

HE SAID, SHE SAID: HOW PEOPLE JUDGE SEXUAL
HARASSMENT CASES IN THE ABSENCE OF EVIDENCE

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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He Said, She Said: How People Judge
Sexual Harassment Cases In the Absence of Evidence

By

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Abstract

Previous work suggests that judgements of guilt or innocence in cases of sexual harassment are often based on the relative attractiveness of the defendant and the complainant. The present study hypothesized that, in addition to the role of attractiveness, the consistency of the defendant's perceived attitudes with sexual harassment may contribute to these judgements. In a 2 (accusation/no accusation of sexual harassment) X 2 (defendant's attitudes consistent/not consistent with sexual harassment) between subject's design, 160 undergraduates at Memorial University of Newfoundland rated the likelihood that an undergraduate male student had committed sexual harassment. Participants also rated their attraction to the target, completed a semantic differential evaluation, and gave estimates of social consequences for the target. Finally, participants indicated their own position on the attitudes ascribed to the target. The results indicated that targets holding attitudes consistent with sexual harassment were rated as more likely to be guilty of such behaviour than targets holding attitudes not consistent with sexual harassment. Participants whose attitudes were similar to the target's attitudes rated him as less likely to have committed sexual harassment. A consistency model is postulated which may augment the model of relative defendant and complainant attractiveness.

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Dedication

Above all I would like to thank my parents, Kenneth and Helgi, and the rest of my family - Kevin, Kris, Kelly, Lisa, Matthew, and Laura. I would also like to thank Natasha Pitcher for her assistance, support, and love. These are the people upon whom I can always depend, and who may always depend on me. This work, as with anything I do, is dedicated to them.

Scott

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List of Symbols and Abbreviations

M = Mean/Average

SD = Standard Deviation

χ^2 = Chi-Squared

p = Probability level (Alpha)

r = Correlation Coefficient

F = F-Ratio

t = t-Value

SH = sexual harassment

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Introduction

The Problem

A Vancouver Sun photographer catches two students at Simon Fraser University hanging a banner that pleads, "Support Liam." (The Vancouver Sun, June 11, 1997, p. A1). Liam Donneley, a popular 29 year old swim coach, was dismissed in 1996 after a closed University sexual harassment hearing found him guilty of date rape against a former swimmer, 22 year old Rachel Marsden.

This complicated and controversial case has received national attention (The Globe and Mail, July 17, 1997, p.A1, A2). Donnelly claims that it was Marsden who was sexually harassing him. He has presented evidence of this in the form of sexually suggestive E-mail sent to him by Marsden. Marsden admits to sending the E-mail, but says she did not realize that she was harassing Donnelly. Marsden claims to have carried on a "secret affair" with Donnelly over the course of sixteen months. Although she consented to date Donnelly, Marsden says that Donnelly forced her to have sex with him. Donnelly says that he never dated Marsden, let alone forced her to have sex.

Much of the controversy surrounding this case resulted from the way in which the University handled it. Donnelly

was fired even though the evidence against him was far from convincing. Because Donnelly was advised by his lawyer not to participate in the hearing, the E-mail evidence was not even considered. The University community has been in an uproar, as people scramble to take one side or the other (The Globe and Mail, June 24, 1997, p.A17). The resolution of this matter finally occurred when Donnelly was re-hired on the basis of the new evidence. Marsden was allowed to keep \$12,000 initially given to her by the University in compensation for her claims (The Vancouver Sun, July 25, 1997 p. A1, A2).

The Donnelly case is but one example of the controversy surrounding allegations of sexual misconduct. When people hear that someone has been accused of such behaviour, they often make some sort of judgement of guilt or innocence, even in the absence of any direct evidence. The questions of interest here are: On what basis are these judgements made? What makes people lean toward judgements of guilt, on the one hand, or innocence, on the other? These questions are the focus of the present study.

Previous Research

Sexual harassment is defined as "unwanted attention of a sexual nature, often with an element of threat or coercion". (Memorial University Sexual Harassment Policy,

1997). A substantial body of work has addressed the negative emotional and psychological consequences for victims of sexual harassment. These negative consequences include diminished self-esteem and a feeling of powerlessness (Charny & Russell, 1994; Fitzgerald, 1993). When people express disbelief or question the integrity of the complainant, these negative effects are intensified. Fear of this kind of reaction from others is one reason many victims of sexual harassment do not even come forward, particularly without good evidence (Fitzgerald, 1993).

Not nearly as much work has examined the negative consequences for the accused in cases involving formal allegations of sexual harassment. Anecdotal evidence, however, suggests that a rush to a judgement of guilt may have severe negative consequences for the accused and his or her family. In one case, a Brock University professor was so traumatized by such allegations that he had his wife or another trusted individual accompany him throughout the University. He did this in order to prevent the possibility that the complainant could make any further unfounded accusations.

A major problem in cases involving charges of sexual misconduct, unlike other types of cases, is that people are prone to making judgements of guilt or innocence based on limited information, some of which might be irrelevant.

Some researchers have attempted to identify the types of information people use to make such judgements. Most of this work has focused on the personal characteristics of the accused and the complainant that moderate the relationship between accusation and judgement of guilt or innocence. These personal characteristics include physical attractiveness (Popovich, Seblauf, Jolton, & Everton, 1996; Castellow, Wuensch, & Moore, 1990) and trait attractiveness (Moore, Wuensch Hedges, & Castellow, 1994). The model emerging from these studies suggests that judgements of guilt or innocence depend on the relative attractiveness of the defendant and the complainant. For example, Castellow, Wuensch, and Moore (1990) found that, in a sexual harassment case, the combination of a physically attractive defendant and a physically unattractive complainant yielded the lowest percentage of guilty votes. Moore, Wuensch Hedges, and Castellow (1994), in a similar mock case, added positive and negative defendant and complainant characterizations. Character witness testimony for the positive defendant stated that he was "frequently described as a relaxed, personable individual who was considered outgoing and friendly to others." Business associates were said to consider him "a man who was very professional in manner and who always maintained a sense of fair play." Character

witness testimony for the negative defendant described him in opposite terms: "unfriendly, uncaring, low achieving in his schoolwork, perhaps dishonest, etc." Similar character descriptions were used to describe positive and negative complainants. Moore et al (1994) concluded that the attractiveness of these characterizations was critical in determining guilt or innocence.

There is, however, evidence suggesting that attractive characteristics can in fact be damaging to defendants in certain contexts. For example, Lester, Banta, Barton, and Elian (1996) manipulated status by presenting two different scenarios showing social interaction between a man and a woman. In one scenario (high status defendant) the man was an instructor and the woman a student. Another scenario (low status defendant) presented the man and the woman as peers (both students). Lester et al (1996) found that the combination of high status male and low status female increased the likelihood that participants would perceive an interaction as sexual harassment. High status, however, is generally considered an attractive characteristic compared with low status. Why then are people more likely to perceive the behaviour of high status males as sexually harassing? The relative attractiveness model does not account for this finding.

