels of depression and anxiety increase sharply for men, but not for women. As such the authors conclude, that SH can be a stronger depression and anxiety risk for men than for women.

The analysis of DoD SEQ-DoD data conducted by Magley et al. (1999) showed that women's and men's psychological well-being was strongly and linearly affected by their SH experiences and that for both men and women, SH affected their satisfaction with health, and their emotional and health problems¹⁹. Their self-estimated post SH psychological health showed that they notice psychological problems following SH already on low levels of SH and that they increase linearly for both men and women. More importantly, the authors wanted to see if SH impacts men and women differently by conducting regression analysis of all of the outcome variables across sexes. The results showed "no basis for assuming that harassment affects men any differently from women given equal frequency, intensity, and offensiveness" (p. 297). Unfortunately, the authors did not analyze the influence of each of the SH subtypes separately, but their work clearly shows that while women are more likely to be sexually harassed than men the effect of SH on both sexes is quite similar.

The analysis of medical records of American Army veterans (Kimerling et al., 2007) comparing veterans with and without the experiences of military sexual trauma ([MST], i.e. sexual harassment and/or sexual assault) showed that

¹⁹ Linear relationship for all variables in case of men. For women: health satisfaction drops significantly at higher levels of SH. Emotional and health problems: even low levels of SH influence in a negative way.

MST is strongly associated to mental and physical health problems among both men and women. Dissociative, eating and depression disorders are common among both male and female victims of MST. A PTSD diagnosis, alcohol and anxiety problems happen to both men and women, but are stronger among women, while adjustment disorders, bipolar disorder, schizophrenia and psychosis are stronger among men. Compared to the veterans without a sexual trauma experience, both male and female victims of MST are more likely to have liver disease and chronic pulmonary disorder; women are more likely to be obese or to experience weight loss, while among men an AIDS diagnosis was more common.

The study by Langhout et al. (2005) showed how pervasiveness of different types of SH can influence individual's appraisal of stress. For example, in cases of unwanted sexual attention, the amount of experienced SH did not change how stressful it was perceived to be, i.e. it was equally stressful whether it was a single experience or if it occurred frequently. On the other hand, in case of lewd comments or negative gender remarks, if it was not very pervasive, it was not perceived as very stressful, but as the occurrence of it increased, so did the level of stress. Moreover, they presented a mediation model in which SH, its pervasiveness and the status of the harasser influenced the appraisal of stress, which then influenced psychological well-being and that in turn influenced the perception of physical health.

Summing up, it is clear that more women than men experience SH, however we cannot ignore the fact, that men become victims of SH more often than one might think. Additionally, men who are victims of SH suffer similar consequences of SH as women who are SH victims. As the studies on the

American military showed, when comparing the male and the female victims of SH we can often see that it is the suffering of the male victims that is more pronounced. They have a higher risk of getting depression, and anxiety; and at high frequencies of SH are more depressed, and have more mental health problems.

The present studies

The majority of studies on the perception of SH focused on other variables than the influence of the sex of the victim and perpetrator on the perception of SH. Most studies that researched how the victim and the perpetrator sex interplay in evaluation of SH showed mixed results. However, usually when the victim was female, the behavior was categorized as SH to a larger extent than when the victim was male (ex. Katz et al., 1996; Runtz & O'Donnell, 2003). Women asked to imagine themselves as victims thought they would be more anxious following SH than men imagining the same thing (Berdahl et al., 1996), and men thought they would rather be flattered by SH (Konrad & Gutek, 1986). Even fewer studies were concerned with the perception of the perpetrator. A female perpetrator harassing a man was seen as less nasty and less inappropriate than a male perpetrator harassing a woman (LaRocca & Kromrey, 1999). Harassment of a man by a female perpetrator was perceived as less serious than harassment of a man by a male perpetrator (Gordon et al., 2005). A perpetrator harassing a woman was perceived as more responsible than a perpetrator harassing a man (Valentine-French & Radtke, 1989). SH of a woman by a man was categorized as SH to a larger extent than SH of a man by a woman (Katz et al., 1996) or of a man by a man, or a man or a woman by a woman (Runtz & O'Donnell, 2003).

As seen above, studies thus far suggest that men's suffering is minimized, as for example the SH of men is categorized as SH to a lesser extent than SH of women. However we do not really understand why this happens. I suspected that the reasons for this are gender stereotypes concerning men's agency and women's communion which cause men to be seen as moral agents and women – as moral patients.

Gender Stereotypes

Studies show that women are in general viewed more favorably than men, and this effect is visible across different cultures. For example a large scale study on 8360 participants and in 16 countries, showed that women are associated with more positive traits than men (Glick et al., 2004). This positive evaluation of women comes probably from the fact that they are stereotypically associated with warmth, emotionality, or helpfulness to others (Eagly & Mladnic, 1994; Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1991). Those kinds of traits were even referred to as “femininity” in some research areas (Hawkins, 1983) and were shown to be linked to liking (Wojciszke, Bazinska, & Jaworski, 1998), while the “masculinity” (or agency/ competence) traits are rather linked to respect. Numerous studies show that people associate men (vs. women) more with instrumental (agentic) traits, and women (vs. men) more with expressive (communal) traits (Bosak, Szczesny, & Eagly, 2008; Spence & Buckner, 2000; Eagly & Mladnic, 1994). Even just the word “feminine” is more linked to expressive traits and the word “masculine” – with the instrumental ones (Spence & Buckner, 2000). When no information about a woman's or man's role is provided, people tend to see an average woman as highly communal and not agentic and an average man as highly agentic and not communal (Bosak,

Szczesny, & Eagly 2012). The effect of women – communion and men – agency association was also shown in a study on the Italian language, where the communal traits were found to appear more often in their feminine (vs masculine) form, while the agentic traits – in their masculine form (Suitner & Maass, 2008). Moreover, the prescriptive and proscriptive gender stereotypes show the same pattern of warm/communal/expressive women and cold/agentic/unemotional men. That is: women must be warm, kind and sensitive (positive communal traits) and must not be stubborn or arrogant (negative agentic traits). While men must exhibit positive agentic traits and must not – negative communal traits (Prentice & Carranza, 2002).

Dyadic Morality

The concept of dyadic morality (Gray, Young, & Waytz, 2012; Gray & Wegner, 2009) assumes that in order for a social interaction to be described in moral categories, two people have to take part in it: a moral agent, who does good or evil and a moral patient, who receives the good or the evil. At the same time, a cognitive template of moral interaction makes one see an intention on the side of the moral agent and a reaction on the side of the patient. That being said, the defining trait of a moral agent is the ability to deliberately do good or evil, and of the moral patient – the ability to be the recipient of the good or the evil. The authors also describe the phenomenon of moral typecasting, which shows that perceiving someone as occupying one position (moral patient or moral agent), excludes the perception of this person as occupying the opposite position. For example, a person once perceived as a victim is always seen in the position of a victim/moral patient, while a person who expressed agentic behaviors in the past (by acting as a hero) is always seen in the position of a

moral agent, even if it means being perceived as a perpetrator of an immoral act (Gray & Wegner, 2011). Another important element of the dyadic moral theory is mind perception. As it turns out, people perceive the mind on two independent dimensions (Gray, Gray & Wegner, 2007). The first dimension is moral agency, which consist of, among others, the ability to control oneself, recognize emotions, plan, or think. The second dimension is experience, the examples of which are the ability to feel hunger, pain, fear or anger.

Additionally, the studies show that the entities with a high perceived agency (for example adult humans) are perceived as moral agents, who feel less pain and who are more responsible for their actions, than the entities with high perceived experience (for example children). Moreover, high experience and low agency are linked to being a moral patient with a heightened sensitivity to pain. Further, Gray and Wagner (2009) showed those relationships not only in correlational studies but also in experimental ones. Most of all, moral patients are perceived as less responsible for their actions and as experiencing more pain than moral agents. People with a diminished resistance to pain are seen as moral patients, who are at the same time less responsible for their actions. Moral agents, on the other hand, are seen as more responsible for their actions and as experiencing less pain. Furthermore, behaviors perceived as immoral are linked to an increase in perceived suffering (of the object of this act) and an act judged as immoral makes people see its victim (even if objectively there is no victim). Overall, it seems that judgement concerning morality is linked to a subjectively perceived harm (Gray, Schein, & Ward, 2014).

Gray and Wagner (2011) also show that mind dimensions correspond to other known dimensions of social perception: experience to warmth (morality,

communion) and agency to competence. As was established before, women are perceived as closer to the dimension of warmth (morality, communion) than men, whereas men are perceived to be closer to the dimension of agency (or competence). Thus, we can conclude that a woman is by default seen as a moral patient, and a man as a moral agent. Moreover, because of the stereotypical gender roles men are supposed to initiate social-sexual behaviors and women are supposed to respond to them, which is why it is the women who are usually casted in the role of “patients” of SH, and men in the role of agents of SH (Gutek, Groff Cohen, & Konrad, 1990). This is why in a situation of SH, we deal “by default” with a woman in the role of a moral patient and a man in the role of a moral agent. What does this mean for the minimization of the male trauma effect? (1) A moral agent (a man) is more resistant to pain than a moral patient (a woman), this is why a harassed man is perceived as suffering less than a harassed woman.

(2) A person who hurts a man, is hurting somebody who is – by definition – a moral agent, so this person will be evaluated better than somebody who is hurting a moral patient.

The Hypotheses

Taking into account the literature reviewed above, I put forward the following specific hypothesis on the minimization of male trauma:

1. In social perception, the perceived suffering of men who became victims of SH is lower than the suffering of women-victims of SH. Specifically, men are perceived as experiencing less stress, depression and somatic symptoms, as seeing SH in a more positive way and as experiencing less negative emotions as a result of SH.

2. In lay perception, perpetrators of SH, whose victims are men, as compared to perpetrators whose victims are women, are evaluated higher on the dimensions of communion and agency, are more liked and respected and deserve lighter punishment

I tested those hypotheses in six studies. While the authors of the previously described studies asked about the perceived appropriateness of SH acts or responsibility of the victim and the perpetrator, I was interested in different dependent variables.

Concerning victim perception, in Study 1, I only asked about the perceived stress of the victim. In Study 2 I asked about the perceived depression, anxiety, somatic symptoms and well-being of the victim, using items derived from clinical assessment tools, in order to enable comparisons between lay and professional evaluations of the consequences for the victim. In Studies 3 and 4, I asked about victim's depression and somatic symptoms again using items derived from clinical instruments, as well as about the perception of the event by the victim – whether it was scary, painful and/or offensive. Additionally, in Study 4 I asked what emotions could the victim be experiencing: fear and guilt or anger and hostility. In Study 5, I once again asked about the victim's depression and anxiety and about six basic emotions (happiness, love, fear, anger, guilt, sadness) that the victim might experience following the assault. In Study 6, I asked about the victim's depression and anxiety. As for the evaluation of the perpetrator, in Studies 2 to 5 I asked about the perceived morality, agency, likability and respectability of the perpetrator and in most of them (except Study 1) about the punishment for the perpetrator. In Study 6, I used behavior probability ratings (rather than trait evaluation) to measure perceived

communion and agency of the perpetrator and I also asked about the perpetrator's ability to act morally (moral agency) and feel (experience). In Studies 1, 4, 5 and 6 I used both same- and opposite-sex examples of SH and in Study 3 I compared SH to a different type of assault – to money extortion.

In the studies presented in this work I was also interested in finding out what kind of behaviors are categorized as SH. In Study 1 (largely inspired by the PHSQ studies described above) I asked the participants to what degree did they consider each described behavior as SH. In Study 3 I asked them to label the behavior they read about. In Study 4 I asked to evaluate to what degree the behavior was SH. In Study 5, I asked the participants (law students) to choose a legal regulation that described best the behavior in question.

Overall, in the studies I present I focused on analyzing how people perceive the suffering of the SH victims, which was not done thus far in such detail and on how people evaluate the perpetrator of SH, which, to the best of my knowledge, has also not been analyzed. The victim's perception variables that I chose (such as depression, somatic symptoms or emotional response) are usually used in studies on SH victims. Since we know how people actually react to SH, it seems important to verify how those reactions are perceived by others. It is interesting to find out if people's perceptions of the distress that SH causes reflects the reality. The variables I used to study the perception of the perpetrator are usually used in social perception research. As studies show, morality and competence (also labeled as communion and agency or intellectually and socially good – bad traits) constitute the two main dimensions of social judgment (cf. Wojciszke, 2005). The two dimensions are important when we encounter new others in order to establish if their intentions towards us

are good or bad (morality/communion/warmth), and how well they are able to execute them (agency/competence). Additionally, we tend to like those people whom we perceive as moral/communal/warm and respect those who we find to be agentic/competent (Wojciszke, Abele, & Baryla, 2009). Sexual harassment is a form of immoral behavior and as such researching the moral evaluation of this act separately from the other common dimension of judgement - competence, is interesting.

CHAPTER 2.

Study 1. Perception of different types of the same- and opposite-sex sexual harassment

In the first study, I analyzed social perception of male and female victims and perpetrators of different types of SH depending on whether it was performed by a person of the same- or opposite-sex. I wanted to find out how the sex of persons involved in SH acts influences the categorization of a given act as SH, the perceived stress of the victim and the perceived morality of its perpetrator. In order to do that, I created a list of 28 interactions between a professor and a student, each describing an act of SH and I asked the participants to rate each of the acts on the three abovementioned dimensions.

As described before, SH can be defined as unwelcome behaviors that relate to one's sex/gender or one's sexuality and which create a hostile or offensive environment in one's place of work or education. Previous research, described in detail in the theoretical part of this work, led to creation of scales used to measure the prevalence of SH in a workplace (SEQ-W) and university settings (SEQ-E) and to a three-dimensional model of SH (Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995; Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995). Those three dimensions – gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, sexual coercion - are related, yet conceptually different from each other and they cover a wide set of behaviors, creating a comprehensive model of SH. The authors conducted numerous empirical studies which confirmed three-factor structure of SH presented in their model and showed it to be adequate for different settings (such as workplace or university), and generalizable for different cultures. However, as the theoretical and the empirical studies were based on the experiences of women, the question remains about what behaviors men would perceive as harassing. As described before, research conducted on male samples, with the use of SEQ-W and open-ended questions about their own

experiences of SH (Berdahl, Magley, & Waldo, 1996) showed three types of SH: gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion with three sub-types of gender harassment: lewd comments, negative comments about men and enforcement of the male gender role.

In the present study, I was interested in SH of both men and women as perpetrated by men and women, and as such I decided to use all of the types and subtypes of SH. Therefore, I concentrate on the following types of SH: 1. Gender harassment, including: (a) lewd comments, (b) negative remarks about (wo)men, (c) enforcement of the (fe)male gender role; 2. Unwanted sexual attention; 3. Sexual coercion: threat and promise (Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Waldo et al., 1998). Those types of SH were studied at length in the US, and this kind of structure of SH was found in multiple studies conducted there (cf. Chapter 1), however, to the best of my knowledge, no similar studies were carried out in Poland. Therefore an additional aim of this study was to see if this structure of SH is also reproduced among Polish participants.

In order to test the different types of SH, I decided to use the paradigm of Perception of Sexual Harassment Questionnaire (PSHQ; Katz, et al., 1996). The original measure was created to test if opposite-sex behaviors, each described with one sentence, were considered to constitute SH in three different settings: between an employee and a supervisor, between a professor and a student, and between two college students. The list of potential SH behaviors included all three types of SH described above, but the results were collapsed across all of them without distinguishing their severity. The results of Katz et al.'s study (1996) suggested that harassment perpetrated by men was seen as more harassing than the same harassment perpetrated by women, without noting

that this effect might have more to do with the sex of the victim rather than the perpetrator. Overall, when the victim was female and the perpetrator was male, both men and women found those situations to constitute SH, and when the victim was male and the perpetrator was female, the situation was perceived more as SH by women than by men. Another study with the use of PSHQ with added opposite-sex conditions also showed that male on female SH is seen as SH to a larger extent than female on male or same-sex SH (Runtz & O'Donnell, 2003). Moreover, the authors conducted a principal components analysis and compared three types of SH: sexualized touching (13 items), nonsexualized touching (6 items) and sexual coercion (1 item). The first type was most likely to be perceived as SH, especially when the victim was female and the perpetrator was male; the second one was seen as not being SH and the third one was perceived as SH but no differences were found depending on the sex of the victim, the perpetrator and the participants.

Present study

I found the PSHQ to be an interesting tool and I thought it worth using in order to research other perceptions concerning SH, such as perception of the victim's distress or the perpetrator's morality. However, I noted that PSHQ was created with the concept of SH as understood by women and not by men, and so it does not cover the experiences of the male population. With that in mind, I decided to create a tool inspired by PSHQ (as reviewed in Chapter 1) which covers the experiences of SH of men, as described by Fitzgerald et al. (1995) and Waldo et al. (1998). Based on literature research, I created items to capture three kinds of sexual harassment: gender harassment (with three subtypes), unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion (with two subtypes: threat and

promise). I wanted to find out if the three types of SH distinguished in the American studies will be also present in a Polish sample. Moreover, I was interested not only in seeing if the described behaviors are seen as SH but also assessing the social perception of the actors of those interactions. Another difference between the studies described above and Study 1 is the nature of the protagonists in the interactions. Katz et al. (1996) and Runtz and O'Donnell (2003) presented the same characters in each of the interactions, e.g., John told Kathy to wear tighter jeans, John patted Kathy on the back, and John threatened Kathy to make her life difficult. In my study, each scene depicts a different perpetrator and victim, for example John and Kathy in one, and Jim and Dorothy in another. I decided to do it like that because when I used the same names for each item in a pilot study, the participants reported being unable to evaluate them separately and thought that with each interaction the situation was becoming more harassing, the victim was becoming more stressed and the perpetrator more immoral. I wanted to examine the judgment for each type of SH separately and independently of the other types. In view of the fact that the first studies was going to be conducted on student populations, I decided to use a student – professor interaction for the described situations, assuming that it will be easier for the participants to relate to a known setting.

The first aim of the study was to assess the structure of the created scales. The second aim of the study was to examine the social perception of victims and perpetrators of SH depending on their sex. As described in the introductory chapters, I expected to find a minimization of male suffering effect which occurs when the distress of male victims is seen as smaller than that of

female victims and when those who harass men are seen as less immoral than those who harass women. As such, I hypothesized that:

- (1) when the victim is male the act is categorized as SH to a smaller degree than when the victim is female,
- (2) the male victim is perceived to be less stressed by the acts than the female victim, and
- (3) the perpetrator of the act on a man is perceived as less immoral than the perpetrator of the act on a woman.

I was also interested in finding out which types of behaviors are considered to constitute SH, which types of behaviors are thought to cause stress and how moral the perpetrators of those behaviors are perceived to be.

Method

The participants $N = 377$ (139 men and 238 women) were first year civil engineering, psychology and foreign language students at three large Polish higher education institutions, their mean age was 19.55 ($SD = 1.54$). They were asked to remain in a class at the end of their lectures and to participate in a paper and pencil study. In the first part, they were asked to state their sex and age and to fill out a short version of the Attitudes Toward Lesbian and Gay Men Scale (Herek & Capitanio, 1995; Appendix 1) The scale consists of three items that check the attitudes towards homosexual men and three items that tap the attitudes towards homosexual women. The participants evaluated their attitudes towards homosexual men and women on a 7-point Likert scale. Three scores can be computed: an overall attitude towards homosexuality (Cronbach's alpha in this study: 0.87), an attitude towards gay men (0.85) and an attitude towards lesbians (0.80). High scores on this scale indicate negative attitude towards male

and female homosexuality. For the analysis used in this chapter, I used the overall score, which was split in two on its median ($Mdn = 4.5$) creating two groups: positive vs. negative attitude towards homosexual men and women.

The second part of the study – Perception of Sexual Harassment of Women and Men Questionnaire (PSHQ-WM, Appendix 2) consisted of a list of 28 statements, each describing a different act of SH. I randomly distributed four versions of the list (male on female, female on male, male on male, female on female), creating a 2 (sex of the perpetrator) x 2 (sex of the victim) x 2 (sex of the participant) study design. In the opening statement, participants were informed that the authors were interested in people's perceptions of SH and that the aim of the study was to find out which behaviors are considered to be SH, how people perceive the level of stress caused by each of the behaviors and how moral they think the perpetrator of each of the behaviors is. They were also informed, that in each of the acts the perpetrator is a (male or female) university teacher, and the target of the behavior is a (male or female) university student. Each act was described using a male or female first name for the student (for example Monica, Marc) and a female or a male second name for the teacher (for example, Studzinska for the female, and Studzinski for the male)²⁰, to show that each of the situations happens to a different person and is caused by a different person.

A pilot study in which all situations were described with just the words “student” and “teacher” showed a cumulative effect – the participants assumed

²⁰ The Polish language allows for the use of a different endings to create the words “female-student” (pl: studentka), “male-student” (student), “female-author” (sprawczyni), “male-author” (sprawca) without making it sound artificial. It also works for the first and the last names. All female first names in the Polish language end with “a”, and no male names end with “a”. The form of the second/family name also changes depending on the sex of the person holding it – as in the example above.

and expressed it in their written statements, that all of the situations are happening to one person all the time and were evaluating the stress of the victim and the morality of the perpetrator accordingly.

The participants' task was to evaluate each of the described behaviors by answering the following questions on 1 to 7 scales (1) categorization of an act as SH: To what degree does this behavior constitute SH? (1 – *this is NOT sexual harassment*, 7 – *this IS sexual harassment*) (2) perceived stress of the victim: To what degree does this action cause stress to the student? (1 – *it does NOT cause stress*, 7 – *it causes stress*) (3) perceived morality of the perpetrator: To what degree is the professor moral? (1 – *the professor is IMMORAL*, 7 – *the professor is MORAL*).

Three types of gender harassment (lewd comments, negative gender remarks, enforcement of the gender role) and unwanted sexual attention were measured with five stories each. Two types of sexual coercion (promise and threat) were measured with four stories each. In case of lewd comments, unwanted sexual attention and both types of sexual coercion, the stories were exactly the same for both a male and a female victim. Negative gender remarks and enforcement of a gender role could not be exactly the same for the two victims (telling a man that all women are stupid is not an act of SH aimed at him, and neither is telling a woman that all men are stupid). Therefore, I created two different sets of descriptions – separate for a female and a male victim. As such, if the described victim is female, the perpetrator would tell her: “all women are stupid”, while if the victim was male – “all men are stupid”. Sample items for all types of SH include: Professor Kowalska tells Agnieszka: you look nice, it seems you're having a lot of sex recently (lewd comments); Professor

Adamski tells Anna that the world doesn't need more women in college, and Anna is stupid like all women (negative gender remarks); Professor Jaskowska tells Bartek that he has to behave in a more masculine way, because nobody likes effeminate men (enforcement of gender role); Professor Lebiedzinski touches Marta's butt when he thinks nobody is watching (unwanted sexual attention); Professor Raczkowska tells Ela that she will not pass the exam unless she goes to bed with her (sexual coercion – threat); Professor Markowska tells Mateusz that he will get a scholarship if he undresses in front of her (sexual coercion – promise).

By averaging the answers to each of the question for each type of SH, I then computed 15 scores: Categorization of an act as SH for each type of SH (lewd comments, negative gender remarks, enforcement of gender role, unwanted sexual attention, sexual coercion), perceived stress of the victim for each type of SH and perceived morality of the perpetrator for each type of SH. Although I originally intended to analyze the two subtypes of sexual coercion (threat and promise) separately, I found that that the two subtype scores loaded onto a single underlying dimension, so the analyses are carried out for one general “sexual coercion” score. Cronbach's alphas for the 15 scores ranged from 0.65 to 0.94 (with the majority around 0.70 and 0.80).

Results

Structure of the Perception of Sexual Harassment of Women and Men Questionnaire. In order to reveal the structure of the created scale, I conducted an exploratory factor analysis separately for the three question types: the categorization of the act as SH, stress of the victim and the morality of the perpetrator. Based on the screeplots and judging by the points of inflexion, I

decided to extract three factors for each question type. As the sample included over 300 participants, I considered an item to load a particular factor if its eigenvalue was greater than 0.298 (Field, 2009, p. 644).

In the case of categorization of an act as SH, the first factor explained 24.03% of variation after Varimax rotation, the second one 19.91% and the third one 10.97%. The first factor included all three types of gender harassment (negative gender remarks, enforcement of gender role, lewd comments), the second factor included the items concerning sexual coercion (both threat and promise) and the third one the unwanted sexual attention items. This pattern suggests that, just like American participants, Polish students distinguish between the three types of SH, although they do not separate the three types of gender harassment into subgroups²¹.

As for the questions concerning the perceived stress of the victim and the perceived morality of the perpetrator, the scree plot also showed a three factor solution, with consecutive factors explaining 26.38%, 20.81% and 7.98% (stress) and 33.12%, 18.79% and 8.79% (morality) of the variance after Varimax rotation. However, the analysis of the items loading on the three factors showed a somewhat different pattern from the one seen in the case of categorization as SH. In both cases the first factor included the sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention items, the second factor included most gender harassment items, and the third factor included two lewd comments items (morality) and the two lewd comments and one negative gender remarks item. Which shows that the participants clearly group sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention together when evaluating how stressful they are and how

²¹ To my knowledge there are no studies in which the three gender harassment types were found with the use of factor analysis.

immoral is the person who acts like that, while they consider gender harassment to be rather different.

Perception of sexual harassment²².

Categorization as SH. In the present sample, all forms of gender harassment were evaluated below the mid-point of the scale for sexual harassment such that the mean for negative gender remarks was $M = 2.68$ ($SD = 1.31$), enforcement of gender role $M = 2.88$ ($SD = 1.34$), lewd comments $M = 3.94$ ($SD = 1.23$) suggesting that the participants did not consider those behaviors to be SH. The other two types of SH were more likely to be considered as SH: unwanted sexual attention $M = 5.86$ ($SD = 0.92$), and sexual coercion $M = 6.56$ ($SD = 0.75$). As not all of the SH categorization data was normally distributed, in order to see how the categorization of each of the behaviors differs I conducted a set of Wilcoxon signed-rank tests. Lewd comments, negative gender remarks, enforcement of gender role, unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion were significantly different from each other. The medians are presented in Table 1.

Table 1.
Medians for the categorization of acts as SH (Study 1)

Lewd comments	Negative gender remarks	Enforcement of gender role	Unwanted sexual attention	Sexual coercion
4.00 _a	2.40 _b	2.80 _c	6.00 _d	6.87 _e

Note. Medians that do not share the same index are significantly different at $p < .001$ (Wilcoxon signed-rank test)

²² Participants' sex influenced the majority of outcome variables, such that the male participants were more permissive than the female participants. For example they found most described behaviors to constitute SH to a lesser extent, to be less stressful for the victim, and they evaluated the perpetrator as less immoral. I do not discuss the main effects of participants' sex, however I used this variable as one of the covariates.

Categorization of an act as SH, perceived stress of the victim and perceived morality of the perpetrator correlated significantly and strongly or very strongly with each other for all types of gender harassment (lewd comments, negative gender remarks, enforcement of gender role) (all p s < .001, from $r = .51$ to $r = .80$). As such I conducted a 2 (sex of the victim) x 2 (sex of the perpetrator) MANCOVA with the index of categorization as SH as a dependent variable, and participant's sex and attitudes towards homosexual men and women as covariates. Using Pillai's trace, I found the sex of the victim to influence the categorization of gender harassment as SH $V = 0.14$ $F(3, 368) = 2.72$, $p < .001$ and separate ANCOVAs showed this effect to be significant only in the case of enforcement of a gender role $F(1, 370) = 33.54$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.64$, such that when the victim was female, the act was seen to constitute SH to a larger extent ($M = 3.30$, $SD = 1.39$) than when the victim was male ($M = 2.47$, $SD = 1.16$). This effect was not obtained for negative gender remarks or lewd comments.

Sexual coercion and unwanted sexual harassment scores did not meet the requirements to conduct parametric tests. Consequently I conducted Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance by ranks with categorization of an act as SH as dependent variable, and sex of the victim and sex of the perpetrator as one independent variable with four levels. For the categorization of unwanted sexual attention as SH the result of the Kruskal-Wallis test showed no difference depending on the sex of the victim or perpetrator $H(3) = 3.57$, $p = .31$. Similarly for sexual coercion there was no influence of the victim's or perpetrator's sex on the perception of the act as SH when analyzed for all of the participants $H(3) = 5.59$, $p = .13$.

Additionally, I split the data by participant's sex and participant's attitudes towards homosexual men and women, and ran Kruskal-Wallis and Mann-Whitney tests in order to see how the levels of dependent variables differ depending on those two predictors. After splitting the data, I found that among men with negative attitudes, there was a difference in categorization of an act as SH depending on the sex of the victim and the perpetrator $H(3) = 9.77$; Monte Carlo significance $p = .01$ (CI for significance from .01 to .02). As the difference seemed to be between the cases of same- and opposite-sex SH, I conducted additional analysis with the use of the Mann-Whitney test. It showed that when sexual coercion was perpetrated by a man on a man ($Mdn = 7.00$) it was perceived to be SH to a greater extent than when it was perpetrated by a man on a woman ($Mdn = 6.62$) $U = 189.00$, $r = -.34$, $p = .01$. In addition, SH by a woman on a woman ($Mdn = 7.00$) was categorized as SH to a greater extent than SH of a man by a woman ($Mdn = 6.75$) $U = 138.50$, $r = -.31$, $p = .04$. This shows that opposite-sex SH is more likely to be categorized as SH than same-sex SH, at least among men with negative attitudes towards homosexual men and women.

While gender harassment is considered to be a type of sexual harassment (Waldo et al., 1998), for lay people telling somebody "you are stupid like all men" might be considered to be offensive, but not necessarily to be SH. Separation of sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention from gender harassment is visible from the factor analysis described above. The possibility that gender harassment is not considered to be SH, is further supported when looking at means for the categorization of the behaviors as SH. While sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention are considered to constitute SH by the

Polish sample, just like in the studies carried out in the USA, the categorization of gender harassment as SH appeared to be more complicated. This particular category of SH was created basing on the answers provided to open-ended questions about SH (Till, 1980, in Gelfand et al., 1995; Waldo et al., 1998; Berdahl et al., 1996), i.e. when both women and men were asked to write down their SH experiences or behaviors that they think constitute SH - they noted those kinds of gender harassment behaviors. Conversely, in a questionnaire study (Runtz and O'Donnell, 2003) the questions that mirror the present "gender harassment" category were also not perceived as SH by the American participants. It seems that while gender harassment is definitely considered to be a type of SH by those who deal with it in a scientific manner (and by the American law), the perception by lay people differs depending on how the question is asked, with the result that in some American studies gender harassment is considered SH, and in others – like in my study - it is not.

Moreover, enforcement of the gender role was seen as SH to a larger extent when the victim was female, which is especially interesting in view of the fact that this SH category was first introduced to describe the SH of men and that male participants usually seem more upset by this type of SH than the female participants. As for sexual coercion it was categorized as SH to the same degree irrespectively of the sex of the victim and the perpetrator, except among male participants with negative attitudes towards homosexual men and women. For those participants sexual coercion was categorized as SH to a larger extent in same-sex SH cases than in opposite-sex SH cases.

Perceived stress of the victim. The evaluation of the victim's stress, in increasing order was: lewd comments ($M = 4.85$, $SD = 1.10$), enforcement of a

gender role ($M = 4.89$, $SD = 1.23$), negative gender related remarks ($M = 5.01$, $SD = 1.26$), unwanted sexual attention ($M = 6.17$, $SD = 0.05$), sexual coercion ($M = 6.67$, $SD = 0.67$). The results of a series of Wilcoxon signed-rank tests showed that negative gender remarks, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion differed significantly from each other, while lewd comments and enforcement of gender role were seen to cause the same amount of stress. The medians are presented in Table 2.

Table 2.
Medians for the perceived stress of the victim (Study 1)

Lewd comments	Negative gender remarks	Enforcement of gender role	Unwanted sexual attention	Sexual coercion
4.90 _a	5.20 _b	5.00 _{ac}	6.40 _d	7.00 _e

Note. Medians that do not share the same index are significantly different at $p < .01$ (Wilcoxon signed-rank test)

Again, I conducted a 2x2 MANCOVA (victim's sex and perpetrator's sex as independent variables, participant's sex and attitudes towards homosexual men and women as covariates) for the perceived stress of the victim. With the use of Pillai's trace, I found the sex of the victim to influence the perceived level of stress s/he experiences due to gender harassment $V = .10$, $F(3, 368) = 14.98$, $p < .001$. Separate ANCOVAs showed this effect to be significant for all types of gender harassment and pattern of means was as expected, showing the female victim to be perceived as suffering more stress due to the event than the male victim. The exact means and test statistics are presented in Table 3.

Table 3.
Perceived stress of the victim depending on the sex of the victim (Study 1)

	Victim		<i>F</i> (1, 379)	<i>d</i>
	Female <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Male <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)		
lewd comments	5.05 (1.06)	4.66 (1.11)	7.66**	0.35
negative gender remarks	5.45 (1.19)	4.60 (1.16)	42.35*	0.72
enforcement of gender role	5.24 (1.14)	4.56 (1.22)	27.25*	0.57

* $p < .001$

** $p < .01$

Once again, I was unable to use parametric tests to analyze results for unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion, due to violation of the tests' assumptions. As such, I conducted Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance by ranks with perception of victim's stress as dependent variable, and sex of the victim and sex of the perpetrator as one independent variable with four levels. For the perceived stress in case of unwanted sexual attention the result of the Kruskal-Wallis test showed no difference depending on the sex of the victim or perpetrator $H(3) = 2.71, p = .43$. For sexual coercion I found a similar pattern of results as in the case of categorization as SH. With the use of a Kruskal-Wallis test I found that the sex of the victim and the perpetrator did not influence the perception of the victim's stress $H(3) = 3.39, p = .35$. However, after splitting the data based on participant's sex and attitudes towards homosexual men and women, there were significant differences for the men with negative attitudes $H(3) = 9.54, p = .01$ (CI for sig. from .01 to .02). Further analyses showed that sexual coercion was perceived as more stressful to a woman when she was

harassed by a woman ($Mdn = 7.00$) than to a man when he was harassed by a woman ($Mdn = 6.75$) $U = 130.50$, $r = -.34$, $p = .02$.

Overall, all types of SH were seen as causing a certain level of stress, however in case of “milder” forms of SH, i.e. in case of gender harassment, the participants clearly thought that the female victims were more stressed than the male victims. As for the cases of sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention, there were no differences in evaluation between a male and a female victim. However, male participants with negative attitudes towards homosexual men and women, evaluated a victim harassed by a person of the same sex as more stressed than a person harassed by an opposite sex perpetrator.

Perceived morality of the perpetrator. Comparing the means for the perceived morality of the perpetrator showed that the perpetrator of enforcement of gender role was seen as the most moral ($M = 3.32$, $SD = 1.25$), followed by perpetrators who expressed negative gender remarks ($M = 2.77$, $SD = 1.11$), lewd comments ($M = 2.60$, $SD = 0.95$), unwanted sexual attention ($M = 1.83$, $SD = 0.95$), sexual coercion ($M = 1.37$, $SD = 0.96$). The results of a series of Wilcoxon signed-rank tests showed that all perceived morality scores differ from each other. The medians are presented in Table 4.

Table 4.
Medians for the perceived morality of the perpetrator (Study 1)

Lewd comments	Negative gender remarks	Enforcement of gender role	Unwanted sexual attention	Sexual coercion
2.60 _a	2.80 _b	3.40 _c	1.60 _d	1.00 _e

Note. Medians that do not share the same index are significantly different at $p < .01$ (Wilcoxon signed-rank test)

With a 2x2 MANCOVA (sex of the victim and sex of the perpetrator as independent variables, participant's sex and attitudes towards homosexual men

and women as covariates) I found main effects of the victim's sex on the perceived morality of the perpetrator for gender harassment, using Pillai's trace: $V = .23$, $F(3, 368) = 36.97$, $p < .001$. Separate ANCOVAs showed it to be significant only for negative gender remarks and enforcement of gender role. In both cases the perpetrator of SH on a female was considered to be less moral than a perpetrator on a male. The exact means and test statistics are presented in Table 5.

