

SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN A TERRIFYING WORLD:
MORTALITY SALIENCE AND HOSTILE WORKPLACE SEXUAL HARASSMENT

by

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Abstract

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by

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Terror Management Theory (TMT) contends that an awareness of one's mortality can cause debilitating fears in humans, who avoid this potentially incapacitating terror by increasing their faith in relevant cultural worldviews, thus increasing their sense of well-being and security (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991). The current studies attempted to determine whether mortality salience enhances hostile sexism (stereotypes associated with an antipathy toward women) and benevolent sexism (stereotypes associated with protectionist attitudes toward woman), potential worldviews that influence decision-makers' sexual harassment evaluations.

Across three studies, mortality salient participants (primed with mortality-related thoughts), control participants (primed with emotion-based, non-death related thoughts), and neutral participants (neither emotionally nor mortality primed), viewed two sexual harassment films and evaluated the complainants' sexual harassment claims. Hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes were measured using the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Using 62 male and 68 female undergraduates, study one attempted to determine whether mortality salience enhances hostile sexist attitudes (which should result in lower sexual harassment ratings) and benevolent sexist attitudes (which should increase sexual harassment ratings). Study one showed little impact of mortality salience on harassment decisions. Study two strengthened mortality salience by engaging 80 males and 83 females in either experiential processing (a gut-level, heuristic-based cognitive style) or rational processing (a deliberative, in-depth cognitive style), components of the Cognitive Experiential Self-Theory (Epstein & Pacini, 1999). Mortality salience had spurious and contradictory effects in study two, though intriguing processing effects emerged for females, with experientially processing females using their hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs to a greater extent than rationally processing females. Processing did not impact males. Study three used a legally relevant mechanism to evaluate the impact of mortality salience on sexual harassment, altering the legal standard with which 78 males and 82 females evaluated harassment. Half the participants used the reasonable woman standard while remaining participants used the reasonable person standard. Standard and mortality salience had little impact, though hostile sexism predicted lower harassment ratings.

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CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

Sexual Harassment in a Terrifying World:

Mortality Salience and Hostile Workplace Sexual Harassment

Section 1: Overview

Title VII of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* (amended in 1991) has revolutionized the means by which sex-based discrimination claims in the workplace are legally and empirically assessed. Yet, it remains an historic irony that the protection given to women under Title VII was based on political leaders' hostile attitudes towards women as a protected group. As originally framed, Title VII sought to include only the race, color, national origin, and religion of individuals as categorically protected from discrimination. However, in an attempt to defeat the bill, which had been extensively debated on the floor of Congress, the "because of sex" clause was added as a means of guaranteeing that the bill would *not* pass a final vote (Greenlaw, Kohl, & Lee, 1998). The strategy backfired, discrimination based on sex became prohibited under the law, and "this act of blatant, hostile sexism opened the door to employment opportunities for many women, enabling them to file discrimination complaints when treated less favorably than their male counterparts at work" (Goodman-Delahunty, 1998, p.132). Today, Title VII has had an immeasurable impact on discriminatory actions in the workplace, particularly for those actions based on the claimant's sex. Yet a brief look through most newspapers, numerous empirical journals (including *Psychology*, *Public Policy and Law*, *Law and Human Behavior*, and *Sex Roles*, among others), and court cases across the country

should remind readers that the same “blatant, hostile sexism” that Goodman-Delahunty spoke of is alive and well even in the 21st century.

Researchers have proposed several models to account for the disparate treatment that men and women face in the workplace. Although social psychological explanations (based on target, offender, and organizational characteristics) and theoretical models (including sex-roll spillover theory and power dominance models) may account for the causal and sustaining role of sexually harassing behaviors in the workplace (Welsh, 1999), Terror Management Theory may also have implications for the maintenance and pervasiveness of sexual harassment.

Terror Management Theory (TMT) contends that thinking about one’s own mortality triggers a defensive response in individuals, spurring them to maintain and rely on those things in their lives that make them feel safe, secure, and stable (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1986; Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1997). Essentially, TMT purports that awareness of one’s mortality has the potential to cause a debilitating fear in human beings. Fortunately, buffers exist to limit or subvert the effects of this potentially paralyzing terror. An individual’s cultural worldview, for example, “provides an explanation for existence, standards through which individuals can attain a sense of personal value, and the promise of literal or symbolic immortality for those who live up to these standards” (Arndt, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1997, p. 379). People reminded of their own mortality may avoid the potentially debilitating terror associated with this life-ending event by increasing their faith in their relevant cultural worldviews. Therefore, stimuli that support an individual’s cultural worldview may elicit positive reactions from that individual when their mortality is salient (as any support of

their cultural worldview will increase the stability of that belief system); likewise, stimuli that threaten their cultural worldview may elicit negative reactions (as it threatens the stability of the belief system).

Several studies have shown that people exposed to their own mortality do, in fact, respond to stimuli as predicted by TMT (people protect their self-esteem by putting more stock in their cultural worldview), even within the field of psychology and law. In one of the original empirical investigations of the mortality salience paradigm, Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, and Lyon (1989) asked municipal court judges to complete a set of personality questionnaires. While some judges completed a control packet, judges in the experimental group completed questions designed to enhance the salience of their eventual mortality. Participants then assigned a monetary fine to a hypothetical moral transgressor of the dominant cultural worldview (in this case, the transgressor was a prostitute). Rosenblatt et al. found that judges given the mortality salience manipulation set higher bonds for the moral transgressor than judges not given this manipulation (\$455 versus \$50, respectively). Judges, of course, play a legal role that demands objectivity and impartiality. Given the fact that mortality salience influences so-called “objective” judges, the extent to which mortality salience influences other players in the legal system demands similar empirical attention. The role of “impartial” juror, for example, demands a degree of objectivity and impartiality similar to that of judges. Yet, the attitudes that jurors hold may very well influence their judgments during the trial process (Vidmar, 1997). Should mortality salience influence these attitudes, it is likely that jurors’ legal decisions will be similarly damaged.

Laws, of course, extend well beyond the confines of the courtroom. The field of sexual harassment research deals with workers impacted by legal prescriptions regarding appropriate gender-based interactions. Attitudes concerning sexual harassment have been the fodder of much research and, as such, may benefit from inclusion in the broad paradigmatic milieu of TMT. In fact, there are several reasons to anticipate an existing relationship between sexual harassment research and TMT. Research conducted by Wiener and his colleagues over the past several years (Wiener, Hurt, Russell, Mannen, & Gasper, 1997; Wiener & Hurt, 2000) has found that the attitudes a person holds about women often influence whether he or she will find evidence of sexual harassment. People who hold hostile sexist attitudes often see women as a threat to the traditional masculine world. As a result, hostile sexists are more likely to regard females in a derogatory manner. Given these attitudes toward women, Wiener has found that hostile sexists are less likely to find evidence that sexual harassment has occurred (Wiener et al., 1997). Benevolent sexists, as a counterpoint, tend to regard women as a delicate class that needs to be protected, cherished, and nurtured. These latter sexists are likely to find even more evidence of a sexually harassing environment. Using the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory created by Glick and Fiske (1996) to differentiate hostile sexists from benevolent sexists, Wiener, Hurt, Russell, Mannen, and Gasper (1997) found that workers expressing hostile sexist attitudes respond differently to sexual harassment scenarios than workers expressing benevolent attitudes. The goal of the present studies is to determine whether mortality salience enhances participants' hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes as they evaluate the validity of sexual harassment claims.

From a psychological vantage point, any results showing that mortality salience enhances benevolent and hostile sexist attitudes will provide researchers with a better understanding of constructs that influence attitude development and maintenance. From a psycholegal point of view, the implications of such enhancements reach even further: the legal system, after all, follows the black letter connotation that facts decide outcomes, not attitudes. If mortality salience—which would affect attitudes but not facts—is given free reign to influence individuals in the legal system, notions like impartiality and objectivity may be lost. TMT, in fact, predicts such damage among hostile and benevolent sexists. That is, when their mortality is salient, hostile sexists may place more emphasis on the attitude that women are threatening to the masculine workplace. This should lead mortality salient hostile sexists to deny the claims of sexual harassment victims to a greater extent than non-mortality salient hostile sexists. Benevolent sexists, conversely, should have a near opposite reaction to the mortality salience manipulation.

The following sections review the current theoretical and legal incarnations of sexual harassment research and TMT in an attempt to synthesize these lines of research. Remaining chapters present three studies that assess the impact of mortality salience on hostile and benevolent sexist decision-makers in the sexual harassment domain.

Section Two: Sexual Harassment Research

2.1: *An Historic Overview: Quid Pro Quo and Hostile Workplace Sexual Harassment*

Although the passing of Title VII of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* enabled women to gain legal support for their employment rights, little legal headway regarding the addition of sexual harassment to the Civil Rights Act was made during the 1960s. Even

with the passing of the amendment, many of the hostile behaviors endured by women in the 1960's—behavior that by today's standards would assuredly constitute harassment—were considered personal rather than social problems (Henry & Meltzoff, 1998). Much of this legal abeyance regarding sexual harassment claims resulted from an inability to both define sexual harassment and to give guidelines for dealing with these oftentimes ambiguous workplace behaviors.

With a lack of legislative history (i.e. the legislative discussions that led to the acknowledgement of sex as a protected class) and a lack of guidelines for interpreting sexual harassment claims (Westman, 1992), many Federal courts decided there was no actionable cause for sexual harassment under Title VII. In fact, even with the addition of sexual harassment to the 1964 Title VII charter, it was not until the 1970s that courts began to fully recognize the responsibility of employers to dissuade its workers from engaging in sexually harassing conduct (Livingston, 1982). In *Williams v. Saxby* (1976), for example, Diane Williams, a U. S. Department of Defense employee, sued under Title VII alleging that she was harassed, humiliated, and ultimately fired for refusing the sexual advances of her supervisor. Although the defense argued that Williams was dismissed for refusing to have sex—a non-discriminatory dismissal in that both women *and* men could be similarly propositioned—the court did not buy this argument and ruled that employers are responsible for the actions of their supervisory employees (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Magley, 1997). In 1977, this ruling was upheld with the introduction of the “but for” clause in *Barnes v. Costle* (1977). That is, but for the plaintiff's sex, the contested behavior would not have occurred (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Magley, 1997). Essentially, this “but for” argument states that discrimination exists when harassment is

targeted at members of one sex but not the other. Even with a more reliable understanding of what constituted sexual harassment, definitional dilemmas continued to haunt the field of sexual harassment.

The US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC, 1993), along with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs, Civil Service Commission, and the Justice Department, set out to clarify the standards by which sexual harassment should be defined (Greenlaw, Kohl, & Lee, 1998). The EEOC (1980; revised in 1993) eventually outlined two types of sexual harassment claims. One form of sexual harassment, *quid pro quo* harassment, occurs when employers take negative employment actions against complainants who reject sexual advances and/or requests for sexual favors (Andrew & Andrew, 1997). Following this guideline, and the “but for sex” clause handed down in *Barnes v. Costle* (1977), *quid pro quo* harassment became a category of inappropriate sexual conduct generally agreed upon by all courts to constitute sexual harassment (Henry & Meltzoff, 1998).

The second form of sexual harassment, hostile workplace sexual harassment, has created the most confusion in terms of an operational definition. Hostile workplace sexual harassment prohibits conduct that subjects employees to an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment (EEOC, 1993). Such behaviors include unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature (EEOC, 1993, p. 203), including sexual jokes, comments, threats, hazing, coercion, innuendo, touching, and put-downs. A key component of a hostile workplace sexual harassment claim is that the behavior must be unwelcome by the target. That is, the plaintiff must show that she was offended by the conduct and that she suffered some

injury from it (Conte, 1997). In addition, the behavior is deemed harassing when it is pervasive (i.e. regularly repeated), though a single action can constitute harassment if it is sufficiently severe. Hostile workplace sexual harassment claims are strengthened as the severity and frequency of the behaviors increase (Andrew & Andrew, 1997).

Although the guidelines spelled out by the original 1980 EEOC report made explicit the Commission's interpretation of both *quid pro quo* and hostile workplace sexual harassment, many courts did not uniformly embrace the EEOC position. This resulted in several interpretations of sexual harassment law by various legal jurisdictions (Cohen & Cohen, 1998). The Supreme Court finally took notice when, in the landmark case of *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson* (1986), it attempted to disentangle the legal definitions of sexual harassment and elucidate the liability of employers with regard to relationships between supervisors and employees. The facts are quite straightforward. When Meritor Savings Bank terminated claimant Mechelle Vinson due to excessive sick leave, she sued Meritor, claiming a hostile working environment in which Sidney Taylor, a vice-president of the bank, subjected her to repeated demands for sexual favors. Although the DC District Court denied Vinson's claim by stating that the workplace situation involved voluntary behavior, the DC District Court of Appeals, and later the Supreme Court, overturned the lower court, ruling that harassment that creates a hostile or offensive working environment is just as impermissible as situations that condition concrete employment benefits on sexual cooperation (*Meritor*, 1986). As Justice Rehnquist noted in his Supreme Court majority opinion, "a plaintiff may establish a violation of Title VII by proving that discrimination based on sex has created a hostile or abusive work environment" (*Meritor*, 1986, p. 66). More specifically, *Meritor* posits

that a hostile work environment exists when a complainant is subjected to unwelcome social sexual misconduct that is “sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive working environment” (*Meritor*, 1986, p. 60).

Although providing some guidance, the decision handed down by the Supreme Court opinion did little to clarify exactly what constituted a hostile or offensive work environment, and it did even less in clarifying the extent to which an employer could be held liable for the inappropriate sexual conduct. Thus, several developments in case law helped enumerate the types of conduct that might constitute hostile workplace sexual harassment. For example, in *Robinson v. Jacksonville Shipyards, Inc.*, (1991) an abusive environment was said to exist if sexually explicit pictures and photos were exhibited throughout the work environment. In *Hall v. Gus Construction Co.* (1988), a hostile environment was found in which no explicit sexual acts or conduct were apparent but a disparate treatment of women (as compared to men) existed. In *Cross v. Alabama* (1995), a hostile environment was found in which incidents of verbal abuse and threats of physical violence were apparent. Further, hostile work environments may exist even if the claimant is not the direct target of sexual harassment (*Hicks v. Gates Rubber Co.* 1987), though such claimants must make a higher showing of pervasive harassment than a plaintiff who is a direct target of sexual harassment (*Fisher v. San Pedro Peninsula Hospital*, 1989). Preferential treatment for employees engaged in romantic relationships with superiors or other employees has also received legal attention (*Priest v. Rotary*, 1986; *Miller v. Aluminum Co. of Am.*, 1988). Although these cases helped enumerate the many different types of conduct that might be considered harassing, clarification of hostile workplace sexual harassment law continued to evolve.

2.2: Legal Standards and Hostile Workplace Sexual Harassment

Given the vague standards handed down by the Supreme Court, assessing sexual harassment often involved subjective decisions. In some cases, it was a straightforward task for the courts to determine whether the offensive behavior was routine or regularly repeated (i.e. pervasive), and whether the victim found the behavior unwelcome (Cohen & Cohen, 1998). After all, the offensiveness of alleged sexually harassing behaviors is self-evident in many cases: the behavior may be either so benign as to make it difficult for any person to regard it as sexual harassment or so severe that it would be difficult for any person not to see it as sexual harassment. Indeed, both the courts (*Kotcher v. Rosa & Sullivan Appliance*, 1990) and social science research (Wiener & Hurt, 1999) have found these two extreme forms of sexual harassment claims to be either easily demonstrable as sexual harassment or obviously not sexually harassing. On the other hand, proving that a hostile workplace sexual harassment exists under the ambiguous circumstances often found in the workplace led the lower courts to interpret the severity and persuasiveness criteria in differing ways.

Three cases help define the gamut of legal interpretations: *Rabidue v. Osceola* (1986), *Ellison v. Brady* (1991), and *Harris v. Forklift Systems, Inc.* (1993). In *Rabidue*, which led to the creation of the conservative “reasonable person” standard of sexual harassment, the Sixth Circuit evaluated the question of whether sexual harassment had occurred by asking the question, “would the conduct interfere with a reasonable person’s work performance and seriously affect the psychological well being of that reasonable person under like circumstances?” (*Rabidue*, 1986, p. 620). The Supreme Court rejected part of the *Rabidue* decision in its ruling in *Harris v. Forklift Systems, Inc.* (1993), where

they stated that it was not necessary for the conduct to “seriously affect the plaintiff’s psychological well being or lead her to suffer injury” (p. 20). Although the Supreme Court said lower courts should consider the psychological well being of the claimant, the Court made it clear that the complainant’s psychological well-being should not be used as the sole determinant of sexual harassment (Wiener et al., 1997). The Supreme Court agreed with the addition of the reasonable person standard, however, noting that the standard provided a relevant and useful definition for determining whether harassment had occurred. With the implementation of this ruling, the standard for determining severity and persuasiveness blended with the Supreme Court’s holding in *Meritor*: conduct that a reasonable person would perceive as hostile or abusive violates *Title VII of the Civil Rights Act* (Andrew & Andrew, 1997).