An alternative perspective is suggested by the work of

Bodenhausen and Wyer (1985). This work was not about judgements in sexual harassment cases. However, Bodenhausen and Wyer (1985) found that the consistency of a work-related transgression with stereotypic views held by research participants affected judgements of the behaviour of accused targets. Bodenhausen and Wyer (1985) first had participants indicate what kinds of transgressions were "typical" of Arab workers and what kinds of transgressions were "typical" of American workers. Arab workers were perceived to be more likely to be "lazy" on the job, while American workers were perceived to be more likely to be "uncooperative with management." Bodenhausen and Wyer then varied the stereotypical consistency of these transgressions by presenting cases in which either an Arab worker or an American worker had been accused of either "laziness" or "being uncooperative." Bodenhausen and Wyer (1985) found that when the transgression was stereotypically consistent with the race of the accused target, participants were more likely to believe that the target was guilty and to recommend harsher sanctions. When the transgression was not stereotypically consistent with the race of the accused target, participants were less likely to believe that the target was guilty. Participants were also more likely to recommend lenient punishments in the non-race stereotypic conditions.

The findings of Bodenhausen and Wyer (1985) suggest a possible alternative model of judgement. It is possible that consistency of defendant characteristics with the particular type of transgression, rather than their attractiveness *per se*, may be critical to judgements of guilt or innocence. This possibility may help to explain why high status males in a sexual harassment scenario are more often judged to be guilty than lower status males (Lester et al, 1996). People may view sexual harassment as an attempt to wield power, and high status defendants have more power to wield. Conversely, the tendency to be lenient with physically attractive defendants (e.g., Castellow, Wuench, and Moore, 1990) may reflect an underlying assumption that good-looking men do not need to sexually harass women. It may be that physical attractiveness is not consistent with our notion of the stereotypic sexual harasser.

A simple model of relative defendant and complainant attractiveness, therefore, may not fully explain judgements of guilt or innocence. I believe that examining the consistency of defendant characteristics with sexual harassment behaviours may significantly improve our ability to predict these judgements. The present study focuses on one type of consistency, namely the consistency of the perceived attitudes of the defendant with sexual harassment.

Perceptions of Others' Attitudes

Recently, there has been recognition that perceptions of other people's attitudes, like perceptions of status or physical attractiveness, have potentially important social consequences (Grant, Button, Ross, & Hannah, 1997). Button, Grant, Hannah, and Ross (1993) hypothesized, and confirmed through multidimensional scaling, that there is structure in the perceived attitudes of others. People believe that certain attitudes go together. In other words, people maintain an implicit attitude theory such that the perception that a target endorses one attitudinal position leads individuals to infer endorsement of other target attitudes. In one study, Grant, Button, Ross, and Hannah (1996) found large differences in research participants' perceptions of the attitudes of hypothetical 'typical' male and female targets and the actual attitudes of males and females. In a subsequent study, Grant, Button, Ross, and Hannah (1997) showed that these perceptions may have important social consequences for the targets. They found that gender differences in perceived attitudes influenced evaluations of the targets, attraction to the targets, and ratings of how others might react to the targets.

In addition to the differing views that males and females have about themselves and each other, it is possible

that other kinds of targets also differ in terms of the attitudes attributed to them. The present research looks at the consequences of the attitudes perceived to be characteristic of male targets accused of sexual harassment. I hypothesize that higher estimates of guilt-likelihood will result when the defendant's attitudes are perceived to be consistent with sexual harassment. For example, if a target is thought to agree with the statement, "Sexist language should be avoided," he may be judged less likely to be guilty of sexual harassment than if he disagreed with the statement. This attitudinal position may be perceived to be stereotypically inconsistent with the type of male who would commit sexual harassment. The logic behind this prediction stems from findings by Bodenhausen and Wyer (1985), which indicated that crimes considered to be race-stereotypic were judged more harshly than crimes not thought to be race-stereotypic. In addition, I expect to find lower attractiveness ratings, more negative evaluations and more negative social consequences ratings (ratings of how others might react to the target) for targets whose attitudes are perceived to be consistent with sexual harassment.

When people are asked to make judgements about or evaluations of others using attitudinal information, we must keep in mind one of the most robust findings in social psychology. People feel attracted towards others who hold

attitudes that are similar to their own (Byrne, 1971). This relationship between attitude similarity and attraction is important for the current context. When individuals themselves endorse most of a target's attitudes, I expect to find higher attractiveness ratings, more positive evaluations and more positive social consequences ratings for the target. I also expect that attitude similarity will have a negative relationship with guilt likelihood. When attitude similarity with a target is high, I expect that individuals will be less likely to judge the target to be guilty of sexual harassment. This prediction is based on the assumption that most people do not believe that they are likely to sexually harass another person. Therefore, the more similar they perceive a target to be to themselves, the less likely they will be to believe that the target is guilty of sexual harassment.

Method

Development of Stimulus Materials

Stimulus materials were pretested on participants who were similar to those to be used in the main study. Eighty undergraduates (40 male, 40 female) at Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN) in St. John's participated on a voluntary basis.

I started with a set of 120 attitude statements (e.g., "If a homosexual propositioned me, I would be within my rights to physically attack that person."; "I would be reluctant to convict a person accused of rape unless it were clear that the woman had tried to fight him off."; "Premarital sex happens too easily and too often."). These attitude statements had been developed in consultation with Memorial University undergraduates in previous research (Button, Grant, Hannah, & Ross, 1993). They were, therefore, statements that were meaningful to these students.

One group of participants (20 male, 20 female) indicated on 7-point scales the extent to which they believed that a male who had been guilty of sexual harassment would agree or disagree with each statement. Another group of participants (20 male, 20 female) indicated on 7-point scales the extent to which they believed that a male who had never been guilty of sexual harassment would agree or disagree with each statement. Sexual harassment was defined as unwanted attention of a sexual nature, often with an element of threat or coercion.

Independent t-tests with Bonferoni correction were performed on each of the 120 attitude statements. The purpose of the t-tests was to determine which statements were perceived to differentiate between a male who had been guilty of sexual harassment and a male who had never been

guilty of sexual harassment. Twelve attitude statements reached or approached significance ($p < .05$). These are presented in Table 1. The six attitude statements which were perceived to differentiate most strongly between a male who had been guilty of sexual harassment and a male who had never been guilty of sexual harassment were chosen as stimulus items. These six items are shown in bold print in Table 1 and were used to manipulate consistency of target attitudes with sexual harassment in the main study.

These six statements were divided into two different sets of three for use in the consistent/not consistent attitudes manipulation. The first set of three statements were as follows: (1) "The frequency of wife battering is exaggerated." (2) "True fulfillment for a woman comes from raising a family.", and (3) "People convicted of child abuse should be counselled rather than punished." Agreement with these items was considered by participants to be consistent sexual harassment. The second set of three statements were as follows: (1) "Pornographic literature should be outlawed." (2) "Explicit depictions of sexual activity in movies should be prohibited", and (3) "A person who has used marijuana should not be appointed to the Supreme Court." Agreement with these items was not considered by participants to be consistent with sexual harassment.