Table 5.
Means and standard deviations for the perceived morality of the perpetrator depending on the sex of the victim (Study 1)

	Victim		<i>F</i> (1, 370)	<i>d</i>
	Female <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Male <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)		
lewd comments	2.54 (1.00)	2.66 (0.89)	1.96	0.12
negative gender remarks	2.40 (1.05)	3.14 (1.05)	39.40*	0.70
enforcement of gender role	2.76 (1.14)	3.89 (1.11)	84.78*	1.00

* $p < .001$

In order to test the influence of the victim's and perpetrator's sex on the perception of the perpetrator's morality, I conducted Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance by ranks with perception of perpetrator's morality as dependent variable, and sex of the victim and sex of the perpetrator as one independent variable with four levels. For the perceived morality in case of unwanted sexual attention the result of the Kruskal-Wallis test showed no difference depending on the sex of the victim or perpetrator $H(3) = 3.32$, $p = .34$. Similarly, I found no differences for the perception of the perpetrator's

morality in case of sexual coercion $H(3) = 1.59, p = .66$. I also found no differences in perception of the perpetrator's morality depending on the sex and attitudes of the participants.

As expected, the sex of the victim (rather than of the perpetrator) influenced the perception of the perpetrator's morality in case of negative gender remarks and enforcement of gender role. However, I found no such differences for the other types of SH – lewd comments, unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion. Once again, this result seems interesting when taking into consideration that negative gender remarks and enforcement of gender role were originally conceptualized as types of SH with men in mind, and in real life it is the male SH victims that experience this type of harassment more often than women and who experience it more often than other types of SH.

Discussion

The first study showed that among Polish students, male SH suffering was minimized in the case of “milder” forms of SH, i.e. gender harassment. While the three types of gender harassment were not considered to constitute SH at all, the perception of the stress it caused to the victim and the perception of the perpetrator was rather straightforward. Both when analyzing same- and opposite- sex gender harassment, it was the sex of the victim, rather than the sex of the perpetrator, that influenced the perceived stress of the victim and the perceived morality of the perpetrator. It showed that SH of a male was minimized in two ways: by assuming that the female victim suffered more than a male victim (irrespective of the perpetrator's sex) and by evaluating the perpetrator of gender harassment on a male as less immoral than the perpetrator

of gender harassment on a female. This result is especially interesting, in view of the studies conducted by Waldo et al. (1998) in which the two types of gender harassment (enforcement of gender role and negative gender remarks) were first described in order to better capture SH of men and that it was those two types of SH that men in their studies found to be especially upsetting. The other types of SH, i.e., unwanted sexual attention and the two types of sexual coercion, were perceived by the participants to definitely constitute SH.

However I did not find such straight answers and clear confirmations of my hypothesis that (1) when the victim is male the act is categorized as SH to a lesser degree than when the victim is female, (2) the male victim is perceived to be less stressed by the acts than the female victim, and (3) the perpetrator of the act on a man is perceived as less immoral than the perpetrator of the act on a woman.

Most importantly, I noticed that the attitudes towards homosexual men and women play an important role when evaluating sexually-related behaviors, especially when it comes to men evaluating male on male SH. Homosexuality in general and male homosexuality in particular is frowned upon in Poland, where homophobic attitudes are quite common, are often openly expressed and are not punishable in any way. This was clearly visible during the political debates of 2012 and early 2013 on civil partnership laws, during which some politicians made numerous homophobic statements which were not considered to be a fault and which did not cause them to lose their places in the parliament. It was also during this period that Lech Walesa, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, said that homosexual politicians should “sit behind a wall”, a remark which was met with applause and letters of support from politicians, businessmen and some other

prominent members of Polish society. From a more scientific perspective, experimental research showed that Polish men touched on a shoulder by another man, compared to women touched by a woman or a man, or men touched by a woman, are less likely to comply with small requests like posting an already stamped letter, buying an incense stick for the equivalent of \$1.50, or volunteering 20 minutes to act as a referee for a children's soccer tournament, and that this effect is explained by the negative attitudes towards homosexual men (Dolinski, 2010).

Taken together, this is why those results that show men with negative attitudes towards homosexuality to emerge as a separate group, in opposition to men with positive attitudes towards homosexuality and to women, comes as no surprise. While the other three groups do not seem to distinguish between male and female victims when evaluating whether a behavior constitutes SH, the men with negative attitudes towards homosexuality provide an effect that shows the importance of the perpetrator's sex, or rather the importance of its interaction with the sex of the victim. Moreover, in the case of sexual coercion they perceived a man harassed by a man to be more stressed than a woman harassed by a man, and a woman harassed by a woman to be more stressed than man harassed by a woman while the participants without negative attitudes to homosexuality did not see the difference. Although it is easy to understand that a woman as a perpetrator of sexual coercion on a man seems to cause less stress than a man in the same position, it is interesting that this pattern is obtained only for the men who have negative attitudes towards homosexuality.

The aim of this study was to analyze how the sex of victims and perpetrators of SH influences the categorization of an act as SH, perception of

the victim's stress and perception of the perpetrator's morality. I hypothesized that (1) when the victim is male the act is categorized as SH to a smaller degree than when the victim is female; and this hypothesis was only partially supported. When the victim was female only the enforcement of gender role was categorized as SH more than when the victim was male. While in case of sexual coercion, for men with negative attitudes towards homosexuality, the act was categorized as SH more for same-sex victim and perpetrator, than for the opposite sex victim and perpetrator. Further, I suspected that (2) the male victim is perceived to be less stressed by the acts than the female victim; this hypothesis turned out to be supported for all three types of gender harassment. However, for sexual coercion, among men with negative attitudes towards homosexual men and women, the situation was perceived as more stressful in case of same-sex and not opposite-sex harassment. Finally, (3) the perpetrator of the act on a man is perceived as less immoral than the perpetrator of the act on a woman – this hypothesis was supported only in case of enforcement of gender role and negative gender remarks.

I must note certain flaws in the design of the study. The study was conducted in Polish and I asked the participants to evaluate to what degree each of the behaviors constituted sexual harassment (*molestowanie seksualne* in Polish). I did not provide the participants with any definition of SH (unlike in the Runtz and O'Donnell (2003)) and the word "sexual" in the Polish language only has the connotation that is related to having sex and not to one's biological sex/ gender. It is possible that had I asked about sexual/ gender discrimination or informed the participants that forms of gender discrimination can be considered to be sexual harassment their answers to this particular question

might have been different.

Secondly, I believe the answers to all three questions would have been different if, instead of providing the participants with a 0 (not at all) to 7 (totally) scale, they had been provided with a yes/no scale and a separate “to what degree” (4 to 7) scale for those participants who answered “yes”. This way the distribution of the answers might have been less skewed to the left.

CHAPTER 3.

Studies 2 and 3. Social perception of victims and perpetrators of opposite-sex coercion

The first study showed that only sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention are categorized as SH by the Polish population studied, and at the same time gender harassment, while perceived as stressful and immoral, is not seen as SH. As such, I decided to concentrate further research on those two types of SH²³. The aim of Study 2 and Study 3 was to see how perpetrators of sexual coercion (SC) acts are perceived and what is the perceived influence of SC on its victims in more complex cases. The main hypothesis proposed for both of the studies were that

- (1) Male victims of SH are perceived to suffer less from SH than female victims of SH (Studies 2 and 3),
- (2) Perpetrators of SH on men are perceived less negatively than perpetrators of SH on women (Studies 2 and 3),
- (3) Male victims are perceived to see SH in a less negative way than female victims (Study 3).

Both in Study 2 and Study 3, the description of SH included more information about the victim and the perpetrator than the one-sentence long descriptions from Study 1. However, in Studies 2 and 3, I only used opposite-sex examples of SC and the descriptions of the cases were clear-cut, showing examples of SC without previous or concurrent acts of unwanted sexual attention. An additional aim of Study 3 was to replicate the results of Study 2 in a more balanced sample and to answer some of the questions raised by the results of Study 2.

I wanted to explore whether the minimization of male suffering can be also observed when the coercion does not concern sexual behaviors. It seems

²³ Studies 2 and 3 concern only sexual coercion, while Studies 4 and 5 concern unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion

probable that the male suffering is minimized independently of the type of aggression. As such, in Study 3, I compared perceptions of not only sexual but also financial coercion (extortion). Consequently, Study 3 was supposed to answer the following questions:

- (1) Are female victims of different types of coercion perceived to suffer more than male victims?
- (2) Is the minimization of male suffering specific to SH, or is it also observable for other types of transgressions whose victims are men?

Study 2. The effects of victim's sex on perceptions of his/her suffering and on the characteristics of the perpetrator in opposite-sex sexual coercion

Method

The sample included 154 participants (37 men and 117 women) recruited through the internet. Due to a large difference in the number of men and women in the sample I decided to analyze the two groups separately. Mean age for the whole group was 36.77 ($SD = 14.00$). The majority (76.6%) had higher education, 20% had high school education, and the rest of the participants had either primary or vocational education. Mean age among women was 37.43 years ($SD = 12.83$) and among men 35.72 ($SD = 16.33$); the distribution of education for men and women separately was the same as for the whole group.

The study was carried out in Polish. In the first part of the study the participants were asked to state their sex, age and education. Next, they were randomly assigned to read one of two vignettes which described a young person (a man or a woman) during an internship. In one version the supervisor was male and the intern was female (M on F) and in the second one, the supervisor

was female and the intern was male (F on M). The intern knew s/he might be hired after the internship and when the decision day came, as his/her supervisor informed him/her that s/he will be offered a permanent job if s/he agrees to have sex with the supervisor. Subsequently, the participants were asked to fill out one of the measures indicating how the event influenced the victim's well-being. Because the measures I used are long, each participant was assigned randomly to one of four subgroups to fill out one of the measures used to evaluate the perceived distress of the victim. As this was a second study of a planned larger project, I was looking to learn which symptoms of human suffering differentiate best between male and female victims. Thus I decided to use and test different outcome variables concerning perceived depression, anxiety, or somatic symptoms. Dividing the sample into 4 subgroups lowered the statistical power of the results, and created very small subsamples (especially of male participants) but this way I was hoping to gain a more detailed insight into how the victim's suffering is perceived.

The first group received an inventory based on a modified version of the *Beck Depression Inventory* (BDI) in order to measure perceived intensity of numerous depression symptoms. The scale (Appendix 3) consisted of 21 items, each describing a depressive symptom with four levels of intensity. The items were changed so that the participants were not responding to how they themselves feel, but rather to how the described person feels. The participants were asked to estimate to what degree did they think the intern described in the vignette experienced each of the symptoms. The answers in the inventory range from 0 (*does not have this symptom at all*) to 3 (*high severity*), i.e. *She does not feel sad (0); He is so sad or unhappy that he can't stand it (3)*. The final score

was obtained by adding points of all the items. 38 women and 7 men filled out this scale; Cronbach's alpha for female participants was 0.89 and for male participants 0.67.

The second group received a modified version of the *Hopkins Symptom Checklist-25* (HSCL; Appendix 4) to measure perceived anxiety symptoms (10 items), depressive symptoms (13 items) and somatic symptoms (2 items). The original scale was adjusted so that the participants responded to the perceived influence of the event on the intern described in the vignette. Examples of items used in the study include: *She experiences spells of terror or panic* (anxiety), *He feels low in energy, slowed down* (depression), *She has poor appetite* (somatic). Each item was scored on a 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*) scale and for each of the subscales, the average was computed. 27 women and 9 men filled out this scale; Cronbach's alpha among women, for anxiety was 0.96, for depression: 0.99, for somatic symptoms: .0.60; and for men (respectively): 0.97; 0.99; 0.56.

The third group received a modified version of the *WHO- 5 Wellbeing Index* (WHO; Appendix 5) - a short version of WHO Wellbeing Questionnaire in order to measure the perceived well-being of the victim. It consisted of five items concerning positive wellbeing (2 items), energy (2 items) and anxiety (1 item, reversed scoring); once again the items were rephrased, so that the participants' responses concerned the described person's well-being. Examples are: *He is happy, satisfied, or pleased with personal life*; *She is energetic, active and vigorous*. Each statement was scored on a 6-point scale, ranging from *all the time* (5) to *never* (0). The result was obtained by adding up the scores for all items, giving possible range of 0 to 25 and with a high score being indicative of high well-being. 32 women and 8 men filled out this scale; Cronbach's alpha

was 0.96 for the female and 0.92 for the male sample. I also used the *Mississippi PTSD Scale-Civilian* (PTSD), but due to an error of the website used to distribute the study, the scores were not recorded and as such I do not have the results for this scale.

All of the participants responded on a scale from 1 to 7 to a list of eight adjectives (Kosakowska, 2006) to evaluate the perpetrator's perceived morality, competence, liking and respect (Appendix 6). Cronbach's alphas for male and female participants for this measure were relatively low (the majority around 0.51), consequently I decided to analyze the adjectives in groups of four, i.e. honest, moral, nice and likable – creating a morality and likability score and talented, resourceful, respectable and admired – creating a competence and respect score. Cronbach's alphas for the female participants were acceptable (both alphas = 0.6) and good for the male participants (morality and likability alpha = 0.90; competence and respect alpha = 0.78)

I recruited participants through Polish internet forums and emailing lists where I informed them that a study on perceptions of SH was being conducted and that their participation would be appreciated and asked them to snowball this request to their acquaintances. With this information, I provided the participants with a website link to the online study. All of the participants were presented with the materials and filled out the measures in the following order: questions on sex, age and education, one randomly assigned version of the vignette, one randomly assigned measure of victim's well-being (BDI, HSCL, WHO or PTSD) and the scale to evaluate the perpetrator. The four questionnaire groups did not significantly differ in terms of age $F(3, 149) = .26; ns$ ($M_{BDI} = 35.27; M_{HSCL} = 37.36; M_{WHO} = 36.90; M_{PTSD} = 38.07$), male-to-female ratio $\chi^2(3)$

= 6.38; *ns* (percentage of women for BDI = 85.4; HSCL = 72.5; WHO = 78.6, PTSD = 72.5), or education $\chi^2(15) = 10.30$; *ns*.

Results

Perception of the Victim's Suffering

Due to violation of the parametric assumptions for some of the dependent variables and because of small sample sizes, I decided to conduct a series of Mann-Whitney tests, separately for male and female participants. Similar analysis carried out separately for different age and education groups showed that those two variables did not differentiate significantly between the participants.

I tested the first hypothesis that male victims of SH are perceived to suffer less from SH than female victims of SH using a series of Mann-Whitney tests, with the sex of the victim as the independent variable and in subsequent analysis: depression, anxiety, somatic symptoms, well-being as dependent variables. As the sample sizes for each of the outcome variables were extremely small, I report the exact significance values, rather than the asymptotic ones. Among the female participants, there was a significant difference in perception of the victim's suffering depending on the sex on the BDI measure. The female participants evaluated the female victim as suffering significantly more from depressive symptoms than the male victim. However, for the HSCL and WHO-5 questions, the female participants did not distinguish between male and female victims. The exact statistics for all effects, together with effect sizes, median and mean range values are presented in Table 6.

Among the male participants, there was a significant difference for perceived anxiety, somatic symptoms and general well-being. They perceived the female

victim as having more symptoms of anxiety and more somatic symptoms as well as worse general well-being than a male victim. The exact statistics for all effects, together with effect sizes, median and mean range values are presented in Table 7.

Table 6.
Perceived suffering of the victim depending on the sex of the victim
(Study 2) – female participants

	Victim		<i>U</i>	<i>r</i>
	Female <i>Median</i> (<i>Mean range</i>)	Male <i>Median</i> (<i>Mean range</i>)		
Beck Depression Inventory	12.00 (23.63)	6.50 (15.84)	95.50*	0.35
HSCL – anxiety	3.30 (15.39)	2.60 (12.29)	69.50	0.19
HSCL – somatic symptoms	3.50 (14.83)	3.00 (12.96)	77.50	0.11
HSCL – depressive symptoms	3.16 (14.77)	2.58 (13.04)	78.50	0.10
WHO Well Being Scale	6.00 (17.25)	1.50 (15.25)	105.00	0.10

* $p < .05$ (exact sig.)

Table 7.
Perceived suffering of the victim depending on the sex of the victim
(Study 2) – male participants

	Victim		<i>U</i>	<i>r</i>
	Female <i>Median</i> (<i>Mean range</i>)	Male <i>Median</i> (<i>Mean range</i>)		
Beck Depression Inventory	13.00 (3.75)	12.50 (3.00)	3.00	0.20
HSCL – anxiety	3.15 (7.00)	1.10 (3.40)	2.00**	0.65
HSCL – somatic symptoms	3.75 (7.50)	2.00 (3.00)	0.00*	0.82
HSCL – depressive symptoms	3.08 (6.75)	1.25 (3.60)	3.00	0.57
WHO Well Being Scale	8.00 (3.50)	21.50 (7.50)	0.00**	0.70

* $p < .01$ (exact sig.)

** $p < .07$ (exact sig.)

As predicted, sex of the victim influenced the perception of their suffering. I observed that all of the scales measuring perceptions of the victim's suffering overall showed results consistent with the hypothesis, i.e. a female victim was perceived to suffer more than a male victim. However, men and women differed in the kinds of distress they attributed more to women.

Perception of the Perpetrator's Characteristics

As the perception variables were not normally distributed, I conducted a set of Mann-Whitney U tests to test the hypothesis that perpetrators of SH on men are evaluated less negatively than perpetrators of SH on women separately for male and female participants. In both analyses the victim's (perpetrator's)

sex was introduced as an independent variable; and morality/likability and competence/respect were consecutively used as dependent measures. I also checked that the scale filled out as the first measure (BDI, HSCL, WHO, PTSD), as well as participant's age or education did not influence further responses.

For the female participants I found significant differences concerning the perception of the perpetrator's characteristics. In case of the male participants, I found no significant differences in their perception of the perpetrator as a function of his/her sex. The exact statistics for all effects, together with effect sizes, median and mean range values are presented in Table 8. As expected, the women perceived the male perpetrator who sexually harassed a female as significantly less moral/likable and competent/respectable than a female perpetrator who sexually harassed a male.

Table 8.
Perception of the perpetrator, depending on the sex of the victim (Study 2)

		Perpetrator		<i>U</i>	<i>r</i>
		Male <i>Median</i> (<i>Mean</i> <i>range</i>)	Female <i>Median</i> (<i>Mean</i> <i>range</i>)		
Female participants	moral/ likable	1.25 (42.65)	1.75 (62.71)	806.00*	0.34
	competent/r espectable	2.50 (42.74)	3.00 (59.61)	823.00**	0.29
Male participants	moral/ likable	2.37 (8.38)	2.25 (7.57)	25.00	0.08
	competent/r espectable	3.75 (10.44)	2.62 (6.56)	16.50	0.40

* $p < .001$

** $p < .01$

Discussion

The second study gives overall support to the hypothesis that the suffering of male victims of SH is minimized. Firstly, a male victim is perceived to suffer less than a female victim, although I observed differences between male and female participants in what kind of suffering they attribute to a female victim. According to female participants, a female victim is expected to experience more depression, while the male participants see a female victim as suffering more from anxiety, somatic symptoms and as suffering generally lower well-being following the assault. Secondly, the hypothesis that the perpetrators of SH on men are perceived less negatively than perpetrators of SH on women is supported in female but not in male participants. A male perpetrator who sexually harasses a woman is seen as less moral and likable as well as less competent and respectable than a male perpetrator who harasses a woman.

While the above results give general support to my hypotheses that male suffering is minimized by both men and women, and that perpetrators of women are more negatively evaluated (at least by women), several questions remain unanswered. For example, there was a relatively low number of men in the sample, which may explain the failure to obtain some of the predicted results in men. Because of these concerns, in the following study I sampled a larger number of men. In addition, in Study 3, I focused on selected measures of perceived suffering, using five items based on the Beck Depression Inventory to measure perceived depression symptoms and four items from the HCSL to measure perceived somatic symptoms of the victim. I chose the items that

distinguished well between male and female victims and had higher response rates, indicating that they were easier for participants to answer (i.e. where large numbers of responses were not omitted by a large number of participants who raised concern that they were unable to imagine an answer to the items).

One interpretation of the present results is that they illustrate a general tendency to perceive male and female actors differently: namely, to see female victims as more fragile than male victims, and to see male perpetrators on females in a more negative light than female perpetrators on males. This raises a question: are female victims generally perceived as more fragile than male victims? Are male perpetrators of assault generally perceived in a more negative light than female perpetrators? In addition: Is the minimization of male suffering specific to SH or does it occur in other types of assaults? In the next study I wanted to explore whether this trend is specific to SH or it is observable in other, non-sexual, types of assault such as financial extortion, thus suggesting that male suffering is generally minimized whatever the kind of assault.

Therefore, in the third study I decided to compare perceptions of sexual and financial coercion (extortion) in a similar work setting. Given that extortion is an act of acquiring goods or services through a threat, intimidation or a different form of pressure (Urdang & Flexner, 1969), we can say that SH of the sexual coercion type can be perceived to be a specific form of extortion, as it is an act of acquiring sexual favors by threatening a person's position in a workplace; and that financial extortion is a form of coercion where the same (dis)incentives are used to acquire money. With that in mind, for the third study I decided to compare perceptions of victims and perpetrators in comparable cases of sexual coercion (SC) and financial coercion (FC). In both cases the

consequences for the victim were the same: failure to comply with the perpetrator's demand meant that the victim will not get employed at the company after a period of internship.

Study 3. The effects of type of coercion and victim's sex on the perception of victim's suffering and the perception of the perpetrator's characteristics

Method

The participants in the third study $N = 201$ were Polish psychology ($n = 120$) and civil engineering ($n = 81$) students with a mean age of 20.26 ($SD = 1.32$). The sample consisted of 134 women and 57 men, and 10 participants did not state their sex. I collected the data in lecture halls during class: after obtaining the permission from the lecturer, I asked students to fill out the questionnaires at the beginning of their class. The participants were randomly assigned to one of four vignettes which described an intern. The story used for SH conditions was exactly the same as in Study 2, however, as mentioned above, I added two FC conditions. Assuming that SH might be considered to be a type of extortion ("you will get this job if you have sex with me"), the control conditions described the same situation with one sentence changed. Namely, at the end of the internship, the young person was informed by his/her supervisor that s/he can get the job if he pays him/her ("you will get this job if you pay me"). This resulted in four conditions: male on female SC, female on male SC, male on female financial coercion (FC) and female on male FC.

After reading the vignette, participants filled out a number of measures. To measure perceived depression I used five modified items inspired by the Beck Depression Inventory, namely (end of scale items): *S/he is so sad and unhappy that s/he can't stand it; S/he feels irritated all the time; S/he has lost all*

interest in other people; S/he believes that s/he looks ugly; S/he has lost interest in sex completely. Each item was scored on a scale from 0 (*does not have this symptom*) to 3; to obtain the overall depression score, the values were summed. Cronbach's alpha for the scale was 0.70. For the perceived somatic symptoms I used four items from the HCSL: [s/he has] *headaches; difficulty falling asleep or staying asleep; poor appetite;* and [s/he] *feels tense or keyed up.* Each item was scored on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*) and the average overall score was computed from all the items. Cronbach's alpha for somatic symptoms was 0.83.

To measure the event perception I asked participants to rate how the event can be perceived by the victim. I presented them with a list of adjectives and their oppositions, for example: *not scary – scary, not irritating – irritating, not flattering – flattering,* that were evaluated on a 7-point scale (Appendix 7). Exploratory factor analysis showed a three factor solution. The first factor consists of two items: *frightening and threatening* (Cronbach's alpha = 0.57) and it is hereinafter referred to as "scary"; the other two factors are: "painful" (5 items, ex. *painful, harsh, unpleasant;* Cronbach's alpha = 0.75) and "offensive" (5 items, ex. *offensive, irritating,* Cronbach's alpha = 0.70). Additionally, as in the previous study, I used a scale to measure perceived morality, competence, liking and respect of the victim and the perpetrator (Kosakowska, 2006; Appendix 6). As in the previous study, the Cronbach's alphas were not satisfactory for the majority of subscales. As such, I created a morality/likability and competence/respect scores like in Study 2 for both the perpetrator and the victim. However, for the competence/respect I only used three items (*talented, respectable, worthy of admiration*) in order to increase the reliability of this

score. Moreover, in an open-ended question I asked the participants to suggest a prison sentence in years for the perpetrator as an indicator of the perceived seriousness of the offence and to label the act that the perpetrator committed. As for the label that the participants gave to the offence, they grouped into five categories which I dummy coded: mentions SH – 36 cases vs does not mention SH – 165 cases overall (36 cases mentions SH and 66 does not mention SH in the SH condition; nobody mentions SH in the extortion condition), in order to see if the sex of the victim influenced the labeling of the act as SH.

Participants were presented with the materials and filled out the measures in the following order: questions on sex and age, one randomly assigned version of the vignette, evaluation of the victim, depression, somatic symptoms, event perception, evaluation of the perpetrator, prison sentence, labeling of the act.

Results

Perception of the Victim's Suffering and Evaluation of the Offense

In order to test whether the perception of the victims' suffering depended on their or their perpetrator's sex, I conducted two 2x2x2 (victim's sex x type of coercion x participant's sex) ANCOVAs with perceived depression and somatic symptoms as dependent variables and participants' age and major (civil engineering/ psychology) as covariates. I found as predicted that the victim's sex affected perceptions of the victim's suffering. The exact F statistics as well as means and standard deviations are presented in Table 9. A female victim was evaluated as suffering more both from depression and from somatic symptoms than a male victim. In addition, unlike Study 2, the participants' sex did not influence the perceived depression and somatic symptoms of the victim; both

male and female participants thought a female victim suffered to a larger extent than a male victim.

Further, I wanted to find out if the victim's sex influences how s/he is perceived to see the offense and the evaluation of the victim. I therefore conducted two 2x2x2 MANCOVAs with sex of the participants, the type of coercion and the sex of the victim as independent variables, participants' age and their major as covariates, and as dependent variables – in the first analysis - the evaluation of the victim and in the second analysis - the perception of the event by the victim. I found no main effects of the victim's sex on evaluation of the victim with respect to their perceived morality/likability and competence/respect, showing that both the male and the female victims were perceived in the same way on these dimensions of social perception. However, I found a significant effect of the victim's sex on the perception of the event using Pillai's trace ($V = .14$, $F(3, 173) = 9.74$; $p < .001$), and separate ANCOVAs showed that the female victim was perceived as seeing both SC and FC as more scary, as more painful and as more offensive than the male victim²⁴. The exact F statistics as well as means and standard deviations are presented in Table 9.

²⁴ I also found a significant main effect of the type of offense, which showed SC to be seen as less painful and less offensive than FC. This result is consistent with another study (Studzinska, unpublished data) carried out comparing SH to FC, where FC is seen as more abusive offence than SH across different dependent variables. Both SH and FC were perceived by the participants to be equally likely to occur, as such, I do not fully understand the source of this result. Moreover, I found the sex of the participants to influence the perception of respect, talent and resourcefulness of the victim, such that women evaluated the victim higher than men and for the evaluation of the event as scary and offensive, such that women though the event to be more offensive and scary. However, this results are not my main point of interest, thus I do not discuss them further.

Table 9.
Perceived suffering of the victim of sexual harassment or extortion
depending on the sex of the victim (Study 3)

	Victim		<i>F</i>	<i>d</i>
	Female <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Male <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)		
depression	9.25 (2.57)	8.12 (3.01)	$F(1, 175) = 5.55^{**}$	0.40
somatic symptoms	3.31 (0.90)	3.05 (0.89)	$F(1, 175) = 4.33^{***}$	0.29
scary	5.58 (1.18)	5.17 (1.22)	$F(1, 175) = 6.23^{**}$	0.34
painful	5.89 (0.87)	5.17 (1.15)	$F(1, 175) = 27.03^*$	0.70
offensive	6.32 (0.79)	5.81 (1.10)	$F(1, 175) = 14.83^*$	0.53

* $p < .001$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .05$

There was also a significant interaction effect of victim's sex and the type of coercion ($V = 0.5$, $F(3, 173) = 3.08$, $p = .02$) on the perception of the event as painful and offensive. Separate ANCOVAs showed the interaction for perceived painfulness to be significant ($F(1, 175) = 9.01$, $p = .003$) and there was an almost significant interaction effect for the perception of the event as offensive ($F(1, 175) = 3.17$, $p = .07$). Interestingly, the simple effect analysis showed sexual coercion to be perceived as more painful and offensive to a female than to a male victim (respectively: $F(1, 175) = 31.07$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.14$ and $F(1, 175) = 14.66$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.67$), while financial extortion was equally painful and offensive to both a male and a female victim. The interactions are presented in Figure 2.

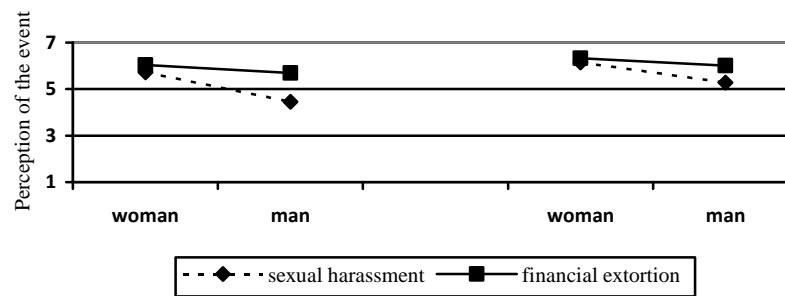


Figure 2. Perceived painfulness (left panel) and offensiveness (right panel) of the event: interaction effects of the type of offence and victim's sex (Study 3). *Note.* The differences are significant for sexual harassment and non-significant for financial extortion.

In order to see if the labeling of SH differs depending on the sex of the victim, I conducted chi square analysis on the dummy coded SH labeling variable. The analysis showed that there is no statistically significant difference in labeling SH as SH depending on the sex of the victim $\chi^2(1) = .406, p = .32$. SH on a woman was labeled as SH 20 times and on a man – 16 times. It is interesting that the majority of participants (165) did not label an act of sexual coercion as SH, especially since it seems to be a prototypical type of SH.

Perception of the Perpetrator's Characteristics

For the perception of the perpetrator, no dependent variables met the requirements to run parametric tests. As such, I used the Kruskal-Wallis test with the victim's sex and the type of offence as one variable with four levels and the perceived morality/likability and competence/respect as dependent variables. I followed it up with Mann-Whitney tests to which I applied a Bonferroni correction, i.e. effects are considered significant only at a .01 level of significance.

I found no significant differences in the perception of the perpetrator's morality/likability depending on the sex of the victim and the type of offence

($H(3) = 4.27, p = .23$). However, the perceived competence/respect was influenced by the sex of the victim and the type of the offence ($H(3) = 12.26, p = .007$). The follow up Mann-Whitney tests showed there was no difference in the evaluation of the perpetrator depending on the sex of the victim in case of financial extortion ($U = 1065.00, r = 0.11, p = 0.26$). Although there was a significant difference in evaluation of the perpetrator in case of SH ($U = 793.50, r = 0.32, p < .001$), such that when the victim was female the perpetrator was seen as less competent/respectable ($Mdn = 2.33, \text{Mean range} = 41.56$) than when the victim was male ($Mdn = 2.66, \text{Mean range} = 60.63$).²⁵ Finally, the suggested prison sentence was influenced by experimental condition $H(3) = 12.67, p = .005$. The Mann-Whitney test showed that the female perpetrator of SC on a male was given less years of prison ($Mdn = 1.00, \text{mean range} = 39.35$) than the male perpetrator of SC on a female ($Mdn = 3.00, \text{mean range} = 59.65$) $U = 703.00, r = -0.36, p < .001$; while the sentence given to the perpetrator of FC on a male ($Mdn = 2.00, \text{mean range} = 45.98$) and on a female ($Mdn = 2.00, \text{mean range} = 48.96$) did not differ significantly $U = 1034.00, r = -0.05$.

Discussion

In this study I replicated the major results of Study 2. First, I replicated the minimization of male suffering effect by showing that the female victim of sexual coercion by a male is perceived to have more depressive and somatic symptoms than the male victim of a female. Importantly, using a larger sample of men in Study 3, I showed that this effect can be detected in male as well as in female participants. Second, I showed that a female perpetrator of sexual coercion on a male is seen as more competent/respected than a male perpetrator

²⁵ I also compared SHed women to FCed women, and SHed men to FCed men and found no significant differences

on a female. Third, I showed that sexual coercion committed on a woman is perceived to be a more serious offense than sexual coercion committed on a man, and is perceived as more scary, painful and offensive by the victim, and warranting greater punishment for the perpetrator. In addition, Study 3 extends the findings of Study 2 by showing that women are also perceived to suffer more than men from financial coercion and that people recommend stronger punishments for male perpetrators of opposite-sex sexual coercion but not of opposite-sex financial coercion and when evaluating perpetrator's characteristics, they differentiate between perpetrator on a male/female in case of SH but not in case of financial extortion.

These data therefore answer the three questions raised as a result of the second study. Firstly, are female victims generally perceived as more fragile than male victims? As shown by the main effects of victim's sex regardless of the type of offense, female victims are perceived to suffer more depression and be more scared than male victims after both SC and FC; although they are seen to find it more painful and offensive than men only in the case of SC.

Secondly, is the minimization of male suffering specific to SH or does it occur in other types of assaults? As stated before, the minimization of male suffering occurs when the male victim is seen as suffering less than the female victim and when the perpetrator of an act on a man is evaluated better than the perpetrator on a woman. This conjunction occurs in this study for both SC and FC. The female victim is seen as suffering more depression and somatic symptoms in both cases and as perceiving the situation as more scary, painful and offensive. A woman who attacks a man is less disrespected and perceived as more competent than a man who attacks a woman. The conjunction is visible for

both SC and FC variables in case of victim perception, but for perpetrator perception it only appears in the SH case. As such, the current state of this research leads me to suggest that the MMS effect might be specific to assaults that involve sexuality, but more research is needed to establish this with certainty.

Thirdly, are male perpetrators generally perceived in a more negative light than female perpetrators? Female perpetrators who assaulted a male are seen as more competent and respectable than male perpetrators who assaulted a female. This conclusion is consistent with other research on women behaving in a counter-stereotypical (or masculine) fashion (ex. Rudman, 1998), who are then perceived as more competent/agentive than men and stereotypically portrayed women. The results indicate that as far as perception goes, male perpetrators of opposite-sex coercion are in fact evaluated more negatively than female perpetrators of opposite-sex coercion. There are also differences in the punishment suggested for male and female perpetrators depending on the act that they committed. A woman who sexually harassed a man is judged to deserve a lower prison sentence than a man who sexually harassed a woman, while the punishment is the same for male and female perpetrators of FC. Nevertheless, for the financial and sexual coercion, in terms of social perception, men as perpetrators are perceived more negatively than women as perpetrators.

Interim Summary

The proposed hypothesis was that the male suffering is minimized in two ways: (1) through perception of the male victims as less influenced by the act of SH than female victims and (2) through perceiving the perpetrators of SH on

men in a better light than perpetrators of SH on women. These two main hypotheses were based on previous research regarding both actual victims of SH and the social perception of victims of SH. Research on real victims of SH with the use of clinical instruments shows that men suffer to the same extent as women as a result of this offence (Settles et al., 2011; Street, Gradus, & Stafford, 2007; Vogt, Pless, King, & King, 2005; Magley, Waldo, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 1999), while the studies conducted on lay people regarding their perception of the victims or their own imagined experience of SH show that they perceive the men to be seen as less affected by it (LaRocca & Kromrey, 1999; Berdahl, Magley, & Waldo, 1996; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1993; McKinney, 1992; Konrad & Gutek, 1986).