The Supreme Court did not stop with this adoption of the reasonable person standard in its *Harris* ruling. In fact, the *Harris* ruling promulgated several additional requirements that workplace behaviors must meet in order to be considered sexually harassing: fact finders must not only find the behavior to be objectively offensive to the reasonable person, they must also find the conduct subjectively offensive to the actual victim. That is, the objective prong asks jurors to consider whether the offensive conduct was sexually harassing by asking whether a reasonable person would have found the conduct offensive if placed in the same situation; the subjective prong asks jurors to determine whether sexual harassment occurred based on the perspective of the actual victim in the case (Wiener & Hurt, 1999).

The subjective prong elucidated in the *Harris* ruling is similar to an alternative standard proposed in *Ellison v. Brady* (1991): the reasonable woman standard. In its

Ellison ruling, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals took the position that a workplace environment is hostile if “a reasonable *woman* would find the conduct in question sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive working environment” (*Ellison v. Brady*, 1991, p. 879). The court made this ruling based on the assumption that work is a distinctively different experience for women than it is for men. Experiences may differ because women and men perceive interpersonal behaviors differently, and men and women live in materially differently social spaces. The *reasonable woman standard*, as compared to the *reasonable person* criteria for a hostile environment, corresponds to what Wiener et al. (1997) refer to as the more liberal definition of hostile environment harassment. Women are relative newcomers in the workplace and may view their jobs as marginal or precarious, hold a more restrictive view of appropriate sexual encounters at work, and are less likely than men to believe that social-sexual encounters at work are mutually desired (Wiener et al, 1997). In addition, women may be confronted with situations that men rarely encounter. Women, for example, are disproportionately targeted for sexual assault (Andrew & Andrew, 1997). In essence, the experiences of men and women differ, so the standards by which sexual harassment is judged should reflect these differing experiences.

If this line of reasoning is accurate, the reasonable person and reasonable woman standards should have different implications for legal decision-making. One would expect that the reasonable woman standard would favor the woman’s position with respect to sexual harassment judgments. After all, taking a woman’s perspective should increase the saliency of the gender-based social experiences that women encounter in their daily lives. This conclusion rests on the supposition that women do, in fact, view

the world differently than men. Several social scientific investigations tend to support this contention, though the strength of the relationship is variable from one study to the next (Blumenthal, 1998). In general, women, as compared to men, are much more likely to identify behavior as sexually harassing or inappropriate, at least in situations where the behaviors are ambiguous (Wiener et al., 1997).

In an attempt to identify the posited disparities between the reasonable person and reasonable woman standards, Wiener, Watts, Goldkamp, and Gasper (1995) found that differing perceptions between males and females are evident in sexual harassment cases. Wiener et al. provided 199 undergraduate participants with two sexual harassment cases based on summaries of the *Rabidue* and *Ellison* legal decisions. Both fact patterns were stripped of extreme or benign workplace behaviors to render them ambiguous for participants. Participants were then assessed whether sexual harassment had occurred using either the reasonable *person* standard or the reasonable *woman* standard. Although the authors found no differences based on legal standard, women *were* more likely to find the conduct in the vignettes unwelcome, severe, and pervasive; women *were* more likely to see the misconduct as negatively affecting the claimant's work performance and psychological well being; and women *were* more likely to view the vignettes as representing hostile work environments.

Similar gender differences emerge in other studies (Wiener, Hurt, Russell, Mannen, & Gasper, 1997; Wiener & Hurt, 2000), though additional individual difference factors often moderate such differences. Wiener et al. (1997) employed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory created by Glick and Fiske (1996) to determine whether hostile and/or benevolent sexist views influenced the sexual harassment perceptions of 320 student

participants. Participants high in hostile sexism, according to Glick and Fiske (2001), endorse male dominance, male superiority, and antipathy towards women. Benevolent sexists, on the other hand, hold extreme protectionist beliefs in which women, although viewed in a positive light, are seen as needing protection. Wiener et al. predicted that participants high in hostile sexism would find little evidence of harassment. The authors also expected that decision makers high in benevolent sexism would find more evidence of sexual harassment. However, noting that the reasonable woman standard may make the situations faced by women more salient to information processors, the authors did not expect the ratings of high [low] hostile [benevolent] sexists to differ when participants received the reasonable woman standard.

Undergraduate participants completed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) to determine the extent to which they held hostile vs. benevolent sexist attitudes. The ASI, which has gone through rigorous validation testing (Glick & Fiske, 1996), measures hostile and benevolent sexism using 22 self-report items measured on a 6-point scale (0 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). Using the *Rabidue* and *Ellison* fact patterns as study stimuli (once again made ambiguous by the researchers), Wiener et al. found that men, in general, were higher in both hostile and benevolent sexism than women. In addition, and as anticipated, those high in hostile sexism found the harassing conduct less unwelcome, less severe, less pervasive, less likely to negatively affect the complainant's work performance and her psychological well-being, and less likely to constitute sexual harassment. In addition, the authors found several interactions between sexist attitudes and legal standard.

First, high benevolent sexist participants found the harassing conduct more severe than low benevolent sexists, but only when these individuals used the reasonable person standard. An examination of the evidence from the perspective of a reasonable woman (as opposed to a gender neutral reasonable person) thus served to offset the differing viewpoints of high and low benevolent sexists. Yet, the impact of the legal standard used by participants was not confined to benevolent sexist participants. For hostile sexists, the reasonable person standard facilitated differences among high and low hostile sexists on several legal criterion, while the reasonable woman standard dampened the influence of hostile sexism, though this was primarily for women. The reasonable woman standard influenced men's evaluations only when the men were low in hostile sexism. Thus the reasonable woman standard, under some conditions, may be the better standard for obviating the influence of sexist attitudes, at least for undergraduate participants.

To determine how the reasonable person versus reasonable woman standards impacted actual employees, Wiener and Hurt (2000) recruited 200 full-time workers in a follow-up study. Using filmed vignettes to simulate a more realistic sexual harassment experience, Wiener and Hurt found that the reasonable woman standard once again dampened hostile sexist attitudes toward women by encouraging participants to evaluate the objectionable conduct from the complainant's point of view. The authors concluded that the reasonable woman standard serves to lower the thresholds by which workplace conduct is judged to be harassing versus non-harassing. Thus, it appears that the point of view individuals adopt when judging instances of sexual harassment (that is, considering the information from the vantage point of either a reasonable person or a reasonable

woman) may serve to moderate the impact of sexual harassment evidence, particularly when individuals hold hostile and/or benevolent sexist attitudes. The question remains, how do the various legal standards impact participants in real-life settings?

Using real-life court cases, Perry, Kulik, and Bourhis (2004) examined the impact of the reasonable person standard versus reasonable woman standard on 124 sexual harassment cases adjudicated in US District and circuit courts between 1981 and 1996. Although judges rendered the final legal decision in the cited cases rather than jurors or ordinary employees, Perry, Kulik, and Bourhis found a weak positive influence of the reasonable woman standard on complainant evaluations, with the reasonable woman standard increasing the complainant's probability of winning the suit. The fact that the reasonable person versus reasonable woman standard impacts sexual harassment decisions has important policy implications in terms of adjudicating sexual harassment cases, though, for researchers, the malleability of sexual harassment judgments based solely on the legal standard only raises additional research questions. For example, if sexual harassment judgments are so malleable that a simple change in legal definition influences judgments, are there additional factors that people encounter in the course of their daily lives that influence their sexual harassment judgments? In the following chapter, the possibility that "mortality salience" may have a moderating influence on sexual harassment decisions is addressed.

2.3: In Summary ...

As Wiener and his colleagues have shown, the hostile and benevolent beliefs that people hold have a differential impact on their use of legal standards when determining whether

sexual harassment has occurred. Several empirical models have been derived in order to account for the influence of attitudes on sexual harassment decisions (see Welsh, 1999, for a more detailed assessment of these models). One theoretical account of social behavior that has not been used within the field of sexual harassment, however, may be influential in moderating people's evaluations of sexual harassment. According to Terror Management Theory, an awareness of mortality may exacerbate, ameliorate, or otherwise influence the attitudes and behaviors of individuals acting within their social and cultural roles. Following a summary of the Terror Management paradigm, I explore the potential connection between the diverse domains of sexual harassment research and TMT.

Section 3: Terror Management Theory

3.1: *Cultural Worldview and Self-Esteem*

The human blessing of cognitive insight has paradoxically led to our cruelest curse: we are mortal, and we have the cognitive ability to understand that our existence in this world is merely ephemeral. The fact that we are the only species who knows it will someday die presents an existentially terrifying prospect for human beings. In order to ward off this terror, Terror Management Theory (TMT) contends that people attempt to validate their "cultural worldviews" (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1986). Essentially, an individual's culture provides him or her with narrowly defined prescriptions of socially approved (and disapproved) values, goals, and behaviors. Knowing what one's community approves of (or disapproves of) enables the individual to imbue his or her world with discernable standards of permanence, order, and meaning. Having this stable cultural system (and following its prescriptions) allows the individual

to become a part of something larger and more important than a lone and insignificant human being. That is, being able to live up to the standards of one's culture offers the individual the opportunity to transcend death by becoming part of the immortal cultural community (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1998). This begs the question, what, exactly, is a cultural worldview?

3.2. *Defining cultural worldviews*

Unfortunately, no one, not even the originators of TMT, can explicitly define what constitutes a cultural worldview (Solomon, personal communication, 2002). The term "cultural worldview" is, after all, an amorphous construct that incorporates the equally vague term "beliefs" rather loosely. Several studies show the sizeable gamut of ideas that TMT authors consider cultural worldviews. Simon, Harmon-Jones, Greenberg, Solomon, and Pyszczynski (1997) have shown that a sense of United States patriotism falls under the rubric of "cultural worldviews". McGregor et al. (1996, as cited in Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997) used political opinions to operationally define cultural worldviews. Arndt, Greenberg, Schimel, Pyszczynski, and Solomon (2002) found that in-group gender biases and black-sheep ethnic biases led participants to better relate to (and sometimes rebel against) targets with similar gender or ethnic backgrounds. Stereotyping has been used as a form of cultural worldview defense in many TMT studies, including Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Rosenblatt (1990), Schimel et al. (1999), and Kunzendorf, Hersey, Wilson, and Ethier (1992). Outgroup membership, which presents a social threat to individuals by presenting an opposing cultural worldview, has similarly been studied (Harmon-Jones, Greenberg, Solomon, & Simon, 1997).

In the legal realm, cultural worldviews may be relevant to the particular crime at hand. That is, “Whether a juror responds to a particular trial by upholding a legal process or by being more punitive or lenient toward a defendant can be understood as a function of the centrality of that domain to the person’s belief system” (Arndt, Lieberman, Cook, & Solomon, 2005, p .429). Judges (1999), for example, posited that criminals who face the death penalty violate the cultural worldviews of those who hate and fear these legal transgressors, which may enhance the need to punish such defendants. However, Judges also notes that the worldviews of those who support capital punishment diametrically oppose the worldviews of anti-death penalty proponents, worldviews that “include proscriptions against killing and in favor of mercy, humaneness, and tolerance” (p. 169).

Terror Management Theory has been applied to numerous legal areas, including judicial admonitions (Cook, Arndt, & Lieberman, 2004), punitive reactions toward law breakers (Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Lyon, 1989), and White Supremacy (Greenberg, Schimel, Martens, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 2001), to name but a few. Although more work needs to be done in order to define cultural worldviews, it appears that cultural worldviews can range from specific attitudes to a more general ambivalence about the world, from one’s moral centeredness to one’s group affiliation, and from one’s private values to the values endorsed by a larger group. Worldviews may thus act as a function of both the individual and the context in which he or she responds. When confronted with a capital punishment setting, individual difference factors that either endorse or proscribe death-penalty verdicts may best operationally define the individual’s cultural worldview. In sexual harassment research, the context may involve

gender-based biases associated with workplace settings. In the next section, I argue that benevolent and hostile sexism are such relevant cultural worldviews.

3.3: Hostile and Benevolent Sexism as Cultural Worldviews

As Terror Management Theory purports, humans are born into a culture that shapes not only the way in which they view their world, but also the way in which they interact with other people. Views regarding inter-gender relationships are no exception. In most societies, female subordination pervades inter-gender relationships, though the extent to which the gender roles diverge will vary depending on the culture into which the individual is born (Glick and Fiske, 1996). Men, even in the US, tend to hold higher status positions in business and industry, are usually the family primary breadwinner, and are expected to play chivalrous roles denoted by the informal—though often inviolable—rules that govern the concept of masculinity. The expectations regarding women include playing the homemaker, being a caring mother, and providing resources through which men find sexual and psychological intimacy (Rosenberg, 1995).

Based on these gender expectations, our gut level reactions may lead us to differentiate between “men’s work” and “women’s work”. After all, traditional views regarding the “fairer sex” often note that women’s nurturing qualities make them ideal workers for service-oriented occupations (Rosenberg, 1995). Women, consequently, have a certain “place” in society. According to several gender role models (including sex-roll spillover theory, Gutek, 1985), women who “keep their place” deserve rewards for acting within the socially and culturally approved prescriptions that govern women’s behavior. Women who go against these prescriptions are subject to potential ostracism and hostility from those who support the subservient nature of women (Welsh, 1999).

Although these views of women appear to be rather extreme in nature, recent work looking at the psychological construct of sexism has shown that many men and women tend to hold such intense cultural worldviews. Glick and Fiske (1996), in fact, created the 22-item Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) to account for the divergent viewpoints regarding the roles of women in contemporary societies.

The ASI is so named due to the fact that it represents two divergent—though positively correlated—views of women. The first view, hostile sexism, refers to the more pedestrian notion of sexism: antipathy towards women who threaten the power and social dominance of men. Women, for example, can threaten male dominance through either sexual temerity or feminist ideologies. The second view, benevolent sexism, refers to a paternalistic view of women. This “sensitive” view occurs only when women conform to the stereotypically restrictive roles that define traditionally subordinate women.

The ASI is based on eleven questions (6 point scales) that tap hostile sexism (e.g. “When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against”) and eleven questions that tap benevolent sexism (e.g. “Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess”). In reviewing the scale, Glick and Fiske note that there are four potential combinations of sexism among participants. Men and women can score low on both the hostile and benevolent dimensions of the ASI (thus showing little or no sexist attitudes), participants can score high on benevolent sexism and low on hostile sexism (indicating a strong protectionist attitude towards women), or high on hostile sexism and low on benevolent sexism (indicating a stringent hostile view of women), or men and women can score high on both scales, showing an ambivalence towards women. This latter category is possible, Glick and Fiske note, because

ambivalent participants can often divide females into traditionally subordinate groups (such as homemakers, wives, and daughters—groups deserving of protection by men) *and* subversive groups (feminists and sexual teases that threaten male dominance). As such, participants may hold divergent views simultaneously. Indeed, both hostile and benevolent sexism show a strong and positive correlation: women who fit traditional gender roles receive the benevolent sexist's protection; women who do not fit traditional gender roles are subjected to the hostile sexist's ostracism and scorn (Glick and Fiske, 1996; Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Although these varying dimensions have gained empirically validated support (Glick and Fiske, 1996), additional support comes from validation of the instrument across 19 different cultures utilizing over 15,000 respondents (Glick, Fiske et al., 2000).

Surprisingly, men and women tend to respond similarly on the ASI. That is, although males generally score higher on the both the hostile and benevolent sexism dimensions of the ASI, females typically follow suit. Glick and Fiske (1996) explain these inter-gender similarities as being indicative of the cultural and social processes that socialize both boys and girls. All American children, for example, learn that females who violate the social prescriptions for how women (or little girls) should behave often face physical or psychological punishment for their actions (through ostracism, disdain, or contempt). Empirically, hostile sexism results in a weak though still positive correlation between males and females, who respond in similar ways to gender-relevant stimuli (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Thus, in spite of the strides that women have made towards equality, the punishments associated with acting against accepted gender norms may lead women to avoid these negative repercussions by behaving in concert with (and

even wholeheartedly accepting) the social conventions of femininity. For benevolent sexism, women may welcome the subjectively positive nature of protectionism (that is, they enjoy having a “knight in shining armor”). As Glick and Fiske (1996) observe, however, the rewards of conforming to these social conventions may also reinforce women’s traditional gender roles. In some cases, women’s benevolent sexism scores even surpass the scores of men (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000).

Although it is debatable whether hostile and benevolent sexism map onto Terror Management Theorists’ definition of viable cultural worldviews, there are compelling reasons to draw such a conclusion. As Arndt et al. (2005) posit, cultural worldviews are relevant to the specific crime under consideration. The various decisions that jurors can render regarding legal transgressions—from being excessively punitive to overly lenient, or from following strict due-process concerns to endorsing flexibility—are a function of the centrality of the legal domain to the jurors’ belief systems. Jurors who favor law enforcement over rehabilitation, for example, may become more punitive when they are mortality salient. Cook, Arndt, and Lieberman (2004) found that mortality salience even enhanced jurors’ procedural fairness concerns, leading mortality salient jurors to ignore inadmissible evidence when the presence of inadmissible evidence activated jurors’ centrally important “procedural fairness” beliefs.