Table 1

Results of T-tests on Items Differentiating Targets Guilty
of Sexual Harassment From Targets Not Guilty of Sexual
Harassment

Rock videos exploit women.^{1,2}

True fulfillment for a woman comes from raising a family.^{3,1}

The frequency of wife battering is exaggerated.^{3,1}

People found guilty of child abuse should be counselled, not punished.^{3,1}

A person who has used marijauna should not be appointed to the Supreme Court.^{3,2}

Pornographic literature should be outlawed.^{3,1}

A hospital abortion should be available to any woman who wants one.^{2,1}

Sex has nothing to do with power.^{2,2}

The benefits of nuclear power stations outweigh the risks they pose.^{1,1}

Organized religion has an important role to play in the modern world.^{1,2}

Explicit sexual activity in movies should be prohibited.^{3,1}

I would be reluctant to convict a person accused of rape unless it were clear that the woman had tried to fight him off.^{2,1}

Note: First superscripted number refers to the p-value:

¹ p<.05 ² p<.01 ³ p<.001

Second superscripted number refers to the direction:

¹ Those guilty of SH ² Those not guilty of SH

Note: Items in bold were chosen for use as stimulus items.

In order to confirm that the six selected items did indeed differentiate between those thought guilty of sexual harassment and those thought not guilty, a separate group of 20 participants (ten male, ten female) indicated, on a scale from one (very unlikely) to seven (very likely) the likelihood that a male who had been guilty of sexual harassment would agree with each item. T-tests with Bonferoni correction were performed for each of the six items. As expected, items that were perceived to be consistent with sexual harassment (items 1-3) received significantly higher likelihood ratings than items not perceived to be consistent with sexual harassment (items 4-6).

Overview and Design

The design of the main study was a between-subjects factorial design: 2 (accusation/no accusation of sexual harassment) X 2 (target attitudes consistent/not consistent with sexual harassment) X 2 (attitude statement set). Perceiver-target attitude similarity and attraction to the target were measured for each participant.

Participants

One hundred and sixty undergraduates at Memorial University of Newfoundland (80 males, 80 females) served as research participants. No participant used in the development of stimulus items was eligible for the main study. Participants were each paid \$2.75 to complete the study.

Materials

Guilt-Likelihood Measure

The target or defendant was given the name "Dave" in an attempt to make the target descriptions less hypothetical. The first and most direct measure of guilt-likelihood asked subjects to respond to the following question: "In your opinion, how likely is it that Dave has committed sexual harassment upon a female undergraduate student?" Subjects responded on a scale from one (not at all likely) to seven (very likely). In addition to this direct question, subjects responded to two other guilt-likelihood items. One of these read, "In your opinion, how likely is it that Dave will actually commit sexual harassment upon a female undergraduate student sometime in the future?" The other read, "In your opinion, how likely is it that Dave will be accused of sexual harassment by a female undergraduate

student sometime in the future?"

The three guilt-likelihood items make up a reliable measure ($\alpha=.87$). Therefore, the three items were averaged for each participant to create an index of guilt-likelihood for the target that ranged from 1-7.

Attraction to the Target

Two separate items, adapted from Byrne (1979), were summed to produce the measure of attraction to the target: Participants were asked to respond on 7-point scales to the following items: 1) "Still thinking of the same person (Dave) please indicate how much **you** would enjoy working with this person." and 2) "how much **you** would like this person." A Pearson correlation coefficient was calculated for these two items ($r=.79$, $p<.01$). Since the "working" and "liking" ratings show a high positive correlation, one can meaningfully sum across these items. The result is a measure of participants' attraction to the target, on a scale from two (low attraction) to fourteen (high attraction).

Target Evaluation

Participant's overall evaluation of the target was based on responses to six evaluative items from Osgood,

Suci, and Tannenbaum's (1967) semantic differential (good-bad, kind-cruel, successful-unsuccessful, beautiful-ugly, reputable-disreputable, wise-foolish). Participants rated the target on each of these items on a scale from one to nine. The target received a score from each participant that ranged from 6 (negative evaluation) to 54 (positive evaluation). These six items formed a reliable scale ($\alpha=.89$).

Social Consequences

For the social consequences measure (Stoppard, 1993), participants indicated on nine-point scales how they thought others would react to the target in a wide range of situations. The twenty-two social consequences items formed a reliable scale ($\alpha=.95$). Scores on the scale ranged from a low of 22 to a high of 198. See Appendix A.

Procedure

Research participants were tested individually, in enclosed cubicles. Participants were randomly assigned to one of eight experimental conditions, 20 participants per condition (10 males, 10 females). These conditions were based on the 2 (accused/not accused) by 2 (target attitudes consistent/not consistent with sexual harassment) by 2 (attitude statement set) factorial design. Four of these

groups received a description of a male undergraduate (Dave) which contained three statements about his attitudes and a statement indicating that he had been accused of sexual harassment. The other four groups received only the description of Dave and his attitudes. They were not given any information concerning an accusation of sexual harassment.

In the consistent attitudes manipulation, Dave was described as endorsing three attitudinal positions that had previously been determined to be consistent with sexual harassment. For the not consistent attitudes manipulation, Dave was described as endorsing three positions previously judged as not consistent with sexual harassment.

Half of the participants in the consistent attitudes condition (20 males, 20 females) read that Dave believed that (1) The frequency of wife battering is exaggerated, (2) True fulfillment for a woman comes from raising a family, and (3) People convicted of child abuse should be counselled rather than punished. The other half of the participants in the consistent attitudes condition (20 males, 20 females) read that Dave did not believe that (1) Pornographic literature should be outlawed, (2) Explicit depictions of sexual activity in movies should be prohibited, and (3) A person who has used marijuana should not be appointed to the Supreme Court. The same procedure was repeated for the not

consistent attitudes manipulation, except that participants read that Dave did not believe the first set of statements above, or that he did believe the second set of statements.

After reading the relevant target description (see Appendix B), participants were asked to complete the semantic differential scale and the attraction rating (presented together on a single page). Participants were also asked to complete the social consequences measure, and to estimate the likelihood of Dave's guilt (presented on separate pages). These three pages were presented in counterbalanced order within each condition, for a total of six possible orders. After these dependent measures had been completed, participants indicated their own positions on each of the three attitudinal items contained in the description of Dave (see Appendix C). Finally, participants answered a series of questions which included a measure of each participants' initial expectation of the association between accusation and guilt-likelihood. Demographic information was also collected. (see Appendix D).