This research extends the earlier studies by looking not only at the perceived suffering of victims but also on the social perception of the perpetrators. Additionally, I compared the perception of SH victims to victims of a different type of extortion (i.e. financial, not sexual, coercion) and I looked at the influence of the perpetrator's sex on the perceived suffering of the victim and on the perception of the perpetrator's characteristics. The results of the two studies support the hypothesis that male suffering is minimized in two ways (perception of victim's distress and perception of the perpetrator), not only when it is caused by SH but also when it entails financial extortion. Those studies show that people perceive a man harassed by a woman to suffer less than a woman harassed by a man, and that a woman who harasses a man is evaluated less negatively than a man who harasses a woman. In the next studies, I will try to clarify whether male victims are seen as suffering less due to the fact that they were SH by a woman, or because they are men. Finally, an important

limitation of those two studies is that I only investigated opposite-sex SH. Studies investigating both same- and opposite-sex SH presented in next chapters will bring further clarifications of the role of gender stereotypes in producing the minimization of male suffering phenomenon.

CHAPTER 4.

Studies 4, 5 and 6. The effects of victim's sex on the perception of the victim's suffering and of the perpetrator's characteristics in the same- and opposite-sex SH

The aim of the studies presented in this chapter was to answer the questions raised by the previous studies, as well as to establish whether the obtained effects replicate and whether they are also visible for the same-sex victim and perpetrator of SH. Moreover, the stories used as vignettes in the two previous studies (Study 2 and 3) were created artificially and presented as a clear-cut case of sexual coercion, while usually sexual coercion is preceded by and co-occurs with unwanted sexual attention.

Therefore, in order to increase the realism of the studies, in Study 4 I used a real SH story presented in a newspaper *Głos Wrzesiński* (Szternel, 2010). The used vignette presented a real case of SH of a male-employee by a male-owner of a company and it describes multiple acts of unwanted sexual attention and an example of sexual coercion – promise. In order to carry out the study, I generated three additional versions, so as to obtain four vignettes describing cases of same- and opposite- sex SH.

The aim of Study 5 was to replicate the results of Study 4 with the use of different measures of dependent variables. Once again I used a real case of SH, found in a monograph on SH (LeMoncheck & Sterba, 2001). It described a story of a female bank employee who was sexually harassed by her supervisor over the period of four years. The harassment included both unwanted sexual attention as well as sexual coercion. Again, I modified the original version in order to create four conditions: male on female SH, female on male SH, male on male SH and female on female SH. In this study I introduced new tools to measure dependent variables.

As the two studies did not provide definitive answers to all of the research questions, I decided to carry out another study (Study 6), again

focusing on the same- and opposite- sex SH, using a different story from the LeMoncheck and Sterba (2001) monograph and using new dependent variables. In addition, I tried to find potential mediators of the relationship between the sex of the victim and of the perpetrator, the interaction of the two and evaluation of the victim's suffering and of the perpetrator.

The studies tested the following hypotheses:

1. Male victims of SH are perceived to suffer less from SH than female victims of SH irrespectively of the sex of the perpetrator
- 2A. Perpetrators of SH on men are perceived less negatively than perpetrators of SH on women, OR
- 2B. A female perpetrator is evaluated more positively than a male perpetrator.

Study 4

Method

The participants $N = 221$ (83 men, 128 women, 10 did not state their sex), civil engineering students, mean age 20.79 ($SD = 2.73$), were presented with an excerpt from a newspaper article by Szternel (2010) that explicitly described real-life cases of male on male SH. I chose the first case presented in the article and I changed some details of the original piece so that it could fit a female victim SH scenario. I developed four versions of the article describing M on M SH, M on F SH, F on M SH and F on F SH. The article was as follows (M on M SH):

The case began with [a prosecutor being informed of] a suspected offense committed by Mr. S, an owner of the company K., in the city of B. [The prosecutor] was notified by a former employee Bogumil. Bogumil knew about the behaviours of his employer. The company

was buzzing with rumours about it. But he experienced it himself.

- It was in November/December 2005. Mr. S. was telling me that I was a great guy. He invited me over to his place. We sat down on the couch in the living room. He asked if I wanted a drink. He made the drink himself – the employee recollects. After the drink he [the employee] became very sleepy and relaxed. He kind of became unconscious, but he could still hear music. He regained consciousness after about fifteen minutes. His pants and his underwear were down. His boss was masturbating him.

The next day, Bogumil came back to work. He talked to his employee.

- I want you to evolve in this company. I have great plans for you. You will earn big money – he was told. He didn't believe any of it. During a trip in a company car, the boss made a pass at him numerous times, he kissed and fondled him. Bogumil was told that if he wants to keep his job, he has to go with him [the boss]... but he didn't [go]. In the warehouse, the boss French-kissed him. When welcoming him, he was extending his right hand, and putting his left into [the employee's] pants and touching his [the employee's] genitalia. He [the employee] couldn't take it anymore. He hid a dictaphone under his shirt and went to tell the boss that he was quitting. He [the boss] tried to convince him to stay, he promised him a large raise. (...)

As in the previous studies, I asked the participants to state their age and sex and then to fill out the measures used in Study 3 (Cronbach's alphas in

brackets): perceived victim's depression (0.72), somatic symptoms (0.81), perception of the event as scary (0.74), as painful (0.73), as offensive (0.74) (respectively: Appendices 7, 8, and 9). For the measure of depression, I removed the first item (end of scale): *S/he is so sad and unhappy that s/he can't stand it* in order to increase the scale's reliability from $\alpha = 0.43$ to 0.72. For the victim's and perpetrator's evaluation, due to low reliability of the two likability items and the two competence items, I decided to treat them together with the morality and competence items, alike the previous studies, creating two scores: morality/liking and competency/respect.

The participants also answered, on a 7-point scale to what degree the victim experienced various emotions (for example: disgust, anger, guilt; the whole scale as used for the analysis in Appendix 8). A principal component analysis showed that the emotions clustered into two factors: fear and sadness (0.76) and anger and surprise (0.70). Finally, I asked participants to answer on a 7-point scale to what degree the described actions constituted SH and to propose a prison sentence in years and a financial fine for the perpetrator in Polish zlotys.

As this study deals with same-sex SH, I decided to use a short version of the Attitudes Toward Lesbian and Gay Men Scale (Herek & Capitanio, 1995), used previously in Study 1, to control for negative attitudes towards homosexual men and women (Appendix 1). Cronbach's alpha for the overall attitude towards homosexuality was 0.82. High scores on this scale indicate low tolerance for male and female homosexuality.

Results

Perception of the Victim's Characteristics, Victim's Suffering and Evaluation of the Offense

First, I wanted to check whether this study replicates the results from Studies 2 and 3. To this effect, initial analyses were carried out only on the cases of opposite-sex SH26 and it mirrors the one carried out in Study 2. I carried out a series of t-tests, with the sex of the victim/perpetrator as the independent variable and perception of the victim's characteristics, perceived depression and somatic symptoms, perception of the event as scary, painful and offensive and the perceived emotions of fear/guilt and anger/hostility as dependent variables. While I did not find the sex of the victim/perpetrator to influence the characteristics of the victim, perceived depression and somatic symptoms of the victim or the perceived anger/surprise of the victim, it influenced the perceived scariness, painfulness and offensiveness as well as the perceived level of fear/sadness. The exact statistics are presented in Table 10. For all of those variables, it was a female victim (harassed by a man) who was seen to suffer more than a male victim (harassed by a woman); this result is in line with the results of Studies 2 and 3.

²⁶ Participants in same-sex conditions $N = 113$, 63 women, mean age = 20.65, $sd = 2.68$; Cronbach's alphas for the scales used: from 0.60 to 0.85.

Table 10.
Perception of victim's characteristics, victim's suffering and evaluation of the offense – opposite sex SH (Study 4)

	Victim		<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
	Female <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Male <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)		
moral/ likable	4.56 (1.26)	4.61 (1.45)	<i>t</i> (111) = .191	0.03
competent/ respectable	4.41 (1.16)	4.57 (1.26)	<i>t</i> (111) = .677	0.13
depression	9.26 (3.07)	8.67 (2.57)	<i>t</i> (110) = 1.09	0.20
somatic symptoms	3.46 (0.82)	3.20 (0.95)	<i>t</i> (110) = 1.52	0.28
scary	5.95 (1.17)	5.00 (1.34)	<i>t</i> (109) = 3.96*	0.75
painful	5.75 (1.16)	4.83 (1.03)	<i>t</i> (109) = 4.36*	0.83
offensive	6.04 (0.99)	5.44 (1.09)	<i>t</i> (109) = 3.03**	0.57
fear/sadness	5.07 (1.14)	4.15 (1.24)	<i>t</i> (109) = 4.07*	0.77
anger/surprise	5.20 (1.27)	5.02 (1.03)	<i>t</i> (109) = 0.82	0.15

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

To see if the sex of the victim or the perpetrator influenced the perception of the victim's characteristics – morality/likability and competence/respect, I conducted a 2x2 (sex of the victim x sex of the perpetrator) MANCOVA, controlling for participants' sex, age and attitudes towards homosexual men and women. Using Pillai's trace there was no

significant difference neither for the sex of the victim $V = .007$, $F(2, 199) = .67$, $p = .51$ nor for the sex of the perpetrator $V = .004$, $F(2, 199) = .35$, $p = .70$.

In order to see if the perception of the victim's suffering differs depending on the sex of the victim or the perpetrator, I subsequently conducted two 2x2 (sex of the victim x sex of the perpetrator) ANCOVAs with victim's perceived depression and somatic symptoms as dependent variables, and controlling for participants' sex, age and attitudes towards homosexual men and women. For the perceived depression, I found no significant main effects and the exact statistics are presented in Table 11 – for the main effect of the victim, and in Table 12 – the main effect of the perpetrator. However, I found a significant interaction effect of the sex of the victim and the perpetrator $F(1, 201) = 4.84$, $p = .02$, $d = 0.51$ and simple effects analysis showed that a male victim harassed by a man was perceived as suffering from more depression symptoms ($M = 10.20$, $SD = 3.13$) than a male victim harassed by a woman ($M = 8.72$, $SD = 2.57$), as visible in Figure 3. This result points to the sex of the perpetrator as the more important factor for the perception of the victim's depression. I found no differences depending on the sex of the victim or the perpetrator for the perceived somatic symptoms.

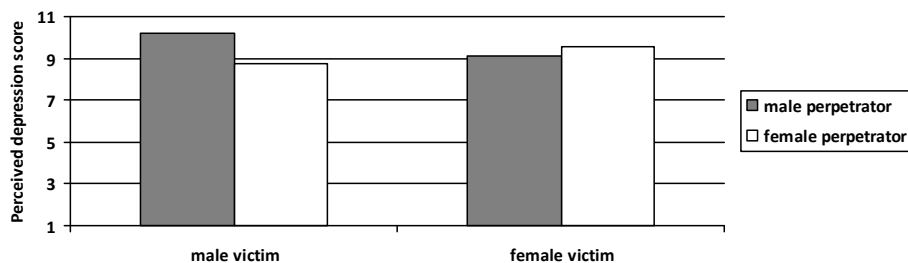


Figure 3. Perceived depression of the victim depending on the sex of the victim and the sex of the perpetrator. Interaction effects of the sex of the victim and sex of the perpetrator (Study 4). Note. Only the difference between male victims is significant.

For the perception of the event by the victim as scary, painful and offensive, I conducted a 2x2 (sex of the victim x sex of the perpetrator) MANCOVA, with participants' sex, age and attitudes towards homosexual men and women as covariates. Using Pillai's trace I found a significant effect of the victim's sex on the perception of the event $V = .04$, $F(3, 196) = 3.15$, $p = .02$, and the separate ANCOVAs showed a significant difference for the perception of the event as scary, such that the female victim was seen as perceiving SH as more scary than the male victim. There were no significant differences for the perceived painfulness and offensiveness of SH. The exact statistics are presented in Table 11.

I also found a significant effect of the perpetrator's sex on the perception of the event as scary, painful and offensive $V = .08$, $F(3, 196) = 5.92$, $p = .001$ (the separate ANCOVAs showed it to be significant for all three variables). This result points to the sex of the perpetrator rather than the sex of the victim as being more important for the evaluation of how the victim perceives the event, as the event was evaluated as more scary, painful and offensive when the perpetrator was a man rather than when the perpetrator was a woman. The exact statistics are presented in Table 12.

In order to see how the sex of the victim and the perpetrator influenced the perceived emotions of the victim, I conducted a 2x2 (sex of the participant x sex of the victim) MANCOVA on perceived fear/sadness, as well as perceived anger/surprise; with participant's sex, age and attitudes towards homosexual men and women as covariates. Using Pillai's trace I found the perpetrator's sex to significantly influence the perceived emotions of the victim $V = .05$, $F(2, 199) = 5.65$, $p = .004$ and the separate ANCOVAs showed the effect to be

significant for the fear/sadness. These showed that when the perpetrator was male, the offence caused more fear/sadness in the victim than when the perpetrator was female. The exact F statistics for the effects, as well as means and standard deviations are presented in Table 11 for the main effect of the sex of the victim and in Table 12 for the main effect of the sex of the perpetrator.

Table 11.
Perception of victim's suffering and evaluation of the offense depending on the sex of the victim in same- and opposite- sex SH (Study 4)

	Victim		F	d
	Male <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Female <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)		
depression	9.43 (2.93)	9.34 (3.00)	$F(1, 201) = 0.23$	0.03
somatic symptoms	3.39 (0.89)	3.44 (0.93)	$F(1, 201) = 1.44$	0.05
scary	5.29 (1.47)	5.75 (1.33)	$F(1, 198) = 7.99^*$	0.32
painful	5.29 (1.14)	5.49 (1.23)	$F(1, 198) = 2.28$	0.16
offensive	5.81 (1.16)	5.87 (1.17)	$F(1, 198) = 0.62$	0.05
fear/sadness	4.61 (1.34)	4.84 (1.24)	$F(1, 200) = 2.04$	0.17
anger/surprise	5.28 (1.09)	5.13 (1.24)	$F(1, 200) = 2.82$	0.12

* $p < .01$

Table 12.

Perception of victim's characteristics, victim's suffering and evaluation of the offense depending on the sex of the perpetrator in same- and opposite- sex SH (Study 4)

	Perpetrator		<i>F</i>	<i>d</i>
	Male <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Female <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)		
depression	9.66 (3.13)	9.12 (2.77)	$F(1, 201) = 0.88$	0.18
somatic	3.51 (0.82)	3.32 (0.98)	$F(1, 201) = 1.27$	0.21
Scary	5.78 (1.35)	5.27 (1.43)	$F(1, 198) = 4.88^{***}$	0.36
Painful	5.76 (1.13)	5.04 (1.14)	$F(1, 198) = 17.64^*$	0.63
offensive	6.12 (1.04)	5.57 (1.21)	$F(1, 198) = 9.11^{**}$	0.48
fear/sadness	5.05 (1.30)	4.40 (1.29)	$F(1, 200) = 11.34^*$	0.50
anger/surprise	5.33 (1.19)	5.08 (1.13)	$F(1, 200) = 2.30$	0.21

* $p < .001$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .05$

Perception of the perpetrator's characteristics

As the variables used to evaluate the perpetrator did not meet the requirements to conduct parametric test, I carried out their nonparametric equivalents. Just like in case of the perception of the victim, I first tried to replicate the results of Studies 2 and 3, by running the analysis only for the opposite-sex conditions.

I started by running a series of Mann-Whitney tests, in order to see if the sex of the victim/perpetrator influenced the perception of the perpetrator's characteristics, the categorization of the act as SH, the proposed prison sentence and the financial fine. I did not find significant differences for the perceived morality/liking and competence/respect. However, the behavior was seen to constitute SH to a larger extent when it was a man who committed it on a woman than when it was a woman who committed it on a man. The sex of the victim/perpetrator significantly influenced the suggested prison sentence, such that a man who harassed a woman deserved a higher sentence than a woman who harassed a man. Finally, for the proposed fine, the result was close to statistical significance, also suggesting a higher fine for a man who harassed a woman. The exact statistics are presented in Table 13.

Table 13.
Perception of the perpetrator's characteristics, SH categorization and proposed punishment – opposite sex SH (Study 4)

	Victim		<i>U</i>	<i>r</i>
	Male <i>Mdn</i> (<i>Mean range</i>)	Female <i>Mdn</i> (<i>Mean range</i>)		
morality/liking	2.00 (61.07)	1.75 (52.09)	1316.00	0.13
competence/respect	2.75 (60.93)	2.50 (52.23)	1324.00	0.13
categorization as SH	7 (49.47)	7 (63.28)	1181.00**	0.25
prison sentence	2 (34.60)	4 (54.30)	550.00*	0.38
financial fine	5000 (36.61)	10000 (45.73)	650.00***	0.19

* $p < .001$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .08$

Following, I conducted Mann-Whitney U tests to evaluate the influence of the sex of the victim, the sex of the perpetrator (for same- and opposite- sex SH), the sex of the participants, and attitudes towards homosexual men and women (split on its median) on the evaluation of the perpetrator's characteristics, categorization of the act as SH, and suggested punishments.

The perpetrator's sex influenced the perceived competence/respect for the perpetrator, such that a male perpetrator was seen as less competent/respectable than the female perpetrator. However it did not influence the perceived morality/liking of the perpetrator. When the perpetrator was male, the act was seen to constitute SH to a larger extent than when the perpetrator

was female. Moreover, a male perpetrator was sentenced to more years of prison than a female perpetrator. All of the statistics are presented in Table 14.

Table 14.

Perception of the perpetrator's characteristics, SH categorization and proposed punishment – opposite- and same- sex SH (Study 4)

	Perpetrator		<i>U</i>	<i>r</i>
	Male <i>Mdn</i> (<i>Mean</i> <i>range</i>)	Female <i>Mdn</i> (<i>Mean range</i>)		
morality/liking	2.00 (105.11)	2.25 (113.81)	5466.00	0.06
competence/respect	2.50 (99.99)	3.00 (117.77)	4920.00**	0.14
categorization as SH	7.00 (121.19)	7.00 (99.12)	4786.00*	0.23
prison sentence	3.49 (101.88)	2.00 (73.12)	2533.50*	0.28
financial fine	10000 (83.17)	8500 (78.80)	3064.00	0.04

* $p < .001$

** $p < .05$

In contrast, the victim's sex influenced only the financial fine proposed, with a female victim judged as deserving more compensation (Mean range = 112.34, *Mdn* = 10000) than a male victim (Mean range = 107.51, *Mdn* = 5000) $U = 2666.50, p = .05, r = 0.15$. Finally, participants' attitudes towards homosexual men and women did not influence their evaluation of the perpetrator, the perpetrator's punishment or the categorization of the act as SH; participant's sex influenced their evaluation, such that male participants were less harsh than the female participants (seen the perpetrator as more competent/respectable, more moral/likable, they categorized the act as SH to a lesser extent and they proposed lower prison sentence).

Further, to see the influence of the two independent variables (sex of the victim and sex of the perpetrator) combined, I carried out Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance by ranks, followed by Mann-Whitney U tests, to which I applied a Bonferroni correction (effects are considered significant only at a .01 level of significance). The Kruskal-Wallis test showed the sex of the victim and of the perpetrator to significantly influence the perceived competence/respect of the perpetrator $H(3) = 13.44, p = .004$, the prison sentence $H(3) = 17.33, p < .001$ and categorization of the act as SH $H(3) = 17.10, p < .001$. Follow-up Mann-Whitney U tests showed that a man who harassed a man was perceived as more competent/respected than a man who harassed a woman $U = 1052.50, p = .01, r = 0.22$. Moreover, a woman who harassed a woman was seen as more competent/respected than a man who harassed a woman $U = 985.50, p < .01, r = 0.33$ as seen in Figure 4. As for the categorization of the assault as SH, as shown in Figure 5, it was considered to be SH to a larger extent when it was a man harassing a man than when it was a woman harassing a man $U = 921.50, p < .001, r = 0.36$ and when it was a man harassing a woman rather than woman harassing a man $U = 1181.00, p = .006, r = 0.25$. Moreover, as illustrated in Figure 6, a man who harassed a woman was sentenced to more years of prison than woman who harassed a man $U = 550.00, p < .001, r = 0.38$ and a man who harassed a man was sentenced to more years of prison than a woman who harassed a man $U = 490.50, p < .001, r = 0.36$.

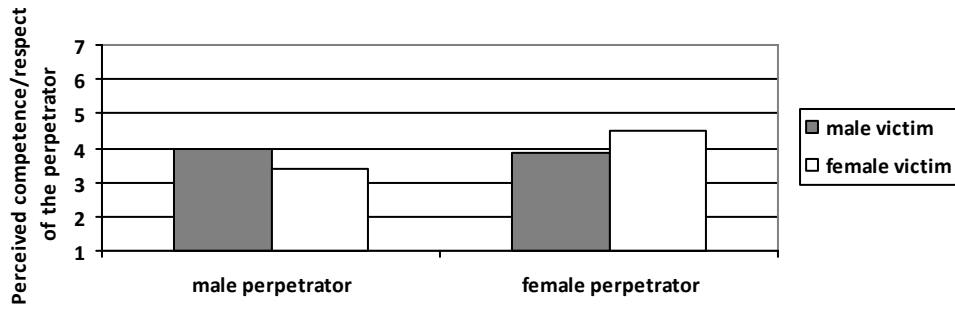


Figure 4.

Evaluation of the perpetrator's competence/respect, depending on the sex of the victim and the sex of the perpetrator (Study 4). *Note.* The significant differences are between male perpetrator/female victim - male perpetrator/male victim and male perpetrator/female victim – female perpetrator/female victim

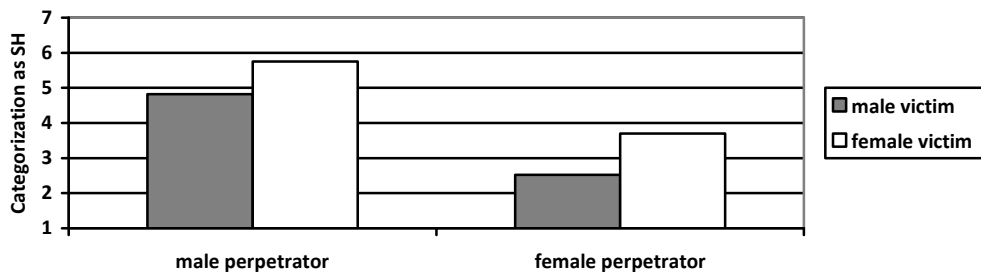


Figure 5.

Categorization as SH depending on the sex of the victim and the sex of the perpetrator (Study 4). *Note.* The significant differences are between female perpetrator/male victim - male perpetrator/male victim and female perpetrator/male victim – male perpetrator/female victim

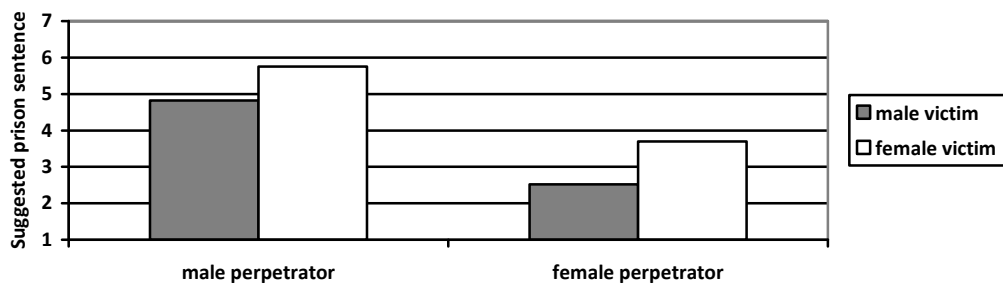


Figure 6.

Years of prison proposed depending on the sex of the victim and the sex of the perpetrator (Study 4). *Note.* The significant differences are between female perpetrator/male victim - male perpetrator/female victim and female perpetrator/male victim – male perpetrator/male victim

Discussion

The results of Study 4 show that the sex of the perpetrator is crucial when evaluating both the victim's suffering and the perpetrator. Female victims are usually perceived as more fragile than male victims. A female victim is perceived to be more scared due to SH, to experience more fear and sadness and is proposed a higher financial compensation, but this study showed that it is the sex of the perpetrator that mostly influences the perception of the victim's suffering. When the perpetrator is male, the victim is perceived to suffer more from depression (in case of a male victim) and to perceive the event as more scary, painful and offensive as well as to feel more fear and sadness, than when the perpetrator is female. Moreover, a male perpetrator is seen as less competent and respectable than a female perpetrator, his acts constitute SH to a larger extent and he deserves a longer prison sentence.

Summing up, I replicated the major results of the previous studies. As in Studies 2 and 3, also Study 4 shows that the female victim of the opposite-sex SH is seen to suffer more than a male victim of opposite-sex SH. Moreover the act is seen as SH to a larger extent when the victim is female and the perpetrator is male, rather than when the victim is male and the perpetrator is female. What is more, the male perpetrator receives a higher prison sentence and a higher financial fine, than a female perpetrator.

However, the picture becomes more complicated when comparing cases of the same- and opposite-sex SH. The results indicate that the sex of a perpetrator has a bigger impact on evaluations than the sex of a victim, both when evaluating the victim's suffering and the perpetrator's characteristics. When looking at the influence of both at the same time, the results are mixed.

The fact that male on female SH, compared to female on male SH, is categorized more as SH and seen as deserving higher prison sentence is a replication of previous results and it supports my hypothesis. Similarly the fact that a man who harasses a woman is seen as less competent than a man who harasses a man points to the importance of the victim in the evaluation of the perpetrator. However, the evaluation of a man harassing a woman as more competent than a woman who harasses a woman, as well as higher categorization of an act as SH and a higher prison sentence for a man who harasses a man, compared to a woman who harasses a man, shows that it is rather the sex of the perpetrator that is of importance. It seems crucial to devote more attention to the influence of the perpetrator's sex and to how the interaction of the sex of the perpetrator and the victim can influence the perception of the perpetrator and the victim. I wonder if discrimination is also visible due to the sex of perpetrator. Although my original hypothesis was that the male victims are discriminated against (i.e. their suffering is minimized), it is also possible that male perpetrators are victims of discrimination.

Discrimination of male perpetrators would also be consistent with Gray and Wegner's (2009) theory: because of her sex, a woman remains a moral patient, even when she is the perpetrator of SH. As a moral patient she is less responsible for SH, and thus she is evaluated better and deserves a smaller punishment.

Study 5

The aim of this study was to replicate the results of the previous studies and most importantly of Study 4. Once again I used a real case of SH, which I found in a textbook on SH (LeMoncheck & Sterba, 2001). The case describes a

female bank employee who was sexually harassed (unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion) by her boss for over four years. I modified the original version in order to create four conditions. In this study I used both the tools I used before, as well as new ones in order to measure the dependent variables.

Method

The participants in this study ($N = 147$) were 4th and 5th year law students; 87 women and 46 men (14 participants did not state their sex); their mean age was 23.91 ($SD = 2.2$). They were randomly assigned to one of the four versions of the story describing sexual harassment of a bank employee; the story was as follows (M on M SH):

In 2005, during a job interview, Miroslaw W. met Grzegorz T., a manager of one of Bank's X. offices. After the interview, Grzegorz T. called him to say that he has been hired. With T. as his supervisor, Miroslaw W. started as a bank teller-trainee, and thereafter was promoted to teller, head teller, and assistant branch manager. He worked at the same branch for four years, and it is undisputed that his advancement there was based on merit alone. In October 2009 Miroslaw W. brought a case against Grzegorz T. claiming that during his four years at the bank he had "constantly been subjected to sexual harassment" by Grzegorz T. He testified that during his probationary period as a teller-trainee, Grzegorz T. treated him in a fatherly way and made no sexual advances. However, shortly thereafter, he invited him out to dinner and during the course of the meal, suggested that they go to a motel to have sexual relations and he threatened that a refusal will mean

termination of his employment. According to Miroslaw W., Grzegorz T. thereafter made repeated demands upon him for sexual favors, usually at the branch, both during and after business hours; he estimated that over the next several years he had intercourse with him some 40 or 50 times. In addition, he testified that Grzegorz T. fondled him in front of other employees, followed him into a restroom and exposed himself to him, which was confirmed by witnesses.

In the first part of the study, the participants were asked to state their sex and age, and to fill out the already described *Attitudes Toward Lesbian and Gay Men Scale* (Herek & Capitanio, 1995; α for the whole scale = 0.86). The results were used as a covariate. After reading the vignette, the participants were asked to fill out numerous scales: evaluation of the victim (morality/likability $\alpha = 0.73$ and talent/respect $\alpha = .60$) the first tool measuring the perceived somatic symptoms ($\alpha = 0.82$) was exactly the same as the one used in Study 4. However I changed the way of measuring the perceived depression and anxiety symptoms and I used *Patient Health Questionnaire-4* (PHQ-4; Appendix 9) which is a short version of *Patient Health Questionnaire*; PHQ-4 uses two items to assess depression symptoms ($\alpha = 0.83$) and two for the anxiety ($\alpha = 0.77$). I also used a scale to measure six emotions (Appendix 10) developed by Wojciszke & Baryla (2005) which consist of 24 names of emotions – 4 for each of the following main emotions: happiness ($\alpha = 0.87$), love ($\alpha = 0.78$), fear ($\alpha = 0.91$), anger ($\alpha = 0.85$), guilt ($\alpha = 0.80$), sadness ($\alpha = 0.90$).

I also asked participants to suggest a prison sentence and to evaluate the perpetrator's morality ($\alpha = 0.74$), likability ($\alpha = 0.73$) and competence/respect using the same scales as in previous studies (Appendix 6). Due to low reliability of the competence score ($\alpha = 0.31$), and a low reliability of the competence/respect score as used in the previous studies ($\alpha = 0.46$) I used three adjectives (talented, respectable and admired) to create a talented/respected score ($\alpha = .61$). As the participants were law students, I asked them to choose which of the Polish laws was the perpetrator breaking²⁷. This way I also wanted to check if the severity of the punishment will differ between the conditions.

Results

Perception of the Victim's Characteristics, Victim's Suffering and Evaluation of the Offense

First, I wanted to test if this study replicates the major findings of Studies 2 to 4 concerning opposite-sex SH²⁸. As in the previous studies, I conducted a series of t-tests with the sex of the victim/perpetrator as the independent variable, and morality/likability, talent/respect and the perceived depression, somatic symptoms, anxiety and the perception of the six emotions as dependent variables. As can be seen in Table 15, a female victim harassed by a man was seen to suffer more depression, somatic symptoms, anxiety, fear, anger, guilt and sadness than a male victim harassed by a woman.

²⁷ The choice was between the different laws as quoted in Chapter 1 of this work, i.e. the Polish Labor Code, Chapter IIa, Equal Treatment in Employment, Article 183a, section 6; Article 197, section 1 of the Polish Criminal Code; Article 197, section 2 of the Polish Criminal Code and Article 199, section 1 of the Polish Criminal Code

²⁸ The sample for opposite-sex SH: $N = 74$, 43 women; mean age = 24.45, $sd = 3.54$

Table 15.
 Perception of victim's characteristics, victim's suffering and evaluation
 of the offense – opposite sex SH (Study 5)

	Victim		<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
	Female <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Male <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)		
moral/likable	4.12 (1.15)	4.04 (1.04)	<i>t</i> (72) = .29	0.07
talented/respectable	3.84 (1.02)	3.94 (1.06)	<i>t</i> (72) = .43	0.09
depression	4.15 (0.85)	3.75 (0.96)	<i>t</i> (72) = 1.89**	0.44
somatic symptoms	3.79 (0.90)	3.45 (0.82)	<i>t</i> (72) = 1.68**	0.39
anxiety	3.99 (0.90)	3.74 (1.00)	<i>t</i> (72) = 1.93**	0.26
joy	2.39 (1.13)	2.84 (1.31)	<i>t</i> (72) = 1.57	0.36
love	2.41 (1.31)	2.50 (0.98)	<i>t</i> (72) = .33	0.07
fear	5.44 (1.18)	4.97 (1.22)	<i>t</i> (72) = 1.68**	0.39
anger	5.24 (1.02)	4.81 (1.08)	<i>t</i> (72) = 1.72**	0.40
guilt	5.40 (1.10)	4.94 (1.18)	<i>t</i> (72) = 1.72**	0.40
sadness	5.38 (1.21)	4.71 (1.35)	<i>t</i> (72) = 2.23*	0.52

* $p < .05$ (two-sided)

** $p < .05$ (one-sided)

Second, I examined whether the sex of the perpetrator and the sex of the victim influenced the perceived suffering of the victim. I conducted a 2x2 (sex of the victim x sex of the perpetrator) ANCOVA with the perceived somatic

symptoms as the dependent variable, and with participant's sex, age and attitudes towards homosexual men and women as covariates. The result showed a significant difference in the perception of the somatic symptoms depending on the sex of the victim $F(1, 124) = 4.14, p = .04, d = 0.35$ with the female victim being perceived as suffering more from somatic symptoms than a male victim (respectively: $M = 3.85, SD = 0.80$ and $M = 3.57, SD = 0.80$).

I also conducted three 2x2 MANCOVA (sex of the victim x sex of the perpetrator) with the perception of victim's characteristics as the dependent variables in the first one, perceived depression and anxiety as the dependent variable in the second one, and the six emotions in the third one and with participant's sex, age and attitudes towards homosexual men and women as covariates. Using Pillai's trace there was no effect of the victim's or perpetrator's sex on the perception of the victim's characteristics $V = .04, F(2, 123) = 2.73, ns$; or on the perceived depression and anxiety $V = .02, F(2, 122) = 1.36, ns$; or on the perceived emotions $V = .03, F(6, 120) = .82, ns$. Although, looking at the results of the separate ANCOVAs, there was a significant effect of the victim's sex on the perceived guilt of the victim $F(1, 125) = 4.31, p = .04, d = 0.33$ with the male victim feeling less guilt ($M = 5.14, SD = 1.09$) than the female victim ($M = 5.49, SD = 0.98$).

In contrast to Study 4, I found that a female victim was perceived to suffer more somatic symptoms than a male victim and to feel more guilt. Interestingly, the sex of the perpetrator did not influence any of the variables assessing the victim's suffering. This result is more in line with the results of the Studies 2 and 3 and with my original hypothesis that a female victim of SH is seen to suffer more than a male victim of SH.

Perception of the perpetrator's characteristics

Again, I started by conducting the analysis only for opposite-sex SH. I carried out a series of t-test with the perceived morality, liking and competence/respect of the perpetrator as the dependent variables. The results showed that both perpetrators were evaluated as equally moral, liked and talented/respected. For the proposed prison sentence, as I was unable to conduct parametric tests, I used the Mann-Whitney test to see the influence of the sex of the victim/perpetrator. The result showed that a male perpetrator (who harassed a woman) was given more years than the female perpetrator (who harassed a man) $U = 367.00$, $r = -0.35$, $p = .002$ (respectively: $Mdn = 4.00$, Mean range = 43.88; $Mdn = 2.00$, Mean range = 29.16) which replicated the previous findings.

In order to dissociate effects of the sex of the perpetrator from that of the victim, I conducted a 2x2 MANCOVA with the sex of the perpetrator and sex of the victim as independent variables, and participants' sex, age and attitudes towards homosexual men and women as covariates. Perceived morality, likability and talent/respect served as the dependent variables. Using Pillai's trace there was a significant effect of perpetrator's sex for the perpetrator's characteristics $V = .06$, $F(3, 120) = 2.67$, $p = .05$. Separate ANCOVAs showed that a male perpetrator was seen as less moral, less likable and less talented/respectable than a female perpetrator. The exact F statistics as well as means and standard deviations are presented in Table 16. The sex of the victim did not influence any of the variables concerning the evaluation of the perpetrator's characteristics (all $ps > .1$).