Within the sexual harassment domain, hostile sexism and benevolent sexism play central roles in participants’ sexual harassment decisions, with hostile sexists finding less evidence of harassment and benevolent sexists—though to a lesser extent—finding more evidence of harassment (Wiener et al., 1997; Wiener & Hurt, 2000). As sexist tendencies play a pivotal role in decision-maker’s sexual harassment judgments, mortality salience

may activate these central beliefs, leading hostile sexists to become even more hostile and benevolent sexists to become even more benevolent. After delving into the mechanisms of Terror Management Theory, the present studies will explore the question of whether hostile and benevolent sexism are, indeed, viable central beliefs.

3.4: *Consciousness and Accessibility of Death-Related Thoughts*

The cultural worldviews that we employ to cope with our unstable and chaotic world enable us to go about our lives without the anxiety of knowing that, in the end, our lives *will end*. Consequently, feeling good about ourselves, living up to the expectations set by important members of our culture (our parents, our beloved uncle, our favorite teacher, or even the policeman on the street corner), and being a worthy member of the culturally death-transcending community, becomes even more important when we are reminded that we will someday die. This is not to say that people walk around saying to themselves, “As long as I do what is expected of me I will have an immortal life in the membership of my cultural community.” In fact, TMT posits almost the exact opposite cognitive framework: rather than conscious thoughts of death pushing us to endorse and tenaciously grasp the tenants of our cultural worldview, it is the seemingly implicit desires to escape death provoking thoughts that leads to our full commitment to the prescriptions of our culture (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Simon, 1994).

The implicit framework by which TMT operates is based on what Greenberg, Solomon, and Pyszczynski (1997) term the mortality salience hypothesis. The mortality salience hypothesis contends that if a psychological structure provides protection against the potential terror engendered by knowledge of mortality, then “reminders of mortality should increase the need to maintain that structure” (Greenberg et al., 1997, p. 68). TMT

therefore expects that thoughts regarding an individual's demise should necessitate that individual's increased reliance on the anxiety buffering system provided by the cultural worldview. As a result, anything or anyone who supports the cultural worldview may be acknowledged in a positive light; anything or anyone who opposes the cultural worldview will be viewed negatively (Greenberg et al. 1997). Essentially, the mortality salience hypothesis is dependent on the *implicit* nature of death awareness.

Consciously thinking about death enables the individual to consciously deal with the anxiety that accompanies this inevitable termination of life. Greenberg et al. (1997) note that when we use instrumental responses to avoid the threat of death, the influence of mortality salience drops off, partly because thinking deeply and consciously about death disrupts the impact that mortality salience has on an individual's worldview defense. Deep thinking provokes what Arndt et al. (2005) term *proximal defenses*. That is, participants can consciously escape the terror associated with death by suppressing death-related thoughts, denying their vulnerability, or seeking to minimize their death-related thoughts (Arndt et al, 2005). Over time, proximal defenses relax, and death-thought accessibility increases on an unconscious level, activating "important worldview relevant beliefs that offer psychological protection" (Arndt, Greenberg, & Cook, 2002, in Arndt et al., 2005, pp. 411). Lacking psychological buffers (such as self-esteem) to counter the death-related thoughts, cultural worldviews are strengthened to replace such buffers, which can lead to the perceived enhancement of biases found in the TMT literature.

The unconscious nature of TMT has been shown in countless studies. Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Simon, and Breus (study one, 1994), randomly assigned

participants to conditions in which they thought deeply about their own death, thought subtly about their own death, thought deeply or subtly about another person's death, or did not think about death. Although the mortality salience enhanced the attitudes of those participants who thought deeply about death, the more subtle manipulation regarding the participant's own death showed the strongest effects. In a second study, Greenberg et al. (1994) found that participants who were distracted from their thoughts of death (as opposed to those who sustained deep thinking) were especially likely to confirm the mortality salience hypothesis. Thus, it appears that the implicit nature of death awareness may be a crucial element in moderating the extent to which cultural worldview defense comes into play. To further support the contention that the mortality salience hypothesis operates at an implicit, unconscious level, Arndt, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon (1997) have shown that subliminal death-related stimuli similarly increase defenses of the participant's cultural worldview.

3.5: Moderators of Terror Management

The robust finding that mortality salience has the greatest impact on the cultural worldviews of those participants who hold death related thoughts on the fringes of their consciousness has sparked many empirical studies to more definitively determine the circumstances under which mortality salience operates. As Greenberg et al. (1997) note, several moderators influence the effects of mortality salience, including self-esteem, liberal worldviews, and depression (increasing the former two provides a buffering service while increasing depression exacerbates the mortality salience effect). Additional moderators can be added to this modest list, including peoples' religiosity, the manner in which they think about death (e.g. death is welcome versus death is unwelcome), and the

extent to which they exhibit extroversion, introversion, paranoia, and apathy, as well as their affective and cognitive mechanisms. This latter class of moderators is most relevant for determining how mortality salience affects sexual harassment judgments.

Recent theories in social cognition have advocated the divergence of cognitive processing systems into two differing *styles*: a deeper, thoughtful processing style that utilizes a wide variety of information versus a shallow, heuristic based processing style (Chaiken & Trope, 1999). One cognitive processing model, the Cognitive-Experiential Self-Theory (CEST), has already been applied to the TMT paradigm. According to Epstein and Pacini (1999), CEST differentiates the rational operating system (in which information processors use rules of logical inference) from the experiential system (in which heuristics are used to assess information). Unlike the experiential system, the rational system is a concrete, deliberative, and analytic information processing approach that is virtually affect free. This approach necessitates the use of an intentional and effortful survey of all available information, though this deep processing style is not without its limitations. For example, the analytic approach requires time and effort to fully process information. In contrast, the experiential system relies heavily on affect, entails a much quicker assessment of judgment relevant information, and is based on a passive and unconscious approach to information processing. The unconsciously driven information-processing style of experiential processing corresponds fittingly to the implicit nature of mortality salience, and should facilitate the cultural worldview defense. The deliberative nature of the rational processing system, however, should lessen the extent to which thoughts of one's death affect behavior by enhancing the decision-maker's proximal defenses.

In an experimental test of this prediction, Simon et al. (1997) attempted to spur participants to process in either an experiential or rational mode. Participants were then asked to either think about their own deaths (mortality salience condition) or think about a more neutral concept (watching a television program). The extent to which the differing cognitive processing styles affected participant's reliance on their cultural worldviews was subsequently assessed. In a series of four experiments, Simon et al. found that those participants who processed information in an experiential mode were significantly affected by the mortality salience manipulation. Participants processing in a rational mode were not affected by the mortality salience manipulations. This finding gives further credence to the supposition that mortality salience has its greatest impact on persons who cognitively operate on the fringes of consciousness. The authors explained the lack of mortality salience effects on rational processors by pointing out that this more conscious processing style allows participants to diffuse the threatening nature of death by employing conscious means to subvert those thoughts (denying death, consciously trying to ignore death, etc.).

3.6: The Typical Terror Management Study

In the typical Terror Management study, researchers present participants with two ostensibly unrelated tasks. During the first task, participants complete several personality surveys. Embedded within these materials is either a mortality salience manipulation or a control treatment. The most common manipulation asks participants to answer two open ended questions: "Please briefly describe the emotions that thoughts of your own death arouse in you" and "Jot down, as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you physically as you die and once you are physically dead." The control treatment is

similarly presented in the form of open-ended questions regarding non-mortality topics (questions may ask participants to state their feelings and emotions about TV, music, giving a public speech, or enduring dental pain, among others).

After completing this first task, participants complete a second task that directly exploits their cultural worldview. This second task includes the dependent variables of interest to the researchers. Recent studies have sought to determine whether the cultural worldviews of the aforementioned patriotism, gender and/or ethnic stereotypes, as well as novel cultural worldviews involving creativity (Arndt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Schimel, 1999), perceptions of hate crimes (Lieberman, Arndt, Personius, & Cook, 2002), and procedural fairness (van den Bos & Miedema, 2000).

3.7: In Summary ...

In sum, TMT provides a theoretical model for explaining why individuals put emphasis into the cultural worldviews that they hold when confronted with thoughts of their mortality. These thoughts function best when they are on the edge of consciousness. That is, where they cannot be rationalized, ignored, or subverted through effortful and instrumental means. What remains to be empirically derived is a more definitive definition of what constitutes a cultural worldview. The following section provides an overview of the manner in which TMT may impact sexual harassment evaluations.

Section 4: Mortality Salience and Sexual Harassment: The Current Studies

4.1: The Current Studies

Hostile workplace sexual harassment is a prime medium for studying the effects of mortality salience on the hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes of men and women.

The ambiguous situations that often accompany hostile workplace sexual harassment, which Wiener and Hurt (1999) posit are perfect situations for subjectively and objectively judging the severity, pervasiveness, and unwelcomeness of sexually harassing conduct, offer hostile and benevolent sexist the opportunity to use their cultural worldviews as guidelines for assessing the presence or absence of sexual harassment. As mentioned in section 2.2, most legal jurisdictions ask decision-makers to use the reasonable person standard position to evaluate sexual harassment. Wiener and Hurt (2000), however, found that the reasonable person standard gives benevolent and hostile sexist attitudes freer reign to influence sexual harassment determinations than the reasonable woman standard, which dampens such influences. For jurisdictions that continue to employ the reasonable person standard, the influence of hostile and benevolent sexism constitutes a threat to fairness and impartiality, a threat that may be further enhanced if evaluators are aware of their mortality.

Research in our laboratory over the last few years has attempted to prime hostile and benevolent sexism by altering the conduct of the complainant, having her respond to her harassing workplace in a hostile, submissive, ambiguous, or neutral manner (Wiener, Winter, Rogers, & Arnot, 2004). Results indicate that complainants who act in a hostile manner receive lower ratings of harassment when subjected to questionable conduct. The present research attempts to replicate this priming influence, though priming here entails enhancing the hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes that participants already hold by exposing them to the Terror Management Theory paradigm.

In study one, a general assessment of the impact of mortality awareness on hostile work environment sexual harassment exposed evaluators to two sexual harassment cases.

Participants were primed with mortality salient, control (non-mortality based stimuli that evoked an emotional response), or neutral stimulus materials, and their benevolent and hostile sexist attitudes were assessed. Participants then viewed two sexual harassment films, and they evaluated the sexual conduct from a reasonable person's perspective.

A second, more in-depth study, delved into the cognitive mechanisms that may influence benevolent and hostile sexist attitudes following mortality salience. As outlined in section 3.4 above, dual-process models moderate the extent to which mortality salience manipulations affect people's perceptions of sexual harassment. Using Epstein's (1994) Cognitive-Experiential Self-Theory (CEST), Terror Management Theorists have shown that putting people in a rational frame of mind dilutes the mortality salience effect while placing participants in an experiential mode facilitates the mortality salience effect. In study two, half the participants were induced to process experientially while remaining participants processed rationally. Mortality salient and control participants then viewed the same stimulus materials used in study one, and they evaluated the complainant's claim from the perspective of a reasonable person.

Study three took a more applied research approach, seeking to determine whether the legal standard participants used impacted or offset the cultural worldviews of hostile and benevolent sexists under mortality salient or control conditions. Participants viewed the same sexual harassment films used in studies one and two, but half the participants assessed the harassment using the reasonable person standard while remaining participants used the reasonable woman standard.

CHAPTER 2: THE PRESENT STUDY

Study One

Methods

Design Overview

Terror Management Theory posits that reminding people of their own mortality intensifies their need to validate and defend relevant cultural worldviews, a set of concepts that imbue subjective reality with order, meaning, and permanence (Greenberg et al., 1994). As cultural worldviews are amorphous concepts that are context-specific, I reasoned that beliefs relevant to the domain of sexual harassment—namely hostile and benevolent sexism—would fit Terror Management Theorists’ conceptions of relevant cultural worldviews. I predicted that mortality salience would enhance both hostile and benevolent sexist inclinations, such that high hostile sexists would become less tolerant of women in the workplace—and hence find little justification in a victim’s complaint—while benevolent sexists would become more protective of women—and hence support a complainant’s gender-based grievance. As prior research has found that men generally find less sexual harassment than women, mortality salience may particularly affect men.

In study one, I attempted to analyze these predictions by exposing high and low hostile sexists and high and low benevolent sexists to mortality salient, neutral, or control (anxiety-provoking but non-mortality based) stimuli. Participants watched two short videotapes in which a male coworker(s) sexually harassed a female complainant. I also measured participants’ hostile and benevolent sexism using the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, and I included gender as a subject variable. Participants watched two sexual harassment cases—based on the real life facts of *Rabidue v. Osceola Refining Company*

(1986) and *Faragher v. City of Boca Rotan* (1998)—in counterbalanced order. Using two dissimilar hostile workplace sexual harassment fact patterns provided the opportunity to test the effects of mortality salience on determinations of sexual harassment across different workplace environments (in *Faragher*, the complainant worked in a relatively unstructured environment and quit as the result of unwanted sexual attention; in *Rabidue*, the complainant worked in a highly structured but gender-biased organization, and she was terminated). Using two divergent fact patterns allowed participants to make multiple sexual harassment decisions, and thus the influence of prior experience—and the duration of the mortality salience effect—could be assessed.

Participants

A total of 131 participants (62 males and 68 females) were recruited from the University of Nebraska's undergraduate subject pool (one participant failed to provide his or her gender). Mean age was 21 ($SD = 2.15$). Ninety-three participants were European American (71%), eight were Asian (7%), four were Hispanic (3%), three were African American (2%), and twenty-two did not provide their ethnic background (17%). Eighty-seven participants (67%) worked full or part-time at the time of the study. All participants received course credit for their participation. Participation was voluntary and anonymous.

Procedure

Participants were tested in a classroom setting of up to 8 people at a time. First, participants read and signed an informed consent form providing them with information pertaining to their rights as research participants (*see appendix A*). All participants then received a packet of “survey materials” (*see appendix B*). This packet introduced filler

and study-relevant questionnaires in a specific survey-order. For half of the participants (randomly determined), the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI, Glick and Fiske, 1996) was embedded near the beginning of the stimulus packet (*see appendix F*). Remaining participants completed the ASI at the conclusion of the study. Several non-relevant filler items followed the ASI (e.g. a relationship questionnaire and a personality inventory). The next survey (“The Projective Life Attitudes Assessment”) included one of three open-ended questions that served as the primary manipulation for study one: the mortality salience manipulation used by Greenberg et al. (1994) (mortality salience condition, *see appendix C*), non-mortality based questions that still evoked anxiety (control condition, *see appendix D*), or questions that did not evoke an emotional response (neutral condition, *see appendix E*). Following this survey, participants completed the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS-X, Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), a 60-item adjective checklist (scored on a 5-point scale) to assess mood and any mediating effects that mood may have on mortality salience. The PANAS-X contains two subscales to assess positive and negative mood. The “survey materials” concluded with an 18-item stem-completion survey that has been used in prior studies, 6 of which could be completed with death-related words (stiff, coffin, skull, dead, corpse, grave).

After completing the survey materials, participants watched the first of two sexual harassment films (either *Rabidue* or *Faragher*). The film included a brief introduction to a workplace environment (a structured office setting for *Rabidue* and a relaxed swimming pool setting for *Faragher*), a narrative storyline in which incidents of alleged harassment occurred, and legal instructions for determining whether sexual harassment was present. In all conditions, participants used the reasonable person standard to render their sexual

harassment determinations. Participants then completed a short survey to determine how the events in the film influenced their perceptions of sexual harassment (*see appendix H*). After completing survey materials for the first film, participants watched a second sexual harassment film and completed questionnaires relevant to that vignette. Following the completion of this second-film survey, participants who had not completed the ASI did so. As a manipulation check, participants recalled which open-ended questions they had completed in the “survey materials” phase of the study (mortality salience, control, or neutral questions – *see appendix G*). Finally, participants completed a demographic form (*see appendix I*), were debriefed (*see appendix J*), given credit, and dismissed.

Independent Variables

Mortality Salience Manipulations

Mortality Salience Condition: One third of the research participants answered the following open-ended questions, which prior researchers have used to induce mortality salience (*see Greenberg et al 1990; Greenberg et al 1997*):

“Please briefly describe the emotions that thoughts of your own death arouse in you.”

“Jot down, as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you as you physically die and once you are physically dead.”

Control Condition: One third of the research participants answered open-ended questions regarding an anxiety-provoking but non-mortality based subject. Although this subject matter is still arousing for many participants, it does not evoke the same response (i.e. endorsing the cultural worldview) from participants that mortality salience induces. The control subject matter involved the following questions concerning public speaking:

“Please briefly describe the emotions that thoughts of giving a speech in public arouse in you”

“Jot down, as specifically as you can, what happens to you physically when you give a public speech.”

Neutral Condition: One third of the participants completed a set of neutral, non-emotional open-ended questions:

“Please briefly describe the thoughts that you have when you are coming to school”

“Jot down, as specifically as you can, the physical steps you took to come to school today.”