Perceiver-Target Attitude Similarity

To assess perceiver-target attitude similarity, I counted the number of times each participant's position on an item corresponded with the target's position. A subject was assumed to endorse the target's position on an item

whenever his or her score and the target's score fell on the same side of the scale midpoint. target's attitude. Each subject was given a score that ranged from zero (no endorsement of target attitudes) to three (endorsement of all three target attitudes). This is similar to the procedure used by Byrne (1971) in his manipulation of attitude similarity. I was interested in the number of target attitudes that a given participant endorsed, not the extremity of the participant's position on each item. This measure of attitude similarity reflects this approach.

Results

Overview

An analysis of variance was performed for each dependent measure. The independent factors were consistency of the target's attitudes with sexual harassment, whether or not the target had been accused, gender of the participant, and attitude statement set. A chi-squared analysis assessed whether consistency was confounded with attitude similarity. A series of partial correlations was performed to determine the impact of a given variable of interest, controlling for other variables with which it may have been confounded.

A table of means follows each analysis. These tables present the cell means for four conditions: 2 (accusation/no accusation) by 2 (attitudes consistent/not consistent with

sexual harassment). Means are reported separately for the direct guilt-likelihood measure, the attraction measure, the evaluation measure, and the social consequences measure. Whenever there were significant differences between male and female participants on a particular measure, this information is reported in the corresponding table of means.

Guilt-Likelihood

A 2 (accused/not accused) by 2 (gender of participant) by 2 (target attitudes consistent/not consistent) by 2 (attitude statement set) analysis of variance was performed with guilt-likelihood ratings as the dependent variable. As predicted, a main effect for the target's attitudinal consistency with sexual harassment on guilt-likelihood ratings emerged from the analysis of variance, $F(1,159)=15.07$, $p<.001$. When the target's attitudes were consistent with sexual harassment, participants rated him as significantly more likely to be guilty than when his attitudes were not consistent with sexual harassment.

This consistency effect held whether or not there was an accusation of sexual harassment. In other words, there was no significant interaction between consistency and accusation, $F(1,159)=1.42$, $p=ns$. It appears that participants used the consistency of the target's attitudes with sexual harassment to infer guilt or innocence. This

occurred whether or not the target had actually been accused of sexual harassment. Apparently, participants were more likely to believe an accusation of sexual harassment when the target's attitudes were consistent with committing sexual harassment. Participants were also more likely to believe that the target was guilty of sexual harassment, even though not accused, when his attitudes were consistent with the transgression.

There was a significant effect of accusation on guilt-likelihood ratings, $F(1,159)=11.49$, $p<.001$. When the target had been accused of sexual harassment, participants rated him as more likely to be guilty than if he had not been accused. No other significant effects emerged from the analysis of variance.

The Relationship between Consistency and Attitude Similarity

It is possible that consistency and attitude similarity were confounded variables. Indeed, a Chi-Squared analysis revealed that participants were more likely to agree with the attitudes of a target when those attitudes were not consistent with sexual harassment ($\chi^2_{(3)}=16.62$, $p<.01$). This indicates that consistency and attitude similarity were confounded variables. These results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2Chi-Squared Analysis-Attitude Similarity and Consistency

# of target attitudes agreed with by partic.	target att. <u>consis with SH</u>	target att. <u>inconsis with SH</u>
0	39	21
1	16	12
2	9	29
3	16	18

 $\chi^2_{(3)} = 16.62, p < .01$

Because attitude similarity and consistency were confounded, I performed a series of partial correlations. The partial correlation between consistency and guilt-likelihood, controlling for attitude similarity, was significant, $r(157) = .2602$, $p < .001$. This result indicates that consistency of the target's attitudes with sexual harassment was associated with higher ratings of guilt-likelihood, even when controlling for attitude similarity. The partial correlation between attitude similarity and guilt-likelihood, controlling for consistency, was also significant, $r(157) = -.13$, $p < .05$. The more participants agreed with the target's attitudes the less likely they thought he was to be guilty of sexual harassment, even when controlling for the consistency of those attitudes with sexual harassment.

One possible interpretation of these data is that consistency and attitude similarity had a significant effect on attraction to the target, which in turn may have affected guilt-likelihood. The partial correlation between attraction to the target and guilt-likelihood, controlling for consistency and attitude similarity, was highly significant, $r(156) = -.46$, $p < .0001$. When the target was attractive to participants, he was significantly less likely to receive a high guilt-likelihood rating. The relationship between attraction to the target and guilt-likelihood was

even stronger, however, when neither consistency nor attitude similarity were controlled, $r(159) = -.53$, $p < .0001$. When only attitude similarity was controlled, the relationship between guilt-likelihood and attraction to the target was weaker than it was for the zero-order correlation, $r(157) = -.50$, $p < .001$. The same pattern was found when only consistency was controlled, $r(157) = -.48$, $p < .01$). These results suggest that the impact of consistency and attitude similarity was partly accounted for by their influence on attraction to the target.

The effects of consistency and attitude similarity on guilt-likelihood, however, were not accounted for solely by their impact on attraction to the target. The partial correlation between consistency and guilt-likelihood, controlling for attraction to the target, was significant, $r(157) = .16$, $p < .05$. A higher order partial correlation between consistency and guilt-likelihood, controlling for both attraction to the target and attitude similarity, was significant, $r(156) = .16$, $p < .05$. This suggests that consistency of the target's attitudes with sexual harassment had a direct effect on participants' ratings of guilt-likelihood. This effect of consistency was not accounted for solely by its impact on attraction to the target nor by its relationship with attitude similarity. The partial correlation between attitude similarity and guilt-

likelihood, controlling for attraction to the target, was significant $r(157) = -.17$, $p < .05$). The partial correlation between attitude similarity and guilt-likelihood, controlling for attraction to the target and consistency, was also significant, $r(156) = -.18$, $p < .01$. This suggests that attitude similarity had a direct effect on ratings of guilt-likelihood. This effect was not accounted for solely by its impact on attraction to the target nor by its relationship with consistency.

Figure 1 on page 29 shows the relationships among consistency, attitude similarity, attraction to the target, and guilt-likelihood suggested by the present analysis. Arrows indicate possible directions of influence. Table 3 on page 27 shows the cell means for guilt-likelihood as a function of consistency and accusation.

Table 3Guilt-Likelihood as a Function of Consistency and Accusation

	Consistent	Not consistent
Accused	4.68 (n=40)	4.08 (n=40)
Not accused	4.18 (n=40)	3.08 (n=40)

Initial Expectations of the Relationship between
Accusation and Guilt-Likelihood

An analysis somewhat peripheral to the original question was performed on the guilt-likelihood measure. In the absence of direct evidence, people may use their initial expectations concerning the relationship between accusation and guilt-likelihood to make decisions about guilt or innocence. In the present study, a single item assessed each participant's initial expectations: "When a male is accused of sexual harassment, he is probably guilty of sexual harassment." Bar-Hillel (1980) has demonstrated that people use these initial expectations in making judgements only when they believe the information to be relevant to the judgement being made. As a result, I expected to find a significant effect of participants' initial expectations only when the target had been formally accused.