Table 16.
 Perception of the perpetrator's characteristics depending on sex of the perpetrator – same- and opposite- sex SH (Study 5)

	Perpetrator		<i>F</i>	<i>d</i>
	Male <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Female <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)		
morality	1.91 (1.25)	2.47 (1.62)	$F(1, 122) = 6.14^{**}$	0.38
liking	2.31 (1.25)	2.89 (1.31)	$F(1, 122) = 6.13^{**}$	0.45
talent/respect	2.57 (1.04)	3.07 (1.17)	$F(1, 122) = 7.16^*$	0.45

* $p < .01$

** $p < .05$

As the distribution of the proposed prison sentence was not normal, I conducted the Kruskal-Wallis test, followed by Mann-Whitney U tests with the Bonferroni correction (effects are considered significant only at $p < .01$) to see how the sex of the victim and the perpetrator influenced the given punishment. There was a significant effect of the sex of the victim and the sex of the perpetrator $H(3) = 16.45, p = .001$ and the follow up analysis showed that the sex of the perpetrator had a significant influence on the prison sentence given to the perpetrator $U = 1491.50, p < .001, r = 0.36$, such that the male perpetrator received a higher sentence ($Mdn = 3.75$, mean range = 84.19) than the female perpetrator ($Mdn = 2.00$, mean range = 56.81). Separate Mann-Whitney tests conducted to compare each of the victim/perpetrator dyads, also indicated that the sex of the perpetrator is more important for the evaluation of the perpetrator, as shown in Figure 7. Sex of the victim did not have a significant influence on the prison sentence $U = 2374.50, ns, r = 0.02$.

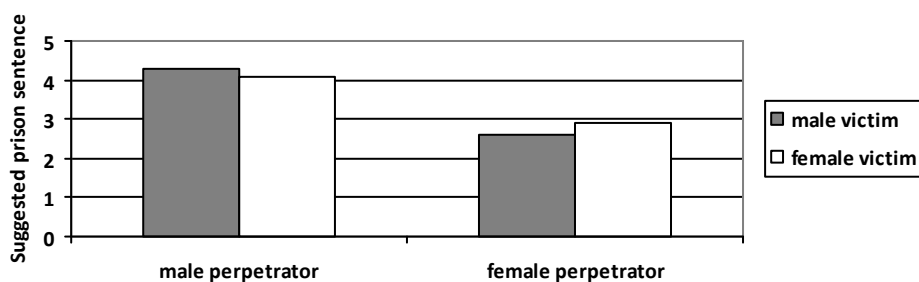


Figure 7.

Years of prison proposed depending on the sex of the victim and the sex of the perpetrator (Study 5). Note. The significant differences are between male perpetrator/female victim – female perpetrator/female victim; male perpetrator/female victim – female perpetrator/male victim; male perpetrator/male victim – female perpetrator/female victim and male perpetrator/male victim – female perpetrator/male victim

Concerning the law that the participants believed the perpetrator was breaking, the choice was not influenced by the sex of the victim or the perpetrator $\chi^2(9) = 6.21$, *ns* and the law chosen the most often was Article 199, section 1: Whoever, abusing a relationship of dependence or by taking advantage of a critical situation, subjects such a person to sexual intercourse or makes him/her submit to another sexual act or to perform such an act shall be subject to the penalty of deprivation of liberty for up to 3 years.

Discussion

In this study I replicated the major findings of the previous studies in case of opposite-sex SH. For the majority of victim's suffering variables we could see the effect of the victim's/perpetrator's sex, such that the female victim was seen to suffer more than a male victim and a male perpetrator who harassed a woman deserved more years in prison than a female perpetrator who harassed a man.

The design used in this study and in Study 4 allows to better locate the source of the aforementioned effects, i.e. to find out if the effects are due to the

sex of the victim, or the sex of the perpetrator. Unlike the previous study, in Study 5 the perception of the victim's suffering depended mostly on the sex of the victim and not the sex of the perpetrator, which supported the first basis of the suggested minimization of male suffering effect, and supported the conclusions drawn in Studies 2 and 3. The participants saw the female victim to suffer more somatic symptoms and feelings of guilt than the male victim. At the same time, the evaluation of the perpetrator depended on the sex of the perpetrator, once again showing that male perpetrators are also being discriminated against, as I suggested in the conclusions from Study 4. We can see a similarity in evaluation of the perpetrators in those two studies. It is the male perpetrators that are seen as less moral, less likable and less respectable and as deserving a higher punishment.

Based on the results of those two studies, I am inclined to think that in cases of SH men are the victims of discrimination in two ways: Male victims through a minimization of their perceived suffering, and male perpetrators because they are negatively evaluated and more severely punished than female perpetrators. In order to resolve those ambiguities I conducted another study in which I presented a new, real case of SH and introduce new ways of measurement of the dependent variables, in particular of the perpetrator's morality and competence.

Study 6

The aim of this study was to replicate the results of the previous studies as well as try to solve some of the ambiguities that arose due to the results of these studies. Moreover, I was looking for a mechanism behind the results, i.e. I tested for mediators that could explain how the perpetrator was evaluated, to

establish if it is the sex of the victim or rather the sex of the perpetrator that plays the bigger role in the perpetrator evaluation. As stated before, the concept of dyadic morality (Gray et al., 2012) assumes that an interaction that can be looked at in moral categories needs two parties: a moral agent and a moral patient; the first one who acts and the second one who is the target of this action. As the two are inseparable from each other, I hypothesize that the perception of the acts of the agent can depend on the perception of the reactions of the patient. To be exact, that the perception of the harm caused to the victim, can influence the perception of the perpetrator and the perpetrator's guilt.

In this study I once again used a vignette based on a real case of SH, and I created additional versions in order to be able to see how the sex of the victim and the sex of the perpetrator of SH interplay in the evaluation. However, I used mostly new measures of dependent variables.

Method

The study was conducted online on 153 participants (107 women). The mean age of the sample was 33.77 ($sd = 9.15$). The vast majority of the participants had higher education. They were randomly assigned to one of four conditions. They were firstly asked demographic questions, then they filled out the *Attitudes Toward Lesbian and Gay Men Scale* (Herek & Capitanio, 1995) (α for the whole scale = 0.92) and four questions concerning their beliefs about the prevalence and perpetrators of SH. The first two questions were: How often, in your opinion, does an average woman (question 1)/ man (question 2) fall victim to sexual harassment at [her/his] place of work/education? With the answers: never, a few times during [her/his] career, a few times a year, at least once a month, at least once a week, every day. Questions three and four were: In your

opinion, women (question 3)/men (question 4) are more often harassed by men or women? With the answers: rather by men, rather by women, by both men and women.

Subsequently they were assigned to one of four conditions, where they were asked to read a vignette describing a case of SH (either male on female, female on male, male on male, female on female):

From September 2005 to August 2009, Michal W. worked as a cashier in a supermarket. According to the complaint filed in December 2009, Michal W. was regularly sexually harassed by Grazyna T., the store's manager, which started during his second year working there, i.e. sometime in autumn 2006. Michal W. claims that Grazyna T. engaged him in conversations about sex, she asked him about his sex life and if he was satisfied with sexual relationship he was having and if he might consider having sexual contacts with an older woman. Moreover, Michal W. claims that T. forced him to kiss her on a parking lot in front of the store, secretly watched him when he changed before his shift, called him at home asking if he wanted to meet her privately and that during three years, three times she interrupted his work and took him to a private office, where she tried to force him to have sex with her.

To measure the perceived responsibility of the perpetrator, I asked: In your opinion, to what extent is [name of the perpetrator] responsible for [his/her] behavior? The answers on a 7-point scale ranged from: *absolutely not responsible to completely responsible*.

To measure the perceived guilt, I also asked one question: In your opinion, how guilty is [name of the perpetrator] because of [his/her] behavior? The answers on a 7-point scale ranged from: *absolutely not guilty* to *completely guilty*. To measure the proposed punishment, I asked: In your opinion, how big a punishment should [name of the perpetrator] receive for [his/her] actions? The answers on a 7-point scale ranged from: *Should not be punished* to *Should receive the highest punishment possible*.

For all of the following measures the scores are calculated by averaging the responses on each subscale. To measure the perception of the perpetrator, I used two different scales. In the first one I asked the participants to answer to what extent, compared to an average person, is the perpetrator able to exert self-control, behave morally, plan, remember, recognize emotions of others (moral agency; $\alpha = 0.75$) and experience pleasure, hunger, fear and pain (experience; $\alpha = 0.58$). The answers on a 7-point scale ranged from: *much less than an average person* to *much more than an average person*. In the second one I presented the participants with a list of three communal and three agentic behaviors (previously pre-tested on the level of their agency and communion; Appendix 11) and asked the participants to mark on a slider what is the probability that the perpetrator will behave in this way (0% to 100%). An example of a communal behavior would be: S/he will give a few gallons of gasoline to a driver who run out of gas; an example of an agentic behavior would be: S/he will finish what s/he started. I used the same paradigm (but different behaviors) to measure the perceived agency ($\alpha = 0.60$) and communion ($\alpha = 0.80$) of the victim. Further, I used selected items from the Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ; Appendix 12) to measure victim's perceived depression (4

items; $\alpha = 0.80$) and anxiety (5 items, $\alpha = 0.80$). The participants were to answer how often the victim can be experiencing the described depression and anxiety symptoms on a scale from *never* (0) to *almost all the time* (3). Finally, I asked the participants how did they feel when reading the SH vignette. I presented them with a list of eight adjectives (Appendix 13), and asked to answer to what extent each of them describes how they felt (from *not at all* to *very strongly*, 5-point scale). Principal components analysis showed a two factor solution: anger (3 items, $\alpha = 0.84$) and surprise (4 items, $\alpha = 0.90$).

Results

Participants' Views of the Prevalence of SH

Looking at the descriptive statistics concerning the views of prevalence of SH, we can see that the participants were rather aware of the wide prevalence of SH. Their answers in percentage are presented in Table 17. There were no differences in the prevalence views between male and female participants $\chi^2(5) = 2.60, ns$ (for the prevalence of SH of women) and $\chi^2(3) = .27, ns$ (the prevalence of SH of men). Remarkably, while both men and women were seen to experience SH multiple times during their career, as many as 19% of the participants thought that men never experience SH. Interestingly the participants thought that women are more often SH by men (80.4%), then other women (7.2%), then by both men and women (3.3%). While they thought that men are more commonly harassed by women (60.8%), then by men and women (24.8%) and then by other men (5.2%), while in reality it is the same-sex SH that is the most common for men.

Table 17.
Participants' views of the prevalence of SH of women and men.
Answers in percent (Study 6)

	How often do WOMEN fall victim to SH?	How often do MEN fall victim of SH?
A few times during their career	56.9%	60.1%
A few times a year	15%	6.5%
At least once a year	8.5%	0%
At least once a month	0%	5.9%
At least once a week	5.2%	0%
Everyday	2.6%	0%
Never	3.3%	19%

Perception of the Victim's Characteristics and Victim's Suffering

As in the previous studies, I wanted to first see how the victim and the victim's suffering is perceived in the cases of opposite- sex SH. As such, I conducted a series of t-tests, with the victim's/perpetrator's sex (male perpetrator/female victim vs female perpetrator/male victim) as an independent variable, and victim's communion, agency, perceived anxiety and depression as dependent variables. As it turned out, a female victim harassed by a male was seen as more anxious and more depressed than a male harassed by a female. There were no differences in the perceived agency and communion of the two victims. The exact statistics are presented in Table 18.

Table 18.
Perception of the victim's characteristics and victim's suffering depending on sex of the victim/perpetrator in opposite- sex SH (Study 6)

	Victim		<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
	Male <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Female <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)		
communion	58.16 (15.60)	56.03 (11.90)	<i>t</i> (59) = 0.57	0.15
agency	45.77 (21.41)	48.76 (20.26)	<i>t</i> (59) = 0.55	0.14
depression	1.61 (0.60)	1.94 (0.53)	<i>t</i> (58) = 2.20*	0.58
anxiety	1.83 (0.45)	2.08 (0.41)	<i>t</i> (58) = 2.18*	0.58

* $p < .05$

Further, I conducted two 2 x 2 (victim's sex x perpetrator's sex) MANCOVAs with the perceived depression and anxiety as dependent variables in the first analysis and communion and agency in the second one; controlling for participants' sex, age, education and attitudes towards homosexual men and women. There was a significant main effect of the sex of the victim for perceived depression and anxiety $V = .05$, $F(2, 115) = 3.24$, $p = .04$ and a non-significant for communion and agency $V = .002$, $F(2, 115) = .108$, *ns*. Separate ANCOVAs conducted for the depression and anxiety showed that in both cases it was the female victim that suffered more than the male victim. The exact *F* statistics are presented in Table 19.

Table 19.
 Perception of the victim's characteristics and victim's suffering
 depending on sex of the victim – opposite- and same- sex SH (Study 6)

	Victim		<i>F</i>	<i>d</i>
	Male <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Female <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)		
communion	58.39 (11.02)	57.40 (11.26)	$F(1, 116) = .16$	0.08
agency	47.64 (16.92)	48.24 (18.40)	$F(1, 116) = .05$	0.03
depression	1.67 (0.58)	1.93 (0.58)	$F(1, 116) = 5.94^*$	0.44
anxiety	1.86 (0.45)	2.05 (0.48)	$F(1, 116) = 4.80^{**}$	0.40

* $p < .01$

** $p < .05$

Perception of the Perpetrator's Characteristics

I was unable to run parametric tests for the majority of perpetrator related variables, so I ran their nonparametric equivalents. Firstly, I wanted to see the influence of the victim/perpetrator sex in the cases of opposite-sex SH. I conducted a series of U Mann-Whitney testes, with the victim/perpetrator sex as an independent variable, and the perceived responsibility, guilt, punishment, moral agency, experience, behavioral agency and communion as the dependent variables. The exact statistics are presented in Table 20. As it turned out, compared to a female perpetrator who harassed a man, a male perpetrator who harassed a woman was seen as less agentic (behavior) and – on a tendency level – as more responsible for his behaviors.

Table 20.
 Perception of the perpetrator's characteristics depending on sex of the
 victim/perpetrator in opposite- sex SH (Study 6)

	Victim		<i>U</i>	<i>r</i>
	Male <i>Median</i> (<i>Mean range</i>)	Female <i>Median</i> (<i>Mean range</i>)		
responsibility	7.00 (29.03)	7.00 (35.96)	379.00**	0.21
guilt	7.00 (30.99)	7.00 (32.17)	454.50	0.03
punishment	6.00 (28.92)	6.00 (36.11)	375.00	0.20
moral agency	3.00 (30.03)	3.33 (34.63)	415.00	0.12
experience	4.00 (33.04)	3.75 (30.61)	448.50	0.06
behavioral agency	58.00 (41.84)	48.16 (28.02)	375.50*	0.33
communion	47.33 (37.93)	39.00 (33.37)	536.00	0.10

* $p < .01$

** $p = .08$

Subsequently, I conducted U Mann-Whitney tests on the whole sample (same- and opposite- sex SH) with the same dependent variables, but with only sex of the victim as the independent variable. The sex of the victim influenced the proposed punishment for the perpetrator $U = 1839.00$, $r = 0.17$, $p = .04$. The perpetrator harassing a woman deserved a higher punishment than the one who harassed a man (respectively: $Mdn = 6.00$, Mean range = 76.74, $Mdn = 6.00$, Mean range = 63.49).

I also conducted a Mann-Whitney test on the same dependent variables, but with the sex of the perpetrator as the independent variable. The results showed that a female perpetrator was seen as showing more agentic behaviors ($Mdn = 56.33$, Mean range = 85.34) than a male perpetrator ($Mdn = 50.33$, Mean range = 68.68) $U = 2285.50$, $r = 0.18$, $p = .01$. Additionally, a male perpetrator was seen as more responsible for his actions ($Mdn = 7.00$, Mean range = 73.44) than a female perpetrator ($Mdn = 7.00$, Mean range = 63.11) $U = 1957.00$, $r = 0.15$, $p = .06$.

Finally, I conducted the Kruskal-Wallis test to see the influence of both the sex of the victim and the sex of the perpetrator on the perceived perpetrator's responsibility, punishment, moral agency, experience, behavioral agency and communion; using victim's/perpetrator's sex as one independent variable with four levels. I followed-up with a series of Mann-Whitney tests to which I applied a Bonferroni correction (result is significant at $p < .01$). The initial analysis showed the influence of the sex of the victim/perpetrator on the perceived agency of the perpetrator $H(3) = 9.96$, $p = .01$. The effect of the follow up tests are shown in Figure 8. As visible, a man who harassed a woman was seen as expressing significantly less agentic behaviors than a woman who harassed a man.

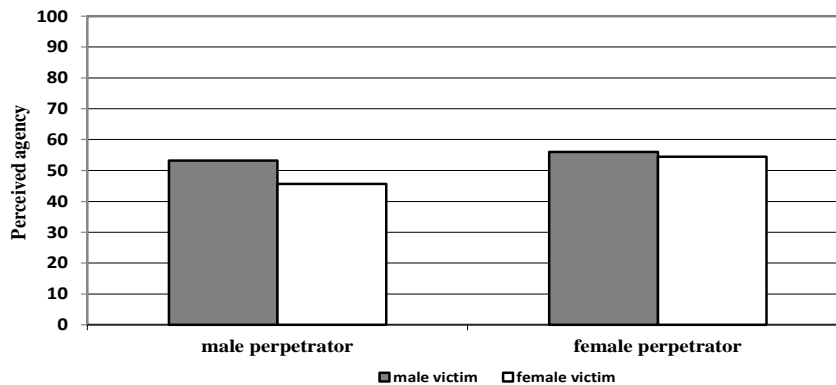


Figure 8.

Perceived agency of the perpetrator depending on the sex of the victim and the sex of the perpetrator (Study 6). Note. The significant difference is between female perpetrator/male victim and male perpetrator/female victim.

The Indirect Effects of the Perception of the Victim's Distress on the Perception of the Perpetrator

I originally hypothesized (Hypothesis 2A) that sex of the victim influences the perception of the perpetrator. I did not find support for that when analyzing direct relationships, and as such I decided to verify if this effect exists but operates through other variables. As such, I hypothesized that the perception of the victim's distress will mediate the perception of the perpetrator, but that first the sex of the victim will influence the feelings of anger among the participants. I carried out the following multiple regression analyses with sequential mediation model with two mediators:

(1) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived depression → perpetrator's guilt;

(2) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived depression → punishment for the perpetrator;

(3) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived depression → moral agency; (4) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived anxiety → perpetrator's guilt;

(5) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived anxiety → punishment for the perpetrator; and

(6) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived anxiety → moral agency.

I used participant's age, sex, education and attitudes towards homosexual men and women as covariates.

The hypotheses were tested with the use of regression analysis with bootstrapping, using the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013). As the distribution of the variables was not normal, I do not report the *p* values for the particular paths, but rather provide the unstandardized coefficient values for each path and bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals based on 10,000 bootstrap samples. The sequential mediation hypothesis and the coefficients for each path are presented in Figures 9 – 13. The analysis confirmed a sequential mediation for the anger influencing perpetrator's guilt and punishment through perceived anxiety (4, 5) and for the anger influencing perpetrator's guilt through perceived depression (1). I did not find a confirmation for the victim → anger → depression → punishment mediation model (2), however I found significant victim → anger → punishment mediation; nor did I find a confirmation of the victim → anger → depression/anxiety → moral agency model (3, 6), although I found a significant victim → anger → moral agency mediation (see Table 21 for detailed statistics for all of the effects).

As shown, when the victim was female, irrespectively of the sex of the perpetrator, the participants were more angry with the situation, which caused them to see the victim as more depressed and anxious, which – in turn – made them perceive the perpetrator as more guilty (Figures 9 and 12). Similarly, when the victim was female, the participants were more angry with the situation, which caused them to see her as more anxious, which made them demand a higher punishment for the perpetrator (Figure 13). The model of mediation with participants' anger and depression was not confirmed, but there is additionally a significant simple mediation where when the victim was female, the participants were more angry with the situation, which made them demand a higher punishment for the perpetrator (Figure 10). Similarly, when the victim was female, the participants were more angry and that made them see the perpetrator as less morally agentic (Figure 11).

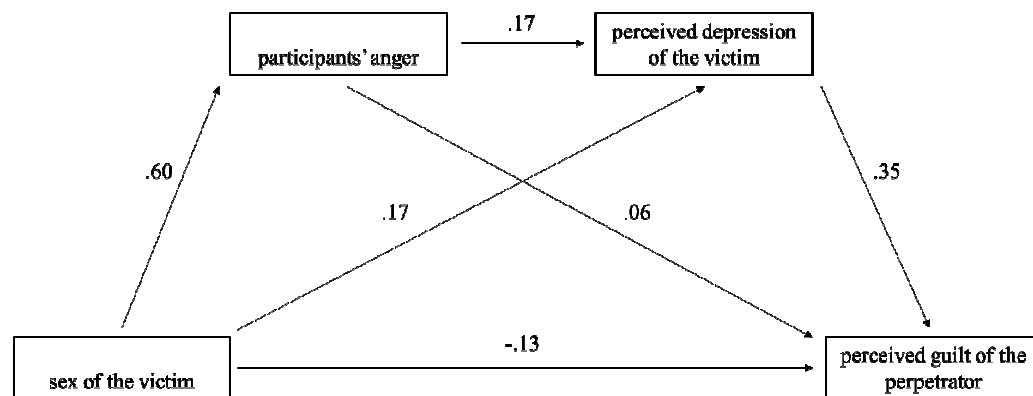


Figure 9.

(1) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived depression → perpetrator's guilt sequential mediation model (Study 6). *Note.* The multiple mediation model is supported

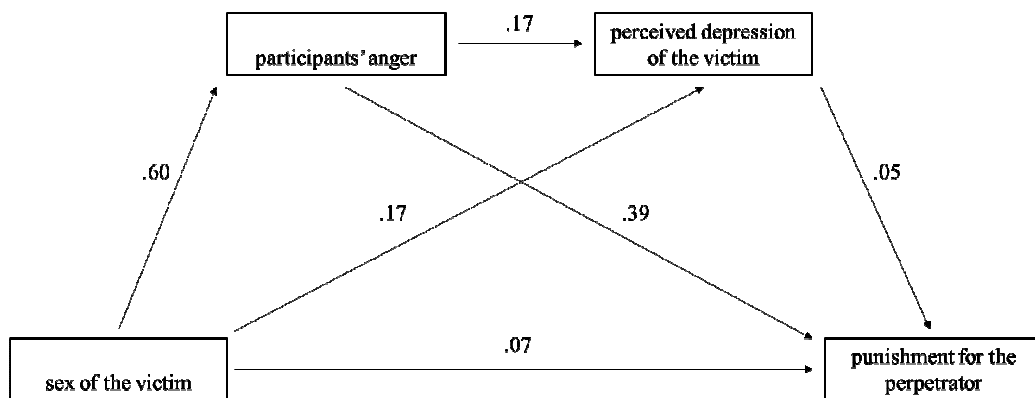


Figure 10.

(2) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived depression → punishment for the perpetrator sequential mediation model (Study 6). *Note.* The multiple mediation model is not supported. Sex of the victim → participants' anger → punishment for the perpetrator model is supported

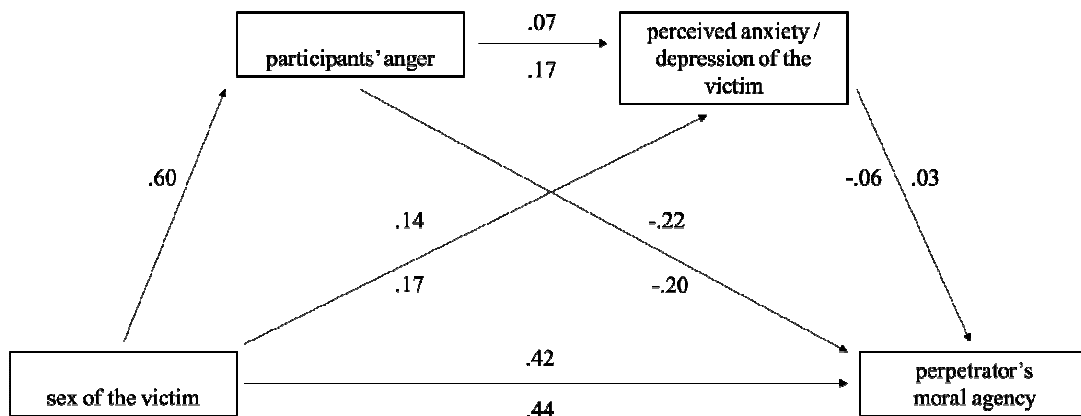


Figure 11.

(3 & 6) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived anxiety / depression → perpetrator's moral agency sequential mediation model (Study 6). *Note.* The multiple mediation model is not supported. Sex of the victim → participants' anger → perpetrator's moral agency model is supported. Coefficients above the line are for the perceived anxiety, below the line for the perceived depression

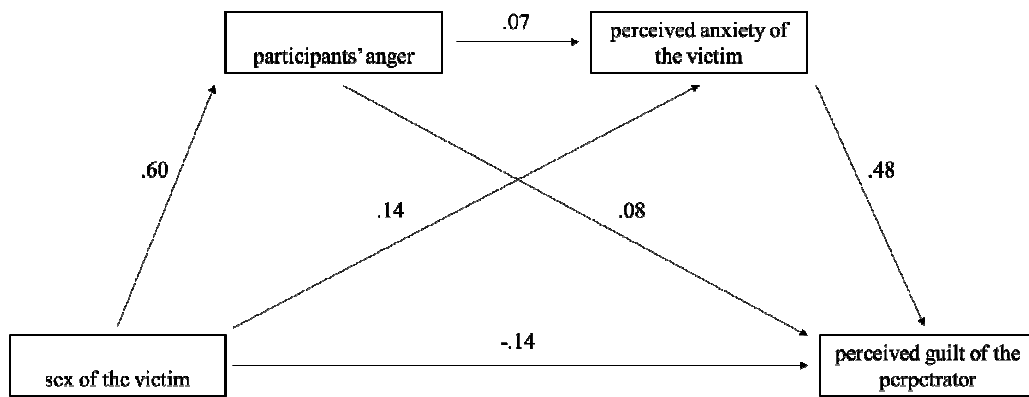


Figure 12.

(4) sex of the victim \rightarrow participant's anger \rightarrow victim's perceived anxiety \rightarrow perpetrator's guilt sequential mediation model (Study 6). *Note.* The multiple mediation model is supported

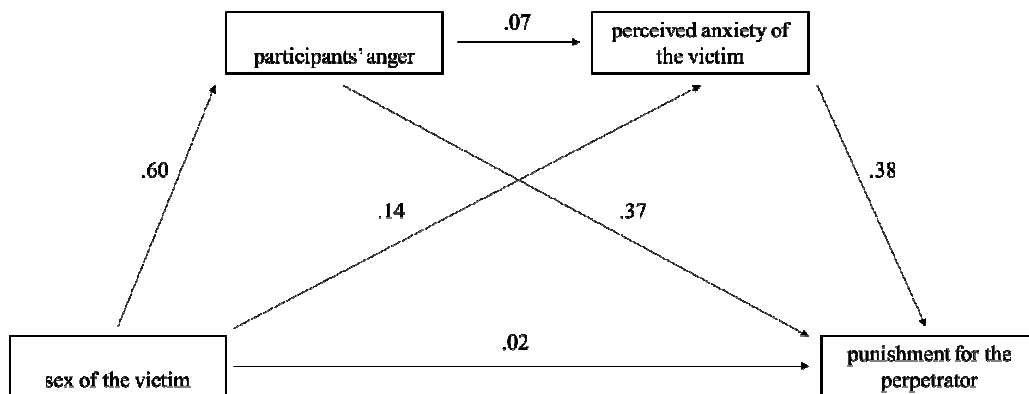


Figure 13.

(5) sex of the victim \rightarrow participant's anger \rightarrow victim's perceived anxiety \rightarrow punishment for the perpetrator sequential mediation model (Study 6). *Note.* The multiple mediation model is supported

Table 21.
Summary of Conditional Direct and Indirect Effects in the Mediation Analyses
(Study 6)

Mediation	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	LLCI	ULCI
(1) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived depression → perpetrator's guilt				
Total	0.13	0.08	-.0050	.3332
Indirect Effects				
Anger	0.03	0.06	-.0726	.1843
Depression	0.06	0.04	-.0001	.1894
Sequential Mediation	0.38	0.02	.0074	.1116
Direct effect	-.13	0.19	-.5131	.2411
(2) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived depression → punishment				
Total	0.25	0.09	.0937	.4838
Indirect Effects				
Anger	0.23	0.09	.0879	.4720
Depression	0.00	0.03	-.0441	.1023
Sequential Mediation	0.00	0.01	-.0307	.0501
Direct effect	0.07	0.18	-.2902	.4319
(3) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived depression → moral agency				
Total	-0.14	0.07	-.3225	-.0112
Indirect Effects				
Anger	-0.12	0.07	-.3018	-.0203
Depression	-0.01	0.03	-.1224	.0475
Sequential Mediation	-0.00	0.02	-.0618	.0338
Direct effect	0.44	0.20	.0448	.8436

(4) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived anxiety → perpetrator's guilt					
Total		0.14	0.09	-.0126	.3601
Indirect Effects					
	Anger	0.05	0.06	-.0514	.1999
	Anxiety	0.07	0.05	-.0034	.2212
	Sequential Mediation	0.02	0.02	.0006	.0881
Direct effect		-0.14	0.18	-.5200	.2314
(5) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived anxiety → perpetrator's punishment					
Total		0.29	0.10	.1362	.5410
Indirect Effects					
	Anger	0.22	0.08	.0852	.4448
	Anxiety	0.05	0.04	-.0040	.1875
	Sequential Mediation	0.01	0.01	.0008	.0780
Direct effect		0.02	0.17	-.3314	.3798
(6) sex of the victim → participant's anger → victim's perceived anxiety → moral agency					
Total		-0.12	0.08	-.3149	.0118
Indirect Effects					
	Anger	-0.13	0.07	-.3107	-.0291
	Anxiety	0.00	0.04	-.0644	.1193
	Sequential Mediation	0.00	0.01	-.0225	.0445
Direct effect		0.42	0.20	.0271	.8260

Discussion

With this study I once again replicated the results concerning opposite-sex SH. The results for the perceived suffering of the victim are straightforward. The female victim is seen as the one suffering more than a male victim. She experiences more depression and more anxiety and the sex of the perpetrator has no influence on the level of her suffering. The perception of the perpetrator is what poses the interesting questions. In the case of opposite-sex SH the male perpetrator who harassed a woman was seen as more responsible for his actions, compared to a female perpetrator who harassed a man. However, he was seen as less prone to agentic behaviors.

As for the perception of same- and opposite- sex SH, again – the results clearly showed that a woman who was a victim of SH was perceived as suffering more from depression and anxiety than a male victim. At the same time, the perception of the perpetrator sometimes depends on the victim and sometimes on the perpetrator; in both cases to the detriment of men – victims and perpetrators. In the cases of same- and opposite- sex SH, a perpetrator (male or female) who harassed a woman (vs a man) deserved a higher punishment. At the same time, a male perpetrator was seen as more responsible for SH but less prone to agentic behaviors than a female perpetrator, regardless of the sex of the victim.

Finally, the significant mediation analyses show that sex of the victim can influence the evaluation of the perpetrator. Regardless of perpetrator sex, when the victim was female, SH made the participants more angry, which made them suggest a higher punishment for the perpetrator and see the perpetrator as less morally agentic. Moreover, the anger caused because the victim was female

was also making the participants perceive her suffering (anxiety and depression) as higher and that made them see the perpetrator as more guilty. The mediating effect of the feelings of anger is consistent with a concept of prosecutorial mindset (Tetlock et al., 2007) where the feelings of moral outrage influence character attributions (and vice versa) which influence punishment (and vice versa) which influence moral outrage (and vice versa). The validity of the anger – punishment and blame link, was also shown experimentally, as a study by Goldberg, Lerner and Tetlock (1999) revealed that there is a positive linear relationship between participants' anger and their willingness to assign blame and to punish a perpetrator, when they think the perpetrator was unpunished.

Summary of Studies 4, 5 and 6

The aim of the three studies presented in this chapter was to verify the following hypothesis:

- (1) Male victims of SH are perceived to suffer less from SH than female victims of SH irrespectively of the sex of the perpetrator
- (2A) Perpetrators of SH on men are perceived less negatively than perpetrators of SH on women, OR
- (2B) A female perpetrator is evaluated less negatively than a male perpetrator.

Concerning the first hypothesis, more often than not female victims are seen to suffer more than male victims. This is especially visible in the cases of opposite-sex SH, but also happens when analyzing same- and opposite- sex SH. The female victim was seen to suffer from more symptoms of depression and anxiety, she experienced more somatic symptoms, and felt a wider range of negative emotions, such as guilt or fear. The result showing the influence of perpetrator's sex on the perceived suffering of the victim that appeared in Study

4, was not replicated in Studies 5 and 6. Moreover, in Studies 5 and 6 it was the sex of the victim that was of importance, suggesting that it is rather the sex of the victim that influences the perception of the victim's suffering, as hypothesized. This supports the idea of the minimization of male suffering, as the clinical data suggests that men suffer at least as much as women following SH, and lay people think that women suffer more than men.

As for the other two hypothesis the answer seems to be: it depends.

Overall the results support the hypothesis that a female perpetrator is evaluated more positively than the male perpetrator (Hypothesis 2B). She is evaluated as more moral, likable, communal, as less responsible for her actions and as deserving more prison years, compared to a male perpetrator, irrespectively of the sex of the victim. However, the mediation analyses presented in Study 6, show that in the sex of the victim can in fact influence the perception of the perpetrator, in same- and opposite- sex SH, as originally hypothesized (Hypothesis 2A). That is, a situation in which a woman is a victim makes participants angry which makes them want to punish the perpetrator more, assign the perpetrator more guilt and which makes them see the perpetrator as less of a moral agent, irrespectively of the sex of the perpetrator.

CHAPTER 5.

General summary and discussion

Clinical studies have shown that male victims of SH suffer at least as much from SH as female victims of SH (cf. Chapter 1.4). However, lay perception of the SH acts, its victims and perpetrators differs depending on the sex of the actors. In particular, that in lay perceptions men are perceived to suffer less than women (cf. Chapter 1.2).

In the presented studies I tested two main hypotheses:

1. In social perception, the perceived suffering of men who became victims of SH is lower than the suffering of women-victims of SH. Specifically, men are perceived as experiencing less stress, depression and somatic symptoms, as seeing SH in a more positive way and as experiencing less negative emotions as a result of SH.

2A. In lay perception, perpetrators of SH, whose victims are men, as compared to perpetrators whose victims are women, are evaluated higher on the dimensions of communion and agency, are more liked and respected and deserve lighter punishment

Moreover, as a consequence of the results obtained in Study 4, I put forward another hypothesis as an alternative to hypothesis 2A. This hypothesis (2B) predicts that female perpetrators of SH, compared to male perpetrators of SH, are evaluated higher on the dimensions of communion and agency, are more liked and respected and deserve lighter punishment.

The concept of dyadic morality assumes that in every situation that can be seen as morally good or bad there are two persons interacting: a moral agent who does things to the moral patient. The first hypothesis that I presented stems from the idea that in this cognitive template women are perceived as moral patients. This means that women are perceived as “natural” recipients of good

or evil, and – most importantly for the first hypothesis – that they are seen as more prone to experience pain than men. This hypothesis was generally supported in the cases of opposite-sex SH in all of the presented studies, and also supported to some extent in cases of same- and opposite-sex SH. A female victim was usually perceived as suffering more from depression, anxiety, and somatic symptoms than a male victim; she was also assumed to perceive the experience as more scary, painful and offensive; and to feel more sadness and guilt than a male victim. The results of one study (Study 3) that compared the effects of SH and financial extortion imply that the effect of women being perceived as suffering more than men can be expected in other situations, not necessarily related to sexual trauma, and that it is a real possibility that women's suffering is generally perceived as greater than that of men's. The results of Studies 4 and 5 suggest that the perception of women as suffering more than men is less pronounced when comparing both same- and opposite- sex SH, as in those two studies a clear cut effect is visible when testing only opposite- sex SH. However, even in this case it is the female victim who is perceived as more scared, as feeling more guilt and as experiencing more somatic symptoms. The presented studies show no indication that a male victim could ever be perceived to suffer more than a female victim, and it is accordingly likely that it is just the sex of the victim (and not the sex of the perpetrator) that influences the perception of their suffering. The findings from Study 4, indicating the influence of the perpetrator's sex on the perceived suffering of the victim were not replicated in any of the other studies, whereas the effect of the victim's sex on the perceived suffering of the victim was found in all of the studies. Overall, the results of the majority of the studies support the first hypothesis that the

suffering of men who became victims of SH is perceived as lower compared to the suffering of women-victims of SH.