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Half of the participants completed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory prior to both the mortality salience manipulation and the sexual harassment films (embedded in the “survey materials” packet). Remaining participants completed the ASI after they had rendered sexual harassment decisions for the second case. The ASI is a 22-item scale developed by Glick and Fiske (1996) to determine the sexist inclinations that participants hold. Questions revolve around two forms of sexism: hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Hostile sexism is a belief system based on antipathy towards women. The ASI reflects this scale by asking participants to disagree (0 = strongly disagree, 1 = somewhat disagree, 2 = slightly disagree) or agree (3 = slightly agree, 4 = somewhat agree, 5 = strongly agree) with statements such as: “Women seek to gain power by getting control over men” and “When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain

about being discriminated against.” Benevolent sexism is a belief system that sees women as needing masculine protection and support. The ASI reflects this scale by asking participants to agree or disagree with statements such as: “Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives” and “A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.” In the current study, internal consistency scores for both hostile and benevolent sexism were more than adequate (coefficient alpha for hostile sexism = .85, $N = 130$; for benevolent sexism, alpha = .74, $N = 130$).

Stimulus Films

The vignettes described the essential facts (with some elaboration) of two sexual harassment cases that helped shape hostile work environment harassment law: *Faragher v. City of Boca Raton* (1998) and *Rabidue v. Osceola Refining Co.* (1986). In the former case, Ms. Faragher, who worked part time as a lifeguard for the Marine Safety Section of the Parks and Recreation Department, claimed that two of her supervisors created a sexually hostile atmosphere. They repeatedly subjected Ms. Faragher and other female lifeguards to “uninvited and offensive touching,” and made lewd remarks, speaking about women in “offensive terms” (*Faragher v. Boca Raton*, 1998, p. 780). One of her coworkers, for example, harassed Ms. Faragher by using threats to get her to go out with him (“Go out with me or I’ll have you cleaning toilets for the next three years”). In the latter case, Ms. Rabidue complained about a male coworker who made crude and vulgar comments about her and other women. The alleged perpetrator treated women with little respect, often downplaying their abilities to complete assignments successfully. Ms.

Rabidue claimed that male employees displayed pictures of nude or scantily clad women in the workplace.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables included scaled responses to the hostile workplace sexual harassment criterion enumerated by the *Meritor* court opinion, namely the pervasiveness, unwelcomeness, and severity of the alleged conduct. In addition, participants determined the overall likelihood of sexual harassment in each case, and they evaluated whether the harassment negatively impacted the victim's work performance as well as her psychological well-being, and whether the complainant was the victim of sex-based discrimination at work. To determine whether participants paid adequate attention to the films, participants also completed ten case-specific true-false questions.

To determine whether the mortality salience manipulation had a conscious effect on participants' sexual harassment determinations, participants recalled whether they saw a connection between the "survey materials" packet and the sexual harassment materials. In addition, participants recalled whether they answered open-ended questions about death, open-ended questions about public speaking, or open-ended questions about how they got to school, and they rated the extent to which these questions influenced their determinations of sexual harassment. Finally, participants provided demographic information (age, ethnicity, religious preference, work status, etc.).

Study One Results

Analysis Overview

Results are presented in three parts.

First, I analyzed the manipulation checks to determine whether participants paid adequate attention to the sexual harassment films. I also determined whether participants in the mortality salient condition had greater death-thought accessibility.

Second, outcome analyses compared judgments for the seven legal criterion for sexual harassment: unwelcomeness, severity, pervasiveness, likelihood of harassment, negative impacts on the victim's psychological well-being and work performance, and likelihood of discrimination. As my hypothesis centers on individual difference variables that may impact participants' sexual harassment determinations, my analyses assessed hostile and benevolent sexism, which were included as continuous covariates, though I did not assess any interactions between hostile and benevolent sexism. Thus, each legal element was analyzed using a 3 (condition: mortality salience v. control v. neutral) X 2 (gender: male v. female) X 2 (order: *Rabidue* film first vs. *Faragher* film first) X (2) (film: *Rabidue* film v. *Faragher* film) repeated measures ANCOVA with hostile and benevolent sexism as covariates. Following the outcome analyses, mood effects via the PANAS-X were assessed to determine whether positive or negative mood—rather than death-related thoughts—influenced sexual harassment determinations.

Finally, a series of regression analyses traced the decision model for judgments of sexual harassment. Two separate regression models are presented, one based on overall harassment and one based on case presentation. For this latter path analysis, decisions regarding the second case participants viewed served as criterion variables for the model while legal elements from the first-film served as predictors. This latter analysis was performed to determine whether mortality salience has a different impact on the first case that participants view as compared to the second case they see.

*Part One: Manipulation Checks for Study One**Memory of Case Facts*

The mean percentage of correctly answered true-false questions in the *Rabidue v. Osceola Refining Co.* fact pattern was 93% ($SD = .96$) while the mean percentage of correctly answered true-false questions in the *Faragher v. City of Boca Rotan* fact pattern was 92% ($SD = .99$). Participants thus paid attention to the films and remembered all of the important details in both cases.

Death-Thought Accessibility

To assess participants' death-thought accessibility following mortality salience, control, or neutral manipulations, participants completed an eighteen-item word-stem task. Six of these items could be completed using either death-related words (COFFIN) or non-death-related words (COFFEE). I conducted a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) using condition (mortality salience v. control v. neutral) as an independent variable and the six death-related stem words as dependent variables. Participants in the mortality salience, control, and neutral conditions did not differ on death-thought accessibility on any of the six items (all p 's > .34).

Participants were also asked whether they saw a connection between phase one of the study ("survey materials") and phase two (the sexual harassment films and surveys). Although 68% reported seeing a connection, only one person cited mortality as the reason behind this connection. That individual was dropped from further analyses. In addition, participants were asked to recall which open-ended questions they had answered in the "survey materials" packet during phase one of the study. All but one of the forty-seven participants in the mortality salience condition answered this question correctly (98%),

with the last participant choosing the neutral alternative. Thirty-four participants in the control condition answered this question correctly (90%), with four choosing the neutral alternative (10%). Finally, thirty-eight participants in the neutral condition answered this question correctly (88%), with five choosing the control alternative (12%). The overall 93% accuracy rate was more than adequate, so all responses are included in the analyses described below.

Part Two: Outcome Analyses for Study One

Each legal element was subjected to 3 (condition: morality salience v. control v. neutral) X 2 (gender: male v. female) X 2 (order: *Rabidue* film first v. *Faragher* film first) X (2) (film: *Rabidue* v. *Faragher*) repeated measures ANCOVA, with hostile and benevolent sexism included as continuous covariates. As the placement of the ASI (either before the stimulus materials or after) did not influence sexual harassment decisions, this variable is not discussed further. Dependent variables for each repeated measures analysis included unwelcomeness, severity, pervasiveness, negative work impact, negative psychological impact, victimization, and discrimination. As order was counterbalanced across conditions, I did not predict any significant order effects. However, order effects emerged. These effects are difficult to interpret, and will only be explained when they interact with the independent variables of interest (e.g. hostile and benevolent sexism and condition). Remaining order effects are included in footnotes.

Legal Elements

Unwelcomeness. There was a significant film x condition interaction, $F(1,92) = 4.12, p < .025, \eta^2 = .08$, which was limited to the *Rabidue* film, $F(1,92) = 3.26, p < .05, \eta^2 = .07$. Post hoc tests ($LSD = .93$) showed significantly more unwelcomeness in the

neutral condition ($M = 7.51$) than in the control condition ($M = 6.59$), though neither differed from the mortality salience condition ($M = 6.97$). Results were not significant for the *Faragher* film, $F(1,92) = 1.31, p > .05, \eta^2 = .03$.

A significant film x condition x hostile sexism interaction also emerged for the unwelcomeness legal element, $F(1,92) = 4.64, p < .025, \eta^2 = .09$, with effects limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(2,92) = 5.16, p < .01, \eta^2 = .10$, as opposed to the *Rabidue* film, $F(2,92) = .69, p > .05, \eta^2 = .02$ (see Table One). Simple effect tests showed that high levels of hostile sexism predicted lower unwelcomeness ratings in the control condition only, $\beta = -.43, t(38) = -.29, p < .01$, arguing against the hypothesized mortality salience effect¹.

Severity. Repeated measures ANOVAs revealed no significant main effects or interactions for severity².

Pervasiveness. There was a significant film x gender x benevolent sexism interaction for the pervasiveness legal element, $F(1,92) = 8.94, p < .01, \eta^2 = .09$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,92) = 3.55, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$, rather than the *Rabidue* film, $F(1,92) = 3.00, p > .05, \eta^2 = .03$. High benevolent sexism, contrary to my predictions, predicted lower levels of pervasiveness among women in the *Faragher* film, $\beta = -.27, t(56) = -2.26, p < .05$. Similar results did not emerge for men, $\beta = .07, t(53) =$

¹ An order effect emerged for unwelcomeness, $F(1,92) = 5.25, p < .05, \eta^2 = .05$, with participants in the *Rabidue*-first, *Faragher*-second condition ($M = 7.60$) finding more unwelcomeness than participants in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition ($M = 6.95$). This was qualified by a gender by order by hostile sexism interaction, $F(1,92) = 6.26, p < .025, \eta^2 = .06$, which was largely attributable to males. High hostile sexism among males significantly predicted lower ratings of unwelcomeness, though only in the *Rabidue*-first, *Faragher*-second condition, $\beta = -.36, t(30) = -2.11, p < .05$.

² An order effect emerged for severity, $F(1,92) = 5.17, p < .025, \eta^2 = .05$, in which participants in the *Rabidue*-first, *Faragher*-second condition ($M = 6.28$) found more severity than participants in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition ($M = 5.75$). This was qualified by a gender by order by hostile sexism interaction, $F(1,92) = 4.86, p < .030, \eta^2 = .05$, which was once again attributable to males. High hostile sexism among males significantly predicted lower ratings of unwelcomeness, though only in the *Rabidue*-first, *Faragher*-second condition, $\beta = -.40, t(30) = -2.35, p < .025$.

.548, $p > .05$. This finding is peculiar, as benevolent sexism often increases harassment ratings.

There was a significant hostile sexism main effect for pervasiveness, $F(1,92) = 4.48, p < .05, \eta^2 = .05$, in which higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower ratings of pervasiveness, $\beta = -.21, t(127) = -2.46, p < .025$. This was qualified by a significant condition x gender x order x hostile sexism interaction, $F(2,92) = 2.96, p = .05, \eta^2 = .07$. Simple effects tests attributed significance to males in the mortality salience condition who saw the *Rabidue*-film first and the *Faragher*-film second. In this condition only, higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower ratings of pervasiveness, $\beta = -.63, t(9) = -2.32, p < .05$ (see Table One). This gives some support to my prediction that mortality salience enhances the hostile sexist views of sexual harassment raters, though this finding is limited to males and qualified by order effects.

Negative Work Impact. There was a film main effect for the negative work impact legal element, $F(1,92) = 13.63, p < .01, \eta^2 = .13$, in which participants saw a greater negative work impact in *Rabidue* ($M = 7.33$) than in *Faragher* ($M = 6.55$). This was qualified by a film x gender interaction, $F(1,92) = 9.07, p < .025, \eta^2 = .09$, which was limited to the *Rabidue* film, $F(1,92) = 4.24, p < .04, \eta^2 = .04$, rather than the *Faragher* film, $F(1,92) = 2.54, p > .05, \eta^2 = .03$. Males ($M = 7.33$) saw a greater negative work impact in the *Rabidue* film than females ($M = 7.00$). Once again, this is an odd finding, as females usually find more sexual harassment than males (Wiener et al., 1997).

Negative Psychological Impact. Repeated measures ANCOVAs revealed no significant main effects or interactions for Negative Psychological Impact.

Victimization. There was a significant condition main effect for victimization, $F(2,92) = 3.11, p < .05, \eta^2 = .06$. Post hoc tests ($LSD = .60$) showed that mortality salient participants ($M = 7.44$) found more evidence of victimization than control participants ($M = 6.74$), though neither differed from neutral participants ($M = 7.08$). Lacking an interaction with hostile or benevolent sexism, this main effect is difficult to explain, as mortality salience may be influencing an unknown cultural worldview.

Discrimination. There was a significant film main effect for discrimination, $F(1,92) = 4.79, p < .05, \eta^2 = .05$, such that participants saw more discrimination in the *Rabidue* film ($M = 7.57$) than in the *Faragher* film ($M = 6.95$).

Similar to the pervasiveness legal element, there was a significant condition x gender x order x hostile sexism interaction, $F(2,92) = 3.23, p < .05, \eta^2 = .07$. Simple effects tests once again attributed this significance to males in the mortality salience condition who saw the *Rabidue*-film first and the *Faragher*-film second. In this condition only, higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower ratings of discrimination, $\beta = -.59, t(9) = -2.20, p = .050$ (see Table One). This provides some support for the prediction that mortality salience enhances the hostile sexist views of sexual harassment raters, though this is once again limited to males and qualified by order effects.

Affect: Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

To determine whether the mortality salience manipulation affected self-reported mood as measured by the PANAS-X, a MANOVA was conducted on the positive and negative mood PANAS-X subscales using Condition as the independent variable. There were no significant effects on either the positive mood scale ($p = .38$) or the negative

mood scale ($p = .12$). Thus, mood did not mediate any of the any of the reported mortality salience or video effects.

Part Three: Process Analyses for Study One

Process Analysis #1 – Combined Legal Elements: Sexual Harassment and Discrimination

Figure One depicts the results of a path analytic model where victim harassment and discrimination served as final criterion variables. For this analysis, the *Rabidue* and *Faragher* legal elements were combined, creating an overall sexual harassment criterion variable and an overall discrimination criterion variable. First order predictors included gender (0 = female and 1 = male), hostile sexism (as a continuous predictor variable), benevolent sexism (as a continuous predictor), and two dummy-coded conditions (one comparing the mortality salience condition to the neutral condition, and one comparing the control condition to the neutral condition). Third order predictors included combined legal elements between the *Rabidue* and *Faragher* films (unwelcomeness, severity, and pervasiveness). Negative work impact and negative psychological impact were omitted from this analysis, as they are not legally enumerated sexual harassment factors from *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson* (1986), and thus provided little new information over and above the listed legal factors. The path analysis included two separate regression equations, one for overall harassment and one for overall discrimination. The weights assigned to the path lines are significant standardized regression weights (all p 's < .05). Multiple R 's appear in each box indicating the results of each hierarchical regression equation. Each R was significant at or beyond the .05 level.

For overall harassment, Figure One shows that participants followed the law, disregarding their gender and their hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes, even when

mortality salient. The more unwelcome ($\beta = .29, p < .01$), pervasive ($\beta = .24, p < .01$), and severe ($\beta = .31, p < .01$) the conduct, the greater likelihood of overall harassment ($R = .75$). Similar results emerged for discrimination, with highly severe ($\beta = .24, p < .05$) and pervasive ($\beta = .21, p = .05$) conduct predicting more discrimination ($R = .56$). Contrary to my predictions, mortality salience did not influence sexual harassment decisions in this first path analysis, and neither did hostile and benevolent sexism.

Process Analysis #2 – Film Presentation Order: First v. Second-film Sexual Harassment

Though prior Terror Management Theory studies have shown mortality salience effects lasting up to a week, I wanted to determine whether mortality salience endured through two lengthy sexual harassment films. I conducted a second process analysis to ferret out the mortality salience effect, comparing legal decisions made in the first-film (collapsed across film version) with decisions made in the second-film (collapsed across film version). Harassment and discrimination in the second-film served as the primary criterion variables. First-order predictors included gender, hostile and benevolent sexism, and the dummy-coded mortality salience and control conditions. Second-order predictors differed from the first path model in that legal elements were limited to the film that participants viewed first. Consequently, the second-level predictors included first-film severity, first-film unwelcomeness, first-film pervasiveness, first-film discrimination, and first-film harassment. Finally, third-level predictors included legal elements for the second-film, including second-film severity, second-film unwelcomeness, and second-film pervasiveness. The path analysis included seven separate regression equations, each treating significant predictors from a previous regression as a dependent variable in the subsequent analysis. In the regression equations in which any of the three lower-level

legal elements were the criteria (unwelcomeness, severity, and pervasiveness for either the first film or the second film), the remaining two legal elements for that decision were not used as predictors. I was interested in the contributions that judgments about the legal elements made to the final judgment outcome and not contributions to each other. The weights assigned to the path lines are significant standardized regression weights (all p 's < .05). Multiple R 's appear in each box indicating the results of each hierarchical regression equation. Each R was significant at or beyond the .05 level.