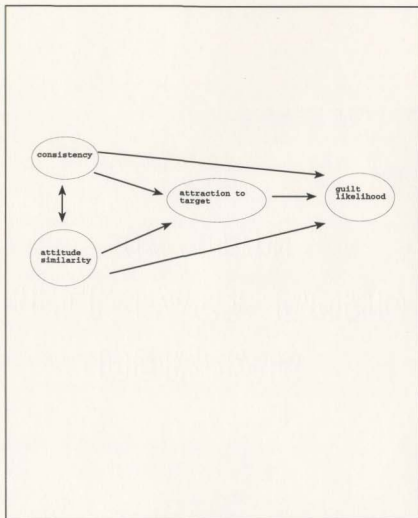


Figure 1. Suggested Relationships Among Consistency, Attitude Similarity, Attraction to the Target, and Guilt-Likelihood

A multiple regression analysis was performed on the guilt-likelihood measure with initial expectation and accusation/no accusation as independent factors. There was no significant main effect of initial expectation on guilt-likelihood. However, as expected, the analysis did reveal a significant interaction between the initial expectation factor and accusation of sexual harassment ($\beta = .28$, $t = 3.523$, $p < .001$). When the target was accused of sexual harassment, subjects who scored higher on the initial expectation item judged the target as more likely to be guilty than subjects with lower scores on this measure. It appears that initial expectations of the relationship between accusation and guilt were relevant to participants only when there had been an accusation of sexual harassment. This result confirms earlier findings by Bar-Hillel (1980).

Attraction to the Target

A 2 (accused/not accused) by 2 (gender of participant) by 2 (target attitudes consistent/not consistent with sexual harassment) by 2 (attitude statement set) analysis of variance was performed with attraction as the dependent variable.

As expected, there was a significant main effect of consistency of the target's attitudes with sexual harassment on attraction to the target, $F(1,159) = 4.09$, $p < .001$. When the

target's attitudes were consistent with sexual harassment, participants reported less attraction to him than when his attitudes were not consistent with sexual harassment.

There was also a significant effect of accusation on attraction to the target, $F(1,159)=9.810$, $p<.01$. When the target was accused of sexual harassment, participants reported less attraction to him than when he had not been accused of sexual harassment. Finally, there was a significant main effect for gender of participant on attraction to the target $F(1,159)=4.086$, $p<.05$). Female participants reported less attraction to the target than male participants. Females, as the usual victims of sexual harassment, may be less likely to be attracted to a male who is under suspicion for sexually harassing a female. This effect may be particularly strong given the measure of attraction, which asked not only how much the participant would like Dave, but also how much he or she would like to work with Dave. Females, understandably, would not want to put themselves in a situation in which they might be sexually harassed. Interestingly, there was no interaction between the gender of the participant and accusation on attraction to the target. Table 4 shows the cell means for attraction to the target as a function of consistency, accusation, and participant gender.

Table 4

Attraction to the Target as a Function of Consistency,
Accusation, and Gender of Participant

	Consistent	Not consistent
male	8.05 (20)	9.20 (20)
female	5.60 (20)	8.95 (20)
male	9.20 (20)	11.15 (20)
female	7.80 (20)	10.70 (20)

Overall Evaluation (Semantic Differential Items)

A 2 (accused/not accused) by 2 (sex of participant) by 2 (target attitudes consistent/not consistent) by 2 (attitude statement set) analysis of variance was performed with overall evaluation of the target as the dependent variable.

There was a significant main effect for consistency of target attitudes with sexual harassment on evaluations of the target, $F(1,159) = 12.01$, $p < .001$. Because consistency was confounded with attitude similarity, a partial correlation was calculated between consistency and evaluation, controlling for attitude similarity. This relationship was significant and negative, $r(157) = -.26$, $p < .001$. When the target's attitudes were consistent with sexual harassment, participants evaluated him significantly more negatively than when his attitudes were not consistent with sexual harassment. Participants appear to have used the consistency information to make evaluations of the target's personality. Attitudes that were consistent with harassment seem to have reflected negatively on the target's character. There was a significant main effect for accusation on evaluation of the target, $F(1,159) = 4.53$, $p < .05$. When the target had been accused of sexual harassment, participants were more likely to evaluate him negatively than when he had not been accused.

The partial correlation between attitude similarity and evaluation of the target, controlling for consistency of the target's attitudes with sexual harrassment, was significant and positive, $r(157) = .1988$, $p < .01$. Participants with similar attitudes evaluated him significantly more positively than did participants with dissimilar attitudes. This was the case even when controlling for the effect of consistency. Table 5 shows the cell means for evaluation of the target as a function of consistency and accusation.

Table 5

Evaluation of Target as a Function of
Consistency and Accusation

	Consistent	Not consistent
Accused	26.05 (40)	26.85 (40)
Not accused	28.62 (40)	33.47 (40)

Social Consequences

A 2 (accused/not accused) by 2 (gender of participant) by 2 (target attitudes consistent/not consistent with sexual harassment) by 2 (attitude statement set) analysis of variance was performed with social consequences as the dependent variable.

There was a significant main effect of consistency on social consequences ratings, $F(1,159)=11.43$, $p<.001$. When the target's attitudes were consistent with sexual harassment, participants indicated that the target would receive more negative social consequences. There was also a significant main effect of accusation on social consequences ratings, $F(1,159)=4.5$, $p<.05$. When the target was accused of sexual harassment, he received more negative social consequences ratings. Table 6 shows the cell means for social consequences as a function of consistency and accusation.

The partial correlation between consistency and social consequences, controlling for attitude similarity, was significant, $r(157)=-.24$, $p<.001$. When the target's attitudes were consistent with sexual harassment, participants indicated that the target would receive more negative social consequences, even after controlling for attitude similarity. The partial correlation between attitude similarity and social consequences, controlling for

consistency, was also significant, $r(157) = .17$, $p < .01$. When attitude similarity was high, participants indicated that the target would receive more positive social consequences, even after controlling for the consistency of the target's attitudes with sexual harassment.

Table 6

Social Consequences as a Function of Consistency and
Accusation

	Consistent	Not consistent
Accused	81.75 (40)	89.53 (40)
Not accused	96.32 (40)	114.43 (40)

Gender Differences?

There is good evidence that females perceive a wider range of behaviours as sexually harassing than do males (Summers, 1991). When presented with situations depicting interactions between males and females in the school or workplace, females tend to label these situations as "sexual harassment" more readily than do males.

The present study does not address this issue. We can ask, however, if female participants judge a male to be more likely to be guilty of sexual harassment than do male participants. There is no evidence of this in our study. In fact, the direct guilt-likelihood ratings were virtually identical for male and female subjects across all conditions. Such was not the case for initial expectations, however. A 2 (accusation/no accusation) by 2 (sex of participant) analysis of variance revealed a significant main effect for sex of participant upon the participants' initial expectation of the relationship between accusation and guilt, $F(1,159)=4.39$, $p<.05$. Overall, females ($M=3.97$, $SD=1.43$) perceived a stronger relationship between accusation and guilt-likelihood than males ($M=3.53$, $SD=1.38$).