Concerning the second hypothesis (2A), drawing from the theory of dyadic morality, I hypothesized that someone who hurts a person who is, by definition, a moral agent (i.e. a man) will be evaluated better than someone who hurts a moral patient (i.e. a woman). This implies that a person who harasses a man will be evaluated better than a person who harasses a woman and that they will receive a lower punishment. Interestingly, systematic differences on evaluation were visible for the perceived agency and respect of the perpetrator, and not for their perceived morality/communion and liking. A male perpetrator who harassed a woman was seen as less moral and likable than a female perpetrator who harassed a man in Studies 2 and 5. This difference was not found for any other victim/perpetrator configurations or in any of the other studies. The second hypothesis, in terms of perceived agency/respect was seemingly supported in Studies 2 and 3, when a (male) perpetrator harassing a woman was seen as less competent/respectable and as deserving a higher punishment than a (female) perpetrator harassing a man. This result was further replicated for the suggested prison sentence in Studies 4 and 5; that is, a man who harassed a woman received a higher prison sentence than a woman who harassed a man.

However, when analyzing opposite- and same-sex SH, it is evident that the results are less clear. Three questions arise when examining the results concerning the perpetrator evaluation. Why are there differences between a male and female perpetrator on the perceived agency/talent/respect? Why does the female perpetrator deserve a smaller punishment? Why are there *no*

differences in the perception of communion/liking between a male and a female perpetrator? In discussion of the results of Study 4 I suggested an alternative to hypothesis 2A, namely hypothesis 2B which can explain the differences in the perception of agency/talent/respect and the suggested punishment for the male and female perpetrators. I suggested that it was the sex of the perpetrator, rather than the sex of the victim, that influences the perception of the perpetrator. This hypothesis can also be constructed on the basis of the concept of dyadic morality and more specifically on the ideas that victims (a “natural” role of a woman in a SH scenario) are incapable of being blamed (Gray & Wegner, 2011) and that one’s status cannot be changed (once a moral patient, always a moral patient; Gray & Wegner, 2009). Consequently, if a woman is, “by nature”, a moral patient²⁹, she remains a moral patient even when she perpetrated an act of SH; and as such, a female perpetrator of SH is evaluated better than a male perpetrator of SH. This hypothesis gained support in Studies 4, 5 and 6, as in all of them the female perpetrator was seen as more agentic/talented/respectable³⁰ and as deserving less prison time than the male perpetrator. At a first glance, this hypothesis and this result can seem to contradict the predictions made by the dyadic morality theory, as the authors claim that “perceptions of agency lead to increased blame” (Gray & Wegner, 2011, p. 516)³¹. However, the authors test and manipulate the perceptions of *moral* agency, i.e. behaviors that can be

²⁹ An alternative explanation that I consider is that the perceived moral agency of men and women is domain specific: women are moral agents when doing things related to the private sphere, but not when doing things from the masculine, i.e. public, domain (such as harassing people). The reverse is true for men.

³⁰ The differences were expected and found on behavioral agency; there were no differences on the perceived moral agency (only Study 6) of the perpetrator, although I expected a difference between male and female perpetrators on this measure.

³¹ I tested this as a mediation model in Study 6: perpetrator’s sex → moral agency → punishment but it was not significant

evaluated as morally good or bad (like helping someone or hurting someone), while my hypothesis and the scales I used tested the perceptions of *behavioral* agency, i.e. the ability to achieve goals (talent, resourcefulness, Studies 2 - 5; finishing what was started, doing the job, Study 6).

In any case, the results concerning the perceived agency of a female perpetrator are also consistent with numerous studies on the perception of women in masculine roles. Albeit most of those studies concerned women in business and not women as criminals, their results show that women who behave in an agentic manner are perceived as more agentic than men who act the same (Rudman, 1998; Eagly & Steffen, 1984).

A different explanation of why the female perpetrator is seen as more agentic than a male perpetrator might be found in the research on shifting standards (Biernat & Manis, 1994). An agentic woman is compared to women in general, not to a “gold standard” of agency and not to a (“naturally” agentic) man. As women in general are not seen as agentic, the evaluation of an agentic woman increases and becomes higher than that of a man, hiding the stereotypical perception of a woman as non-agentic. However, this explanation does not cover the results obtained in Study 6. As Biernat and Manis (1994) note, the use of subjective scales (such as the evaluation scales used across Studies 1 to 5) causes a within-category judgement, i.e. when evaluating on a traditional Likert scale, people evaluate a target woman by comparing her to women in general/ a target man to men in general. Conversely when an objective scale is used (such as assessing the probability of a behavior, monetary or time judgement, ordering according to ranks), the evaluation is more anchored in reality and should be more likely to show the effect of the

stereotypes. Study 6 used exactly this kind of agency measurement. In order to assess the perceived agency of the perpetrator, I asked the participants to assess the probability of different behaviors. This study showed the same result, in which a female perpetrator was seen as more agentic than a male perpetrator. This suggests that a female perpetrator of SH really is perceived as more agentic, as this result was obtained for both subjective and objective scales.

Finally, I should note that both male and female perpetrators were seen overall as not highly agentic and as not deserving respect. This is understandable, as the perception of agency should follow a successful endeavor, and the presented perpetrators' attempts at harassment were rather unsuccessful. Their efforts to establish a sexual relationship with the victims failed (i.e. were perceived as harassment and not as flirt) and as in most cases the perpetrators ended up being charged and prosecuted. From this perspective, it is possible to see the male perpetrator as less agentic than female perpetrator in a yet another way. When a man, who is agentic "by nature", fails, he loses more on his perceived agency than a woman who tries to be agentic and fails.

Also supporting hypothesis 2B, the influence of the perpetrator's sex on the proposed punishment for the SH perpetrator is the same from study to study, independently of the measure used (objective and subjective scales), showing that a female perpetrator deserves fewer years of prison (Studies 3, 4 and 5), a lower financial fine (Study 4) and less punishment (Study 6) than a male perpetrator.

As for the perceived morality and liking of the perpetrator neither Hypothesis 2A nor 2B gained support. In most of the presented studies³², when

³² Studies 2 and 5 being the only exceptions

evaluating same- and opposite- sex SH, I found no differences on the perceived morality/liking of the perpetrators. Whether the perpetrator was male or female, and whether the victim was male or female, the perpetrator was usually seen as immoral. This would suggest a stable, uninfluenced and non-sex dependent evaluation of (im)morality of immoral people.

Numerous studies showed that women and men presented in male roles are usually evaluated in accordance with the sex-role they occupy at the moment, rather than with their actual sex (cf. Eagly & Mladnic, 1994). This could also explain that it was the role of the sexual harasser that was evaluated as immoral and unlikable, rather than the particular harassing woman or a particular harassing man.

Based on backlash theory (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012), it would be possible to develop a hypothesis that predicted differences in the perceived communion of the sexually harassing woman (vs. man) in the opposite direction to the one I proposed. I could have hypothesized that an agentic woman who harasses people would be evaluated lower on perceived morality than an agentic man who harasses people. However, we would not have been able to confirm this hypothesis either. This might be due to the fact that the infamous backlash against agentic women (compared to agentic men and generic women; Rudman et al., 2012) that might have been expected has mostly been observed in research concerning a different kind of agency, i.e. women and men in business roles and not women and men as perpetrators of criminal acts. To my knowledge there are no studies that focused on the perceived morality/communion of male and female perpetrators, and I did not find many studies where different dependent variables were used to see how

perception of the perpetrator differs depending on their sex. Some studies are available if I consider perceived aggression as a measure of morality³³. For example a study on domestic violence found no differences in the perceived aggressiveness or probable future abuse depending on the sex of the perpetrator (Seelau & Seelau, 2005). A study on interpersonal aggression (a violent argument) also showed no differences between the levels of perceived aggression between a male and a female perpetrator (Stewart-Williams, 2002). However, a study on perception of verbal and physical aggression showed aggressive women to be perceived more negatively than aggressive men (Barber, Foley, & Russell, 1999).

An explanation that would go in line with the backlash against agentic women hypothesis, would be that the harassing woman lost more on the perceived morality/liking dimension than the harassing man, but that the men were seen as less moral to begin with. As discussed before (cf. Chapter 1.5) women as a category are evaluated better than men. They are seen as more moral, communal and warm, and thus as more likable. I obtained similar results in a study that was not discussed here (Studzinska, 2014) in which I asked the participants to imagine an average university professor that was either a male or a female, before introducing experimental manipulation. The civil engineering students that participated in that study evaluated an average female professor that they imagined as more moral than an average male professor. This result, obtained on a sample similar to the ones used in the studies presented in this work, would suggest that male and female harassers were evaluated the same,

³³ Database provided by Wojciszke (2010) shows that the adjective “aggressive” is evaluated as expressing immorality ($M = -2.70$), lack of communion ($M = -3.40$) and also agency ($M = 3.15$), but not competence ($M = 0.15$)

because women lost more morality than men who were just always perceived as less moral.

Finally, the mediation analyses conducted in the last study give some support to Hypothesis 2A on the influence of the victim's sex on the perception of the perpetrator. Granted this relationship is not as straightforward as I originally expected but it exists nevertheless. As the mediation models showed, sexual harassment of a woman (compared to sexual harassment of a man) caused the participants to feel more anger; the increased anger made them perceive the perpetrator as having less moral agency and as deserving a higher punishment. Moreover, it made them perceive the victim as more depressed and more anxious, which in turn made them see the perpetrator as more guilty.

Summing up, the perception of people involved in sexual harassment acts depends on the sex of the SH victims and SH perpetrators. Female victims are seen as suffering more than male victims. Male perpetrators are seen as less agentic and respectable than female perpetrators and as deserving a higher punishment. A perpetrator of sexual harassment on a woman is seen as deserving a higher punishment and as less of a moral agent, when mediated by participant's anger. Participant's anger and perceived depression and anxiety of the victim also mediate the relationship between victim's sex and perception of the perpetrator, making him be evaluated as more guilty.

Discussing the limitations of the presented studies, I should note the sampling problems. Most of the studies were carried out on students and even though I tried to balance different majors so as not to have a research samples consisting only of psychology students, this still limits the generalizability of my results. While two of the studies were run online, providing more insight

into the general adult population, the majority of the participants still had higher education, once again making it impossible to generalize the results. Moreover, there was an overrepresentation of women, which mostly made it impossible to compare male and female participants; and participants' sex is an important variable when conducting gender research.

In hindsight it also seems to me that I could have used more diversified dependent variables to measure the perception of the perpetrator. The scale I used throughout most of the studies did not achieve high reliability. To address this issue, as well as to be certain of the perpetrator's evaluation outcomes I should have used a different tool sooner than in Study 6. Possibly scales including only the negative side of things (for example: how immoral is X? 1 – a little bit immoral; 7 – extremely immoral) would also help me obtain less skewed distributions of results and allow me to use the more common parametric tests, but that would cause the problem of forcing the participants' hand. However, I find it rather significant that most of the variables measuring the evaluation of the perpetrator did not have a normal distribution, while the distribution was normal for most of the variables measuring the perceived suffering of the victim.

I also think it was a mistake not to include measures of participants' emotions and other potential mediators of the relationship in earlier studies. Perhaps men are seen as enjoying this kind of sexualized attention, and maybe mediation models: sex of the victim (male) → perceived enjoyment (high) → perceived depression (low) / perpetrator's guilt (low) / punishment (low) would have been significant. However I did not measure any variables that would allow this prediction to be tested.

I believe that in any future studies I should concentrate more on looking for causes of relationships between different variables and not just relationships between variables. I also think a more global approach to the issue of the minimization of male suffering will be beneficial. That is, while in the work I presented I concentrated on sexual harassment, I think this effect will appear in other types of interactions (as was shown in Study 3). Moreover, I think my theoretical speculations concerning women's natural role as a moral patient and men's as moral agent (with a possibility that it reverses depending on the domain) should be empirically tested. Finally, I also believe that in the moral dyad the evaluation of the moral agent depends to a certain extent on the perceived harm (or pleasure) inflicted on the moral patient and this hypothesis also deserves to be tested in more depth.

The presented studies provided the first empirical support for the concept of the minimization of male suffering following sexual harassment, which originates in the research concerning gender stereotypes, in particular those on women's warmth and communion, and men's strength and agency; as well as in the concept of dyadic morality. The authors of the studies on perception of SH that have been carried out up to now have been interested in different dependent variables than the ones I used. Firstly, when concerning the potential effects of SH on its victims, the participants were usually asked to imagine themselves in this situation, and to answer how they would feel following SH. Secondly, there are very few studies that asked participants to evaluate the perpetrator, as most of them in fact ask participants to evaluate the act itself (*is this sexual harassment and to what extent?*) or to evaluate the responsibility of the perpetrator, and not the perpetrator himself/herself. Thirdly,

to the best of my knowledge there are no studies that tried to make a link between the evaluation of the victim's suffering and the perception of the perpetrator. Finally, I am unaware of any similar studies ever conducted in Poland and on Polish participants. As such, the data obtained here adds to the literature on the perception of men and women, and in particular to the literature on perception of sexual harassment by showing that people perceive men's suffering due to SH as inferior to that of women, they perceive the male perpetrator of SH in a worse light than a female perpetrator and that, in a certain way, the sex of the victim can influence the evaluation of the perpetrator.

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Appendix 1.
Short version of the Attitudes Toward Lesbian and Gay Men Scale (Herek & Capitanio, 1995).

A. The Polish version used throughout the studies

	NIE			TAK			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Seks pomiędzy dwoma mężczyznami jest po prostu niewłaściwy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Uważam, że męski homoseksualizm jest obrzydliwy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Męska homoseksualność jest naturalną ekspresją seksualności wśród mężczyzn	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Seks pomiędzy dwiema kobietami jest po prostu niewłaściwy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Uważam, że kobiecy homoseksualizm jest obrzydliwy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kobieca homoseksualność jest naturalną ekspresją seksualności wśród kobiet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

B. The original English version

	NO			YES			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sex between two men is just plain wrong	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I think male homosexuals are disgusting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in men	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sex between two women is just plain wrong	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I think female homosexuals are disgusting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Female homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix 2.

Perception of Sexual Harassment of Women and Men Questionnaire (PSHQ-WM)

A. The original Polish version used in Study 1 – male on female sexual harassment

1. Prof. Kowalski mówi Agnieszce: dobrze wyglądasz, chyba uprawiasz ostatnio dużo seksu

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Prof. Adamski mówi Ani, że świat nie potrzebuje więcej kobiet na studiach, a Ania jest głupia jak każda kobieta

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Prof. Kaczorowski mówi Oldze, że kobiety myślą tylko o tym, żeby złapać męża i urodzić dziecko

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. Prof. Jaśkowski mówi Basi, że musi zachowywać się bardziej kobieco, bo nikt nie lubi babochłopów

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. Prof. Zanowski mówi Magdzie, że kobieta może być jedynie inżynierową, a nigdy inżynierem, bo kobiety nie rozumieją matematyki

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. Prof. Raczkowski, mówi Eli, że nie zaliczy jej egzaminu, jeśli Ela nie zgodzi się pójść z nim do łóżka

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. Prof. Lebedziński dotyka pupy Marty, kiedy myśli, że nikt nie patrzy

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. Prof. Markowski mówi Ewelinie, że załatwi jej stypendium, jeśli Ewelina się przed nim rozbierze

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9. Prof. Zieliński opowiada Kasi kawały erotyczne

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10. Prof. Nowakowski pokazuje Oli swoje nagie zdjęcia

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11. Prof. Szymański mówi Patrycji, że ma nie przychodzić do niego ze swoimi pomysłami, bo kobiety i tak się na niczym nie znają

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12. Prof. Jastrzębowski trzyma na biurku kalendarz z nagimi zdjęciami

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13. Prof. Winiarski wydzwanina co wieczór do Ali i opowiada jej o swoich fantazjach erotycznych, chociaż Ala za każdym razem odkłada słuchawkę

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14. Prof. Godkowski uporczywie zaprasza Gosię na randki, chociaż wie, że Gosia jest w stałym związku

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15. Prof. Wielopolski mówi Joli, że kobieta może zrobić karierę tylko przez łóżko, bo kobiety nie nadają się do pracy

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

16. Profesor Abrowski mówi Ninie, że powinna nosić sukienki, żeby w końcu wyglądała jak kobieta

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

17. Profesor Olszyński mówi Kasi, że ma rzucić studia i iść uczyć się gotować, bo bardziej jej się to przyda w życiu

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

18. Prof. Odrzański mówi Asi, że pomoże jej znaleźć pracę po studiach, jeśli zgodzi się, żeby teraz ją podotykał

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

19. Prof. Rybicki mówi, że załatwi Magdzie zaliczenie wszystkich zajęć, jeśli Magda spotka się z nim wieczorem i będzie się z nim kochać

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

20. Prof. Czerwiński mówi Karolinie, że może dostać wyższą ocenę z egzaminu, jeśli pójdzie z nim do łóżka

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

21. Prof. Zambrzuski mówi Iwonie, że jeśli Iwona nie przyjdzie do niego do domu i nie będzie się z nim kochać, on zmieni jej życie w piekło

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

22. Prof. Książkowski mówi Edycie, że powinna więcej uwagi poświęcać temu jak wygląda i nie zaprzętać sobie główki studiami i pracą

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

23. Prof. Wesołowski gilgocze Kaję zawsze kiedy ją spotyka, mimo że ona wielokrotnie mówiła, że nie czuje się z tym komfortowo

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

24. Prof. Wasilewski mówi Natalii, że nie jest prawdziwą kobietą, skoro nie ma makijażu

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

25. Prof. Wojtkowski wypytuje Beatę o jej życie seksualne i pyta czy myślała o tym, aby uprawiać seks z osobą sporo od siebie starszą

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

26. Prof. Lipski mówi Joasi, że Joasia ma za grube nogi, żeby nosić takie spodnie

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

27. Prof. Królikowski dotyka i całuje Anetę, mówiąc, że albo zgodzi się pójść z nim na całość, albo zgłosi, że ściągąta na egzaminie, chociaż wie, że to nieprawda

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

28. Prof. Małachowski mówi Wiolecie, że albo pójdzie z nim na randkę, albo ma się pożegnać z planami zawodowymi, ponieważ on będzie utrudniał jej karierę, nawet po skończeniu studiów

NIE jest to molestowanie seksualne				JEST to molestowanie seksualne		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NIE wywołuje stresu				Wywołuje stres		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Profesor jest NIEMORALNY				Profesor jest MORALNY		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

B. The English translation

1. Professor Kowalski says to Agnieszka: you look well, you must be having a lot of sex lately

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Professor Adamski tells Ania, that the world doesn't need any more women studying at the universities and that she's stupid like all the women

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Professor Kaczorowski tells Olga, that women only think about getting a husband and having a baby

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. Professor Jaškowski tells Basa, that she must behave in a more feminine fashion, because nobody likes tomboys

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. Professor Zanowski tells Magda, that a woman can only be an engineer's wife and never an engineer, because women don't understand math

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. Professor Raczkowski, tells Ela, that he will fail her, if she doesn't agree to go to bed with him

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. Professor Lebedziński touches Marta's bottom when he thinks that no one is looking

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. Professor Markowski tells Ewelina, that he will get her a scholarship, if she undresses in front of him

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9. Professor Zieliński tells Kasa erotic jokes

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10. Professor Nowakowski shows Ola his naked pictures

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11. Professor Szymański tells Patrycja, that she shouldn't come to him with her ideas, because women know nothing anyway

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12. Professor Jastrzębowski keeps on his desk a calendar with naked photos

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13. Professor Winiarski calls Ala every evening and tells her about his erotic fantasies, even though Ala hangs up on him every time

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14. Professor Godkowski keeps on inviting Gosia for dates, even though he knows that she is in a steady relationship

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15. Professor Wielopolski tells Jola, that a woman can have a career only if she sleeps with someone, because women can't work

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

16. Professor Abrowski tells Nina, that she should wear dresses to finally look like a woman

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

17. Professor Olszyński tells Kasia, that she should quit college and learn how to cook, because she'll need that more in her life

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

18. Professor Odrzański tells Asia, that he will help her find work after graduation, if she agrees that he touches her right now

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

19. Professor Rybicki tells Magda he will get her a passing grade in all of her classes, if she meets with him in the evening to make love

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

20. Professor Czerwiński tells Karolina, that she can get a higher grade from her exam, if she goes to bed with him

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

21. Professor Zambrzuski tells Iwona, that if she doesn't come over to his place to make love, he will turn her life to hell

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

22. Professor Książkowski tells Edyta, that she should take more care about how she looks and not bother her pretty head with school and work

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

23. Professor Wesołowski tickles Kaja every time he meets her, even though she said it made her feel uncomfortable

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

24. Professor Wasilewski tells Natalia, that she is not a real woman if she doesn't wear makeup

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

25. Professor Wojtkowski asks Beata about her sexlife and asks if she ever thought about having sex with an older person

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

26. Professor Lipski tells Joasia that her legs are too fat to pull off those pants

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

27. Professor Królikowski touches and kisses Aneta, telling her that either she will go with him all the way, or he will report that she cheated at an exam, even though it's not true

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

28. Professor Małachowski tells Wioleta, that either she will go on a date with him, or she can say goodbye to her work-plans, because he will make her life hard even after she graduates

This is NOT sexual harassment				This IS sexual harassment		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This is NOT causing stress				This IS causing stress		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The professor is IMMORAL				The professor is MORAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix 3. Beck Depression Inventory (BDI)

A. The Polish version used in Study 2 – female victim

1Nie jest smutna ani przygnębiona <input type="checkbox"/>	Odczuwa często smutek, przygnębienie <input type="checkbox"/>	Przeżywa stale smutek, przygnębienie i nie może się uwolnić od tych przeżyć <input type="checkbox"/>	Jest stale tak smutna i nieszczęśliwa, że jest to nie do wytrzymania <input type="checkbox"/>
2Nie przejmuje się zbytnio przyszłością <input type="checkbox"/>	Często martwi się o przyszłość <input type="checkbox"/>	Obawia się, że w przyszłości nic dobrego jej nie czeka <input type="checkbox"/>	Czuje, że przyszłość jest beznadziejna i nic tego nie zmieni <input type="checkbox"/>
3Sądzi, że nie popęlnia większych zaniedbań <input type="checkbox"/>	Sądzi, że czyni więcej zaniedbań niż inni <input type="checkbox"/>	Kiedy spogląda na to co robiła, widzi mnóstwo błędów i zaniedbań <input type="checkbox"/>	Jest zupełnie niewydolna i wszystko robi źle <input type="checkbox"/>
4To co robi sprawia jej przyjemność <input type="checkbox"/>	Nie cieszy jej to co robi <input type="checkbox"/>	Nic jej teraz nie daje pełnego zadowolenia <input type="checkbox"/>	Nie potrafi przeżywać zadowolenia i przyjemności i wszystko ją nuży <input type="checkbox"/>
5Nie czuje się winna ani wobec siebie, ani wobec innych <input type="checkbox"/>	Dość często miewa wyrzuty sumienia <input type="checkbox"/>	Często czuje, że zawiniła <input type="checkbox"/>	Stale czuje się winna <input type="checkbox"/>
6Sądzi, że nie zasługuje na karę <input type="checkbox"/>	Sądzi, że zasługuje na karę <input type="checkbox"/>	Spodziewa się ukarania <input type="checkbox"/>	Wie, że jest karana (ukarana) <input type="checkbox"/>
7Jest z siebie zadowolona <input type="checkbox"/>	Nie jest z siebie zadowolona <input type="checkbox"/>	Czuje do siebie niechęć <input type="checkbox"/>	Nienawidzi siebie <input type="checkbox"/>
8Nie czuje się gorsza od innych <input type="checkbox"/>	Zarzuca sobie, że jest nieudolna i popęlnia błędy <input type="checkbox"/>	Stale potępia siebie za popełnione błędy <input type="checkbox"/>	Wini siebie za całe zło, które istnieje <input type="checkbox"/>
9Nie myśli o odebraniu sobie życia <input type="checkbox"/>	Myśli o samobójstwie - ale nie mogłaby tego dokonać <input type="checkbox"/>	Pragnie odebrać sobie życie <input type="checkbox"/>	Popełni samobójstwo, jak będzie odpowiednia sposobność <input type="checkbox"/>
10Nie płacze częściej niż zwykle <input type="checkbox"/>	Płacze częściej niż dawniej <input type="checkbox"/>	Ciągle chce jej się płakać <input type="checkbox"/>	Chciałaby płakać, lecz nie jest w stanie <input type="checkbox"/>
11Nie jest bardziej podenerwowana niż dawniej <input type="checkbox"/>	Jest bardziej nerwowa i przykra niż dawniej <input type="checkbox"/>	Jest stale zdenerwowana i rozdrażniona <input type="checkbox"/>	Wszystko co dawniej ją drażniło, stało się obojętne <input type="checkbox"/>
12Ludzie interesują ją jak dawniej <input type="checkbox"/>	Interesuje się ludźmi mniej niż dawniej <input type="checkbox"/>	Utraciła większość zainteresowań innymi ludźmi <input type="checkbox"/>	Utraciła wszelkie zainteresowania innymi ludźmi <input type="checkbox"/>
13Decyzje podejmuje łatwo, tak jak dawniej <input type="checkbox"/>	Częściej niż kiedykolwiek odwleka podjęcie decyzji <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma dużo trudności z podjęciem decyzji <input type="checkbox"/>	Nie jest w stanie podjąć żadnej decyzji <input type="checkbox"/>
14Sądzi, że wygląda nie gorzej niż dawniej <input type="checkbox"/>	Martwi się tym, że wygląda staro i nieatrakcyjnie <input type="checkbox"/>	Czuje, że wygląda coraz gorzej <input type="checkbox"/>	Jest przekonana, że wygląda okropnie i odpychająco <input type="checkbox"/>

15Może pracować jak dawniej <input type="checkbox"/>	Z trudem rozpoczyna każdą czynność <input type="checkbox"/>	Z wielkim wysiłkiem zmusza się do zrobienia czegokolwiek <input type="checkbox"/>	Nie jest w stanie nic zrobić <input type="checkbox"/>
16Sypia dobrze, jak zwykle <input type="checkbox"/>	Sypia gorzej niż dawniej <input type="checkbox"/>	Rano budzi się 1-2 godzin za wcześniej i trudno jest jej ponownie usnąć <input type="checkbox"/>	Budzi się kilka godzin za wcześniej i nie może usnąć <input type="checkbox"/>
17 Nie męczy się bardziej niż dawniej <input type="checkbox"/>	Męczy się znacznie łatwiej niż poprzednio <input type="checkbox"/>	Męczy się wszystkim co robi <input type="checkbox"/>	Jest zbyt zmęczona, aby cokolwiek robić <input type="checkbox"/>
18Apetyt ma nie gorszy niż dawniej <input type="checkbox"/>	Ma trochę gorszy apetyt <input type="checkbox"/>	Apetyt ma wyraźnie gorszy <input type="checkbox"/>	Nie ma w ogóle apetytu <input type="checkbox"/>
19Nie traci na wadze ciała <input type="checkbox"/>	Straciła na wadze więcej niż 2 kg <input type="checkbox"/>	Straciła na wadze więcej niż 4 kg <input type="checkbox"/>	Straciła na wadze więcej niż 6 kg <input type="checkbox"/>
20Nie martwi się o swoje zdrowie bardziej niż zawsze <input type="checkbox"/>	Martwi się swoimi dolegliwościami, ma rozstrój żołądka, zaparcie, bóle <input type="checkbox"/>	Stan jej zdrowia bardzo ją martwi, często o tym myśli <input type="checkbox"/>	Tak bardzo się martwi o swoje zdrowie, że nie może o niczym innym myśleć <input type="checkbox"/>
21Jej zainteresowania seksualne nie uległy zmianom <input type="checkbox"/>	Jest mniej zainteresowana sprawami płci (seksu) <input type="checkbox"/>	Problemy płciowe wyraźnie mniej ją interesują <input type="checkbox"/>	Utraciła wszelkie zainteresowania sprawami seksu <input type="checkbox"/>

B. The original English version

1 [She] does not feel sad <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] feels sad <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] is sad all the time and she can't snap out of it <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] is so sad and unhappy that [she] can't stand it <input type="checkbox"/>
2 [She] is not particularly discouraged about the future <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] feels discouraged about the future <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] feels she has nothing to look forward to <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] feels the future is hopeless and that things cannot improve <input type="checkbox"/>
3 [She] does not feel like a failure <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] feels she has failed more than the average person <input type="checkbox"/>	As [she] looks back on her life all [she] can see is a lot of failures <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] feels she's a complete failure as a person <input type="checkbox"/>
4 [She] gets as much satisfaction out of things as she used to <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] does not enjoy the things the way she used to <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] doesn't get real satisfaction out of things anymore <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] is dissatisfied or bored with everything <input type="checkbox"/>
5 [She] doesn't feel particularly guilty <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] feels guilty a good part of the time. <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] feels quite guilty most of the time. <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] feels guilty all of the time. <input type="checkbox"/>
6 [She] doesn't feel she is being punished. <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] feels she may be punished. <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] expects to be punished <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] feels she is being punished <input type="checkbox"/>
7 [She] doesn't feel disappointed in herself <input type="checkbox"/>	She is disappointed with herself <input type="checkbox"/>	She is disgusted with herself <input type="checkbox"/>	She hates herself <input type="checkbox"/>
8 [She] doesn't feel she is any worse than anybody else <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] is critical of herself for her weaknesses or mistakes. <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] blames herself all the time for her faults <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] blames herself for everything bad that happens <input type="checkbox"/>

9 [She] doesn't have any thoughts of killing herself <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] has thoughts of killing herself, but she would not carry them out. <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] would like to kill herself <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] would kill herself if she had the chance <input type="checkbox"/>
10 [She] doesn't cry any more than usual <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] cries more now than she used to <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] cries all the time now <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] used to be able to cry, but now she can't cry even though she wants to <input type="checkbox"/>
11 [She] is more irritated by things than she ever was <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] is slightly more irritated now than usual <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] is quite annoyed or irritated a good deal of time <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] feels irritated all the time <input type="checkbox"/>
12 [She] has not lost interest in other people <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] is less interested in other people than she used to be <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] has lost most of her interest in other people <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] has lost all of her interest in other people <input type="checkbox"/>
13 [She] makes decision about as well as she ever could <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] puts off making decisions more than she used to <input type="checkbox"/>	She has greater difficulty in making decisions more than she used to <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] can't make decisions at all anymore <input type="checkbox"/>
14 [She] doesn't feel that she looks any worse than she used to <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] is worried that she is looking old or unattractive <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] feels there are permanent changes in her appearance that make her look unattractive <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] believes she looks ugly <input type="checkbox"/>
15 [She] can work about as well as before <input type="checkbox"/>	It takes extra effort to get her started at doing something <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] has to push herself very hard to do anything <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] can't do any work at all <input type="checkbox"/>
16 [She] can sleep as well as usual <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] doesn't sleep as well as she used to <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] wakes up 1-2 hours earlier than usual and finds it hard to get back to sleep <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] wakes up several hours earlier than she used to and cannot get back to sleep <input type="checkbox"/>
17 [She] doesn't get more tired than usual <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] gets tired more easily than she used to <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] gets tired from doing almost anything <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] is too tired to do anything <input type="checkbox"/>
18 [Her] appetite is no worse than usual <input type="checkbox"/>	[Her] appetite is not as good as it used to be <input type="checkbox"/>	[Her] appetite is much worse now <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] has no appetite at all anymore <input type="checkbox"/>
19 [She] hasn't lost much weight, if any, lately <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] has lost more than 2 kilos / 5 pounds <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] has lost more than 4 kilos / 10 pounds <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] has lost more than 6 kilos / 15 pounds <input type="checkbox"/>
20 [She] is no more worried about her health than usual <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] is worried about physical problems like aches, pains, upset stomach, or constipation. <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] is very worried about physical problems and it's hard to think of much else. <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] is so worried about my physical problems that I cannot think of anything else. <input type="checkbox"/>
21 [She] has not noticed any recent change in her interest in sex <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] is less interested in sex than she used to be. <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] has almost no interest in sex <input type="checkbox"/>	[She] has lost interest in sex completely. <input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix 4.
Hopkins Symptom Checklist-25 (HSCL)

A. The Polish version used in Study 2

	wc ale	nieznac znie	umiarko wanie	znac znie	bar dzo siln ie
1. Boli ją głowa	1	2	3	4	5
2. Trudno jej zasnąć	1	2	3	4	5
3. Przyszłość widzi beznadziejnie	1	2	3	4	5
4. Czuje się wewnętrznie napięta lub usztywniona	1	2	3	4	5
5. Czuje się samotna	1	2	3	4	5
6. Czuje, że robienie czegokolwiek wymaga ode niej wysiłku	1	2	3	4	5
7. Ma napady gwałtownego przerażenia lub paniki	1	2	3	4	5
8. Jest tak niespokojna, że nie może usiedzieć w miejscu	1	2	3	4	5
9. Jest złąkniona	1	2	3	4	5
10. Ma uczucie omdlewania lub zawroty głowy	1	2	3	4	5
11. Zanadto się wszystkim przejmuje	1	2	3	4	5
12. Zauważa brak zainteresowania seksem lub brak zadowolenia z życia seksualnego	1	2	3	4	5
13. Odczuwa spadek energii lub spowolnienie	1	2	3	4	5
14. Myśli o skończeniu ze sobą	1	2	3	4	5
15. Jest roztrzęsiona	1	2	3	4	5
16. Nie ma apetytu	1	2	3	4	5
17. Łatwo płacze	1	2	3	4	5
18. Czuje się jakby była osaczona lub znajdowała się w sytuacji bez wyjścia	1	2	3	4	5
19. Odczuwa nagły lęk bez powodu	1	2	3	4	5

20. Czuje się winna z różnych powodów	1	2	3	4	5
21. Jest smutna	1	2	3	4	5
22. Nic jej nie interesuje	1	2	3	4	5
23. Odczuwa zdenerwowanie lub niepokój wewnętrzny	1	2	3	4	5
24. Odczuwa kołatanie lub przyspieszone bicie serca	1	2	3	4	5

B. The original English version

	not at all	a little	moderately	quite a bit	extremely
1. Headache	1	2	3	4	5
2. Difficulty falling asleep	1	2	3	4	5
3. Feeling hopeless about future	1	2	3	4	5
4. Feeling tense or keyed up	1	2	3	4	5
5. Feeling lonely	1	2	3	4	5
6. Feeling everything is an effort	1	2	3	4	5
7. Spells of terror or panic	1	2	3	4	5
8. Feeling restless or can't sit still	1	2	3	4	5
9. Feeling fearful	1	2	3	4	5
10. Faintness, dizziness or weakness	1	2	3	4	5
11. Worry too much about things	1	2	3	4	5
12. Loss of sexual interest or pleasure	1	2	3	4	5
13. Feeling low in energy, slowed down	1	2	3	4	5
14. Thought of ending your life	1	2	3	4	5
15. Trembling	1	2	3	4	5
16. Poor appetite	1	2	3	4	5
17. Crying easily	1	2	3	4	5
18. Feeling of being trapped or caught	1	2	3	4	5
19. Suddenly scared for no reason	1	2	3	4	5
20. Blaming yourself for things	1	2	3	4	5

21. Feeling blue	1	2	3	4	5
22. Feeling no interest in things	1	2	3	4	5
23. Nervousness or shakiness inside	1	2	3	4	5
24. Heart pounding or racing	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix 5.**WHO- 5 Wellbeing Index (WHO) - a short version of WHO Wellbeing Questionnaire****A. The Polish version used in Study 2 – female version**