For second-film harassment (see Figure Two), higher ratings of unwelcomeness ($\beta = .33, p < .01$) and pervasiveness ($\beta = .49, p < .01$) in the second-film predicted higher ratings of second-film harassment ($R = .81$). This is in accordance with sexual harassment case law, which enumerates unwelcomeness and pervasiveness as relevant sexual harassment elements. Second-film severity ($\beta = .27, p < .025$) and pervasiveness ($\beta = .32, p < .01$) also predicted higher second-film discrimination ratings ($R = .60$). As in the first path, none of the measured or manipulated independent variables influenced second-film determinations. However, several legal elements from the first-film did impact legal decisions in the second-film. Participants who saw more discrimination in the first-film ($\beta = .31, p < .01$) saw more discrimination in the second-film ($R = .60$), indicating an assimilation effect. However, higher pervasiveness ratings in the first-film ($\beta = -.23, p < .05$) led to lower discrimination ratings for the second-film ($R = .60$), a contrast effect. Participants also used first-film pervasiveness to inform their decision about the second-film unwelcomeness, with greater first-film pervasiveness leading to less second-film unwelcomeness ($\beta = -.26, p < .05$), showing a similar contrast effect. These findings support using multiple cases in sexual harassment research, as participants

clearly use first-film information to inform their second-film decisions. Such assimilation and contrast effects may be legally useful for assessing how experienced participants make sexual harassment decisions in subsequent cases.

For the first-film, those participants who saw more first-film severity ($\beta = .49, p < .01$) and first-film unwelcomeness ($\beta = .16, p = .067$) found more evidence of first-film harassment ($R = .72$). Similarly, greater first-film severity ($\beta = .22, p < .05$) and pervasiveness ($\beta = .31, p < .01$) led participants to find more first-film discrimination ($R = .58$). Mortality Salient participants, for the first time, also saw more evidence of first-film discrimination ($\beta = .18, p < .05$). That is, mortality salient participants saw more discrimination in the first-film than neutral participants. As neither hostile nor benevolent sexism have direct links to first-film discrimination, it is hard to explain how mortality salience increases participants' sexist-based cultural worldviews, though mortality awareness apparently does influence discrimination determinations. Finally, higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower first-film severity ($\beta = -.24, p < .025$) and first-film pervasiveness ($\beta = -.21, p < .05$), showing the predicted relationship between hostile sexism and sexual harassment determinations.

Study One Discussion

Study one showed mixed support for the contention that hostile and benevolent sexism are relevant cultural worldviews for sexual harassment. Although I anticipated that mortality salient participants high in hostile sexism [high in benevolent sexism] would find less [more] evidence of sexual harassment in comparison to the control and neutral conditions, results show a near opposite reaction for unwelcomeness decisions, with the neutral condition enhancing participants hostile sexist inclinations when

compared to control participants. Mortality salience did not impact unwelcomeness decisions in any way. Mortality salience influences were similarly lacking for the severity legal element, the negative psychological impact legal element, and the negative work impact legal element, though a difficult to explain main effect of condition emerged for victimization, with mortality salient participants finding more evidence of victimization. Lacking an interaction with either hostile or benevolent sexism, the cultural worldview that participants are defending in their victimization decision is uncertain.

A clearer mortality salience effect emerged for pervasiveness and discrimination, where mortality salient males high in hostile sexism found less evidence of pervasive and discriminatory conduct. The order effect accompanying both interactions is once again difficult to explain, as order was counterbalanced and I did not expect them to influence any sexual harassment judgments. The more interesting aspect of these interactions, however, was the gender-based differences, in which mortality salience only impacted males. As Wiener and Hurt (2000) have shown, high hostile sexist males, in general, find less harassment, a finding exacerbated in the current study by the inclusion of the mortality salience manipulation. High hostile sexist males in the neutral and control conditions, after all, did not show these elevated hostile sexist effects. This gives some credence to the contention that hostile sexism is a cultural worldview, one that provides mortality salient participants with a psychological structure to confront the anxiety associated with mortality awareness (Greenberg et al., 1997).

Contrary to my hypotheses, benevolent sexism failed to impact sexual harassment determinations in all but the pervasiveness decision, where benevolent sexist females

found less evidence of harassment. Though benevolent sexism is invariably the weaker predictor of sexual harassment decisions (Wiener et al., 1997; Gutek, O'Connor, Melancon, & Stockdale, 1999; Russell & Trigg, 2004; O'Connor, Gutek, Stockdale, Geer, & Melancon, 2004), I predicted that high benevolent sexism would lead to higher ratings of sexual harassment, not lower levels. As the benevolent sexism effect only occurred with the pervasiveness legal element, there is too little information in study one to explain why benevolent sexism decreased sexual harassment ratings.

The path analyses lend support to the evaluative accuracy of sexual harassment perceivers. For the first path analysis, which focused on global harassment across films, participants followed the law, finding more overall harassment and discrimination only when the conduct in the films was particularly unwelcome, severe, and pervasive. The second path analysis, which focused on participant's perceptions of harassment in the first film compared to the second, showed similar results. In general, the greater the pervasiveness, severity, and unwelcomeness the conduct in the first [second] film, the more evidence of harassment and discrimination participants saw in the corresponding film. There were some intriguing assimilation and contrast effects for this second path analysis, however, in that participants relied on legal elements from the first film to inform their decisions about the second film. That is, the more discriminatory the first-film, the more discrimination in the second-film. Similarly, the more pervasive the first film, the more unwelcome the conduct in the second film. In contrast, the more pervasive the first-film conduct, the less discrimination in the second-film. These crossover effects should give pause to researchers who only use one fact pattern for their stimulus material. Although mortality salience, hostile and benevolent sexism, and gender did not impact

second-film decisions, there are clear assimilation and contrast influences at work in sexual harassment judgments, with participants using their sexual harassment decisions from prior films to inform their subsequent decisions. Such contrast and assimilation effects replicate prior work from our lab (Wiener, Winter, Rogers, & Arnot, 2004), and show that participants' prior decisions are informative in subsequent cases.

Finally, hostile sexism mapped onto first-film pervasiveness and severity in the path analyses, with high hostile sexists finding less pervasiveness and severity. The robust and deleterious effect of hostile sexism on sexual harassment decisions once again replicates prior sexual harassment research (Wiener et al., 2004), and should encourage researchers to seek out means to eliminate, or at least attenuate, such sexist inclinations. The sole mortality salience impact for the second path analysis involved mortality salient participants finding more first-film discrimination. As neither hostile nor benevolent sexism directly influenced first-film discrimination decisions, it is once again difficult to determine what cultural worldview participants are defending.

Though study one showed mixed support for the prediction that mortality salience would enhance hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes—and thereby decrease or increase sexual harassment findings, respectively—it is possible that study one participants, when confronted with making legal determinations, thought deeply and rationally about their legal duty. That is, participants' deliberative processing styles may have inhibited the mortality salience effects that I predicted, thus eliminating any enhanced hostile and benevolent sexist influences in all but the pervasiveness and discriminatory decisions. This may be especially true of mortality salient females, who did not use their hostile sexist inclinations to the same extent as mortality salient males. Thinking deeply and

consciously about death disrupts the mortality salience effect, allowing decision-makers to use *proximal defenses* to confront death-related thoughts (Arndt et al., 2005).

Using *proximal defenses*, people can consciously escape the terror associated with death by suppressing death-related thoughts, denying their vulnerability, or seeking to minimize their death-related thoughts. Unable to fully confront death related thoughts on a conscious level, the mortality salience effect has a greater impact on decision-makers' evaluations. Though speculative, sexual harassment may have a differential impact on the cognitive processing styles of males and females, with females' prior experiences with social-sexual conduct making them more vigilant with regard to the sexual harassment domain. Females, as Wiener, Hurt, Russell, Mannen, and Gasper (1997) showed, are better able to place themselves in the victim's shoes, a self-referencing effect that accounts for much of the variation between men and women's sexual harassment determinations. If women do process on a different level than men, equalizing the cognitive playing field may enhance the mortality salience effect for both males and females. In order to evaluate this speculative study one explanation, study two sought to manipulate participant's cognitive processing styles, assessing the impact of experiential v. rational processing on sexual harassment determinations.

In a series of three studies, Simon et al. (1997) found that mortality salience has a greater impact on participants processing in an experiential mode as opposed to a rational mode. They reasoned that mortality salience, which has a greater impact on participants when death-related thoughts remain outside conscious awareness, fits well with the idea of experiential processing, "a crude system that automatically, rapidly, effortlessly, and efficiently processes information" and is "experienced passively and pre-consciously and

is self-evidently valid” (Epstein, 1994, p. 715 and p. 711, respectively, in Simon et al., 1997). The rational processing system, conversely, operates on a more conscious level, using rules of logical inference and deliberation, and necessitating an intentional and effortful survey of information. The more deliberative nature of the rational processing system, as Simon et al. argue, may lessen the extent to which death-awareness impacts evaluators, because such “intellectualization may provide the psychological distance necessary to contemplate death-related thoughts with relative equanimity” (Simon et al., p. 1144). Though cognitive dual-process models note that people engage in automatic, effortless processes by default (Bargh, 1994; Chen & Chaiken, 1999), it is possible that only males rely on this default processing strategy in sexual harassment cases. As this conclusion is tentative, study two experimentally manipulated participants processing styles to assess this explanation.

Study Two

Methods

Design Overview

With mortality salience having mixed impact on participants’ sexual harassment determinations in study one, study two attempted to strengthen mortality salience by manipulating participants’ cognitive processing styles. Rational processing was induced by having participant think deeply and rationally about their own deaths; experiential processing was induced by having participants think about death using their first, natural responses. Study two predictions are similar to the study one predictions, though study two posits that only experiential processing will enhance hostile and benevolent sexist inclinations. Rational processing should attenuate or even eliminate the mortality

salience effect, especially among males. Males, in general, are still expected to find less evidence of sexual harassment than females, and high hostile sexists should find less evidence of harassment while high benevolent sexists should find more evidence of harassment.

Similar to study one, participants watched two films in which male coworker(s) sexually harassed a female complainant. In study one, the decisions of neutral and control participants differed only on the unwelcomeness legal element, with control participants finding less unwelcomeness than neutral participants. On all other variables, only those in the mortality salient group were impacted by the independent variables. As a result, including both the neutral and control condition seemed unnecessary for study two. As the control condition (which is anxiety-inducing but unrelated to death) provides a better comparison for mortality salience, the neutral condition is not included in study two.

Participants

A total of 163 participants (80 male and 83 female) were recruited from the University of Nebraska's Psychology Department subject pool. Mean age was 20 ($SD = 3.34$). One-hundred-twenty-seven participants were European American (78%), seven were Asian (4%), two were Hispanic (1%), twelve were African American (7%), and fifteen did not provide their ethnic background (9%). One hundred participants (60%) worked full or part-time during the time of the study. All participants received course credit for their participation. Participation was voluntary and anonymous.

Procedure

The procedure and materials used for study two were identical to those in study one with two exceptions. First, as the ASI placement did not impact sexual harassment determinations in study one, all participants completed the ASI at the beginning of the study, with the ASI embedded in the “survey materials” packet. Second, a processing survey included in the “survey materials” packets differed between-subjects.

Rational Processing. Participants in the rational processing condition received instructions designed to engage their active involvement in the study (*see appendix K*). Rational processing was induced in a manner similar to that used by Simon et al. (1997). Immediately before the presentation of the mortality salience manipulation, participants were given the following written instruction:

On the following page are two open-ended questions. Please carefully consider your answers to them before responding. We would like you to be as rational and analytic as possible in responding to these questions. Please be careful and thorough when considering your responses.

Experiential Processing. Participants in the experiential processing condition received materials designed to engage a heuristic-based processing style. Immediately before the presentation of the mortality salience manipulation, participants were given the following written instruction:

On the following pages are two open-ended questions. Please respond to them with your first, natural response. We are just looking for people’s gut-level reactions to these questions.

Because experiential processing is thought to be the default mode of processing, asking participants to respond with natural, gut-level reactions should induce experiential processing.

Participants watched the same films and completed the same questionnaires as those in study one. They completed a demographic questionnaire (*see appendix I*), were debriefed (*see appendix M*), given credit, and dismissed.

Independent Variables

Mortality Salience Manipulations

Mortality Salience Condition: Mortality salience was manipulated in a manner similar to study one. Participants were asked:

“Please briefly describe the emotions that thoughts of your own death arouse in you”

“Jot down, as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you as you physically die and once you are physically dead.”

Control Condition: Participants in the control condition will be asked:

“Please briefly describe the emotions that thoughts of giving a speech in public arouse in you”

“Jot down, as specifically as you can, what happens to you physically when you give a public speech.”

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory.

In study two, internal consistency scores for both hostile and benevolent sexism were more than adequate (coefficient alpha for hostile sexism = .87, $N = 163$, and for benevolent sexism alpha = .81, $N = 163$)

Stimulus Films

The *Rabidue* and *Faragher* films, counterbalanced for order, were used.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables were identical to those used in study one. Subjects were asked to determine how unwelcome, severe, pervasive, and likely sexual harassment was in each case, whether the sexual harassment negatively impacted the complainant's work performance and psychological well-being, and whether the complainant was a victim of sex-based discrimination at work. As a manipulation check, participants also recalled whether they answered open-ended questions regarding death or public speaking, and they were asked to recall whether the question prodded them to think rationally and analytically about the death/public speaking or whether they were prodded to respond with a gut-level, natural reaction (*see appendix L*). Participants were asked to rate the extent to which these questions influenced their determinations of sexual harassment.

Study Two Results

Analysis Overview

Similar to study one, results are presented in three parts.

First, I analyzed the manipulation checks to determine whether participants paid adequate attention to the sexual harassment videos, and I assessed participants' awareness of whether they were in the experiential or rational processing condition. I also assessed whether mortality salient participants had greater death-thought accessibility.

Second, outcome analyses compared judgments for the seven legal criterion for sexual harassment: unwelcomeness, severity, pervasiveness, likelihood of harassment, negative impacts on the victim's psychological well-being and work performance, and

the likelihood of discrimination. As my hypothesis continues to center on individual difference variables that may impact participants' sexual harassment determinations, my analyses once again included hostile and benevolent sexism as continuous covariates. Thus, each legal element was examined using a 2 (condition: mortality salience v. control) X 2 (gender: male v. female) X 2 (processing: experiential v. rational) X 2 (order: *Rabidue* film first v. *Faragher* film first) X (2) (film: *Rabidue* film v. *Faragher* film) repeated measures ANCOVA with hostile and benevolent sexism as continuous covariates. Following the outcome analyses, mood effects on the PANAS-X were assessed.

Finally, a series of regression analyses traced the decision model for judgments of overall sexual harassment. Two separate models are presented, one focusing on overall harassment, and one based on case presentation. As in study one, this latter analysis was performed to determine whether mortality salience has a different impact on the first case participants see as compared to the second case they see.

Part One: Manipulation Checks for Study Two

Memory of case facts

The mean percentages of correctly answered true-false questions were 96% ($SD = .44$) in the *Rabidue v. Osceola Refining Co.* film and 96% ($SD = .73$) in the *Faragher v. City of Boca Rotan* film. The research participants thus paid attention to the films and remembered all of the important details in both cases.

Memory of the CEST manipulation

Of the 155 participants who reported which processing instructions they had been given during phase one of the study, 132 (85%) correctly identified their instructions as

experiential or rational. Seventy-three (94%) of the seventy-eight participants in the experiential condition reported an accurate instruction; remaining participants reported not receiving any processing instructions. Fifty-nine (77%) of the seventy-seven subjects in the rational processing condition accurately reported the correct instructions, fourteen (18%) said they were given experiential instructions, and five (6%) said they were not asked to process the mortality salience questions in a specific manner. Overall, fourteen men and ten women reported inaccurate standards. In order to keep cells even between experiential and rational conditions, all participants were included in the analyses³.

Death-Thought Accessibility

To assess participants' death-thought accessibility following mortality salience, participants completed an eighteen-item word-stem task. Six stems could be completed using either a death-related word (COFFIN) or a non-death-related word (COFFEE). I conducted a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) using condition (mortality salience v. control) as an independent variable and the six death-related stem words as dependent variables. Participants in the mortality salience condition completed the stem DEA_ with a death-related term (e.g. DEAD) significantly more often than participants in the control condition, $F(1, 160) = 7.60, p < .01, \eta^2 = .05$. Thus, there is some potential that death related thoughts are conscious in the mortality salient group, though all other stems failed to reach significance (all p 's $> .31$). In a follow-up analysis, processing was added as an independent variable in the MANOVA, as rational processors may have consciously thought about death. However, none of the stems were significant for condition, processing, or the condition X processing interaction (all p 's $> .21$).

³ In additional analyses, inaccurate participants were omitted from the model, though such omissions did not affect the results.

Participants were also asked whether they saw a connection between phase one of the study (the “survey materials” packet) and phase two (the sexual harassment films and surveys). Though 56% reported seeing a connection, no one cited mortality as the reason behind this connection. In addition, participants were asked to recall which open-ended questions they had answered in the “survey materials” phase of the study. All but one of the seventy-nine participants in the mortality salience condition answered this question correctly (99%). All eighty-one participants in the control condition answered this question correctly (100%). Three participants failed to answer this question. The 99% accuracy rate for those who completed the question was adequate, so all responses are included in the analyses described below.