It should be noted that, overall, participants did not deviate significantly from the midpoint when indicating their initial expectations of the association between

accusation and guilt-likelihood. They tended to respond in a neutral fashion to the item, "When a male is accused of sexual harassment, he is probably guilty of sexual harassment." However, a few cases of females agreeing strongly with this item and a few cases of males disagreeing strongly with this item led to the above statistically significant effect. This issue will be revisited in the summary and conclusions section.

Summary and Conclusions

Sexual harassment frequently occurs "behind closed doors." There is often no corroborating eyewitness testimony and no physical evidence. Sometimes, there is not even enough circumstantial evidence to place the accused and his accuser alone in the same room.

Given this state of affairs, it is surprising that people are able to take sides, believing either the accused or the complainant. On what basis are these judgements made? Previous research suggests that these judgements are made on the basis of relative defendant and complainant attractiveness (Castellow, Wuensch, & Moore, 1990, Moore, Wuensch Hedges, & Castellow, 1994). However, the results from the present study suggest that one determining factor is the consistency with sexual harassment of the perceived

attitudes of the accused.

Consistency of the target's attitudes with sexual harassment was a significant factor in judgements of guilt-likelihood, in evaluations of traits, in ratings of attraction to the target, and in ratings of social consequences. When the target's attitudes were perceived to be consistent with sexual harassment, he was rated particularly harshly on each of these measures. These effects were significant even when controlling for the confounding variable of attitude similarity. For the guilt-likelihood measure, consistency was a significant factor even when attraction to the target and attitude similarity were controlled.

Attitude similarity was also a significant factor in judgements of guilt or innocence, in evaluations of traits, in ratings of attraction to the target, and in ratings of social consequences. When attitude similarity was high, participants were more lenient in making each of these judgements. These effects were significant even when controlling for the confound of consistency of the target's attitudes with sexual harassment. For the guilt-likelihood measure, these effects were significant even when attraction to the target and consistency of the target's attitudes with sexual harassment were controlled.

It is important to note that the consistency of

perceived target attitudes with sexual harassment affected judgements concerning the likelihood of guilt whether or not there had been an accusation. When the target was not accused, but his attitudes were consistent with sexual harassment, subjects rated him as more likely to have committed sexual harassment, more likely to commit sexual harassment in the future, and more likely to be accused in the future. These expectations themselves place the target in a particularly difficult position if he is ever accused of sexual harassment. The accusation may simply serve to confirm what people expected all along.

It should be mentioned here that the present procedure may have limited ecological validity. A videotaped scenario showing the interaction that lead to the complaint or even the provision of photographs of the complainant and defendant might have helped in this regard. However, it was my intention to examine the effects of the consistency of the defendant's perceived attitudes with sexual harassment behaviours on judgements of guilt. Therefore, any extraneous information that may have impacted on the effects of the consistency variable was deliberately excluded.

Directions for Future Research

The results of this study suggest that the consistency with sexual harassment of defendants' assumed attitudes has

a direct effect on judgements of guilt-likelihood. In addition, attitude similarity appears to have a direct effect on judgements of guilt-likelihood. These effects were not driven solely by their impact on attraction to the target, but were evident when attraction was statistically controlled. This suggests that a simple model of relative defendant and complainant attractiveness may not fully explain judgements of guilt-likelihood.

The effect of consistency on judgements of guilt-likelihood may not be limited to perceived attitudes. Perhaps the consistency of many of the defendant's characteristics with the alleged transgression affects judgements of guilt or innocence. Bodenhausen and Wyer (1985), for example, showed that the consistency of racial stereotypes with different crimes affects judgements of guilt.

What other characteristics might be viewed as consistent or inconsistent with sexual transgressions? Besides attitudes, the list may include status, traits, behaviours, and physical appearance. Physical appearance may be a more useful concept than physical attractiveness, because it incorporates concepts such as dress, how one carries oneself, and grooming habits which may be viewed as consistent or not consistent with a particular transgression. In addition, evidence indicates that people

infer characteristics and make judgements based on facial structure as well as level of physical attractiveness (Cunningham, Barbee, & Pike, 1990; Zebrowitz & Montepare, 1992).

The Proposed Consistency Model

Although a model of relative defendant and complainant attractiveness partially explains judgements of guilt or innocence, a consistency model may improve our ability to predict these judgements. My proposed consistency model predicts that subjects will examine the consistency of the accused's characteristics with the act of sexual harassment and the consistency of the complainant's characteristics with being sexually harassed. As the studies by Lester et al (1996), Castellow et al (1990) and Moore et al (1994) suggest, characteristics of the complainant may play an important role in the believability of an accusation of sexual harassment. In the study by Lester et al (1996), for example, the combination of high-status defendant and low-status complainant led participants to perceive that sexual harassment had occurred. High status men hold the kind of power that may be associated with sexual harassment. Low status women may be viewed as having characteristics consistent with being a victim of sexual harassment.

The complainant may also be evaluated in terms of how consistent or inconsistent her characteristics are with the type of person who would bring false accusations of sexual harassment. For example, Summers (1991) found that women who had a feminist orientation or who were in competition with their alleged harasser were less likely to be believed. Research participants may have used this information to attribute the accusation to something other than a genuine case of sexual harassment.

The consistency model being proposed suggests that people use the relationships among three variables when determining guilt-likelihood:

- 1) the consistency of the defendant's characteristics and past behaviour with having committed sexual harassment;
- 2) the consistency of the complainant's characteristics and past behaviour with being a victim of sexual harassment;
- 3) the consistency of the complainant's characteristics and past behaviour with bringing a false accusation of sexual harassment.

The consistency model allows for the following specific predictions concerning the influence of these three variables on people's perceptions of guilt-likelihood:

- 1) When the defendant's characteristics and behaviours are consistent with committing sexual harassment, the complainant's characteristics and behaviours are consistent

with being a victim of sexual harassment, and the complainant's characteristics and behaviours are not consistent with bringing a false accusation, perceived guilt-likelihood will be greatest.

2) When the defendant's characteristics and behaviours are not consistent with committing sexual harassment, the complainant's characteristics and behaviours are not consistent with being a victim of sexual harassment, and the complainant's characteristics and behaviours are consistent with bringing a false accusation, perceived guilt-likelihood will be lowest.

People's initial expectation of the association between accusation and guilt likelihood is an individual difference variable that may be important to the consistency model. Individuals who perceive a close relationship between accusation and guilt-likelihood may be more likely to assume that a particular defendant is guilty than those who do not, regardless of the relationship among the three consistency variables.

The present work also suggests that other variables, for example perceiver-defendant attitude similarity and perceiver-complainant attitude similarity, may also act directly on ratings of guilt-likelihood. In addition, attitude similarity, as well as the three consistency variables specified above, may be partially mediated by the

relative attractiveness of the defendant and the complainant. Figure 2 summarizes the proposed consistency model.