	Cały czas	Prawie cały czas	Więcej niż połowę czasu	Mniej niż połowę czasu	Od czasu do czasu	Nigdy
Czuła się wesoła i w dobrym nastroju	1	2	3	4	5	6
Czuła się spokojna i odprężona	1	2	3	4	5	6
Czuła się aktywna i energiczna	1	2	3	4	5	6
Budziła się z uczuciem świeżości i wypoczęta	1	2	3	4	5	6
Jej życie codzienne było wypełnione interesującymi ją sprawami	1	2	3	4	5	6

B. The original English version

	all the time	almost all the time	more than half the time	less than half the time	from time to time	never
[She has] felt cheerful and in good spirits	1	2	3	4	5	6
[She has] felt calm and relaxed	1	2	3	4	5	6
[She has] felt active and vigorous	1	2	3	4	5	6
[She] woke up feeling fresh and rested	1	2	3	4	5	6
[Her] daily life has been filled with things that interest me	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix 6

The scale to evaluate the perpetrator's perceived morality, competence, liking and respect

A. The original Polish version used throughout the studies – male version

Niezdolny, bez talentu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Zdolny, utalentowany
Niesympatyczny	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Sympatyczny
Nieuczciwy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Uczciwy
Niegodny szacunku	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Godny szacunku
Niegodny podziwu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Godny podziwu
Niezaradny	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Zaradny
Niemoralny	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Moralny
Nie mógłbym/mogłabym go polubić	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mógłbym/mogłabym go polubić

B. The English translation

Incapable, without talent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Capable, talented
Unpleasant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Pleasant
Dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Honest
Unrespectable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Respectable
Unadmirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Admirable
Unresourceful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Resourceful
Immoral	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Moral
I couldn't like [him/her]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	I could like [him/her]

Appendix 7.
Perception of the event by the victim

A. The original Polish version used throughout the studies

Nie jako przerażające	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Jako przerażające
Jako miłe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Jako niemiłe
Nie jako zagrażające	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Jako zagrażające
Nie jako irytujące	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Jako irytujące
Nie jako obraźliwe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Jako obraźliwe
Jako przyjemne	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Jako nieprzyjemne
Nie jako schlebające	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Jako schlebające
Nie jako bolesne	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Jako bolesne
Jako wyrażające sympatię	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Nie jako wyrażające sympatię
Nie jako przykre	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Jako przykre
Nie jako ubliżające	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Jako ubliżające
Nie jako troskliwe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Jako troskliwe

B. The English translation

Not as scary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	As scary
As nice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not as nice
Not as threatening	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	As threatening
Not as irritating	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	As irritating
Not as offensive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	As offensive
As pleasant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	As unpleasant
Not as flattering	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	As flattering
Not as painful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	As painful
As expressing sympathy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not as expressing sympathy
Not as upsetting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	As upsetting
Not as insulting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	As insulting
Not as caring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	As caring

Appendix 8.
Emotions experienced by the participants

A. The original Polish version used throughout the studies

	NIE			TAK			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Obrzydzenie	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strach	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Złość	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Wstyd	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Winę	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zakłopotanie	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Utratę wiary w siebie	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Wrogość	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zaskoczenie	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Smutek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Oburzenie	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

B. The English translation

	NO			YES			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disgust	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Fear	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Agner	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Shame	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Guilt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Embarassement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Loss of self-confidence	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hostility	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Surprise	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sadness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Outrage	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix 9.
Patient Health Questionnaire-4 (PHQ-4)

A. The Polish version used in Study 5

	wca l e	nieznaczn i e	umiarkowan i e	znaczni e	bardzo silnie
5. Odczuwa zdenerwowanie, niepokój, rozdrażnienie lub obawy o różne sprawy	1	2	3	4	5
6. Nie może przestać się martwić	1	2	3	4	5
7. Nie interesuje się wykonywaniem żadnych czynności lub nie odczuwa przyjemności z wykonywania czynności	1	2	3	4	5
8. Odczuwa smutek, przygnębienie lub beznadziejność	1	2	3	4	5

B. The original English version

	not at all	a little bit	moderate ly	quite a bit	extremel y
Feeling nervous, anxious or on edge	1	2	3	4	5
Not being able to stop or control worrying	1	2	3	4	5
Little interest or pleasure in doing things	1	2	3	4	5
Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix 10.
A scale to measure six emotions

A. The original Polish version

	1. nigdy	2. bardzo rzadko	3. rzadko	4. czasami	5. często	6. bardzo często	7. zawsze
Radość							
Niepokój							
Strach							
Miłość							
Gniew							
Wesołość							
Upokorzenie							
Smutek							
Wzburzenie							
Lęk							
Żal							
Obawa							
Oddanie							
Złość							
Załamanie							
Szczyście							
Wściekłość							
Zadowolenie							
Czułość							
Wstyd							
Poczucie winy							
Przywiązanie							
Depresja							
Nieszczęście							

B. The English translation

	1. never	2. very rarely	3. rarely	4. sometimes	5. often	6. very often	7. always
Joy							
Unrest							
Fear							
Love							
Anger							
Cheerfulness							
Humiliation							

Sadness							
Restlessness							
Anxiety							
Remorse							
Concern							
Devotion							
Anger							
Break down							
Happiness							
Rage							
Satisfaction							
Tenderness							
Shame							
Guilt							
Attachment							
Depression							
Misery							

Appendix 11.**A scale to measure perceived communion and agency of the perpetrator****A. The original Polish version – female perpetrator**

Choć też nie znosi pewnego antypatycznego, a zdolnego współpracownika, zaoponuje przeciw pominięciu go przy rozdziale nagród

0% -----
100%

odstąpi kilka litrów benzyny kierowcy, któremu na szosie skończyło się paliwo

0% -----
100%

choć będzie ją to kosztować więcej czasu niż przypuszczała, załatwi jednak znajomemu przyobiecana sprawę

0% -----
100%

ujawni nieuczciwość swojego szefa, choć wie, że ten będzie usiłował się zemścić

0% -----
100%

bez trudu załatwi sprawę, która dla innych jest niemożliwa do załatwienia.

0% -----
100%

doprowadzi do końca to, co zacznie

0% -----
100%

B. The English version

Although she doesn't like an obnoxious but talented coworker, she will object to omitting him during distribution of awards

0% -----
100%

She will give a few liters of gasoline to a driver who is out of gasoline on the road

0% -----
100%

Even though it will cost her more than she expected, she will deal with a problem, as she promised it to a friend

0% -----
100%

She will reveal the fraudulence of her boss, although she knows he will try to take revenge

0% -----
100%

She will easily deal with a task that is impossible for others

0% -----
100%

She will finish what she started

0% -----
100%

Appendix 12.**Items from the Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ) to measure victim's perceived depression and anxiety****A. The Polish version used in Study 6 – female victim**

	wcale	rzadko	często	prawie zawsze
Czuje się podenerwowana, niespokojna, mocno spięta				
Za bardzo martwi się różnymi rzeczami				
Ma trudności z relaksowaniem się				
Bywa tak niespokojna, że nie może usiedzieć na miejscu				
Łatwo staje się rozdrażniona lub poirytowana				
Odczuwa niewielkie zainteresowanie lub niewielką przyjemność z wykonywania różnych czynności				
Czuje smutek, przygnębienie lub beznadziejność				
Ma kłopoty z zaśnięciem lub przerywany sen, albo zbyt długi sen				
Nie jest zadowolona z siebie, lub odczuwa, że jest do niczego, że zawiodła siebie lub swoją rodzinę				

B. The original English version

	not at all	rarely	often	almost all the time
Becoming easily annoyed or irritable				
Worrying too much about different things				
Trouble relaxing				
Feeling restless so that it is hard to sit still				
Becoming easily annoyed or irritable				
Little interest or pleasure in				

doing things				
Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless				
Trouble falling or staying asleep, or sleeping too much				
Feeling bad about yourself — or that you are a failure or have let yourself or your family down				

FRENCH SUMMARY OF THE DISSERTATION

Problématique de recherche

Cette thèse présente une série de 6 études qui s'articule autour de la perception du harcèlement sexuel (HS), de la perception de la souffrance des victimes du HS et de la perception des auteurs du HS. Le HS se définit par une action verbale ou non-verbale qui a pour objet la sexualité ou le genre d'une personne et qui porte atteinte à la dignité humaine, notamment en créant « un environnement hostile, dégradant, humiliant ou offensif » (Sledzińska-Simon, 2011). Dans les études présentées dans cette thèse, je privilégie la classification de HS suggérée par Fitzgerald, Gelfand et Drasgow (1995) et approfondie dans Waldo, Berdahl and Fitzgerald (1998). Cette classification adopte les trois types de HS décrits ci-dessous,

1. la coercition sexuelle – il s'agit de l'action de menacer une victime ou de promettre à celle-ci une récompense (par exemple un avancement de carrière ou une meilleure note à un examen), ou l'évitement d'une conséquence négative (par exemple la perte d'un emploi ou l'obtention d'une note en dessous de la moyenne) si elle consent au contact sexuel.
2. l'attention sexuelle non désirée – attouchements fréquents de la victime ou tentatives agressives de créer une relation intime ou sexuelle avec la victime
3. le harcèlement de genre
 - a) commentaires obscènes qui consistent par exemple en des plaisanteries sur la sexualité, en des commentaires offensifs sur la vie privée/la sexualité ou sur l'apparence physique d'une personne, en l'action de montrer des photographies pornographiques

b) application forcée du rôle de genre qui correspond par exemple à la réflexion envers une femme qui devrait porter du maquillage pour avoir un apparence plus féminine

c) commentaires négatifs au sujet du genre – qui suggèrent des réflexions selon lesquelles les hommes ne pensent qu'à une chose ou que les femmes ne sont pas capables de diriger correctement des employés

Les études présentées dans cette thèse ont été effectuées en Pologne où la plupart des incidences de HS sont ou ont été très médiatisées, discutées publiquement sur une durée importante et analysées et décrites en détail par les NGO (organisations non-gouvernemental) : par exemple « le scandale de sexe à Smoobrona » (un cas de HS dans un parti d'opposition), le harcèlement des secrétaires de sexe féminin par le maire de Olsztyn et le HS des employées d'une usine Frito-Lay, tous ces scandales concernent des victimes féminines et des auteurs masculins.

Si ces affaires de HS concernent bien souvent des cas de HS envers les femmes, des cas concernant une victime masculine existent aussi même si moins courants. Ils sont moins médiatisés que le HS des femmes, et sont toutefois plus répandus que la pensée populaire ne le suggère. Charney et Russell (1994) estiment que 42 à 50% des femmes contre 15% des hommes deviendront des victimes d'une forme de HS. Bien que le nombre de victimes féminines soit supérieur à celui des hommes, nous ne pouvons pas conclure que le HS ne concerne que les femmes. De plus en plus d'hommes reportent des cas de HS (Foote et Goodman-Delahunty, 2005) et de nombreuses études démontrent que les hommes peuvent également devenir les victimes de HS (ex. Kearney et Rochlen, 2011; Waldo, Berdahl, et Fitzgerald, 1998).

Au regard de ces statistiques et commentaires, nous pouvons alors poser la question : est-ce que les hommes ne souffrent-ils pas aussi de HS ? Quand ils sont interrogés sur leur réaction si une collègue féminine leur propose une relation intime, ils répondent qu'ils seraient flattés (Konrad et Gutek, 1986) et si l'auteur de cette demande est une femme attirante, alors pour ces hommes il ne s'agit pas vraiment de harcèlement (LaRocca et Kromrey, 1999). En revanche, les études sur les victimes de HS montrent que les victimes de HS souffrent de nombreux symptômes psychologiques et physiques, comprenant la dépression, l'anxiété, des maux de tête, l'insomnie ou la perte de poids (Charney et Russell, 1994). En général, l'ensemble des recherches sur les victimes de HS suggère que pour un même niveau de harcèlement, les hommes et les femmes sont impactés par le même niveau d'anxiété et de dépression (Birkeland, Bjorkelo, Notelaers, et Einarsen, 2010) ; dans certaines études, les hommes souffriraient de façon plus importante que les femmes. Ainsi, par exemple une étude sur des anciens militaires de l'armée américaine démontre que les hommes ont des niveaux de Post Traumatic Syndrom Disorder plus importants que les femmes suite au HS (Street, Gradus et Stafford, 2007). De même pour des incidents de HS plus aggravés, les hommes présentent plus de symptômes de dépression et une santé psychologique moindre que les femmes. Une autre étude sur les anciens combattants de la première Guerre du Golfe (Vogt, Pless, King et King, 2005) donne des résultats similaires. Pour des niveaux de HS élevés, l'incidence de symptômes d'anxiété et de dépression augmente fortement, alors que presque aucun changement n'est constaté chez les femmes. Le bilan de la littérature sur le HS montre que 1) le HS impacte de façon importante la santé psychologique, 2) Ce résultat est constaté à la fois chez les hommes et chez les

femmes et 3) les hommes et les femmes sont sensibles aux effets du HS en particulier sur leur bien-être.

Si la perception du HS a des conséquences délétères chez les femmes tout comme chez les hommes qui en ont été victimes, en revanche, la perception de HS entre les hommes et les femmes qui n'en ont pas été victimes n'est pas ressentie de la même manière. En effet, quand on demande à des participants d'exprimer leurs sentiments dans un cas hypothétique de HS, quels que soient les formes de HS, les femmes pensent qu'elles éprouveront plus d'anxiété que les hommes (Berdahl, Magley et Waldo, 1996). Dans l'étude de Konrad et Gutek (1986) à laquelle nous avons déjà fait référence, la majorité des hommes se disent flattés par la proposition hypothétique de relation intime avec une collègue féminine, une minorité trouvant cette situation offensive. En effet, le HS d'une femme par un homme est plus souvent considéré comme HS que le harcèlement d'un homme par une femme (McKinney, 1992; Katz, Hannon et Whitten, 1996) et que le harcèlement par une personne du même sexe (Runtz et O'Donnell, 2003).

Au bilan, les hommes sont des victimes de HS qui engendre chez eux les mêmes problèmes psychologiques et physiques que chez les femmes alors même que la perception sociale ou les croyances populaires indiquent que les hommes ne souffrent pas de HS, j'ai suggéré qu'il existait un effet de minimisation de la souffrance chez les hommes. Cet effet consiste à percevoir la souffrance des victimes masculines comme moindre en comparaison de celle des victimes féminines et à percevoir les auteurs de HS avec une victime masculine comme moins mauvais que les auteurs de HS avec une victime féminine.

Cette hypothèse trouve à la fois un ancrage théorique dans les recherches sur les stéréotypes de genre et dans le modèle de moralité dyadique.

Premièrement, les femmes en général sont évaluées comme étant des meilleures personnes que les hommes (Glick et al., 2004). Elles sont également perçues comme plus morales/communales/passives que les hommes qui eux sont perçus comme plus agentiques/compétents/actifs (Bosak, Szczesny et Eagly, 2008; Spence et Buckner, 2000; Eagly et Mladnic, 1994). Deuxièmement, le modèle cognitif d'une interaction morale entre deux acteurs : un agent moral et un patient moral suggère que l'agent moral possède des intentions et des objectifs, et qu'il est donc actif et auteur d'actions (bonnes ou mauvaises) sur d'autres individus. Le patient moral, quant à lui est passif, recevant ou subissant les actions de l'agent moral (Gray, Young et Waytz, 2012; Gray et Wegner, 2009). Etant donné que le stéréotype place la femme dans une position de passivité, elle apparaît comme le patient moral privilégié voire naturel. Le stéréotype envers l'homme étant plus actif, fait de lui un choix naturel pour l'agent moral. Les études de Gray et Wegner (2009) démontrent que les patients moraux sont perçus comme étant plus susceptibles à éprouver de la souffrance que les agents moraux et que les agents moraux sont plus responsables de leurs actions que les patients moraux. Ainsi, pour ces raisons j'ai supposé qu' 1) un agent moral (un homme) est perçu comme étant plus résistant à la souffrance qu'un patient moral (une femme) ce qui explique la perception qu'un homme harcelé souffre moins qu'une femme harcelée et 2) la personne qui blesse un homme blesse par voie de conséquence un agent moral, cette personne sera alors mieux perçue que quelqu'un qui blesse un patient moral. Je fais alors l'hypothèse que

1. La perception sociale de la souffrance des hommes victimes de HS est perçue comme moindre en comparaison de celle des femmes victimes HS. Les hommes sont perçus comme ressentant moins de stress, moins dépressifs et présentant moins de symptômes physiques, en ayant une image plus positive du HS et éprouvant moins d'émotions négatives en raison du HS.
2. Par rapport aux auteurs de HS avec une victime féminine, les auteurs de HS dont la victime est masculine, sont mieux évalués sur les dimensions de communauté et agentivité, sont mieux considérés et respectés et méritent donc une punition moins sévère.

Etudes empiriques

Afin de tester ces hypothèses, j'ai effectué six études. L'objectif de l'étude 1 était d'identifier la perception des différents types de HS, les victimes et les auteurs selon le genre de l'individu. J'ai testé le HS d'une personne du même sexe et du sexe opposé. Les résultats de cette étude démontrent que seulement la coercition sexuelle et l'attention sexuelle non-voulue sont considérées comme étant du HS. Dans les études suivantes, j'ai donc retenu ces deux types de HS. Dans les études 2 et 3, les participants sont confrontés à un cas de coercition sexuelle (Etude 2) ou à un cas de chantage financier (Etude 3). Dans ces deux études, les cas décrits incluent seulement le HS avec un auteur du sexe opposé de celui de la victime. Dans les études ultérieures (Etudes 4, 5, 6), j'ai utilisé la même méthodologie mais avec des histoires récoltées des médias et de la littérature sur le HS. Ainsi, ces histoires présentaient des descriptifs plus détaillés et réalistes, de vraies situations qui comprenaient des instances de la coercition sexuelle et de l'attention sexuelle non-voulue. Dans ces études, j'ai utilisé toutes les combinaisons possibles du sexe de la victime et du sexe de

l'auteur du harcèlement afin d'établir lequel de ces deux influe le plus sur la perception de l'auteur et les souffrances de la victime.

Étude 1. Perception des différents types de harcèlements sexuels entre sexes identiques ou opposés

Méthode

Les 377 participants (139 hommes et 238 femmes) étaient des étudiants de première année en psychologie, travaux publics ou langues venant de trois grandes écoles polonaises. Leur âge moyen était de 19,55 (SD = 1.54). Il leur a été demandé de rester en classe après leurs cours afin de participer à une étude par questionnaires. Dans la première partie, il leur a été demandé de renseigner leur âge et leur sexe et de remplir une courte version de l'échelle des attitudes envers les personnes homosexuelles (Herek et Capitano, 1995).

L'échelle se compose de trois éléments qui vérifient les attitudes envers les hommes homosexuels et de trois éléments qui vérifient les attitudes envers les femmes homosexuelles. Les participants ont évalué leurs attitudes envers les hommes et les femmes homosexuels sur une échelle de Likert en sept points. Trois scores peuvent être calculés : une attitude globale envers les homosexuels, une attitude envers les hommes homosexuels et une attitude envers les femmes Homosexuelles. Les scores élevés sur cette échelle indiquent une attitude négative envers l'homosexualité masculine et féminine. Pour l'analyse réalisée dans ce travail, j'ai utilisé le score global qui a été divisé en deux sur sa médiane afin de créer deux groupes : attitude positive et attitude négative envers les hommes et les femmes homosexuels.

La seconde partie de cette étude, questionnaire de perception du harcèlement sexuel des femmes et des hommes consistait en une liste de vingt

huit histoires chacune décrivant un acte différent de harcèlement sexuel. J'ai distribué de manière aléatoire quatre versions de la liste (un homme agissant sur une femme, une femme sur un homme, un homme sur un homme et une femme sur une femme). Trois types d'harcèlements sexistes (commentaires obscènes, remarques sexistes négatives, application de rôles sexistes) et l'attention sexuelle non désirée ont été mesurés ; pour chacun d'entre eux cinq histoires différentes étaient présentées. Deux types de contraintes sexuelles (promesses et menaces) ont été mesurés avec pour chaque type quatre histoires différentes. La tâche des participants était d'évaluer chacun des comportements décrits en répondant aux questions suivantes sur une échelle de un à sept : (1) catégorisation en un acte de harcèlement sexuel ; dans quelle mesure ce comportement peut être considéré comme un harcèlement sexuel ? (1 - Ce n'est pas un acte de harcèlement sexuel, 7 - Il s'agit de harcèlement sexuel) (2) le stress perçu de la victime ; dans quelle mesure cette action provoque du stress chez la victime (1 - Elle ne cause aucun stress, 7 - Elle cause du stress) (3) morale perçue de l'auteur ; quel est le niveau de moralité de l'auteur (1 - L'auteur est immoral, 7 - L'auteur est moral).

Résultats

La première étude a montré que chez les étudiants polonais, le harcèlement sexuel des hommes était minimisé dans les cas des formes "plus douces" de harcèlement sexuel qui correspond au harcèlement sexiste. Bien que les trois types de harcèlement sexiste n'étaient pas considérés comme du harcèlement sexuel, la perception du stress qu'il causait aux victimes et la perception de l'auteur étaient plutôt justes. Tant lors de l'analyse du harcèlement sexiste sur la personne de même sexe que sur la personne de sexe

opposé, c'était le sexe de la victime plutôt que le sexe de l'auteur qui influençait la perception du stress de la victime et la perception de la moralité de l'auteur. Ce résultat montre que le harcèlement sexuel des hommes était minimisé de deux façons : en assumant que les femmes victimes souffrent plus que les hommes victimes (indépendamment du sexe de l'auteur) et en évaluant l'auteur de harcèlement sexiste sur un homme comme moins immoral que l'auteur de harcèlement sexiste sur une femme. Les autres types de harcèlement sexuel, i.e. l'attention sexuelle non désirée et les deux types de contrainte sexuelle ont été perçus par les participants comme étant définitivement des actes de harcèlement sexuel. Cependant, je n'ai pas trouvé de confirmation claire de mes hypothèses suivantes : (1) quand la victime est un homme, l'acte est considéré comme du harcèlement sexuel à un degré moindre que lorsque la victime est une femme, (2) la victime masculine est perçue comme étant moins stressée par les faits que la victime féminine, et (3) l'auteur de l'acte sur un homme est perçu comme moins immoral que l'auteur sur une femme.

Plus important encore, j'ai remarqué que les attitudes envers les hommes et les femmes homosexuels jouent un rôle important lors de l'évaluation des comportements liés à la sexualité, en particulier lorsque des hommes doivent évaluer le harcèlement sexuel d'hommes sur d'autres hommes. Alors que les trois autres groupes ne semblent pas faire de distinction entre les victimes féminines et masculines quand il s'agit d'évaluer si un comportement est considéré comme du harcèlement sexuel, les hommes ayant une attitude négative envers l'homosexualité montrent un effet de l'importance du sexe de l'auteur, ou plutôt l'importance de son interaction avec le sexe de la victime. En outre, dans le cas de la contrainte sexuelle, ils perçoivent un homme harcelé par

un homme plus stressé qu'une femme harcelée par un homme, une femme harcelée par une femme plus stressée qu'un homme harcelé par une femme alors que les participants sans attitude négative envers l'homosexualité ne voient pas de différence.

Le but de cette étude était d'analyser comment le genre des victimes et des auteurs de harcèlements sexuels influence la catégorisation de l'acte en tant que harcèlement sexuel, la perception du stress de la victime et la perception de la moralité de l'auteur. Quand la victime était une femme, uniquement l'application des rôles sexuels était plus catégorisée comme du harcèlement sexuel que quand la victime était un homme. Alors que dans le cas de la contrainte sexuelle, pour les hommes ayant une opinion négative envers l'homosexualité, l'acte était plus considéré comme du harcèlement sexuel lorsque la victime et l'auteur étaient de même sexe. En outre, je me doutais que (2) la victime masculine était perçue comme étant moins stressée par les faits que la victime féminine ; cette hypothèse s'est avérée vérifiée pour les trois types de harcèlement sexistes. Cependant, pour la contrainte sexuelle, parmi les hommes qui ont une opinion défavorable envers les hommes et les femmes homosexuelles, la situation était perçue comme plus stressante dans le cas de harcèlement sexuel entre même sexe que pour un harcèlement sexuel entre sexes différents. Enfin, (3) l'auteur de l'acte sur un homme est perçu comme moins immoral que l'auteur de l'acte sur une femme - cette hypothèse a été vérifiée uniquement dans le cas de l'application de rôles sexistes et dans le cas des remarques sexistes négatives.

Études 2 et 3. Perception sociale des victimes et des auteurs de contraintes sexuelles entre sexes opposés

La première étude a montré que seule la contrainte sexuelle et l'attention sexuelle non désirée sont catégorisées comme des formes de harcèlement sexuel par la population polonaise, et en même temps le harcèlement sexiste, bien que perçu comme stressant et immoral, n'est pas vu comme une forme de harcèlement sexuel. J'ai donc décidé de continuer mes recherches sur ces deux types de harcèlement sexuel. Le but des études 2 et 3 était de voir comment sont perçus les actes des auteurs de contraintes sexuels et quelle est l'influence perçue sur les victimes dans des cas plus complexes. Les principales hypothèses pour ces deux études étaient :

- (1) Les victimes masculines de harcèlement sexuel sont perçues comme souffrant moins du harcèlement que les victimes féminines de harcèlement sexuel (études 2 et 3).
- (2) Les auteurs de harcèlement sexuel sur des hommes sont perçus moins négativement que les auteurs de harcèlement sexuel sur des femmes (études 2 et 3)
- (3) Les hommes victimes sont perçus comme voyant le harcèlement sexuel d'une manière moins négative que les femmes victimes (étude 3)

Dans les études 2 et 3, la description du harcèlement sexuel incluait plus d'informations sur la victime et sur l'auteur que la description présentée dans l'étude 1. Cependant, dans les études 2 et 3, j'ai uniquement utilisé des exemples de contrainte sexuelle entre sexes opposés et les descriptions des cas étaient sans équivoque, montrant des exemples de contraintes sexuelles sans actes antérieurs ou simultanés d'attention sexuelle non désirée. Un autre objectif

de l'étude 3 était de reproduire les résultats de l'étude 2 avec un échantillon plus équilibré et de répondre à certaines questions soulevées par les résultats de l'étude 2.

Je voulais savoir si la minimisation de la souffrance masculine peut aussi être observée lorsque la contrainte ne concerne pas des comportements sexuels. Il semble possible que la souffrance masculine soit minimisée quel que soit le type d'agression. J'ai donc comparé dans l'étude 3 non seulement la perception des contraintes sexuelles mais aussi celle des contraintes financières. Par conséquent, l'étude 3 était censée répondre aux questions suivantes :

(1) Les femmes victimes de différents types de contraintes sont-elles perçues comme souffrant plus que les hommes victimes ? (2) La minimisation de la souffrance masculine est-elle spécifique au harcèlement sexuel ou est-elle également observable sur d'autres types de transgressions dont les victimes sont des hommes ?

Étude 2

Méthode

L'échantillon comprenait 154 participants (37 hommes et 117 femmes) recrutés sur Internet. L'âge moyen du groupe était 36.77 (SD = 14.00). La majorité (76.6%) a suivi des études supérieures, 20% avait le niveau baccalauréat et le reste des participants avait soit une éducation primaire ou professionnelle.

L'étude a été réalisée en polonais. Dans la première partie de l'étude, il a été demandé aux participants d'indiquer leur sexe, âge et niveau d'éducation.

Ensuite, ils ont été assignés aléatoirement à lire un des deux portraits décrivant une jeune personne (un homme ou une femme) ayant à faire à une contrainte sexuelle lors d'un stage. Dans une des versions, le superviseur était un homme

et la stagiaire une femme (H sur F) et dans la seconde version le superviseur était une femme et le stagiaire un homme (F sur H). Par la suite, il a été demandé aux participants d'évaluer comment l'évènement a influencé le bien-être de la victime et d'évaluer l'auteur sur différentes caractéristiques (morale, compétent, sympathique, respectable)

Résultats

La seconde étude soutient globalement l'hypothèse que la souffrance des hommes victimes de harcèlement sexuel est minimisée. Premièrement, un homme victime est perçu comme souffrant moins qu'une femme victime. Selon les participants féminins, une femme victime devrait connaître plus de dépression, tandis que les participants masculins estiment qu'une femme victime souffrira plus d'anxiété, de symptômes somatiques et généralement d'un bien être plus faible après l'agression. Deuxièmement, l'hypothèse selon laquelle les auteurs de harcèlement sexuel sur les hommes sont perçus moins négativement que les auteurs de harcèlement sexuel sur les femmes est confirmée avec les participants féminins mais pas avec les participants masculins. Un agresseur masculin qui harcèle sexuellement une femme est considéré comme moins moral et sympathique ainsi que moins compétent et respectable qu'un agresseur féminin qui harcèle un homme.

Une interprétation des résultats actuels est qu'ils illustrent une tendance générale à percevoir différemment les auteurs masculins et féminins : à savoir, les femmes victimes sont vues comme plus fragiles que les hommes victimes et les agresseurs masculins sur les femmes sont perçus d'une manière plus négative que les agresseurs féminins sur des hommes. Ce résultat soulève une question : les femmes victimes sont-elles généralement perçues comme souffrant plus que

les hommes victimes ? Les hommes auteurs d'agressions sont-ils généralement perçus sous un jour plus négatif que les femmes auteurs ? En outre, la minimisation de la souffrance masculine est-elle spécifique au harcèlement sexuel ou apparaît-elle dans d'autres types d'agressions ?

Par conséquent, j'ai décidé de comparer dans la troisième étude la perception des pressions sexuelles et financières (extorsion) dans le cadre d'un travail similaire. La troisième étude compare les perceptions des victimes et des auteurs dans des cas comparables de contraintes sexuelles et de contraintes financières.

Étude 3

Méthode

Les participants de la troisième étude (N=201) étaient des étudiants polonais en psychologie (n=120) et en génie civil (n=31) avec une moyenne d'âge de 20.26 (écart type 1.32). L'échantillon se composait de 134 femmes, 57 hommes et de 10 personnes qui n'ont pas indiqué leur sexe. Les participants ont reçu aléatoirement un des quatre portraits décrivant un stagiaire. Les histoires utilisées pour le cas de harcèlement sexuel étaient exactement les mêmes que celles utilisées dans l'étude 2. Cependant, comme mentionné ci-dessus, j'ai ajouté deux histoires de pression financière. Cette procédure a abouti à quatre conditions : pression sexuelle d'un homme sur une femme, pression sexuelle d'une femme sur un homme, pression financière d'un homme sur une femme et pression financière d'une femme sur un homme. Après la lecture des portraits, les participants devaient remplir un certain nombre de mesures afin d'évaluer la souffrance de la victime et l'agresseur.

Résultats

Dans cette étude, j'ai reproduit les principaux résultats de l'étude 2. Premièrement, j'ai reproduit l'effet de minimisation de la souffrance masculine en montrant que les femmes victimes de pressions sexuelles de la part d'un homme sont perçues comme ayant plus de symptômes dépressifs et somatiques que les hommes victimes d'une femme. Plus important encore, en utilisant un plus grand échantillon d'hommes dans l'étude 3, j'ai montré que cet effet peut être détecté chez les participants masculins autant que chez les participants féminins. Deuxièmement, j'ai montré qu'une femme auteur de pressions sexuelles sur un homme est vue comme plus compétente et respectable qu'un homme auteur de ces mêmes pressions sur une femme. Troisièmement, j'ai montré que la pression sexuelle commise sur une femme est perçue comme une infraction plus grave que celle commise sur un homme. En effet, elle est perçue comme plus effrayante, douloureuse, offensante pour la victime et elle justifie une peine plus lourde pour l'agresseur. En outre, l'étude 3 étend les conclusions de l'étude 2 en montrant que les femmes sont aussi perçues comme souffrant plus que les hommes dans le cas de pressions financières et que les gens réclament des peines plus lourdes pour les hommes auteurs de pressions sexuelles sur le sexe opposé mais pas dans le cas de pressions financières sur le sexe opposé.

Études 4, 5 et 6. Les effets du sexe de la victime sur la perception de la souffrance de la victime et sur les traits de l'agresseur, dans le cas de harcèlement sexuel entre personne de même sexe ou entre personnes de sexes opposés

Le but des études 4, 5 et 6 étaient de répondre aux questions soulevées par les précédentes études, d'établir si les effets obtenus sont répliquables et s'ils sont aussi visibles dans le cas de harcèlement sexuel où la victime et l'agresseur sont de même sexe. En outre, afin d'accroître le réalisme des études, j'ai utilisé des histoires vraies trouvées dans la presse ou dans la littérature décrivant des cas de harcèlement sexuel.

Le but de l'étude 5 était de reproduire les résultats de l'étude en introduisant de nouveaux outils pour appréhender les variables dépendantes (par exemple les émotions de base de victime ; *Patient Health Questionnaire-4* pour mesurer la dépression et l'anxiété)

Comme les deux études n'ont pas fourni de réponses définitives à toutes les questions de la recherche, j'ai décidé de mener une autre étude (étude 6), de nouveau focalisée sur le harcèlement sexuel entre personnes de sexes identiques et opposés, en utilisant de nouvelles mesures de variables dépendantes. En outre, j'ai essayé de trouver des médiateurs potentiels de la relation entre le sexe de la victime et l'évaluation de la souffrance de la victime et l'évaluation de l'agresseur.

Étude 4

Méthode

Les participants (N=221, 83 hommes, 128 femmes, 10 participants n'ont pas indiqué leur sexe), des étudiants en génie civil, avec comme âge moyen

20,79 (écart type 2,73) ont eu la présentation d'un extrait d'article de journal par Szternel (2010) qui décrivait explicitement des cas réels de harcèlement sexuel d'hommes sur d'autres hommes. J'ai créé quatre versions de l'article chacun décrivant le harcèlement sexuel d'hommes sur des hommes, d'hommes sur des femmes, de femmes sur des hommes et de femmes sur des femmes. Les participants ont été assignés aléatoirement à lire l'une des quatre versions et à répondre à une série de questions concernant la souffrance de la victime, la perception par la victime des événements et l'évaluation de l'agresseur.

Résultats

Les résultats de l'étude 4 ont reproduit les principaux résultats des précédentes études. Comme dans les études 2 et 3, l'étude 4 a aussi montré que les femmes victimes de harcèlement sexuel de la part d'une personne de sexe opposé sont perçues comme souffrant plus que les hommes victimes de harcèlement sexuel de la part d'une personne du sexe opposé. En outre, l'acte est perçu comme du harcèlement sexuel dans une plus large mesure lorsque la victime est une femme et que l'agresseur est un homme, plutôt que lorsque la victime est un homme et que l'agresseur est une femme. Qui plus est, l'agresseur masculin reçoit une peine de prison plus lourde et une amende plus élevée que l'agresseur féminin.

Cependant, la vue d'ensemble devient plus compliquée lorsque l'on compare des cas de harcèlement sexuel entre personnes de même sexe et entre personnes de sexes différents. Les résultats indiquent que le sexe de l'auteur a un plus gros impact sur l'évaluation que le sexe de la victime, à la fois lors de l'évaluation de la souffrance de la victime et lors de l'évaluation des caractéristiques de l'agresseur. Il semble essentiel de consacrer plus d'attention à

l'influence du sexe de l'agresseur et à la façon dont l'interaction du sexe de l'agresseur et de la victime peut influencer la perception de l'agresseur et de la victime. Je me suis alors demandé si la discrimination est aussi visible en raison du sexe de l'auteur. Bien que mon hypothèse d'origine soit que les victimes masculines sont victimes de discrimination (c'est à dire que leur souffrance est minimisée), il est aussi possible que les agresseurs masculins soient victimes de discrimination. La discrimination des agresseurs masculins serait aussi compatible avec la théorie de Gray et Wegner (2009) : en raison de son sexe, une femme reste un patient moral même si elle est l'auteur de harcèlements sexuels. En tant que patient moral, elle est moins responsable du harcèlement sexuel et ainsi elle est mieux évaluée et mérite une punition réduite.