Part Two: Outcome Analyses for Study Two

Each legal element was examined using a 2 (condition: mortality salience v. control) X 2 (gender: male v. female) X 2 (processing: rational v. experiential) X 2 (order: *Rabidue* film first v. *Faragher* film first) X (2) (film: *Rabidue* film v. *Faragher* film) repeated measures ANCOVA, with hostile and benevolent sexism included as continuous covariates. Hostile and benevolent sexism interactions were not assessed. Dependent variables for each model included unwelcomeness, severity, pervasiveness, negative work and psychological impact, harassment, and discrimination. As order was once again counterbalanced across conditions, I did not predict any significant order effects. However, several order effects emerged. These effects are difficult to interpret, and will only be explained when they interact with the independent variable of interest (e.g. condition, sexism, and processing). Remaining order effects are presented in footnotes.

Legal Elements

Unwelcomeness. There was a significant hostile sexism main effect, $F(1,113) = 16.22, p < .001, \eta^2 = .13$, in which higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower ratings of unwelcomeness, $\beta = -.38, t(161) = -5.12, p < .001$. There was also a processing main effect, $F(1,113) = 5.08, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$, in which participants found more evidence of unwelcomeness when processing experientially ($M = 7.13$) than when processing rationally ($M = 6.99$). Both effects were qualified by a significant order x process x gender x hostile sexism interaction, $F(1,113) = 9.58, p < .01, \eta^2 = .08$. Simple effect tests showed four significant hostile sexism correlations, all negative in nature (see Table Two). High hostile sexism levels predicted lower ratings of unwelcomeness for males who processed experientially in the *Rabidue*-first, *Faragher*-second condition, $\beta = -.50, t(18) = -2.37, p < .05$, for males who processed rationally in the *Rabidue*-first, *Faragher*-second condition, $\beta = -.47, t(18) = -2.28, p < .05$, and for males who processed rationally in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition, $\beta = -.46, t(17) = 2.17, p < .04$. High hostile sexism levels predicted lower ratings of unwelcomeness for females who processed experientially in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition, $\beta = -.54, t(18) = -2.82, p < .025$. As both genders, both processing styles, and both orders are involved in this significant interaction, interpretations of the effect are difficult. However, there appears to be a larger hostile sexism effect on males, regardless of their processing style and order. Females, on the other hand, appear to utilize their hostile sexist inclinations only when processing experientially.

There was also a significant process x benevolent sexism interaction, $F(1,113) = 18.63, p < .001, \eta^2 = .14$. Contrary to my predictions, those high in benevolent sexism

found less evidence of unwelcomeness when processing experientially, $\beta = -.29$, $t(161) = -2.75$, $p < .01$. No differences emerged among rational processors, $\beta = .10$, $t(161) = .88$, $p > .05$.⁴

Severity. There was a significant hostile sexism main effect for severity, $F(1,113) = 7.92$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Participants high in hostile sexism found less severity, $\beta = -.27$, $t(160) = -3.75$, $p < .001$.

In addition, and similar to the unwelcomeness legal element, there was a significant order x process x gender x hostile sexism interaction, $F(1,113) = 4.73$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .04$. Simple effect tests showed three significant hostile sexism correlations, all negative in nature (see Table Two). High hostile sexism levels predicted lower ratings of severity for males who processed rationally in the *Rabidue*-first, *Faragher*-second condition, $\beta = -.46$, $t(18) = -2.20$, $p < .05$ and for males who processed rationally in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition, $\beta = -.55$, $t(18) = -2.82$, $p < .025$. High hostile sexism levels predicted lower ratings of unwelcomeness for females who processed experientially in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition, $\beta = -.56$, $t(18) = -2.98$, $p < .01$. Once again, as both genders, both processing styles, and both orders are involved, it is difficult to interpret this interaction. Here, however, males only use their hostile sexist inclinations when processing rationally, whereas women only use their hostile sexism inclinations when processing experientially.

Pervasiveness. There was a significant film x condition x gender x hostile sexism interaction for pervasiveness, $F(1,113) = 4.14$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .04$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,113) = 3.75$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .40$ as compared to the *Rabidue* film,

⁴ As the processing manipulation applied only to the mortality salience manipulation, it is interesting to see processing influences on sexual harassment decisions independent of condition interactions.

$F(1,113) = .46, p > .05, \eta^2 = .004$ (see Table Three). Simple effects showed that higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower pervasiveness ratings among mortality salient females, $\beta = -.31, t(40) = -.20, p = .050$. Though this shows some support for my TMT predictions, simple effect tests also showed that higher levels of hostile sexism also predicted lower pervasiveness ratings among control males, $\beta = -.44, t(39) = -3.03, p < .01$. Thus, mortality salience does not fully explain this finding.

Similar interpretation difficulties arise with a significant film x order x condition x benevolent sexism interaction, $F(1,113) = 6.98, p < .01, \eta^2 = .06$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,113) = 6.11, p < .05, \eta^2 = .05$, rather than *Rabidue*, $F(1,113) = .40, p > .05, \eta^2 = .01$ (see Table Four). Simple effects showed that high levels of benevolent sexism led to lower ratings of pervasiveness in the control condition, but only with the *Rabidue*-first, *Faragher*-second order, $\beta = -.44, t(39) = -3.00, p < .01$. Why the control condition impacts pervasiveness ratings, and why high benevolent sexism levels predict lower pervasiveness ratings, is difficult to explain.

There was also a significant film x process x gender x benevolent sexism interaction, $F(1,113) = 3.98, p < .05, \eta^2 = .03$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,113) = 5.34, p < .025, \eta^2 = .05$, rather than the *Rabidue* film, $F(1,113) = .07, p > .05, \eta^2 = .001$ (see Table Five). Simple effects tests once again showed an odd negative correlation, with high levels of benevolent sexism leading to lower pervasiveness ratings among females processing experientially, $\beta = -.34, t(41) = -2.26, p < .05$.

Finally, there was a hostile sexism main effect, $F(1,113) = 3.76, p = .050, \eta^2 = .03$, such that higher levels of hostile sexism led to lower ratings of pervasiveness, $\beta = -.23, t(161) = -2.95, p < .01$.

Negative Work Impact. There was a significant film x order x condition x gender x hostile sexism interaction for negative work impact, $F(1,113) = 4.29, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,113) = 6.63, p < .025, \eta^2 = .06$, rather than the *Rabidue* film, $F(1,113) = .05, p > .05, \eta^2 = .000$ (see Table Six). Simple effects tests showed that higher levels of hostile sexism led to lower negative work impact ratings for mortality salient males in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition, $\beta = -.56, t(19) = -2.90, p < .05$. Though once again showing initial support for my hypotheses, simple effects revealed that high hostile sexist females in the control condition also found less evidence of a negative work impact, but only in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition, $\beta = -.45, t(21) = -2.22, p < .05$.

Negative Psychological Impact. There was a significant film x order x condition x benevolent sexism interaction for the negative psychological impact legal element, $F(1,113) = 5.17, p < .025, \eta^2 = .04$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,113) = 5.57, p < .05, \eta^2 = .05$, rather than the *Rabidue* film, $F(1,113) = .360, p > .05, \eta^2 = .003$ (see Table Four). Simple effects showed that high benevolent sexism predicted higher ratings of negative psychological impact for control participants in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition, $\beta = .36, t(41) = 2.42, p < .5$

Victimization. For victimization, there was a hostile sexism main effect, $F(1,113) = 15.99, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$, such that high hostile sexism levels led to lower victimization ratings, $\beta = -.43, t(161) = -6.01, p < .001$. As with severity and unwelcomeness, an order x process x gender x hostile sexism interaction emerged, $F(1,113) = 8.94, p < .01, \eta^2 = .07$. Simple effects revealed three significant correlations, all negative in nature (see Table Two). High hostile sexism levels predicted lower ratings of victimization for

males who processed experientially in the *Rabidue*-first, *Faragher*-second condition, $\beta = -.65$, $t(18) = -3.52$, $p < .01$, and for males who processed rationally in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition, $\beta = -.77$, $t(18) = -5.13$, $p < .001$. High hostile sexism levels predicted lower ratings of victimization for females who processed experientially in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition, $\beta = -.58$, $t(18) = -3.15$, $p < .01$. Again, these results are difficult to interpret, though they show that women only give into their hostile sexist inclinations when they process experientially. Males, on the other hand, use their hostile sexism inclinations regardless of their processing styles.

Discrimination. For discrimination, a film x order x process x gender x hostile sexism interaction emerged, $F(1,113) = 4.08$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,113) = 7.00$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .06$, rather than *Rabidue*, $F(1,113) = .001$, $p > .05$, $\eta^2 = .00$. Simple effects revealed three significant correlations, all negative in nature (see Table Seven). High hostile sexism levels predicted lower discrimination ratings for males who processed experientially in the *Rabidue*-first, *Faragher*-second condition, $\beta = -.51$, $t(19) = -2.45$, $p = .025$, and for males who processed rationally in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition, $\beta = -.53$, $t(18) = -2.65$, $p < .025$. High hostile sexism levels predicted lower ratings of discrimination for females who processed experientially in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition, $\beta = -.42$, $t(20) = -2.08$, $p = .052$. Once again, women only give into hostile sexist inclinations when they process experientially; males use hostile sexism inclinations regardless of their processing styles.

Affect: Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

To determine whether the Mortality Salience manipulation affected self-reported mood as measured by the PANAS-X, a MANOVA was conducted on the positive and

negative mood subscales using mortality salience condition as the independent variable. There were no significant effects on either the positive ($p > .16$) or negative ($p > .57$) mood scales. Thus, Mortality Salience did not impact participant mood.

Part Three: Process Analyses for Study Two

Process Analysis #1 – Combined Legal Elements: Sexual Harassment and Discrimination

Figure Three depicts the results of a path analytic model in which harassment and discrimination served as final criterion variables. As in study one, *Rabidue* and *Faragher* legal elements were combined, creating an overall harassment criterion variable and an overall discrimination criterion variable. First-order predictors included gender (0 = female and 1 = male), hostile sexism (as a continuous predictor), benevolent sexism (as a continuous predictor), condition (0 = control condition and 1 = mortality salient condition), and processing (0 = rational processing and 1 = experiential processing). Second-order predictors combined the remaining *Rabidue* and *Faragher* legal elements (limited to unwelcomeness, severity, pervasiveness). The path model included five separate regression equations, each treating significant predictors from a previous regression as dependent variables in subsequent analyses. In the regression equations in which any of the three legal elements were the criteria, the remaining two legal elements for that decision were not used as predictors. I was interested in the contributions that judgments about the legal elements made to the final judgment only. Weights assigned to the path lines are significant standardized regression weights (all p 's < .05). Multiple R 's appear in each box indicating the results of each hierarchical regression equation. Each R was significant at or beyond the .05 level.

Figure Three shows several significant paths for harassment. As in study one, the more unwelcome ($\beta = .41, p < .001$), severe ($\beta = .21, p < .01$), and pervasive ($\beta = .21, p < .01$) the conduct, the more harassment ($R = .82$). Similarly, the more severe ($\beta = .25, p < .025$) and pervasive ($\beta = .35, p < .001$) the conduct, the more discrimination ($R = .69$). Hostile sexism impacted several harassment determinations, with high hostile sexists finding less unwelcomeness ($\beta = -.40, p < .001$), less severity ($\beta = -.32, p < .001$), less pervasiveness ($\beta = -.237, p < .01$) and less overall harassment ($\beta = -.18, p < .01$) than low hostile sexists. This replicates prior research (Wiener et al., 2004), which has found similar impacts of hostile sexism. Finally, gender impacted the overall discrimination legal factor, with females finding more discrimination than males ($\beta = -.12, p = .062$). Contrary to my predictions, benevolent sexism, processing style, and mortality salience had no influence on sexual harassment determinations.

Process Analysis #2 – Film Presentation Order: First v. Second-film Sexual Harassment

Similar to study one, I wanted to determine whether mortality salience endured through two lengthy sexual harassment films, and to see if processing style moderated the mortality salient effect. I conducted a second process analysis to flush out this effect, comparing legal decisions made in the first-film (collapsed across film version) with decisions made in the second-film (collapsed across film version). First order predictors included gender, hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, condition, and processing. Second-level predictors differed from the previous path model by focusing on legal decisions specific to the first-film only. Thus, the second-level included first-film unwelcomeness, first-film pervasiveness, first-film severity, first-film discrimination, and first-film harassment. Finally, third-level predictors included legal elements for the second-film,

including second-film severity, second-film unwelcomeness, and second-film pervasiveness, with second-film harassment and second-film discrimination serving as final criterion factors. The path model included ten separate regression equations, each treating significant predictors from a previous regression as a dependent variable in a subsequent analysis. In the regression equations in which any of the three lower-level legal elements were the criteria (unwelcomeness, severity, and pervasiveness), the remaining two legal elements for that decision were not used as predictors. I was interested in the contributions that judgments about the legal elements made to the final judgment outcome only. Weights assigned to the path lines are significant standardized regression weights (all p 's < .05). Multiple R 's appear in each box indicating the results of the hierarchical regression equation. Each R was significant at or beyond the .05 level.

Figure Four shows several significant paths for second-film harassment and discrimination. For second-film legal elements, participants essentially followed the law: the more severe ($\beta = .31, p < .001$), unwelcome ($\beta = .23, p < .01$), and pervasive ($\beta = .20, p < .01$) the second-film conduct, the higher the ratings of second-film harassment ($R = .83$). Similarly, the more severe ($\beta = .44, p < .001$ and pervasive ($\beta = .23, p = .01$) the second-film conduct, the higher the rating of second-film discrimination ($R = .70$).

As in study one, several legal elements from the first-film influenced decisions in the second-film. For example, the more discrimination in the first-film, the greater the second-film discrimination ($\beta = .21, p < .05$). Likewise, the more pervasive the conduct in the first-film, the more pervasive the conduct in the second film ($\beta = .24, p < .05$), and the more first-film harassment, the more second-film unwelcomeness ($\beta = .24, p < .05$). Surprisingly, the more severe the first-film conduct, the less discrimination in the second-

film ($\beta = -.19, p < .05$), a contrast effect not readily apparent in the combined-film path analysis. Once again, the benefit of using multiple cases allows insight into how prior experience influences participants' subsequent sexual harassment determinations.

In general, legal decisions for the first-film followed legal prescriptions. The more unwelcome ($\beta = .34, p < .001$), pervasive ($\beta = .18, p < .05$), and severe ($\beta = .24, p < .01$) the first-film conduct, the more first-film harassment ($R = .71$). The more severe ($\beta = .25, p < .01$) and pervasive ($\beta = .27, p < .001$) the first-film conduct, the more first-film discrimination ($R = .63$).

Hostile and benevolent sexism main effects had several links to legal elements. High hostile sexists, for example, found less second-film harassment ($\beta = -.18, p < .001$), less second-film unwelcomeness ($\beta = -.30, p < .001$), less second-film severity ($\beta = -.28, p < .001$), less second-film pervasiveness ($\beta = -.21, p < .05$), less first-film discrimination ($\beta = -.14, p = .056$), and less first-film unwelcomeness ($\beta = -.25, p < .05$). For benevolent sexism, high benevolent sexists found more second-film harassment ($\beta = .12, p < .05$) and more second-film severity ($\beta = .18, p < .05$). Only one main effect for processing emerged, with rational processors finding more first-film discrimination than experiential processors ($\beta = .18, p < .01$). Finally, participants in the mortality salience condition found more evidence of second-film severity than participants in the control condition ($\beta = .15, p < .05$). Apparently, the influence of mortality salience had a sleeper effect in the current study, which did not emerge until participants made their second-film decisions. However, as mortality salience only showed one significant regression path, its presence may simply be spurious.

Study Two Discussion

Study two once again provides only mixed support for hostile and benevolent sexism as relevant cultural worldviews. Benevolent sexism, as in study one and prior research, had little overall impact on participant's sexual harassment assessments, even when participants were mortality salient and processing experientially. In fact, benevolent sexism interactions only emerged for the pervasiveness and negative psychological impact legal elements. The influence of benevolent sexism on the negative work impact legal element was as predicted, with higher levels of benevolent sexism predicting more harassment, though this was only for the *Faragher* film and only for participants in the control group. Surprisingly, higher benevolent sexism levels led to lower pervasiveness ratings for experientially processing females. This replicates the odd benevolent sexism finding in study one, where benevolent sexist females also rendered lower pervasiveness ratings. Though limited to experiential processing in the second study, this interaction is still puzzling, as the protectionist nature of benevolent sexism should increase harassment ratings. However, the fact that rational processing among females eliminates this effect supports engaging sexual harassment decision-makers in deliberative thinking to eliminate benevolent sexist biases.