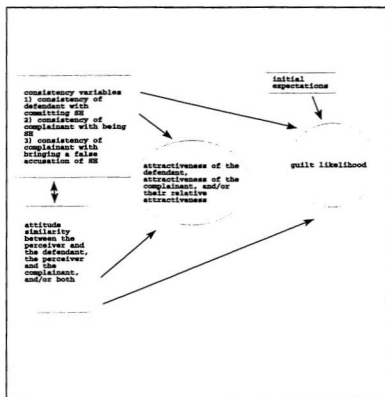


Figure 2 The Consistency Model

* Note: "Consistency" refers to the consistency of the defendant's characteristics and behaviours with committing sexual harassment, the consistency of the complainant's characteristics and behaviours with being a victim of sexual harassment, and the consistency of the complainant's characteristics and behaviours with bringing a false accusation of sexual harassment.

My long term goal is to test the consistency model against the model of relative attractiveness. This will be accomplished by varying the three consistency factors, along with defendant and complainant attractiveness, in a fully crossed experimental design.

It should be noted here that these the findings from the present study and the proposed consistency model may apply to other domains than sexual harassment. Any situation in which one person has accused another of a transgression against his/her person without direct evidence may be examined with respect to all three types of consistency information.

Attribution Theory and the Consistency Model

The present line of research can be examined in terms of attribution theory. Attribution theory is concerned with the type of information people use when they try to explain or make sense of behaviours and situations. Kelley (1967, 1972) proposed that attributions are made to an actor (as opposed to an entity or a situation) when the actor's behaviour is consistent across situations, when there is consensus among observers, and when the behaviour is not seen as distinctive. When Kelley (1967, 1972) uses the term "consistency", he means consistency of behaviour across

situations. Throughout this paper, I have used the term "consistency" to describe how stereotypically the defendant's characteristics "fit" with the alleged transgression.

My consistency model can readily incorporate Kelley's (1967, 1972) use of the term "consistency". The model would predict that: The consistency (Kelley's use) of actors' (defendants' or complainants') past behaviour across situations relevant to sexual harassment or false allegation will affect attributions of guilt-likelihood. For example, if the defendant's past behaviour has consistently matched judges' concept of the stereotypical behaviour of a sexual harasser, estimates of guilt-likelihood will be particularly high. An attribution to an actor (the defendant) will be made to explain the allegation. The consistency of the actors' characteristics and attitudes across situations relevant to sexual harassment or false allegation will affect attributions of guilt-likelihood. For example, if the characteristics and attitudes of the complainant have consistently matched judges' ideas concerning the stereotypical "false accuser", estimates of guilt-likelihood will be particularly low. An attribution to an actor (the complainant) will be made to explain the allegation.

The contribution of consensus and distinctiveness

(Kelley, 1967, 1972) also remains to be investigated in this context. However, if many people are in agreement concerning the characteristics of the accused or the complainant (consensus) this is likely to reinforce one's own judgements. Similarly, if the social interaction between the accused and the complainant is not seen as distinctive (i.e., either the accused or the defendant behave similarly with other people), this too may reinforce judgements concerning an accusation of sexual harassment.

The Initial Expectation Variable

The present study examined individual participants' initial expectations of the relationship between accusation and guilt-likelihood. Participants were asked, "When a male is accused of sexual harassment, he is probably guilty of sexual harassment." A score of one on this item indicated strong disagreement with this statement, and a score of seven indicated strong agreement. Overall, subjects tended to respond with scores that were at or close to the midpoint, indicating that their initial expectations were neutral (or close to neutral). It is worth observing, however, that while four female subjects responded with the maximum score of seven, only one male did so. Similarly, while six males responded with the minimum score of one, only three females did so. Although most subjects, male and

female, cluster about the midpoint on this item, a small subset of females seem to believe that accusations are almost always well-founded. A small subset of males, on the other hand, seem to believe that accusations are almost never well-founded. It might be worthwhile to examine these subsets of individuals to determine their reasons for holding such extreme initial expectations.

These extreme individuals contributed to a statistically significant effect of initial expectations on ratings of guilt-likelihood. Participant's initial expectations of the relationship between accusation and guilt likelihood significantly affected ratings of guilt-likelihood when an accusation of sexual harassment had been made. Therefore, it may be an important factor to include in a complete model of judgements of guilt-likelihood. Future work will continue to investigate this possibility.

Information Processing and the Impact of Direct Evidence

One method of investigating information processing is to measure the type and amount of evidence that subjects are able to recall. Bodenhausen and Wyer (1985) found that when transgressions were race-stereotypic, subjects recalled less of the direct evidence provided in a case. This suggests that these subjects did not examine the evidence as carefully as they did when the transgression was non-race

stereotypic. As a result, heuristic, rather than systematic, processing appears to have occurred. This work shows that if the accused's characteristics are perceived to be stereotypically consistent with the transgression, even direct evidence may be ignored (or at least not examined as closely as it would otherwise be).

Future work might focus on replicating this result from Bodenhausen and Wyer (1985) within the proposed consistency model. The prediction would be that people will be less likely to recall direct evidence about a case of sexual harassment when each of the three consistency factors point to either guilt or innocence. According to the model, if the defendant's characteristics and behaviours are consistent with committing sexual harassment, the complainant's characteristics and behaviours are consistent with being sexually harassed, and the complainant's characteristics and behaviours are not consistent with bringing a false accusation, all three factors point to the defendant's guilt. Under these conditions, people may not examine direct evidence as closely as they would if the consistency information was mixed (i.e., one of the three consistency factors pointed towards innocence).

Implications of Using Attitudinal Stereotypes in Making Judgements

What are the implications of using the consistency of perceived attitudes to determine guilt or innocence (or when making other evaluations about a target)? If attitudes are the only information available, they are probably useful in making a decision. However, there is a danger in making judgements based on limited evidence - the judgement may be wrong. The relationship between attitudes and a single behaviour is relatively weak. Although a man may hold one or more sexist attitudes, these can be expressed in his behaviour in many ways, only one of which is sexual harassment. Similarly, if a woman holds negative attitudes towards men, these, too, may be expressed in many ways other than bringing false accusations of sexual harassment.

The danger of being wrong when using perceived attitudes to make judgements of this kind is compounded by the fact that our perception itself might be inaccurate or incomplete. In addition, implicit attitude theory predicts that if a target is believed to endorse one attitude, we will infer other, similar attitudes. We may be building an attitudinal profile that is grossly exaggerated if not completely inaccurate.

How, then, should sexual harassment allegations be judged in the absence of direct evidence? Very carefully

might be an appropriate response to this question! Unless a previous pattern of actual sexually harassing behaviour (as opposed to behaviour that merely matches a stereotypical profile) or a penchant for making false accusations can be established, it may be advisable to reserve judgement.