Étude 5

Méthode

Les participants à cette étude (N=147) étaient des étudiants en quatrième et cinquième année de droit ; 87 femmes et 46 hommes (14 participants n'ont pas mentionné leur sexe) ; leur âge moyen était 23,91 (écart type=2,2). Ils ont été assignés au hasard à l'une des quatre versions d'une histoire décrivant le harcèlement sexuel d'un employé de banque. Par la suite, il leur a été demandé de répondre à une série de questions concernant la perception de la souffrance de la victime, la perception de l'évènement par la victime et l'évaluation de l'agresseur.

Résultats

Dans cette étude, j'ai reproduit les principaux résultats des études précédentes dans le cas de harcèlement sexuel entre personne de sexe opposé. Pour la majorité des variables portant sur la souffrance de la victime nous avons

pu observer l'effet du sexe de la victime et de l'agresseur. Ainsi la femme victime est perçue comme souffrant plus que l'homme victime et un agresseur masculin qui harcèle une femme mérite plus d'années d'emprisonnement qu'un agresseur féminin qui harcèle un homme.

Contrairement à l'étude précédente, dans l'étude 5 la perception de la souffrance de la victime dépendait essentiellement du sexe de la victime et non pas du sexe de l'agresseur. Ce résultat a confirmé les premiers éléments de l'effet suggéré de minimisation de la souffrance masculine, et a appuyé les conclusions tirées dans les études 2 et 3. Les participants ont vu la femme victime comme souffrant plus de syndromes somatiques et comme se sentant plus coupable que l'homme victime. Dans le même temps, l'évaluation de l'agresseur dépendait de son sexe, montrant une fois de plus que les agresseurs masculins sont également victimes de discrimination comme je l'ai suggéré dans la conclusion de l'étude 4.

Je suis encline à penser que dans le cas de harcèlement sexuel, les hommes sont victimes de discrimination de deux façons : les hommes victimes à travers une minimisation de leur souffrance perçue, et les hommes agresseurs qui sont jugés plus négativement et qui sont plus sévèrement punis que les femmes agresseurs. Afin de résoudre ces ambiguïtés, j'ai mené une autre étude dans laquelle j'ai montré un nouveau cas réel de harcèlement sexuel et introduit une nouvelle façon de mesurer les variables dépendantes, en particulier en me focalisant sur la moralité et la compétence de l'agresseur.

Etude 6

Méthode

Cette étude a été effectuée par voie électronique auprès de 153 participants dont 107 étaient des femmes. La moyenne d'âge était de 33.77 ans ($sd = 9.15$). Une grande majorité des participants avait un niveau d'éducation supérieur au baccalauréat. Ils étaient affectés aléatoirement à une des quatre conditions. D'abord, des questions démographiques leur étaient posées, puis il leur était demandé de remplir le questionnaire *Attitudes Toward Lesbian and Gay Men Scale* (Herek et Capitanio, 1995) et de répondre à quatre questions au sujet de leurs croyances sur la prévalence des auteurs de HS. Ensuite, ils ont été affectés à une des quatre conditions, où il leur était demandé de lire une vignette décrivant un cas de HS (homme sur femme, femme sur homme, homme sur homme ou femme sur femme) et de répondre à une série de questions au sujet de leur perception de la souffrance de la victime et leur évaluation envers l'auteur du harcèlement.

Résultats

Avec cette étude, j'ai pu répliquer les résultats pour le HS concernant deux personnes de sexe différent. Les résultats sur la perception de souffrance de la victime étaient relativement clairs. Une victime féminine est perçue comme ayant plus souffert qu'une victime masculine. Elle éprouve plus de dépression et d'anxiété ; le sexe de l'auteur des violences n'a aucune influence sur le niveau de ces souffrances. La perception de l'auteur des violences soulève des questions plus intéressantes. Dans le cas de HS entre deux personnes de sexe différent, l'auteur masculin qui a harcelé une femme est perçu comme étant plus responsable de ses actions par rapport à une auteure féminine qui a harcelé

un homme. Par contre, la victime masculine était perçue comme moins susceptible d'avoir un comportement agentic.

Concernant le HS de deux personnes de sexe différents et de deux personnes du même sexe, les résultats démontrent clairement qu'une femme victime de HS est perçue comme ayant plus souffert de l'anxiété et de la dépression qu'une victime masculine. Cependant, la perception de l'auteur des violences dépend de la victime et parfois de l'auteur ; dans les deux cas, cette perception est faite au détriment des hommes qu'ils soient victime ou auteur. Dans les cas de HS de deux personnes de sexe différents et de deux personnes du même sexe, un auteur (homme ou femme) qui harcèle une femme méritait une punition plus sévère que pour le harcèlement d'un homme. En même temps, un auteur masculin est perçu comme étant plus responsable de HS mais moins susceptible d'avoir un comportement agentic qu'une auteure féminine, quelque soit le sexe de la victime.

Enfin, les analyses de médiation significatives démontrent que le sexe de la victime peut influencer sur l'évaluation de l'auteur du harcèlement. Quelque soit le sexe de l'auteur, le HS mettait les participants plus en colère quand la victime était féminine, les conduisant à proposer des punitions plus sévères pour l'auteur et à considérer l'auteur comme moins agentic moralement. De plus, la colère engendrée par le sexe féminin de la victime a fait que les participants percevaient ses souffrances (anxiété et dépression) comme plus sévères et qu'ils percevaient l'auteur comme étant plus coupable.

Résumé général

Les études montrent que les conséquences du HS, telles que la dépression, l'anxiété et les symptômes physiques (cf. Chapitre 1.4), sont

similaires pour les hommes et les femmes tandis que la perception du HS des victimes et des auteurs diffère selon le sexe des personnes impliquées (cf. Chapitre 1.2). Dans les études présentées ici, j'ai testé deux hypothèses principales :

1. La perception sociale de la souffrance des hommes victimes de HS est perçue comme moindre en comparaison de celle des femmes victimes de HS. Les hommes sont perçus comme ayant moins de stress, de dépression et de symptômes physiques, ont une image plus positive du HS et éprouvent moins d'émotions négatives en raison du HS.

2A. Par rapport aux auteurs du HS avec une victime féminine, les auteurs de HS dont la victime est masculine, sont mieux évalués sur les dimensions communautaire et agentivité, sont mieux considérés et respectés, et méritent une punition moins sévère.

De plus suite aux résultats obtenus dans l'étude 4, j'ai proposé une alternative à l'hypothèse 2A (2B), notamment que les auteures de HS féminines sont mieux évaluées sur les dimensions de communauté et d'agentivité et qu'elles sont plus appréciées et respectées et méritent une punition moins sévère.

Le concept de la moralité dyadique suppose que dans chaque situation qui peut être perçue comme moralement bonne ou mauvaise, il existe deux personnes en interaction : un agent moral qui fait des actions subies par le patient moral. La première hypothèse que j'ai présentée est issue de ce modèle cognitif selon lequel les femmes sont perçues comme des patients moraux. Ainsi, les femmes sont les cibles « naturelles » ou privilégiées du bien ou du mal et – surtout pour la première hypothèse – elles sont perçues comme étant plus susceptibles à éprouver de la souffrance que les hommes. En général, cette

hypothèse est soutenue par les cas de HS entre deux personnes de sexe différent dans les études présentées et également, jusqu'à un certain degré, par les cas de HS entre deux personnes de sexe différent et du même sexe. Une victime féminine est souvent perçue comme ayant plus souffert de dépression, d'anxiété et de symptômes physiques qu'une victime masculine ; elle est également perçue comme ayant eu une expérience plus effrayante, pénible et offensive et elle éprouve plus de tristesse et de culpabilité qu'une victime masculine. Les résultats de l'étude 3 comparant les effets de HS et du chantage financier suggèrent que cet effet peut jouer un rôle sur d'autres situations, et pas seulement dans le cas de traumatisme sexuel. Il est en effet possible que la souffrance des femmes soit typiquement perçue comme étant plus importante que celle des hommes. Les résultats des études 4 et 5 suggèrent que cet effet est moins marquant en comparant des cas de HS entre deux personnes de sexe différent et du même sexe. Dans ces deux études, un effet notable est constaté seulement dans le cas de HS entre deux personnes de sexe différent, mais beaucoup moins de différences existent pour le HS entre deux personnes de sexe différent et du même sexe. Cependant, même dans ce cas, la victime féminine est perçue comme étant plus effrayée, ayant plus de sentiments de culpabilité et éprouvant plus de symptômes physiques. Les études présentées ici ne montrent à aucun moment qu'une victime masculine pourrait souffrir plus qu'une victime féminine et il est très probable que seulement le sexe de la victime (et pas celui de l'auteur des violences) influe sur la perception des souffrances. Les résultats de l'étude 4 qui indique que le sexe de l'auteur influe sur la perception de la souffrance de la victime n'ont été répliqués dans aucune des autres études. Cependant, l'effet du sexe de la victime sur la perception des souffrances de

celle-ci a été constaté dans toutes les études. Au bilan, les résultats d'une majorité des études soutiennent la première hypothèse selon laquelle la souffrance des hommes victimes de HS est perçue comme étant moindre que celle des femmes victimes de HS.

Concernant la deuxième hypothèse (2A), je me suis inspirée de la théorie de la moralité dyadique afin de faire l'hypothèse selon laquelle quelqu'un qui nuit à un autre, qui lui-même est un agent moral (i.e. un homme), sera mieux évalué que quelqu'un qui nuit à un patient moral (i.e. une femme). Ainsi, quelqu'un qui harcèle un homme sera mieux évalué que quelqu'un qui harcèle une femme et recevra donc une punition moins sévère. Il est intéressant de noter que des différences systématiques étaient visibles pour l'agentivité et le respect perçus, mais pas forcément pour la perception de la moralité/communauté et l'appréciation. Dans les études 2 et 5, un auteur masculin qui harcèle une femme est perçu comme étant moins moral et moins appréciable qu'une auteure féminine qui harcèle un homme ; cette différence n'a été constatée dans aucune des autres combinaisons victime/auteur ni dans les autres études. La deuxième hypothèse, par rapport à l'agentivité/respect, étaient moins soutenue dans les études 2 et 3, quand un auteur (masculin) qui harcèle une femme est perçu comme étant moins compétent/respectable et méritant une punition plus sévère qu'une auteure féminine qui harcèle un homme. Ce résultat a été répliqué sur le temps de réclusion criminelle dans les Etudes 4 et 5. En effet, un homme qui harcèle une femme reçoit plus de temps en prison qu'une femme qui harcèle un homme.

Cependant, dans le cas du HS entre deux personnes de sexe différent et du même sexe, les résultats sont moins tranchés. Les résultats sur l'évaluation

de l'auteur des violences soulèvent trois questions. Pourquoi existe-t-il des différences entre un auteur masculin et une auteure féminine par rapport à la perception de l'agentivité ? Pourquoi une auteure féminine, mérite-t-elle une punition moins sévère ? Pourquoi n'existe-t-il pas de différences dans la perception de communauté/appréciabilité entre les auteurs masculins et féminins ? D'après les résultats de l'étude 4, j'ai suggéré une alternative à l'hypothèse 2A, l'hypothèse 2B, qui permet d'expliquer les différences dans la perception de l'agentivité/talent/respect et les punitions suggérées pour les auteurs masculins et féminins. Je propose que c'est bien le sexe de l'auteur, et non pas celui de la victime, qui influe sur la perception de l'auteur. Cette hypothèse peut également se fonder sur le concept de la moralité dyadique et plus précisément sur l'idée que les victimes (le rôle naturel de la femme dans un scénario de HS) sont sans blâme (Gray et Wegner, 2011) et que le rôle d'une personne ne peut jamais être modifié (une fois vu comme un patient moral, elle est toujours considérée comme un patient moral ; Gray et Wegner, 2009). Il en découle qu'une femme, qui est obligatoirement un patient moral, reste un patient moral même quand elle devient l'auteur de HS et elle est donc mieux évaluée qu'un auteur de HS masculin. Cette hypothèse est soutenue dans les études 4, 5 et 6 où l'auteur masculin est perçu comme étant moins agentique/talentueux/respectable et méritant plus de temps de réclusion criminelle qu'un auteur féminin. En soutien de l'hypothèse 2B, l'influence du sexe de l'auteur sur la punition proposée a été stationnaire dans toutes les études, indépendamment de la mesure utilisée (des échelles subjectives et objectives), montrant qu'une auteure féminine mérite moins de temps en prison

(Etudes 3, 4 et 5), une amende moins importante (Etude 4) et une punition moins sévère (Etude 6) qu'un auteur masculin.

Au sujet de la moralité et de l'appréciabilité de l'auteur, ni l'hypothèse 2A ni l'hypothèse 2B ne sont vérifiées. Dans la plupart des études présentées, aucune différence dans la perception de la moralité/appréciabilité des auteurs n'a été constatée dans l'évaluation du harcèlement moral entre deux personnes de sexe différent et du même sexe. Que l'auteur soit masculin ou féminin ou que la victime soit masculine ou féminine, l'auteur des violences est typiquement perçu comme immoral. Ceci suggère que l'évaluation de l'(im)moralité des personnes immorales est stable, sans influences et non-dépendant du sexe de la personne en question.

Enfin, les analyses de médiation effectuées dans la dernière étude soutiennent en partie l'hypothèse 2A de l'influence du sexe de la victime sur la perception de l'auteur des violences. Cette relation est moins évidente qu'attendue, mais elle existe néanmoins. Les modèles de médiation démontrent que le harcèlement sexuel d'une femme par rapport à celui d'un homme a engendré plus de colère chez les participants et cette colère fait qu'ils perçoivent l'auteur des violences comme ayant moins d'agentivité morale et méritant une punition plus sévère. De plus, cette colère fait que la victime est perçue comme plus déprimée et plus angoissée, donnant alors l'impression d'un auteur encore plus coupable.

Pour résumer, la perception des individus impliqués dans le harcèlement sexuel dépend de leur sexe. Les victimes féminines sont perçues comme ayant plus de souffrance que les victimes masculines. Les auteurs masculins sont perçus comme moins agentique et moins respectables que les auteurs féminines

et méritent une punition plus sévère. Quand la colère des participants détermine la relation entre le sexe de la victime et la perception de l'auteur, l'auteur de harcèlement sexuel sur une femme est perçu comme étant plus coupable, méritant une punition plus sévère et étant moins un agent moral.

Les études de cette thèse présentent des résultats novateurs concernant la minimisation de la souffrance masculine suite au harcèlement sexuel. En référence aux travaux menés sur les stéréotypes du genre, il a été montré que les femmes sont mieux évaluées sur les dimensions stéréotypiques que sont la chaleur et l'esprit communautaire, alors que les hommes sont mieux évalués sur des traits stéréotypiques que sont la force et l'agentivité. Le concept de la moralité dyadique nous a par ailleurs permis de mieux comprendre les résultats obtenus en circonscrivant la position d'agent ou de patient d'HS. Les auteurs des études sur la perception du HS effectuées jusqu'à présent se concentrent sur des variables différentes de celles utilisées dans cette thèse. D'abord, pour cerner les effets potentiels du HS sur une victime, les participants ont dû s'imaginer dans la situation puis ont exprimé leurs sentiments suite au HS. Deuxièmement, il y a très peu d'études qui demandent d'évaluer l'auteur des violences : la plupart des études se contente d'évaluer l'action (est-ce du harcèlement sexuel et à quel point ?) ou d'évaluer la responsabilité de l'auteur et non pas l'auteur lui-même. Troisièmement, à ma connaissance il n'existe pas d'études qui tentent d'établir un lien entre la souffrance de la victime et la perception de l'auteur des violences. Enfin, à ma connaissance, il n'existe pas non plus d'études similaires effectuées en Pologne sur des participants polonais. Ainsi, les données présentées dans cette thèse sont un apport à la connaissance actuelle de la perception des hommes et des femmes et en particulier à la

connaissance de la perception du harcèlement sexuel. En effet, les résultats montrent qu'en général la souffrance des hommes est perçue comme étant moins importante que celle des femmes, les auteurs de harcèlement sexuel masculins sont moins favorablement perçus que les auteurs féminins et que, d'une certaine façon, le sexe de la victime peut influencer sur l'évaluation de l'auteur.

POLISH SUMMARY OF THE DISSERTATION

Cel naukowy rozprawy oraz problem badawczy

Załączona rozprawa przedstawia serię badań dotyczących społecznej percepcji molestowania seksualnego (MS), percepcji cierpienia ofiar molestowania oraz percepcji sprawców molestowania. MS to każde niepożądane zachowanie werbalne lub niewerbalne odnoszące się do seksualności lub płci adresata, które skutkuje naruszeniem jej godności, poprzez tworzenie „onieśmielającej, wrogiej, poniżającej, upokarzającej lub agresywnej atmosfery” (Śledzińska-Simon, 2011).

W przedstawionych badaniach odwołuję się do typologii MS zaproponowanej przez Fitzgerald, Gelfand i Drasgow (1995), a następnie poszerzonej przez Waldo, Berdahl i Fitzgerald (1998). W typologii tej wyróżniono trzy rodzajów MS są to:

1. przymus seksualny (*sexual coercion*) – groźenie ofierze lub zapewnianie ofiary, że jeśli zgodzi się na kontakt seksualny, otrzyma pewne przywileje (np. awans, lepszą ocenę na egzaminie) lub uniknie negatywnych konsekwencji (np. zwolnienie z pracy, ocena niedostateczna)
2. niepożądane zainteresowanie seksualne (*unwanted sexual attention*) – częste dotykanie ofiary lub napastliwe próby stworzenia intymnego lub seksualnego związku z ofiarą
3. molestowanie z uwagi na przynależność do danej płci (*gender harassment*):

3a. obsceniczne komentarze (*lewd comments*) – na przykład: żarty odnoszące się do seksualności; obraźliwe komentarze na temat wyglądu lub życia seksualnego; pokazywanie pornograficznych zdjęć

3b. wymuszanie zachowań zgodnych ze stereotypową rolą płciową (*enforcement of gender role*) – na przykład: żarty z mężczyzny, który bierze zwolnienie w celu zajmowania się dzieckiem; komentarze skierowane do kobiety, że powinna robić sobie makijaż, żeby wyglądała bardziej kobieco

3c. negatywne komentarze dotyczące danej płci (*negative gender related remarks*) - na przykład: powiedzenie, że wszyscy mężczyźni myślą tylko o jednym; stwierdzenie, że kobiety nie nadają się do zarządzania

Większość głośnych w Polsce przypadków MS, jak „seskafera w Samoobronie”, molestowanie urzędniczek przez prezydenta Olsztyna czy MS pracownic fabryki chipsów Frito Lay dotyczy ofiar-kobiet oraz sprawców-mężczyzn. Historie te trafiają na pierwsze strony gazet i są publicznie omawiane przez wiele miesięcy oraz opisywane i analizowane w raportach organizacji pozarządowych. Natomiast przypadki, w których mężczyzna jest ofiarą nie są nagłaśniane tak, jak przypadki dotyczące kobiet-ofiar. Casusy młodego prawnika molestowanego przez starszą szefową (Sijka i Cieślik, 2004), pracownika działu PR molestowanego przez dyrektorkę jego działu (Stasińska, 2010) czy pracowników firmy produkującej sauny molestowanych przez szefa (Szternel, 2010) nie dostają chwytliwych nazw, jak „seksafera w kancelarii” czy „seksafera w saunie” i nie są powszechnie omawiane. Tymczasem przypadki MS mężczyzn, chociaż nie są aż tak częste jak przypadki MS kobiet, są częstsze niż mogłoby się wydawać. Szacuje się, że około 42-50% kobiet oraz 15%

mężczyzn w ciągu swojego życia stanie się ofiarami jakiejś formy molestowania seksualnego (Charney i Russell, 1994). Widać zatem, że chociaż liczba kobiet-ofiar jest większa, to nie można powiedzieć, że MS dotyka tylko kobiet.

Dodatkowo, coraz więcej mężczyzn zgłasza przypadki MS (Foote i Goodman-Delahunty, 2005). W badaniu przeprowadzonym przez Kearney i Rochlen (2011) znaczna większość studentów płci męskiej oświadczyła, że padli ofiarą MS przynajmniej raz w życiu. W każdej z trzech próbek mężczyzn badanych przez Waldo, Berdahl i Fitzgerald (1998) przynajmniej 45% badanych doświadczyło jakiejś formy MS. Natomiast metaanaliza przeprowadzona przez Rotundo, Nguyen i Sackett (2001) pokazała, że różnice między kobietami i mężczyznami w kategoryzowaniu zachowań jako MS nie są duże (średnia wielkość efektu dla wszystkich typów MS to 0,30, s. 918-919).

Co zaś do rozpowszechnienia MS w Polsce, badania przeprowadzone przez Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej (2007) na próbie 424 osób, pokazują, że 22% osób badanych było świadkiem molestowania seksualnego typu obsceniczne komentarze, 7% doświadczyło lub widziało zachowania z kategorii niepożądane zainteresowanie seksualne ze strony współpracowników a 4% ze strony przełożonych. Natomiast 2% wie o sytuacji, gdy ktoś uzyskał różnego rodzaju korzyści, ponieważ utrzymywał stosunki seksualne z przełożonym lub wykładowcą. W tym samym badaniu 5% mężczyzn i 13% kobiet przyznało, że było obiektem obscenicznych komentarzy. Z raportu dowiadujemy się również, że co dwudziesta kobieta doświadczyła niepożądanego zainteresowania seksualnego, a „wśród mężczyzn są to nieliczne przypadki” (s. 8). Najnowsze badanie przeprowadzone przez CEBOS (Sulej i Jablonska, 2015; Roszak, 2015) na 980 osobach (476 mężczyznach, Roszak, prywatna korespondencja, 2015)

pokazało, że 11.3% kobiet i 6.8% mężczyzn odpowiedziało, że „często” lub „kilkakrotnie” zdarzyło im się doświadczyć „niechcianych zalotów, erotycznych zaczepek, seksualnych propozycji”. 12.7% kobiet oraz 14.7% mężczyzn odpowiedziało, że zdarza im się to rzadko, w końcu – ponad 70% kobiet i mężczyzn odpowiedziało, że nie przytrafia im się to nigdy.

Może się jednak wydawać, że chociaż mężczyźni doświadczają molestowania seksualnego, sprawia im ono przyjemność i nie wywołuje negatywnych skutków. Badania pokazują, że mężczyźni zapytani o to, jak by się czuli, gdyby koleżanka z pracy zaproponowała im seks, odpowiadali że byłoby to pochlebające (Konrad i Gutek, 1986), a jeśli sprawcą MS byłaby atrakcyjna kobieta, nie byłoby to tak do końca molestowaniem (LaRocca i Kromrey, 1999). Badania przeprowadzone na rzeczywistych ofiarach MS, pokazują jednak co innego. Ofiary MS cierpią z powodu psychologicznych oraz somatycznych skutków MS. Dotyka ich, między innymi, depresja, lęk, bóle głowy, problemy ze snem czy utrata wagi (Charney i Russell, 1994). Przegląd badań nad ofiarami MS sugeruje, że kiedy natężenie molestowania jest takie samo, mężczyźni i kobiety są nim dotknięci w równym stopniu, a niektóre badania pokazują wręcz, że to mężczyźni cierpią bardziej. Badanie przeprowadzone przez Birkeland, Bjorkelo, Notelaers i Einarsen (2010) wykazało, że to nie płeć wpływa na poziom lęku i depresji wśród ofiar MS, ale samo doświadczenie MS. W badaniu przeprowadzonym na próbie byłych wojskowych, składającej się z 2319 kobiet oraz 1627 mężczyzn (Street, Gradus i Stafford, 2007), MS było mocnym indywidualnym predyktorem depresji dla całej próby, jednak mężczyźni doświadczali większej ilości objawów stresu post-traumatycznego na skutek MS. Natomiast przy wysokim natężeniu MS, to mężczyźni mieli więcej

symptomów depresji oraz niższą jakość zdrowia psychicznego. Inne badanie, w którym udział brali weterani I wojny w Zatoce Perskiej (Vogt, Pless, King i King, 2005), pokazało podobny wzorzec wyników. Przy wysokim natężeniu MS, ilość objawów depresji wzrastała gwałtownie wśród mężczyzn, a prawie nie zmieniała się wśród kobiet. Taki sam wynik otrzymano dla natężenia lęku wynikającego z doświadczenia MS. Można zatem powiedzieć, że MS w znacznym stopniu wpływa na stan psychiczny zarówno kobiet, jak i mężczyzn oraz że obie płcie są wrażliwe na wpływ MS na ich samopoczucie.

Percepcja molestowania seksualnego przez osoby, który nie były ofiarami, wydaje się nie odzwierciedlać rzeczywistości. Gdy zapytano respondentów, jak czuliby się jako ofiary MS, w przypadku wszystkich typów molestowania seksualnego, kobiety zakładały, że będą odczuwały więcej lęku niż mężczyźni (Berdahl, Magley i Waldo, 1996). Wspomniane wcześniej badanie przeprowadzone przez Konrad i Gutek (1986) pokazało, że znaczna większość mężczyzn wierzyła, że w przypadku, gdy koleżanka z pracy zaproponuje im seks, zinterpretują to jako pochlebstwo oraz że znaczna mniejszość podejrzewała, że taka sytuacja ich obrazi. Dokładnie odwrotne wyniki otrzymano wśród badanych kobiet. Natomiast MS kobiety przez mężczyznę było w większym stopniu kategoryzowane jako MS, niż w przypadku gdy to kobieta molestowała mężczyznę (McKinney, 1992; Katz, Hannon i Whitten, 1996) czy gdy ofiara i sprawca byli tej samej płci (Runtz i O'Donnell, 2003).

Zatem, biorąc pod uwagę, że mężczyźni padają ofiarą MS, które wywołuje u nich takie same skutki psychologiczne jak u kobiet, podczas gdy w odbiorze społecznym mężczyźni nie są dotknięci MS, sugeruję istnienie efektu

minimalizacji męskiego cierpienia. Przejawem tego efektu miałyby być postrzeganie cierpienia mężczyzn-ofiar MS jako mniejszego niż cierpienie kobiet-ofiar oraz lepsza ocena sprawcy, który molestuje mężczyzn w porównaniu do sprawcy, który molestuje kobiety.

Hipotezy te można wyprowadzić również z bardziej ogólnych badań dotyczących percepcji świata społecznego, a mianowicie z badań nad stereotypami płciowymi oraz z badań nad diadycznym modelem moralności. Przede wszystkim, kobiety jako kategoria są oceniane lepiej niż mężczyźni (Glick et al., 2004), są również postrzegane jako bardziej moralne, wspólnotowe oraz pasywne niż mężczyźni, którzy z kolei są postrzegani jako bardziej sprawczy, kompetentni i aktywni niż kobiety (Bosak, Szczesny, i Eagly, 2008; Spence i Buckner, 2000; Eagly i Mladnic, 1994). Dodatkowo szablon interakcji moralnych, zakłada występowanie dwóch bytów: moralnego sprawcy i moralnego biorcy. Moralny sprawca ma intencje, cele, jest aktywny i robi (dobre lub złe) rzeczy skierowane na innych; podczas gdy moralny biorca jest pasywny i tylko odbiera to zło lub dobro, które przychodzi do niego od moralnego sprawcy (Gray, Young, i Waytz, 2012; Gray i Wegner, 2009). Ponieważ stereotyp kobiety zakłada, że nie jest ona aktywna, kobieta wydaje się być „naturalnym” moralnym biorcą. Podczas gdy stereotyp mężczyzny plasuje go w pozycji aktywnej – czyniąc go „naturalnym” moralnym sprawcą. Badania przeprowadzone przez Gray’a i Wegnera (2009) pokazały również, że moralni biorcy są postrzegani jako bardziej podatni na odczuwanie bólu niż moralni sprawcy; natomiast moralni sprawcy są postrzegani jako bardziej odpowiedzialni za swoje zachowania niż moralni biorcy. Dodatkowo biorąc pod uwagę, że kulturowo to kobiety obsadzone są w roli „biorców” molestowania

seksualnego, a mężczyźni w roli sprawców molestowania seksualnego, możemy przypuszczać, że w sytuacji molestowania seksualnego domyślnie mamy do czynienia z kobietą w roli moralnego biorcy, a mężczyzną w roli moralnego sprawcy. Co z tego wynika? (1) Moralny sprawca (mężczyzna) jest bardziej odporny na ból niż moralny biorca (kobieta), dlatego molestowany seksualnie mężczyzna będzie postrzegany jako cierpiący mniej, niż molestowana seksualnie kobieta. (2) Osoba krzywdząca mężczyznę krzywdzi kogoś, kto z definicji jest moralnym sprawcą, a więc będzie oceniana lepiej, niż osoba krzywdząca moralnego biorcę.

W związku z tym, stawiam następujące szczegółowe hipotezy:

1. W percepcji społecznej cierpienie mężczyzn, którzy stali się ofiarami molestowania seksualnego, postrzegane jest jako mniejsze w porównaniu z kobietami-ofiarami, to znaczy mężczyźni, w porównaniu do kobiet, postrzegani są jako doświadczający mniej objawów depresji i objawów somatycznych, jako widzący molestowanie w bardziej pozytywny sposób oraz odczuwający mniej negatywnych emocji związanych z wydarzeniem.
2. Sprawcy molestowania seksualnego, którego ofiarami są mężczyźni, w porównaniu do sprawców, których ofiarami są kobiety, są oceniani lepiej na wymiarze wspólnotowości i sprawczości, są bardziej lubiani i szanowani oraz uważani za zasługujących na mniejsze kary (lata więzienia, kwota odszkodowania).

Badania empiryczne

W mojej rozprawie przedstawiam sześć badań weryfikujących powyższe hipotezy. Badanie 1 miało na celu sprawdzenie, w jaki sposób postrzegane są różne typy MS oraz sprawcy i ofiary różnych typów MS w zależności od ich

płci. Wyniki tego badania pokazały, że tylko przymus seksualny i niepożądane zainteresowanie seksualne były postrzegane jako MS. W związku z tym dalsze badania postanowiłam skoncentrować wokół tych właśnie typów MS. Badanie 2 oraz Badanie 3 przedstawiało opis przypadku przymusu seksualnego w stosunku do stażystki lub stażysty przez osobę przeciwnej płci (Badanie 2) lub opis przypadku przymusu seksualnego albo przypadku wymuszenia pieniędzy przez osobę przeciwnej płci (Badanie 3). Osoby badane proszono o przeczytanie losowo przydzielonej historyjki, a następnie o ocenienie sprawcy oraz o ocenę, jakie skutki psychologiczne mogła wywołać u ofiary opisana sytuacja. W kolejnych badaniach (Badanie 4, 5 i 6) wykorzystałam tę samą metodologię. Historie przedstawione osobom badanym w tej serii badań nie zostały jednak stworzone specjalnie na potrzeby badania, lecz były to oryginalne historie zaczerpnięte z prasy oraz literatury dotyczącej MS. Zawierały one zatem bardziej realistyczne oraz szczegółowe opisy sytuacji faktycznych. W tej serii zdecydowałam się również na przebadanie wszystkich konfiguracji płci ofiary i sprawcy.

Badanie 1. Wpływ płci ofiar i sprawców na percepcję różnych typów molestowania seksualnego

Procedura i materiały

Pierwsze badanie zostało przeprowadzone na 377 studentach budownictwa lądowego (139 mężczyzn), średni wiek to 19,55 (sd = 1.54). Osoby badane wypełniały Attitudes Toward Lesbian and Gay Men Scale (Herek i Capitanio, 1995) w tłumaczeniu własnym. Skala ta składa się z trzech twierdzeń mierzących postawę wobec homoseksualnych mężczyzn oraz trzech wobec homoseksualnych kobiet. Każde twierdzenie oceniane jest na 7-

stopniowej skali. W opisywanym badaniu wykorzystałam średnią z sześciu pozycji, tym samym uzyskując wartość określającą ogólną postawę wobec osób homoseksualnych. Wartość podzieliłam według mediany, żeby uzyskać dwie grupy: pozytywna lub negatywna postawa wobec osób homoseksualnych. Kolejną częścią badania było wypełnienie jednej z czterech wersji (mężczyzna-sprawca oraz kobieta-ofiara, kobieta-sprawca oraz mężczyzna-ofiara, mężczyzna-sprawca oraz mężczyzna-ofiara, kobieta-sprawca oraz kobieta-ofiara) Kwestionariusza Percepcji Molestowania Seksualnego Kobiet i Mężczyzn (KPMS-KM), który opracowałam w oparciu o Perception of Sexual Harassment Questionnaire (PSHQ; Katz, Hannon i Whitten, 1996). KPMS-KM składa się z 28 zdań/historyjek opisujących różne zachowania będące przykładami MS (na przykład: Prof. Kowalska mówi Agnieszce: dobrze wyglądasz, chyba uprawiasz ostatnio dużo seksu). W zależności od wersji, którą otrzymała dana osoba, każde zachowanie było opisane przy użyciu męskiego lub kobiecego imienia studenta (np. Monika, Marek) oraz męskiego lub kobiecego nazwiska profesora (np. Studzińska, Studziński). Zadaniem osób badanych było ocenienie na 7-punktowej skali: (1) czy dane zachowanie stanowi przykład MS (kategoryzacja jako MS) (2) do jakiego stopnia zachowanie jest stresujące dla ofiary (postrzegany stres ofiary) (3) do jakiego stopnia sprawca jest moralny (postrzegana moralność sprawcy).

Podsumowanie wyników Badania 1 i dyskusja

Wyniki pierwszego badania wskazały, że cierpienie mężczyzn było minimalizowane w przypadkach „łagodniejszych” form MS, to znaczy trzech podtypów molestowania z uwagi na przynależność do danej płci. Chociaż te trzy typy molestowania nie były kategoryzowane jako MS, to były postrzegane

jako stresujące dla ofiary, a ich sprawca był oceniony jako niemoralny.

Jednocześnie, z analizy danych dotyczących tego typu molestowania seksualnego wynika, że według osób badanych to kobieta cierpiała bardziej niż mężczyzna (niezależnie od płci sprawcy), a sprawca, którego ofiarą była kobieta był widziany jako mniej moralny, niż sprawca, którego ofiarą był mężczyzna (niezależnie od płci sprawcy).

Analiza pozostałych typów MS (niepożądane zainteresowanie seksualne oraz przymus seksualny) pokazała, że były one postrzegane jako MS, ale nie dała prostych odpowiedzi i jasnego potwierdzenia postawionych hipotez. Przede wszystkim, widać, że postawa wobec osób homoseksualnych ma bardzo duże znaczenie podczas oceniania MS, szczególnie wśród mężczyzn oceniających sytuację, w której to mężczyzna molestuje kobietę. Podczas gdy wśród pozostałych uczestników badania nie widać różnicowania pomiędzy kobietami- i mężczyznami- ofiarami, mężczyźni nastawieni negatywnie do osób homoseksualnych postrzegali przymus seksualny jako MS w większym stopniu, gdy mężczyzna molestował kobietę (vs. kobietę) i gdy kobieta molestowała kobietę (vs. mężczyznę). Zbliżony układ wyników znajdujemy przy ocenie stresu ofiary. Mężczyźni o negatywnym nastawieniu do osób homoseksualnych oceniają kobietę molestowaną przez kobietę jako bardziej zestresowaną niż mężczyznę molestowaną przez kobietę.

Badanie 2. Wpływ płci ofiary na percepcję jej cierpienia oraz na percepcję sprawcy, w przypadku MS osób przeciwnej płci

Pierwsze badanie pokazało, że tylko przymus seksualny oraz niepożądane zainteresowanie seksualne są kategoryzowane jako MS. W związku z tym, postanowiłam skoncentrować dalsze badania na tych typach

MS. Celem Badania 2 było sprawdzenie, w jaki sposób oceniani są sprawcy MS typu przymus seksualny oraz jak postrzegany jest wpływ MS na jego ofiary, kiedy opisane sytuacje są bardziej złożone i przedstawiają sytuację MS w szerszym kontekście. W badaniu tym ograniczyłam się do MS, gdzie sprawca i ofiara są przeciwnej płci.