The mortality salience impact in study two is similarly puzzling. Condition only impacted the pervasiveness and negative work impact legal elements. Mortality salience enhanced the hostile sexist inclinations of females, who gave lower pervasiveness ratings, but the control condition also enhanced the hostile sexist inclinations of males, who gave similar low pervasiveness ratings. For negative work impact ratings, mortality salience enhanced the hostile sexist inclinations of males, who gave lower negative work impact ratings, while the control condition enhanced the hostile sexist inclinations of females,

who gave low negative work impact ratings. With divergent results that are dependent on type of legal decision and gender, it is difficult to pigeonhole hostile sexism as a viable cultural worldview. The anxiety alone (regardless of whether it is based on mortality or associated with dental pain) appears to impact both men and women, arguing against a unifying mortality salience effect.

The more important results from study two involve processing style, gender, and hostile sexism. For the discrimination, victimization, unwelcomeness, and severity legal elements, experientially and rationally process males were apt to use their hostile sexist attitudes to find less harassment. Females, on the other hand, only used their hostile sexist inclinations when processing experientially. These findings disappeared for rationally processing females. This finding was surprising. I tailored the rational versus experiential processing manipulation to impact the mortality salience manipulation only, anticipating that rational processing would nullify the mortality salience effect while experiential processing would facilitate the effect. As such, I did not predict a direct impact of rational versus experiential processing on females' sexual harassment decisions independent of the condition manipulation. This gives some credence to the possibility that females, at least in decisions involving sexual harassment, operate on a deliberative level, where they are able to ignore their hostile sexist inclinations. Only when instructed to think automatically do they allow their hostile sexist inclinations to influence their decisions. This also accounts for some of the odd benevolent sexist findings in the current study, where benevolent sexism only impacted females' decisions when they engaged in experiential processing. Future studies should evaluate a more direct impact of processing strategy on females' sexual harassment decisions.

The path analyses from study two paint a slightly different picture than the outcome analyses. In the first regression model, participants generally followed the law. Higher ratings of unwelcomeness, severity, and pervasiveness predicted higher ratings of victimization and discrimination. Hostile sexism, however, had detrimental impacts on almost all of the legal decisions participants made. Higher levels of hostile sexism led to lower unwelcomeness, severity, pervasiveness, and victimization ratings. Processing style and mortality salience did not enter the regression equation at all, though women were more likely to find evidence of discrimination.

The second path analyses provide a more complex picture of the role of hostile and benevolent sexism on participants' harassment evaluations. As in study one, higher ratings of unwelcomeness, severity, and pervasiveness led to higher victimization and discrimination determinations for both the first film and the second film, though several legal decisions from the first film directly impact legal decisions in the second film. Greater first-film discrimination, for example, led to greater second-film discrimination. Similarly, greater first-film victimization led to greater second-film unwelcomeness, and greater first-film pervasiveness led to greater second-film pervasiveness. These findings once again argue for using multiple fact patterns, as prior sexual harassment decisions may easily influence decisions in subsequent cases. Unlike study one, benevolent sexism had a greater impact on sexual harassment determinations in the current study, with higher benevolent sexism levels predicting higher second-film severity and victimization. This sleeper effect was undetectable in combined legal elements path analysis, providing additional incentive to use multiple fact patterns, which may reveal interesting effects not present in single-film studies. Hostile sexism, as in the prior regression model, impacted

several first and second-film decisions, always in a negative fashion, with higher hostile sexism levels leading to lower harassment ratings.

The primary independent variables of interest in study two, however, had little impact in the second path model. While experiential processing predicted greater first-film discrimination, the solitary nature of this effect makes any processing explanation speculative. The same applies to the lone mortality salience effect, which impacted the second-film severity decision only, with mortality salient participants finding more evidence of severity. Study two, consequently, shows little support for the contention that mortality salience enhances the hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs of sexual harassment decision-makers, even when the evaluators processed experientially. Hostile sexism, as has been seen in prior research (Wiener et al. 1997), appears to be more predictive of sexual harassment decisions than mortality salience, though the manner in which females process should be researched further.

Though mortality salience results are mixed in studies one and two, with hostile sexism appearing to impact males to a greater extent than females, rectifying any effects of mortality salience on sexual harassment decisions is best accomplished by relying on the tools provided by legal doctrine. Jurors are not the only decision-makers involved in sexual harassment litigation. The courts, administrative agencies, and organizations must abide by Title VII's requirements for assessing sexual harassment. Title VII prohibits employers from discriminating against employees with respect to compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission further narrowed the definition of hostile work environment sexual harassment to include

unwelcome behavior that is “sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive working environment” (EEOC, 1993, p. 203). The courts have since added various legal standards to guide sexual harassment decisions. In *Harris v. Forklift Systems, Inc.* (1993), the Supreme Court stated that conduct must be sufficiently severe or pervasive to create “an objectively hostile or abusive work environment—an environment that a reasonable person would find hostile or abusive” (p. 21).

The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals took a different stance in *Ellison v Brady* (1991), finding that a workplace environment was hostile if “a reasonable *woman* would find the conduct in question sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive working environment” (*Ellison v. Brady*, 1991, p. 879). The Ninth Circuit reasoned that men and women live in materially different worlds, so the legal standard should take into account variations in how female and male workers perceive harassment. Prior research by Wiener and colleagues (Wiener et al., 1997; Wiener & Hurt, 2000) has found evidence supporting the Ninth Circuit’s contention that the legal standard decision-makers use for assessing sexual harassment influences their determinations, particularly for males high in hostile sexism, where the reasonable woman standard dampened their hostile sexist inclinations. Though rational processing did little to dampen males’ hostile sexism attitudes in study two, study three will explore the role that mortality salience, hostile and benevolent sexism, and the reasonable woman standard play in participants’ sexual harassment determinations.

Study Three

Methods

Design Overview

In study three, participants utilized either the reasonable person standard or the reasonable woman standard to assess workplace sexual conduct, legal standards that are currently used by the courts. For study three, I predicted that participants who received the reasonable woman standard would act in a manner similar to rational processors, with the reasonable woman standard offsetting the enhanced reactions of mortality salient, high hostile sexism and mortality salient, high benevolent sexism. As study two resulted in few interpretable interactions involving mortality salience and hostile and benevolent sexism, study three predictions have necessarily changed. Study three is more exploratory in nature now, attempting to determine whether the reasonable woman standard continues to dampen hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs. Mortality salience may, as in study one, enhance the hostile sexist inclinations of males, in which case the reasonable woman standard should dampen these results, at least in comparison to the reasonable person standard. Females should not be impacted by mortality salience or their hostile sexist inclinations.

Similar to studies one and two, participants watched two short films in which male coworker(s) sexually harassed a female complainant. Participants were randomly assigned to either the mortality salient or control condition, and each group watched the *Faragher* and *Rabidue* films in counterbalanced orders. The extent to which participants were hostile or benevolent sexists was assessed using the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. Finally, half the participants received instructions to assess sexual harassment from the perspective of a reasonable person while remaining participants assessed the sexual harassment from the perspective of a reasonable woman.

Participants

A total of 160 participants (78 males and 82 females) were recruited from the University of Nebraska's Psychology Department subject pool. Mean age was 20 ($SD = 2.00$). One-hundred-thirty participants were European American (81%), five were Asian (3%), one was Hispanic (1%), five were African American (3%), and nineteen did not provide their ethnic background (12%). Ninety-one participants (56%) worked full or part-time during the time of the study. All participants received partial course credit for their participation. Participation was voluntary and anonymous.

Procedure

The procedure for study three was similar to that used in study one with one exception: participants were randomly assigned to assess sexual harassment using either the reasonable person standard or the reasonable woman standard (*see appendix N*). In the reasonable person condition, participants received the following legal standard to assess whether sexual harassment had occurred (standard was presented by narrators in each film and also provided in written format):

Hostile Work Environment Sexual Harassment results when an employee is subjected to unwelcome sexual conduct which a REASONABLE PERSON would view as sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive work environment.

Several notes and definitions regarding the reasonable person standard followed this instruction, including:

1. The views of a REASONABLE PERSON are those that an objective worker would have in a similar environment under essentially like or

similar conditions experienced by the complaining employee.

2. Severe - unsparing and harsh in treating others
3. Pervasive - spread throughout
4. Abusive - pertaining to hurt or injury by maltreatment

Hostile work environment harassment is a form of sex-based discrimination as defined in federal law. Federal law prohibits an employer from discriminating against an individual with respect to compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of that person's sex. It is illegal to subject a worker to an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment.

Participants in the reasonable woman condition received the following written and filmed instruction:

Hostile Work Environment Sexual Harassment results when an employee is subjected to unwelcome sexual conduct which a REASONABLE WOMAN would view as sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive work environment.

Several notes and definitions regarding the reasonable woman standard similar to those presented above for the reasonable person standard followed this instruction. Participants then watched the same films and completed the same questionnaires used in studies one and two. Finally, participants completed a demographic questionnaire (*see appendix I*), were debriefed (*see appendix P*), given credit, and dismissed.

Independent Variables

Mortality Salience Manipulation

Mortality Salience Condition: Mortality salience was assessed in a manner similar to that used in the prior studies. Participants were asked:

“Please briefly describe the emotions that thoughts of your own death arouse in you”

“Jot down, as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you as you physically die and once you are physically dead.”

Control Condition: Participants in the control condition were asked:

“Please briefly describe the emotions that thoughts of giving a speech in public arouse in you”

“Jot down, as specifically as you can, what happens to you physically when you give a public speech.”

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory:

In study three, internal consistency scores for hostile and benevolent sexism were more than adequate (coefficient alpha for hostile sexism = .82, $N = 161$, and for benevolent sexism alpha = .77, $N = 161$)

Stimulus Films: Participants viewed both the *Rabidue* and *Faragher* films. Order was counterbalanced. Standard was a between-subjects variable, with participants who received the reasonable person [woman] standard for the first sexual harassment film also receiving the reasonable person [woman] standard for the second film.

Dependent Variables

Dependent variables were identical to those in study one with one exception: as a manipulation check, participants recalled whether they were asked to use the reasonable

woman standard, the reasonable person standard, or a foil reasonable man standard (*see appendix O*).

Study Three Results

Analysis Overview

Similar to studies one and two, results are presented in three parts.

First, I analyzed the manipulation checks to determine whether participants paid adequate attention to the sexual harassment films. I also assessed participants' awareness of whether they were given the reasonable person standard or the reasonable woman standard. I then determined whether participants in the mortality salient condition had greater death-thought accessibility.

Second, outcome analyses compared judgments for the seven legal criterion for sexual harassment: unwelcomeness, severity, pervasiveness, likelihood of harassment, negative psychological and work impact, and likelihood of discrimination. Each legal element was analyzed using a 2 (condition: mortality salience v. control) X 2 (gender: male v. female) X 2 (legal standard: reasonable person standard v. reasonable woman standard) X 2 (order: *Rabidue* film first v. *Faragher* film first) X (2) (film: *Rabidue* film v. *Faragher* film) repeated measures ANCOVA. Following the outcome analyses, mood effects on the PANAS-X were assessed.

Finally, a series of regression analyses traced the decision model for judgments of overall sexual harassment. Two separate models are presented, one focusing on overall harassment, and one based on case presentation. As in studies one and two, this latter analysis was performed to determine whether mortality salience has a different impact on the first case participants see as compared to the second case they see.

*Study Three: Manipulation Checks**Memory of Case Facts*

The mean percentages of correctly answered true-false questions were 95% ($SD = .77$) for the *Rabidue v. Osceola Refining Co.* film and 98% ($SD = .40$) for the *Faragher v. City of Boca Rotan* film. Research participants thus paid attention to the videos and remembered all of the important details in both films.

Memory of Legal Standard

Of the 155 participants who reported the legal standard that they had been asked to apply, 139 (90%) answered correctly (5 failed to report a standard). Of the seventy-four people assigned to the reasonable person condition, one male (1%) inaccurately reported being assigned to the reasonable woman condition. One male (0.6%) in the reasonable woman condition reported that he had been assigned to the reasonable man standard, and fourteen (9%) participants in the reasonable woman standard reported that they had been assigned to the reasonable person condition. Of these participants, 8 were men and 6 were women. Overall, 9 men and 6 women reported an inaccurate standard. A 90% accuracy rate was adequate, so all respondents were included in the analysis.

Death-Thought Accessibility

To assess participants' death-thought accessibility following the mortality salience manipulation, participants completed an eighteen-item word-stem task. Six of these items could be completed using either a death-related word (COFFIN) or a non-death-related word (COFFEE). I conducted a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) using condition (mortality salience vs. control) as an independent variable and the six death-related stem words as dependent variables. Participants in the mortality

salience and control conditions did not differ on death-thought accessibility on any of the six items (all p 's > .143)

Participants were also asked whether they saw a connection between phase one of the study (“survey materials”) and phase two (the sexual harassment films and surveys). Although 57% reported seeing a connection, no one cited mortality as the reason behind this connection. In addition, participants were asked to recall which open-ended questions they had answered when completing the “survey materials”. All but four of the seventy-four participants in the mortality salience condition answered this question correctly (95%), and all but one of the eighty-five participants in the control condition answered this question correctly (99%). Two participants failed to answer this question. A 97% accuracy rate for those who completed the question was more than adequate, so all responses were included in the analyses described below.

Part One: Outcome Analyses for Study Three

Each legal element was examined using a 2 (condition: mortality salience v. control) X 2 (gender: male v. female) X 2 (standard: reasonable person standard v. reasonable woman standard) X 2 (order: *Rabidue* film first v. *Faragher* film first) X (2 (film: *Rabidue* v. *Faragher*) repeated measures ANCOVA. Dependent variables for each model included unwelcomeness, severity, pervasiveness, negative psychological and work impact, victimization, and discrimination. As order was once again counterbalanced across conditions, I did not predict any significant order effects. However, several order effects emerged. These effects are difficult to interpret, and will only be explained when they interact with the independent variable of interest (e.g. condition, sexism, and standard). Other effects are relegated to footnotes.

Unwelcomeness. There was a film main effect for unwelcomeness, $F(1,110) = 14.64, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$, such that participants saw more unwelcomeness in the *Faragher* film ($M = 7.76$) than in the *Rabidue* film ($M = 6.80$). A film x hostile sexism interaction also emerged, $F(1,110) = 13.29, p < .001, \eta^2 = .11$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,110) = 19.98, p < .001, \eta^2 = .15$, rather than the *Rabidue* film, $F(1,113) = .77, p > .05, \eta^2 = .01$ (see Table Eight). Simple effects showed that higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower levels of unwelcomeness in *Faragher*, $\beta = -.28, t(158) = -3.61, p < .001$. A film x order x condition x hostile sexism interaction also emerged, $F(1,110) = 4.24, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,110) = 4.05, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$, rather than in *Rabidue*, $F(1,113) = .69, p > .05, \eta^2 = .01$ (see Table Nine). Simple effects showed that higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower ratings of unwelcomeness for mortality salient participants in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition, $\beta = -.34, t(33) = -2.04, p = .050$. Though this gives some support to the mortality salience effect, a near significant correlation also emerged for the control condition, with higher hostile sexism levels predicting lower unwelcomeness ratings in the *Rabidue*-first, *Faragher*-second condition, $\beta = -.29, t(33) = -1.95, p = .057$. This makes it difficult to conclude that mortality salience is impacting unwelcomeness decisions.

Severity. There was a severity main effect for film, $F(1,110) = 4.17, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$, such that participants found more severity in the *Rabidue* film ($M = 6.15$) than in the *Faragher* film ($M = 6.00$). A film x standard interaction also emerged, $F(1,110) = 3.96, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,110) = 5.02, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$, rather than *Rabidue*, $F(1,113) = .147, p > .05, \eta^2 = .001$. In *Faragher*, participants

found more severity with the reasonable person standard ($M = 6.27$) than with the reasonable woman standard ($M = 5.93$).

A film x hostile sexism interaction emerged, $F(1,110) = 11.09, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$, which was similarly limited to the *Faragher* fact pattern, $F(1,110) = 19.48, p < .001, \eta^2 = .15$, rather than *Rabidue*, $F(1,110) = .001, p > .05, \eta^2 = .00$ (see Table Eight). Simple effects showed that higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower levels of severity, $\beta = -.33, t(158) = -4.34, p < .001$. Finally, a film x order x condition x hostile sexism interaction emerged, $F(1,110) = 3.71, p < .05, \eta^2 = .03$, which was limited to the *Faragher* fact pattern, $F(1,110) = 3.74, p = .056, \eta^2 = .03$, rather than *Rabidue*, $F(1,113) = .35, p > .05, \eta^2 = .003$ (see Table Nine). Simple effects showed that higher ratings of hostile sexism predicted lower levels of severity for mortality salient participants in the *Rabidue*-first, *Faragher*-second condition, $\beta = -.35, t(39) = -2.32, p < .05$. Though this again shows some support for my mortality salience hypotheses, hostile sexism effects were also significant for control participants who viewed *Faragher*-first and *Rabidue*-second, $\beta = -.42, t(39) = -2.83, p < .01$, disconfirming a mortality salience effect.

Finally, a hostile sexism main effect emerged, $F(1,110) = 7.63, p < .01, \eta^2 = .07$, with higher levels of hostile sexism predicting lower severity ratings, $\beta = -2.73, t(158) = -2.83, p < .01$.