If we are going to take a side (the complainant's or the defendant's) without the benefit of direct evidence, we should ask ourselves why we have chosen to believe one person over another, and whether this decision was a rational one. Sexual harassment is but one battleground in an ongoing "battle of the sexes", for which the white flags of education and enlightenment may be preferable to the sharp weapons of gossip, rumour, and hasty judgement.

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Appendix A

Social Consequences Scale (next 4 pages)

Think about how people might react to Dave, who holds the attitudes described on the first page. Note that we are not asking how you would react to Dave. We are asking how **you** think others would react. Please indicate on the scales that follow how likely **others** would be to:

be polite to:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

disapprove of:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

behave generously toward:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

refuse to do favours for:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

refuse to loan their car to:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

ignore socially:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

talk negatively behind their back:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

introduce to important people:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

help get a job:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

help move:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

leave out of a party:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

spend time with:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 not at all very
 likely likely

take out to dinner:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 not at all very
 likely likely

give gifts to:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 not at all very
 likely likely

give compliments:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 not at all very
 likely likely

refuse to give a ride to:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 not at all very
 likely likely

like:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 not at all very
 likely likely

take advantage of:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 not at all very
 likely likely

comfort when sick:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

keep secrets from:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

reject:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

refuse to loan money to:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
not at all very
likely likely

Appendix B

Target Descriptions

(next 8 pages)

Please read the following information before proceeding to the next page:

Dave is an undergraduate student at Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN). People who know Dave reasonably well are aware of his attitudes concerning a wide range of issues. For example, Dave does not believe that pornographic literature should be outlawed. He also does not believe that explicit sexual activity in movies should be prohibited. Furthermore, Dave does not believe that a person who has used marijuana should not be appointed to the Supreme Court.

During the course of your studies at MUN, you learn that a female undergraduate student has formally accused Dave of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is unwanted attention of a sexual nature, often with an element of threat or coercion.

On the following pages, you will be asked to make several judgements concerning Dave. Please work quickly but accurately.

Please read the following information before proceeding to the next page:

Dave is an undergraduate student at Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN). People who know Dave reasonably well are aware of his attitudes concerning a wide range of issues. For example, Dave believes that pornographic literature should be outlawed. He also believes that explicit sexual activity in movies should be prohibited. Furthermore, Dave believes that a person who has used marijuana should not be appointed to the Supreme Court.

During the course of your studies at MUN, you learn that a female undergraduate student has formally accused Dave of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is unwanted attention of a sexual nature, often with an element of threat or coercion.

On the following pages, you will be asked to make several judgements concerning Dave. Please work quickly but accurately.

Please read the following information before proceeding to the next page:

Dave is an undergraduate student at Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN). People who know Dave reasonably well are aware of his attitudes concerning a wide range of issues. For example, Dave does not believe that true fulfillment for a woman comes from raising a family. He also does not believe that the frequency of wife battering is exaggerated. Furthermore, Dave does not believe that people convicted of child abuse should be counselled rather than punished.

During the course of your studies at MUN, you learn that a female undergraduate student has formally accused Dave of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is unwanted attention of a sexual nature, often with an element of threat or coercion.

On the following pages, you will be asked to make several judgements concerning Dave. Please work quickly but accurately.

Please read the following information before proceeding to the next page:

Dave is an undergraduate student at Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN). People who know Dave reasonably well are aware of his attitudes concerning a wide range of issues. For example, Dave does not believe that true fulfillment for a woman comes from raising a family. He also does not believe that the frequency of wife battering is exaggerated. Furthermore, Dave does not believe that people convicted of child abuse should be counselled rather than punished.

On the following pages, you will be asked to make several judgements concerning Dave. Please work quickly but accurately.

Please read the following information before proceeding to the next page:

Dave is an undergraduate student at Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN). People who know Dave reasonably well are aware of his attitudes concerning a wide range of issues. For example, Dave believes that true fulfillment for a woman comes from raising a family. He also believes that the frequency of wife battering is exaggerated. Furthermore, Dave believes that people convicted of child abuse should be counselled rather than punished.

During the course of your studies at MUN, you learn that a female undergraduate student has formally accused Dave of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is unwanted attention of a sexual nature, often with an element of threat or coercion.

On the following pages, you will be asked to make several judgements concerning Dave. Please work quickly but accurately.

Please read the following information before proceeding to the next page:

Dave is an undergraduate student at Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN). People who know Dave reasonably well are aware of his attitudes concerning a wide range of issues. For example, Dave believes that true fulfillment for a woman comes from raising a family. He also believes that the frequency of wife battering is exaggerated. Furthermore, Dave believes that people convicted of child abuse should be counselled rather than punished.

On the following pages, you will be asked to make several judgements concerning Dave. Please work quickly but accurately.

Please read the following information before proceeding to the next page:

Dave is an undergraduate student at Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN). People who know Dave reasonably well are aware of his attitudes concerning a wide range of issues. For example, Dave believes that pornographic literature should be outlawed. He also believes that explicit sexual activity in movies should be prohibited. Furthermore, Dave believes that a person who has used marijuana should not be appointed to the Supreme Court.

On the following pages, you will be asked to make several judgements concerning Dave. Please work quickly but accurately.

Please read the following information before proceeding to the next page:

Dave is an undergraduate student at Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN). People who know Dave reasonably well are aware of his attitudes concerning a wide range of issues. For example, Dave does not believe that pornographic literature should be outlawed. He also does not believe that explicit sexual activity in movies should be prohibited. Furthermore, Dave does not believe that a person who has used marijuana should not be appointed to the Supreme Court.

On the following pages, you will be asked to make several judgements concerning Dave. Please work quickly but accurately.

Appendix C

Participants' Own Attitudes

(next two pages)

On the following scales, please indicate **your own** position on each of the following issues:

The frequency of wife battering is exaggerated.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

disagree strongly

agree strongly

True fulfillment for a woman comes from raising a family.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

disagree strongly

agree strongly

People convicted of child abuse should be counselled rather than punished.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

disagree strongly

agree strongly

On the following scales, please indicate **your own** position on each of the following issues:

Pornographic literature should be outlawed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

disagree strongly

agree strongly

Explicit depictions of sexual activity in movies should be prohibited.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

disagree strongly

agree strongly

A person who has used marijuana should not be appointed to the Supreme Court.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

disagree strongly

agree strongly

Appendix D - Additional Information from Participants

Please indicate your own position on the following items:

1. Sexual harassment is widespread in universities.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 disagree agree
 strongly strongly

2. Sexual harassment is a serious offence.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 disagree agree
 strongly strongly

3. When a male is accused of sexual harassment, he is probably guilty of sexual harassment.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 disagree agree
 strongly strongly

3. Feminism has an important role to play in our society.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 disagree agree
 strongly strongly

Please answer the following questions:

1. Sex: Male _____ Female _____

2. Please indicate your
 Faculty/Major: _____

3. What is your age? _____