Procedura i materiały

Badanie zostało przeprowadzone przez Internet na 154 osobach (117 kobiet). Średnia wieku tej grupy wynosiła 36,77 (SD = 14,00), większość osób (76,6%) miała wyższe wykształcenie. Na wstępie osoby badane zostały poproszone o podanie swojej płci, wieku oraz wykształcenia. Następnie przydzielono im losowo wybraną wersję winietki opisującej molestowanie seksualne typu przymus seksualny oraz poproszono o ocenę poziomu depresji, lęku i symptomów somatycznych u ofiary MS oraz ocenę moralności/lubienia i kompetencji/szacunku sprawcy.

Podsumowanie wyników Badania 2 i dyskusja

Badanie drugie potwierdziło hipotezę minimalizacji męskiego cierpienia. Po pierwsze, cierpienie mężczyzny-ofiary oceniane było jako mniejsze niż cierpienie kobiety-ofiary. Oznacza to, że osoby badane przewidują, iż mężczyzna, który padnie ofiarą molestowania seksualnego będzie miał mniej objawów depresji, lęku oraz symptomów somatycznych niż molestowana kobieta. Po drugie, sprawczyni molestowania, którego ofiarą pada mężczyzna jest oceniana lepiej, niż sprawca, którego ofiarą jest kobieta. Sprawczyni jest widziana jako bardziej wspólnotowa i zasługująca na większy szacunek (czy też: mniej niewspólnotowa i zasługująca na mniejszy brak szacunku) oraz

bardziej sprawcza i mniej nielubiana, ale tylko przez badane kobiety (brak efektów w grupie mężczyzn).

Jednakże, należy wziąć pod uwagę, że efekt ten może wynikać z generalnej tendencji do spostrzegania kobiet-ofiar jako delikatniejszych niż mężczyźni-ofiary oraz do oceniania sprawców MS bardziej negatywnie niż sprawczynie MS. To zaś rodzi szereg pytań: Czy cierpienie kobiet-ofiar agresji jest generalnie postrzegane jako większe niż mężczyzn-ofiar agresji? Czy sprawcy aktów agresji są zazwyczaj postrzegani bardziej negatywnie niż sprawczynie? Czy efekt minimalizacji męskiego cierpienia jest specyficzny dla MS, czy też występuje w przypadku innych aktów agresji?

Badanie 3. Wpływ płci ofiary oraz typu wymuszenia na percepcję cierpienia ofiary oraz na percepcję sprawcy, w przypadku MS osób przeciwnej płci

Celem tego badania była replikacja wcześniej uzyskanych wyników oraz odpowiedź na niektóre z pytań, które zrodziło Badanie 2. Chciałam ustalić, czy proponowany efekt minimalizacji męskiego cierpienia pojawia się również wtedy, gdy wymuszenie nie dotyczy zachowań związanych z seksem. Wydaje się bowiem prawdopodobne, że męskie cierpienie jest minimalizowana niezależnie od typu aktu agresji. W przedstawionym badaniu porównywałam percepcję społeczną ofiar i sprawców dwóch typów wymuszenia. Osoby badane dostały do przeczytania albo historię przedstawioną w Badaniu 2 (MS), albo tę samą historię, w której zmieniono jedno zdanie, opisując tym samym sytuację wymuszenia finansowego: Stażysta/stażystka dowiedział/a się od opiekuna stażu, że dostanie pracę, pod warunkiem, że mu/jej zapłaci.

Procedura i materiały

W badaniu wzięli udział studenci psychologii ($n = 120$) oraz budownictwa lądowego ($n = 81$). Średni wiek osób badanych wynosił 20,26 ($SD = 1,32$). Większość stanowiły kobiety ($n=134$), a 10 osób nie podało swojej płci.

Pierwsza część badania wyglądała tak samo jak w Badaniu 2. Osoby podały swoją płeć i wiek oraz zostały poproszone o przeczytanie jednej z czterech wersji historyjki o stażu (mężczyzna-sprawca oraz kobieta-ofiara MS, mężczyzna-sprawca oraz kobieta-ofiara wymuszenie finansowe, kobieta-sprawca oraz mężczyzna-ofiara MS, kobieta-sprawca oraz mężczyzna-ofiara wymuszenie finansowe). Następnie badani odpowiadali na serię pytań, mających na celu sprawdzenie, w jaki sposób postrzegają cierpienie ofiary oraz jak oceniają sprawcę.

Podsumowanie wyników Badania 3 i dyskusja

W przedstawionym badaniu udało mi się częściowo zreplikować wyniki Badania 2 pokazując, że postrzegany poziom cierpienia kobiety-ofiary MS jest wyższy niż mężczyzny-ofiary MS. Dokładniej zaś, że w percepcji społecznej kobieta-ofiara doświadcza więcej objawów depresji, a także że postrzega ona MS jako bardziej przerażające, bolesne i obraźliwe niż mężczyzna-ofiara. Dodatkowo, wyższy wymiar kary dla sprawcy MS na kobiecie również pokazuje, że MS popełnione na kobiecie jest postrzegane jako bardziej poważne przestępstwo, niż MS popełnione na mężczyźnie. Sprawca MS i wymuszenia finansowego na kobiecie był również postrzegany jako mniej kompetentny i szanowany niż sprawca, którego ofiarą był mężczyzna. Tym samym, badanie to wspiera hipotezę, że w percepcji społecznej, cierpienie kobiet-ofiar jest większe,

niż cierpienie mężczyzn-ofiar. Jednak pokazuje również, że cierpienie kobiet-ofiar jest postrzegane jako większe także w przypadku wymuszenia finansowego.

Podsumowując, badanie to częściowo potwierdza główną hipotezę o minimalizacji męskiego cierpienia, pokazując jednocześnie, że efekt ten nie jest unikalny dla MS. W celu przedstawienia bardziej klarownego obrazu efektu minimalizacji męskiej traumy w kolejnych badaniach postanowiłam poszukać odpowiedzi na następujące pytania: czy cierpienie mężczyzn-ofiar jest oceniane jako mniejsze, ponieważ są oni postrzegani jako twardsi oraz mniej uczuciowi, czy też dlatego, że MS mężczyzny przez kobietę nie jest widziane jako rzeczywiste zagrożenie?, czy to płeć ofiary, czy też płeć sprawcy bardziej wpływa na percepcję MS?, czy sprawcy MS na kobietach są oceniani gorzej, czy też mężczyźni-sprawcy są oceniani gorzej?

Badanie 4. Wpływ płci ofiary na percepcję jej cierpienia oraz na percepcję sprawcy, w przypadku MS osób tej samej oraz przeciwnej płci

Historie wykorzystane w dwóch poprzednich badaniach zostały sztucznie stworzone i przedstawiały „czysty” przypadek przymusu seksualnego, podczas gdy zazwyczaj przymus seksualny poprzedzony jest i współwystępuje z niepożądanym zainteresowaniem seksualnym. Zatem aby zwiększyć realizm badania, wykorzystałam prawdziwą historię MS przedstawioną w Głosie Wrzesińskim (Szternel, 2010). Użyty fragment artykułu przedstawiał przypadek molestowania seksualnego pana Bogumiła (imię zmienione) przez Hansa Stiebe, właściciela firmy znajdującej się w województwie wielkopolskim. Opisuje on wielokrotne akty niepożądanego zainteresowania seksualnego oraz przykład przymusu seksualnego. W celu przeprowadzenia badania,

przygotowałam dodatkowe trzy jego wersje, aby uzyskać cztery winietki opisujące przykłady MS tej samej i przeciwnej płci.

Procedura i materiały

W badaniu wzięło udział $N = 127$ studentów budownictwa lądowego (66 mężczyzn, 5 osób nie podało płci), których średnia wieku wynosiła 21,09 ($SD = 2,44$). Sama procedura nie różniła się znacznie od procedury Badania 3. W pierwszej części osoby badane zostały poproszone o podanie swojej płci i wieku oraz o wypełnienie omówionej wcześniej Attitudes Toward Lesbian and Gay Men Scale (Herek i Capitanio, 1995). Wyniki z tej skali zostały użyte jako zmienna kontrolowana. Następnie czytały losowo przydzieloną jedną z czterech wersji artykułu „Gdy szef kocha inaczej”. Po czym zostały poproszone o wypełnienie takich samych skal jak w Badaniu 3.

Podsumowanie wyników badania 4 i dyskusja

Wyniki Badania 4 pokazują, że płeć sprawcy jest kluczowa, gdy ocenia się zarówno ofiarę, jak i sprawcę. Podobnie jak w Badaniach 2 i 3, w Badaniu 4, gdy analizowałam tylko przypadki molestowania osób przeciwnej płci, kobieta-ofiara, która padła ofiarą mężczyzny-sprawcy, była postrzegana jako cierpiąca bardziej niż mężczyzna-ofiara, który był molestowany przez kobietę. Dodatkowo, sam akt molestowania był kategoryzowany jako molestowanie w większym stopniu, gdy ofiarą była kobieta, a sprawcą mężczyzna, niż gdy ofiarą był mężczyzna, a sprawcą kobieta. Ponadto, sprawca-mężczyzna otrzymał wyższy wyrok więzienia, niż kobieta-sprawca. Jednak kiedy w analizie uwzględniłam molestowanie zarówno osób przeciwnej jak i tej samej płci, to głównie płeć sprawcy wpływała na ocenę cierpienia ofiary. Gdy sprawcą był mężczyzna, ofiara miała w większym stopniu cierpieć z powodu depresji i

postrzegać molestowanie jako bardziej przerażające, bolesne i obraźliwe, jak również odczuwać więcej lęku i smutku, w porównaniu do sytuacji, gdy sprawcą była kobieta. Dodatkowo, mężczyzna-sprawca był postrzegany jako mniej kompetentny i szanowany niż kobieta-sprawca, jego działanie było kategoryzowane jako molestowanie w większym stopniu niż działanie kobiety-sprawcy i miał spędzić więcej lat w więzieniu za swoje czyny.

Podsumowując, wyniki sugerują, że płeć sprawcy miała większy wpływ na oceny niż płeć ofiary, zarówno kiedy oceniane było cierpienie ofiary, jak i charakterystyka sprawcy. Molestowanie kobiety przez mężczyznę kategoryzowane było jako MS w większym stopniu niż molestowanie mężczyzny przez kobietę i zasługiwało na wyższą karę. Ten wynik stanowi replikację poprzednich badań i wspiera postawioną przeze mnie hipotezę. Fakt, że mężczyzna, który molestuje kobietę jest widziany jako mniej kompetentny niż mężczyzna, który molestuje mężczyznę, wskazuje na ważność płci ofiary dla oceny sprawcy. Jednakże, ocena mężczyzny molestującego kobietę jako bardziej kompetentnego niż kobieta, która molestuje kobietę; kategoryzacja tego zachowania jako MS oraz wyższy wyrok dla mężczyzny, który molestuje mężczyznę, w porównaniu do kobiety, która molestuje mężczyznę, wskazuje, że to raczej płeć sprawcy jest istotna.

Wnioski te sugerują, że w badaniu zagadnień mojego projektu należałoby poświęcić szczególną uwagę wpływowi płci sprawcy oraz interakcji płci sprawcy i ofiary na ocenę sprawcy i ofiary. Warto byłoby również uwzględnić efekt dyskryminacji sprawcy ze względu na płeć. Chociaż moja oryginalna hipoteza zakładała, że to mężczyźni-ofiary są dyskryminowani (tj. ich cierpienie jest minimalizowane), wydaje się, że mężczyźni-sprawcy również

są ofiarami dyskryminacji. Dyskryminacja mężczyzn-sprawców byłaby zgodna z teorią Grey'a i Wegnera (2009): ze względu na swoją płęć, kobięta pozostaje moralnym biorcą, nawet wtedy, gdy jest sprawcą MS. Jako moralny biorca jest mniej odpowiedzialna za swoje zachowanie, a zatem jest oceniana lepiej i zasługuje na niższą karę.

Badanie 5. Wpływ płci ofiary na percepcję jej cierpienia oraz na percepcję sprawcy, w przypadku MS osób tej samej oraz przeciwnej płci

Celem tego badania była replikacja wyników z Badania 4 przy wykorzystaniu innej historyjki w roli manipulacji oraz innych narzędzi pomiaru. Ponownie wykorzystałam tutaj prawdziwą historię MS, którą znalazłam wśród case studies w monografii dotyczącej MS (LeMoncheck i Sterba, 2001). Przedstawiona jest w niej historia pracownicy banku, która przez cztery lata była molestowana seksualnie przez swojego przełożonego, w tym zmuszona do stosunków seksualnych. Oryginalną wersję zmieniałam tak, aby stworzyć cztery warunki badania. W badaniu tym wykorzystałam zarówno wykorzystane wcześniej, jak i nowe narzędzia do pomiaru zmiennych zależnych.

Procedura i materiały

W badaniu wzięło udział 147 studentów IV i V roku prawa, średni wiek w tej grupie wynosił 23,91 (SD = 2,82), większość (n = 87) osób badanych stanowiły kobiety, 14 osób nie podało swojej płci. Podobnie jak w poprzednich badaniach, uczestnicy zostali poproszeni o podanie swojego wieku i płci oraz o wypełnienie Attitudes Toward Lesbian and Gay Men Scale (Herek i Capitano, 1995), a następnie o przeczytanie opisaney powyżej historii o osobie pracującej w banku i udzielenie odpowiedzi na serię pytań.

Podsumowanie wyników Badania 5 i dyskusja

Badanie zareplikowało główne wyniki uzyskane w poprzednich badaniach. W przypadku większości zmiennych dotyczących cierpienia ofiary, widoczny był efekt płci ofiary/sprawcy. To znaczy, kobieta-ofiara była postrzegana jako cierpiąca bardziej niż mężczyzna-ofiara, a mężczyzna-sprawca, który molestował kobietę, zasługiwał na więcej lat więzienia, niż kobieta-sprawca, która molestowała mężczyznę.

Plan tego badania, podobnie jak plan Badania 4, pozwalał lepiej zlokalizować źródło powyższych efektów, tzn. ustalić czy wynikają one z wpływu płci ofiary, czy z płci sprawcy. W przeciwieństwie do poprzedniego badania, w Badaniu 5 percepcja cierpienia ofiary zależała głównie od płci ofiary. Ten wynik wspiera ideę minimalizacji męskiego cierpienia i wnioski wyciągnięte w Badaniach 2 i 3. Osoby badane oceniły, że kobieta cierpi bardziej z powodu symptomów somatycznych oraz odczuwa więcej poczucia winy niż mężczyzna. Jednocześnie, ocena sprawcy zależała od płci sprawcy, ponownie pokazując dyskryminację mężczyzn-sprawców, jak zasugerowałam we wnioskach z badania 4. Zauważalne są podobieństwa w ocenie sprawcy w tych dwóch badaniach. To mężczyźni-sprawcy są oceniani jako mniej moralni, mniej lubiani, mniej szanowani i jako zasługujący na wyższą karę.

Na podstawie wyników tych dwóch badań, jestem skłonna sądzić, że w przypadku MS mężczyźni są ofiarami dyskryminacji na dwa sposoby: Mężczyźni-ofiary poprzez minimalizację ich postrzeganego cierpienia, a mężczyźni-sprawcy ponieważ są oceniani gorzej i karani bardziej niż kobiety-sprawcy. Aby rozwiązać wątpliwości, przeprowadziłam kolejne badanie, w którym zaprezentowałam nową sprawę dotyczącą MS i wprowadziłam nowe

pomiary zmiennych zależnych, w szczególności oceny moralności i kompetencji sprawcy.

Badanie 6. Wpływ płci ofiary na percepcję jej cierpienia oraz na percepcję sprawcy, w przypadku MS osób tej samej oraz przeciwnej płci

Celem tego badania była replikacja uprzednio uzyskanych wyników oraz rozwiązanie niektórych niejasności, które pojawiły się w poprzednich badaniach. Dodatkowo, podjęłam się testowania mechanizmu stojącego za tymi wynikami weryfikując rolę mediatorów, które mogłyby wyjaśnić, czy większe znaczenie dla oceny sprawcy ma płeć sprawcy czy ofiary. Jak wspomniałam poprzednio, koncepcja moralności diadycznej (Grey et al., 2012) zakłada, że aby interakcja mogła być oceniana w kategoriach moralnych, muszą występować w niej dwie osoby: moralny sprawca i moralny biorca. Pierwszy, który działa i drugi, który jest celem tego działania. Ponieważ te dwie osoby są nierozzerwalnie ze sobą związane, stawiam hipotezę, że ocena działań sprawcy może zależeć od percepcji reakcji biorcy. A dokładniej, że percepcja cierpienia ofiary, może wpłynąć na percepcję sprawcy i jego/jej winy.

Procedura i materiały

W tym badaniu ponownie użyłam winietki opartej na prawdziwej historii MS i stworzyłam dodatkowe wersje, aby móc zweryfikować, w jaki sposób płeć ofiary i płeć sprawcy oddziałują na siebie wzajemnie w procesie oceny. Ponadto, wykorzystałam głównie nowe narzędzia do pomiaru zmiennych zależnych.

Badanie zostało przeprowadzone poprzez Internet na 153 osobach (107 kobiet). Średni wiek w grupie wynosił 33,77 (sd = 9,15). Większość osób badanych miała wyższe wykształcenie. Osoby badane zostały najpierw

poproszone o podanie informacji demograficznych, następnie o wypełnienie Attitudes Toward Lesbian and Gay Men Scale (Herek i Capitanio, 1995) oraz udzielenie odpowiedzi na cztery pytania dotyczące ich przekonań na temat rozpowszechnienia MS oraz na temat sprawców MS. W dalszej kolejności zostali losowo przydzieleni do jednego z czterech warunków, gdzie zostali poproszeni o przeczytanie tekstu opisującego przypadek MS oraz o udzielenie odpowiedzi na serię pytań dotyczących percepcji cierpienia ofiary oraz percepcji sprawcy.

Podsumowanie wyników badania 6 i dyskusja

W tym badaniu ponownie udało mi się zreplikować wyniki dotyczące MS osób przeciwnej płci. Jeśli chodzi o postrzegane cierpienie ofiary, wyniki są jasne. Kobieta-ofiara cierpi bardziej niż mężczyzna-ofiara; doświadcza więcej depresji i lęku, a płeć sprawcy nie ma żadnego wpływu na poziom jej cierpienia. W przypadku MS przeciwnej płci, mężczyzna-sprawca, który molestował kobietę, był postrzegany jako bardziej odpowiedzialny za swoje działania, w porównaniu do kobiety-sprawcy, która molestowała mężczyznę. Jednak był on również postrzegany jako mniej skłonny do sprawczego działania.

Jeśli zaś chodzi o percepcję molestowania osób tej samej i przeciwnej płci, ponownie wyniki pokazały, że kobieta, która jest ofiarą molestowania była postrzegana jako cierpiąca bardziej (depresja, lęki) niż mężczyzna-ofiara. Jednocześnie, ocena sprawcy czasem zależy od płci ofiary, a czasem od płci sprawcy, w obu przypadkach ze szkodą dla mężczyzn. W przypadku MS osób tej samej i przeciwnej płci, sprawca (mężczyzna lub kobieta), który molestował kobietę (vs mężczyznę) zasługiwał na wyższą karę. Mężczyzna-sprawca był postrzegany jako bardziej odpowiedzialny za molestowanie, ale mniej skłonny

do sprawczych zachowań, w porównaniu do kobiety-sprawcy, niezależnie od płci ofiary.

Istotne efekty mediacji pokazują jednak, że płeć ofiary może wpływać na ocenę sprawcy. Niezależnie od płci sprawcy, kiedy ofiarą była kobieta, akt molestowania seksualnego wywoływał u osób badanych gniew, w wyniku czego sugerowali wyższą karę dla sprawcy i oceniali go/ją jako mniej moralnie sprawczego. Dodatkowo, złość wywołana historią, w której kobieta była ofiarą, powodowała również wzrost percepcji jej cierpienia (lęk i depresja), a to natomiast powodowało, że sprawca widziany był jako bardziej winny.

Podsumowanie wyników wszystkich badań i dyskusja

Badania pokazują, że kobiety- i mężczyźni- ofiary MS doświadczają podobnych konsekwencji MS takich jak depresja, lęki czy symptomy somatyczne, podczas gdy społeczna percepcja molestowania, jego ofiar zmienia się w zależności od płci zaangażowanych osób. W przedstawionych badaniach testowałam dwie hipotezy: (1) Spostrzegane cierpienie mężczyzn-ofiar MS jest mniejsze niż cierpienie kobiet-ofiar MS oraz (2A) Sprawcy MS, których ofiarami są mężczyźni, w porównaniu do sprawców, których ofiarami są kobiety, są oceniani lepiej i zasługują na niższą karę. Dodatkowo, w wyniki Badania 4 skłoniły mnie do postawienia kolejnej hipotezy, alternatywnej dla hipotezy 2A, mówiącej, że (2B) Kobiety-sprawcy MS są oceniane lepiej i zasługują na niższą karę niż mężczyźni-sprawcy.

Pierwsza hipoteza była wsparta w przypadku MS osób przeciwnej płci we wszystkich przedstawionych badaniach oraz wsparta do pewnego stopnia w przypadkach MS osób tej samej i przeciwnej płci. Kobieta-ofiara była zazwyczaj spostrzegana jako cierpiąca w większym stopniu z powodu depresji,

lęków i symptomów somatycznych niż mężczyzna-ofiara. Kobieta-ofiara miałaby również postrzegać MS jako bardziej straszne, bolesne i obraźliwe oraz odczuwać więcej smutku i poczucia winy w wyniku MS, w porównaniu do mężczyzny-ofiary. Wyniki jednego z badań (Badanie 3), w którym porównywałam wpływ MS oraz wymuszenia finansowego, pokazały, że ten efekt występuje w różnych sytuacjach, nie tylko tych związanych z seksualną traumą, a zatem że jest możliwe iż cierpienie kobiet jest zawsze postrzegane jako większe niż cierpienie mężczyzn. Wyniki Badań 4 i 5 sugerują, że ten efekt jest mniej widoczny, gdy porównuje się MS osób tej samej i przeciwnej płci. W tych dwóch badaniach jednoznaczny efekt widoczny jest tylko gdy analizowałam MS osób przeciwnej płci. Natomiast w przypadku porównań MS osób przeciwnej i tej samej płci widać znacznie mniej różnic. Aczkolwiek, nawet wtedy to kobieta ofiara jest spostrzegana jako bardziej przestraszona, odczuwająca więcej poczucia winy i więcej symptomów somatycznych. Prezentowane badania w żaden sposób nie wskazują aby mężczyzna-ofiara mógł być postrzegany jako cierpiący bardziej niż kobieta-ofiara i wydaje się bardzo prawdopodobne, że to płeć ofiary (a nie płeć sprawcy) wpływa na percepcję cierpienia. Generalnie rzecz biorąc, wyniki większości badań wskazują na prawdziwość pierwszej hipotezy, stanowiącej, że cierpienie mężczyzn, którzy są ofiarami MS jest postrzegane jako mniej znaczne, w porównaniu do cierpienia kobiet-ofiar MS.

Na podstawie teorii moralności diadycznej, postawiłam hipotezę (2A) że ktoś kto zadaje cierpienie osobie, która z definicji jest moralnym sprawcą (tzn. mężczyźnie) będzie oceniony lepiej niż ktoś, kto zdaje cierpienie moralnemu biorcy (tzn. kobiecie). Co oznacza, że osoba, która molestuje mężczyznę będzie

oceniona lepiej niż osoba, która molestuje kobietę i że otrzyma niższą karę. Co ciekawe, systematyczne różnice w ocenie były widoczne tylko dla postrzeganej sprawczości i szacunku, a niekoniecznie dla postrzeganej moralności/wspólnotowości i lubienia. Mężczyzna-sprawca, który molestował kobietę był postrzegany jako mniej moralny i mniej lubiany niż kobieta-sprawca, która molestowała mężczyznę w Badaniach 2 i 5; ta różnica nie pojawiła się w żadnej innej konfiguracji płci sprawcy/ofiary ani w żadnych innych badaniach. Druga hipoteza (2A) w zakresie postrzeganej sprawczości i szacunku, wydawała się być potwierdzona w Badaniach 2 i 3, kiedy (mężczyzna) sprawca, który molestował kobietę był postrzegany jako mniej kompetentny/godny szacunku i zasługujący na wyższą karę niż (kobieta) sprawca molestujący mężczyznę. Ten wynik był zreplikowany dla sugerowanego wyroku więzienia w Badaniach 4 i 5. To znaczy, mężczyzna, który molestował kobietę, otrzymał wyższy wyrok, niż kobieta, która molestowała mężczyznę.

Jednak, kiedy analizujemy przypadki MS osób tej samej i przeciwnej płci, widać wyraźnie, że ten wynik nie jest tak oczywisty. Wyniki Badania 4, skłoniły mnie do zaproponowania alternatywnej do hipotezy 2A, hipotezy 2B, która wyjaśnia różnice w postrzeganej sprawczości/talencie/szacunku oraz sugerowanej karze dla sprawców-kobiet i sprawców-mężczyzn. Sugeruję, że to płeć sprawcy, a nie płeć ofiary, wpływa na percepcję sprawcy. Ta hipoteza również może zostać wyprowadzona w oparciu o koncepcję moralności diadycznej, a w szczególności w oparciu o założenie, że status ofiary („naturalna” rola kobiety w przypadku MS) nie może zostać zmieniony (kiedy ktoś jest moralnym biorcą, zawsze pozostaje moralnym biorcą; Gray i Wegner,

2009). Dlatego też, jeśli kobieta jest „z natury” moralnym biorcą, pozostaje moralnym biorcą nawet kiedy dokonała aktu molestowania seksualnego.

Dlatego też, kobieta-sprawca MS jest oceniana lepiej niż mężczyzna-sprawca MS. Ta hipoteza uzyskała wsparcie w Badaniach 4, 5 i 6, jako że w każdym z nich, to kobieta-sprawca była postrzegana jako bardziej sprawcza/utalentowana/godna szacunku oraz zasługująca na mniej lat więzienia niż mężczyzna-sprawca.

Wyniki dotyczące postrzeganej sprawczości kobiet-sprawców, są zgodne z wynikami wielu badań nad spostrzeganiem kobiet w męskich rolach. Chociaż większość z tych badań dotyczy kobiet w biznesie, a nie kobiet-przestępców, ich wyniki pokazują, że kobiety, które zachowują się sprawczo, są postrzegane jako bardziej sprawcze niż mężczyźni, którzy zachowują się tak samo (Rudman, 1998; Eagly i Steffen, 1984).

Inne wyjaśnienie można znaleźć w badaniach nad zmieniającymi się standardami (*shifting standards*; Biernat i Manis, 1994). Sprawcza kobieta jest porównywana do kobiet w ogóle, a nie do ideału sprawczości, ani do („naturalnie” sprawczych) mężczyzn. Ponieważ kobiety nie są postrzegane jako sprawcze, ocena sprawczej kobiety wzrasta i wydaje się być wyższa niż ocena sprawczości mężczyzny, ukrywając tym samym stereotypowe postrzeganie kobiety jako nie-sprawczej. Jednak to wyjaśnienie nie obejmuje wyników uzyskanych w Badaniu 6. Jak pokazały badania przeprowadzone przez Biernat i Manisa (1994) skale subiektywne (np. skale do oceny cech użyte w Badaniach 1 do 5) powodują ocenę w obrębie kategorii (tj. porównanie kobiet do innych kobiet). Natomiast użycie skal obiektywnych (jak np. ocenianie prawdopodobieństwa zachowań, sądy dotyczące pieniędzy, czasu, szeregowanie

według rang), powoduje, że ocena jest bardziej zakotwiczona w rzeczywistości i z większym prawdopodobieństwem pokaże efekt stereotypów. W Badaniu 6 użyłam dokładnie takiego pomiaru (prawdopodobieństwo zachowań), aby sprawdzić postrzeganą sprawczość sprawcy. To badanie pokazało takie same wyniki, tj. kobieta-sprawca była oceniona jako bardziej sprawcza niż mężczyzna-sprawca. Co sugeruje, że kobieta-sprawca MS jest rzeczywiście postrzegana jako bardziej sprawcza, ponieważ wynik ten uzyskałam zarówno przy pomiarze przeprowadzonym na subiektywnych, jak i na obiektywnych skalach.

Należy również zauważyć, że zarówno mężczyzna-sprawca, jak i kobieta-sprawca byli postrzegani nisko na skali sprawczości i szacunku. Ten wynik jest zrozumiały, jako że postrzegana sprawczość jest powiązana ze skutecznością działania, a przedstawieni sprawcy nie byli skuteczni próbując „uwieść” swoich współpracowników (tj. ich zachowanie zostało odebrane jako molestowanie, a nie jako flirt) oraz w większości przypadków sprawcy zostali oficjalnie oskarżeni o molestowanie. Z tej perspektywy, można uznać mężczyznę-sprawcę jako mniej sprawczego niż kobieta-sprawca w jeszcze inny sposób. Kiedy mężczyzna, który jest „z natury” sprawczy, ponosi porażkę, traci więcej na postrzeganej sprawczości, niż kobieta, która usiłuje być sprawcą, ale ponosi porażkę.

Uzyskane wyniki dotyczące proponowanej kary, również wspierają hipotezę 2B, pokazując wpływ płci sprawcy, a nie płci ofiary na tę zmienną. Niezależnie od użytych skal (obiektywne lub subiektywne), kobieta-sprawca otrzymuje niższy wyrok więzienia w latach (Badania 3, 4 i 5), niższą karę finansową (Badanie 4) oraz niższą karę (Badanie 6) niż mężczyzna-sprawca.

Jeśli zaś chodzi o postrzeganą moralność i lubienie sprawcy, ani hipoteza 2A, ani 2B nie uzyskała potwierdzenia. W większości prezentowanych tu badań (za wyjątkiem Badań 2 i 5), przy ocenie sprawców molestowania na osobach tej samej i przeciwnej płci, nie znalazłam różnic w ocenie moralności/lubienia sprawcy. Niezależnie od tego, czy sprawca był kobietą, czy mężczyzną, oraz czy ofiarą była kobieta, czy mężczyzna, sprawca był postrzegany jako niemoralny. Ten wynik sugeruje stałą, niezależną od płci ocenę (nie)moralności niemoralnych osób.

Wiele badań pokazało, że kobiety i mężczyźni zaprezentowani w męskich rolach, są zazwyczaj oceniani w zgodzie z rolą, raczej niż z płcią (patrz Eagly i Mladnic, 1994). To również mogłoby wyjaśnić, że to rola osoby molestującej była oceniona jako niemoralna i nielubiana, a nie konkretna molestująca kobieta czy konkretny molestujący mężczyzna.

Biorąc pod uwagę teorię odwetu na sprawczych kobietach (*backlash*, Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan i Nauts, 2012) można by postawić hipotezę dotyczącą postrzeganej wspólnotowości kobiet sprawców molestowania seksualnego (vs mężczyzn) w kierunku przeciwnym do hipotezy, którą zaproponowałam. Mogłam postawić hipotezę, że sprawcza kobieta, która molestuje innych, będzie oceniana niżej na wymiarze moralności, niż sprawczy mężczyzna, który molestuje innych. Jednak tak postawiona hipoteza również nie uzyskałaby wsparcia. Może to wynikać z tego, że odwet na sprawczych kobietach (vs sprawczych mężczyzn i generycznych kobiety, Rudman et al., 2012) którego można by się spodziewać, jest widoczny w badaniach dotyczących innego rodzaju sprawczości, tj. kobiet i mężczyzn w rolach biznesowych, nie zaś kobiet i mężczyzn w rolach sprawców przestępstw.

Według mojej najlepszej wiedzy, brak jest badań porównujących postrzeganą moralność/wspólnotowość sprawców-kobiet i –mężczyzn i nie udało mi się znaleźć badań, w których próbowano pokazać, jak płeć sprawców przestępstw wpływa na ich ocenę; te zaś które znalazłam dają sprzeczne wyniki.

Wyjaśnienie w zgodzie z teorią odwetu na sprawczych kobietach, mówiłoby, że molestująca kobieta straciła więcej na postrzeganej moralności/lubieniu, w porównaniu do molestującego mężczyzny, ale mężczyzna był postrzegany jako niemoralny od samego początku. Jak wspomniałam wcześniej (porównaj Rozdział 1.5), kobiety jako kategoria są oceniane lepiej niż mężczyźni. Są postrzegane jako bardziej moralne, wspólnotowe i ciepłe, a tym samym bardziej lubiane. Podobne wyniki uzyskałam w badaniu, którego tu nie opisywałam (Studzińska, niepublikowane dane), w którym prosiłam osoby badane o wyobrażenie sobie przeciętnego profesora/przeciętną profesor, zanim wprowadziłam manipulację eksperymentalną. Studenci budownictwa lądowego, którzy brali udział w tym badaniu oceniali przeciętną profesor jako bardziej moralną niż przeciętnego profesora. Ten wynik, uzyskany na próbie podobnej do tych użytych w prezentowanych tu badaniach, sugeruje, że kobiety i mężczyźni sprawcy byli oceniani tak samo, ponieważ kobiety straciły więcej na moralności niż mężczyźni, którzy po prostu nie byli widziani jako moralni.

Analizy mediacji przedstawione w ostatnim badaniu, wspierają hipotezę 2A mówiącą o wpływie płci ofiary na percepcję sprawcy. Chociaż związek ten okazał się nie być związkiem bezpośrednim, wbrew temu co zakładałam. Jak pokazały modele mediacyjne, molestowanie seksualne kobiety (w porównaniu do molestowania seksualnego mężczyzny), spowodowało wzrost odczuwanej

złości wśród osób badanych; ta złość natomiast spowodowała spadek oceny sprawcy na wymiarze moralnej sprawczości (*moral agency*) oraz zaproponowanie dla niego/niej wyższej kary.

Podsumowując, percepcja osób zaangażowanych w molestowanie seksualne zależy od ich płci. Kobiety-ofiary są postrzegane jako cierpiące bardziej niż mężczyźni ofiary. Mężczyźni-sprawcy są postrzegani jako mniej sprawczy i szanowani niż kobiety-sprawcy oraz zasługują na wyższą karę. Gdy ofiara jest kobietą, jej molestowanie wywołuje złość u osób badanych, co może wpływać na ocenę sprawcy, tak że jest on postrzegany jako bardziej winny, zasługujący na wyższą karę i będący w mniejszym stopniu moralnym sprawcą.

Prezentowane badania stanowią pierwszy dowód empiryczny zjawiska minimalizacji męskiego cierpienia wynikającego z molestowania seksualnego. Koncept ten wywodzi się z badań nad stereotypami płciowymi, a w szczególności nad stereotypami dotyczącymi kobiecego ciepła i wspólnotowości oraz męskiej siły i sprawczości, jak również z badań nad moralnością diadyczną. Autorzy badań nad percepcją MS, które były przeprowadzone do tej pory, byli zainteresowani innymi zmiennymi zależnymi, niż te które wykorzystałam w moich badaniach. Po pierwsze, jeśli chodzi o wpływ molestowania na jego ofiary, osoby badane były zazwyczaj proszone o wyobrażenie sobie siebie w tej sytuacji i określenie jak oni by się czuli jako ofiary MS. Po drugie, bardzo mało badań koncentrowało się na ocenie sprawcy, jako że w większość z nich proszono o ocenę samego zdarzenia (czy jest to molestowanie i do jakiego stopnia?) lub o ocenę odpowiedzialności sprawcy, nie zaś o ocenę sprawcy. Po trzecie, według mojej wiedzy, nie ma badań, które próbowałyby ustalić, czy istnieje związek pomiędzy oceną cierpienia ofiary a

oceną sprawcy. Nieznane mi są również żadne badania nad percepcją sprawców i ofiar molestowania przeprowadzone w Polsce. W związku z czym, prezentowane przeze mnie badania poszerzają zakres wiedzy na temat percepcji mężczyzn i kobiet, a w szczególności wiedzy dotyczącej percepcji molestowania seksualnego, pokazując, że ludzie postrzegają cierpienie mężczyzn-ofiar MS jako mniejsze niż cierpienie kobiet-ofiar MS, widzą mężczyzn-sprawców MS w gorszym świetle niż kobiety-sprawców MS oraz że płeć ofiary, zapośredniczona innymi zmiennymi, może wpływać na ocenę sprawcy.

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