Pervasive. A film x hostile sexism interaction emerged for the pervasiveness legal element, $F(1,110) = 6.23, p < .05, \eta^2 = .05$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,110) = 23.02, p < .001, \eta^2 = .17$, rather than *Rabidue*, $F(1,113) = 1.13, p > .05, \eta^2 = .01$ (see Table Eight). Higher hostile sexism levels predicted more pervasiveness, $\beta = -.36, t(158) = -.49, p < .001$.

A hostile sexism main effect emerged, $F(1,110) = 12.31, p < .001, \eta^2 = .10$, with higher levels of hostile sexism predicting lower pervasiveness ratings, $\beta = -.29, t(158) = -3.83, p < .001$.

*Negative Work Impact*⁵. An order x standard x benevolent sexism interaction emerged for the negative work impact legal element, $F(1,110) = 4.38, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$. Simple effects showed that higher levels of benevolent sexism led to higher ratings of negative work impacts, but only for the reasonable person standard and only in the *Faragher*-first, *Rabidue*-second condition, $\beta = .41, t(35) = 2.59, p < .25$. Apparently, the reasonable woman standard dampened participants' benevolent sexist attitudes, thus study three provides some support for using the reasonable woman standard for negative work impact judgments.

Negative Psychological Impact. For negative psychological impact, there was a significant film x hostile sexism interaction, $F(1,110) = 4.14, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,110) = 12.34, p < .001, \eta^2 = .10$, rather than *Rabidue*, $F(1,113) = .52, p > .05, \eta^2 = .01$ (see Table Eight). Higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower ratings of negative psychological impact, $\beta = -.26, t(158) = -3.34, p < .001$.

There was also a hostile sexism main effect, $F(1,110) = 4.75, p < .5, \eta^2 = .01$. Higher hostile sexism levels predicted lower negative psychological impact ratings, $\beta = -.21, t(158) = -2.66, p < .01$.

Victimization. There was a film x hostile sexism interaction for victimization, $F(1,110) = 4.14, p < .5, \eta^2 = .04$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,110) = 9.55,$

⁵ An order by gender by benevolent sexism interaction also emerged, $F(1,110) = 8.21, p < .01, \eta^2 = .07$. Simple effects showed that higher levels of benevolent sexism predicted lower levels of a negative work impact for females in the *Rabidue*-first, *Faragher*-second condition, $\beta = -.36, t(43) = -2.48, p < .05$.

$p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .08$, rather than *Rabidue*, $F(1,113) = .81$, $p > .05$, $\eta^2 = .01$ (see Table Eight). Higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower ratings of victimization, $\beta = -.25$, $t(158) = -3.20$, $p < .1$. A film x condition x gender x hostile sexism interaction also emerged, $F(1,110) = 9.81$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .08$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,110) = 6.33$, $p < .5$, $\eta^2 = .06$, rather than *Rabidue*, $F(1,113) = 2.27$, $p > .05$, $\eta^2 = .02$ (see Table Eleven). Higher hostile sexism predicted lower victimization ratings for females, but only in the control condition, $\beta = -.52$, $t(39) = -3.79$, $p < .001$.

A main effect of hostile sexism emerged, $F(1,110) = 7.36$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .06$, in which higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower victimization ratings, $\beta = -.30$, $t(157) = -3.94$, $p < .001$.

Discrimination. A film x hostile sexism interaction emerged for discrimination, $F(1,110) = 8.24$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .07$, which was limited to the *Faragher* film, $F(1,110) = 8.64$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .07$, rather than the *Rabidue* film, $F(1,113) = .01$, $p > .05$, $\eta^2 = .00$ (see Table Eight). Higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower ratings of discrimination, $\beta = -.4$, $t(158) = -3.05$, $p < .01$.

A main effect of hostile sexism emerged, $F(1,110) = 6.56$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .04$, in which higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower victimization ratings, $\beta = -.21$, $t(157) = -2.67$, $p < .01$.

Part Three: Process Analyses for Study Three

Process Analysis #1 – Combined Legal Elements: Sexual Harassment and Discrimination

Figure Five depicts a path analytic model in which overall harassment and discrimination served as final criterion variables. As in the prior studies, the *Rabidue* and *Faragher* legal elements were combined to create overall harassment and overall

discrimination criterion variables. First order predictors included gender (0 = female and 1 = male), hostile sexism (as a continuous predictor), benevolent sexism (as a continuous predictor), condition (0 = control condition and 1 = mortality salience condition), and standard (0 = reasonable woman and 1 = reasonable person). Second-order predictors combined legal elements for the *Rabidue* and *Faragher* cases (limited to unwelcomeness, severity, pervasiveness). The path model included five separate regression equations, each treating significant predictors from a previous regression as dependent variables in subsequent analyses. In the regression equations in which any of the three lower-level legal elements were the criteria (unwelcomeness, severity, and pervasiveness), the remaining two legal elements for that decision were not used as predictors. Weights assigned to the path lines are significant standardized regression weights (all p 's < .05). Multiple R 's appear in each box indicating the results of each hierarchical regression equation. Each R was significant at or beyond the .05 level.

For overall harassment, Figure Five shows several significant paths, though none involving mortality salience. Nevertheless, as in studies one and two for overall harassment, the more unwelcome ($\beta = .18, p < .05$), pervasive ($\beta = .31, p < .001$) and severe ($\beta = .32, p < .001$) the conduct, the more harassment ($R = .74$). Further, the more unwelcome ($\beta = .30, p < .001$) and pervasive ($\beta = .37, p < .001$) the conduct, the greater the discrimination ($R = .65$). Though hostile sexism did not directly predict harassment and discrimination, high hostile sexists found less unwelcomeness ($\beta = -.18, p < .05$), severity ($\beta = -.32, p < .001$), and pervasiveness ($\beta = -.32, p < .001$), than low hostile sexists. High benevolent sexists, in contrast, found more severity ($\beta = .21, p < .05$) than low benevolent sexists, and men found less evidence of overall harassment than women

($\beta = -.11, p = .051$). Finally, mortality salient participants found more unwelcomeness ($\beta = .17, p < .05$) and pervasiveness than control participants ($\beta = .21, p < .01$). Standard did not impact any legal decisions.

Process Analysis #2 – Film Presentation Order: First v. Second-film Sexual Harassment

Similar to the previous studies, I wanted to determine whether mortality salience endured through two lengthy sexual harassment films, and to determine whether legal standard moderated the mortality salience effect. I conducted a second process analysis to flush out this effect, comparing legal decisions made in the first-film with decisions made in the second-film. First-order predictors included gender, hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, condition, and standard. Second-level predictors differed from the previous path model by focusing on legal decisions relevant to the first-film only. Thus, the second-level included first-film unwelcomeness, first-film pervasiveness, first-film severity, first-film discrimination, and first-film harassment. Finally, third-level predictors included legal elements for the second-film, including second-film severity, second-film unwelcomeness, and second-film pervasiveness, with second-film harassment and second-film discrimination serving as final criterion variables. The path model resulted in nine separate regression equations, each treating significant predictors from a previous regression as a dependent variable in the subsequent analysis. In the regression equations in which any of the three lower-level legal elements were the criteria (unwelcomeness, severity, and pervasiveness for either the first film or the second film), the remaining two legal elements for that decision were not used as predictors. I was interested in the contributions that judgments about the legal elements made to the final judgment only. The weights assigned to the path lines are significant Standardized

regression weights (all p 's < .05). Multiple R 's appear in each box indicating the results of the hierarchical regression equation. Each R was significant at or beyond the .05 level.

Figure Six shows several significant paths for second-film harassment and discrimination. For second-film legal elements, participants once again followed the law: the more unwelcome ($\beta = .19, p < .05$), severe ($\beta = .38, p < .001$), and pervasive ($\beta = .28, p < .01$) the second-film conduct, the higher ratings of second-film harassment ($R = .76$). Similarly, the more severe ($\beta = .21, p < .05$) and pervasive ($\beta = .30, p < .001$) the second-film conduct, the higher the second-film discrimination ($R = .65$).

Four first-film elements influenced second-film decisions in the current path model. The more severe ($\beta = -.21, p < .05$) the conduct in the first-film, the less discrimination in the second-film. This, as in study two, indicates a contrast effect for severity, where more severity in the first-film leads to less severity in the second-film. Unlike study two, there was also a significant path linking first-case unwelcomeness ($\beta = .20, p < .05$) to second-film discrimination. This indicates an assimilation effect, in which more unwelcomeness in the first-film led to more discrimination in the second-film. Two assimilation effects also emerged when first-film discrimination was used as a predictor variable, with more first-film discrimination leading to more second-film pervasiveness ($\beta = .25, p < .01$) and second-film unwelcomeness ($\beta = .25, p < .025$).

For the first-film, more first-film severity ($\beta = .49, p < .001$) and pervasiveness ($\beta = .18, p < .05$) led to more first-film harassment ($R = .64$), which follows the legal prescriptions for assessing sexual harassment. More first-film severity similarly led to more first-film discrimination ($\beta = .24, p < .05$).

Hostile sexism had direct impacts on several legal elements. Those high in hostile sexism found less second-film severity ($\beta = -.20, p < .05$), less second-film pervasiveness ($\beta = -.20, p < .05$), less first-film pervasiveness ($\beta = -.42, p < .001$), less first-film harassment ($\beta = -.17, p < .05$), less first-film discrimination ($\beta = -.16, p = .051$), less first-film severity ($\beta = -.27, p < .01$) and less first-film pervasiveness ($\beta = -.24, p < .01$). Benevolent sexism and standard, contrary to the study three hypotheses, failed to influence sexual harassment determinations in any way, and thus fails to replicate prior studies where the reasonable woman standard offsets the influence of hostile sexism (Wiener et al., 1997). Finally, mortality salient participants found more evidence of first-film pervasiveness than control participants ($\beta = .18, p < .05$), and men found less first-film harassment than women ($\beta = -.15, p < .05$).

Affect: Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

To determine whether the Mortality Salience manipulation affected self-reported mood as measured by the PANAS-X, a MANOVA was conducted on the positive and negative mood subscales using mortality salience condition as the independent variable. There were no significant effects on either the positive ($p > .13$) or negative ($p > .77$) scales. Interactions with Mortality Salience were not impacted by participant mood.

Study Three Discussion

Once again, there was little support for my mortality salience predictions in study three. Only three interactions involved the mortality salience manipulation, though order effects make interpreting the interactions difficult. Mortality salience appeared to work for the unwelcomeness legal decision, with mortality salient, high hostile sexists finding less evidence of unwelcomeness. Mortality salient, high hostile sexists also found less

evidence of severity, though order qualified this effect, occurring only in the *Rabidue*-first condition. Weakening support for the mortality salience effect, control participants high in hostile sexism found less severity in the *Faragher*-first condition. The sporadic impact of mortality salience on hostile sexism in sexual harassment decisions argues against hostile sexism as a viable cultural worldview.

Standard, similar to mortality salience, had little impact on participants' sexual harassment decisions in study three. In fact, standard only impacted participants' sexual harassment decisions in two instances. First, participants saw more severity under the reasonable person standard than under the reasonable woman standard. Second, those participants high in benevolent sexism gave higher negative work impact ratings when using the reasonable person standard. Though the main effect is difficult to explain, as prior research shows that the reasonable woman standard produces higher ratings of harassment (Wiener et al., 1995; Wiener et al., 1997), the fact that the reasonable woman standard offset benevolent sexist attitudes regarding the negative work impact argues for inclusion of the reasonable woman standard as a means to attenuate the benevolent sexist attitudes of participants. In the present study, however, the reasonable woman standard did not temper hostile sexism, so the reasonable woman standard may not be the strongest reform available to guide sexual harassment decisions, a failing in the standard noted by several researchers (Gutek et al., 1995; Gutek et al., 1999).

Hostile sexism, as in the prior two studies, showed robust effects in study three, with higher levels of hostile sexism leading to lower ratings of unwelcomeness, severity, pervasiveness, negative psychological impact, victimization, and discrimination, though this was strongest in the *Faragher* case. Most of the study three findings are applicable

only in the *Faragher* case, once again showing the importance of utilizing more than one fact pattern in sexual harassment research. The films used in the current study are highly variable in tone, with *Rabidue* focusing on a hierarchical business atmosphere while *Faragher* focuses on a relaxed collegial atmosphere. It is possible that the psychology students in the current study were more familiar with the social-sexual situations involved in the *Faragher* fact pattern. As such, their sexual harassment determinations may have entailed deeper self-referencing for this stimulus case, giving freer reign to participants' hostile sexist beliefs. Future studies should include stimulus materials that utilize several different work environments to shed light on the role that familiarity with social-sexual situations plays in participants' sexual harassment determinations.

The study three regression models replicate many of the findings in the prior two models. For the combined legal decisions, the more unwelcome, severe, and pervasive the conduct, the more victimization and discrimination participants perceived. Similar to the path analysis in study two, hostile sexism had direct impacts on participants' sexual harassment decisions, with high hostile sexists finding less unwelcomeness, less severity, and less pervasiveness. Unlike the prior combined-legal element path models, those high in benevolent sexism found more severity in study three. Benevolent sexist paths only occurred in study two when analyzing the films separately. Mortality salience had two interesting paths in study three, with mortality salient participants find more evidence of unwelcomeness and more pervasiveness than control participants. These paths are hard to interpret, especially given the contradictory finding in the ANCOVAs, though there may be some mortality salience influence at work in study three. The cultural worldviews on which mortality salience acts, unfortunately, are unclear, though exposing

participants to thoughts of death appears to increase their sexual harassment ratings.

Future research should attempt to evaluate worldviews other than hostile and benevolent sexism to explain these results.

The more interesting path analysis for study three is Figure Six, which analyzes first-film decisions distinct from second-film elements. As in prior models, the final criterion judgments for the second-film—second-film harassment and second-film discrimination—followed the law, with more second-film unwelcomeness, second-film severity, and second-film pervasiveness leading participants to find more second-film harassment perceptions. As in the prior individual case path analyses, greater first-film discrimination led to greater unwelcomeness and pervasiveness decisions in the second-film, an assimilation effect that heightens the need to use multiple cases. First film severity, on the other hand, presented a contrast effect, in which greater first-film severity led to lower second-film discrimination. As in the ANCOVAs, hostile sexism directly impacted several first and second film legal decisions, with higher hostile sexism always leading to lower sexual harassment ratings. Standard did not influence sexual harassment determinations in any way for the path analyses, though those in the mortality salience condition found more pervasiveness than participants in the control condition.

CHAPTER 4: OVERALL DISCUSSION

A Broader Understanding of the Current Studies

Terror Management Theory posits that an awareness of one's mortality engenders a need to shore up people's faith in their cultural worldviews, essentially to attenuate the existential fears that arise from thoughts of death (Arndt, Greenberg, & Cook, 2002). As the cultural worldviews of primary importance to the individual are context-specific, the multitude of worldviews is daunting. Even more daunting, subtle reminders of death can affect each of us in a multitude of different ways. Within the realm of sexual harassment, such worldviews may range from in-group gender biases to stereotype maintenance, and from ideals of procedural fairness to principles of distributive justice. The current studies attempted to enhance the gender-based stereotypes that decision-makers bring with them to sexual harassment evaluations, an attempt that produced conflicting results.

Study one utilized a general approach to determine whether mortality salience affected the evaluations of hostile and benevolent sexists. I predicted that mortality salience would enhance the hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes of sexual harassment evaluators, such that high hostile sexists would become more hostile in their evaluations (and subsequently find less evidence of harassment) and high benevolent sexists would become more benevolent (and subsequently find more evidence of harassment). Study two attempted to strengthen mortality salience by engaging participants in rational vs. experiential processing, where I predicted that experiential processing would facilitate the mortality salience effect (with experiential, high hostile sexists becoming even more hostile under mortality salience than their rational, hostile sexist counterparts), and benevolent sexists becoming even more benevolent. Put another way, I predicted that

rational processing would attenuate the mortality salience effect. Study three varied the legal standards that evaluators used to assess sexual harassment, with some participants receiving the reasonable person standard while remaining participants received the reasonable woman standard. Based on prior sexual harassment studies conducted in our lab, I predicted that the reasonable woman standard would offset high hostile and high benevolent sexist attitudes, even for mortality salient participants. The findings, in general, show mixed evidence for Terror Management Theory.

Of the three studies, study one showed the most support for the mortality salience effect, though only for males, and only under some order-based conditions. That is, the mortality salience manipulation only impact males high in hostile sexism that saw the *Rabidue* film before the *Faragher* film, with males ultimately finding less evidence of pervasiveness and discrimination. This gives some credence to the notion that hostile sexism constitute cultural worldviews that males need to defend, at least for evaluations involving pervasiveness and discrimination. Cultural worldviews, as Arndt, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, and Solomon (1997) noted, are supposed to provide an explanation for existence, standards through which individuals can attain a sense of personal value, and the promise of literal or symbolic immortality for those who live up to these standards. Reminders of mortality, as these authors and hundreds of TMT studies contend, enhance evaluators need to maintain and defend their cultural worldviews, to essentially buffer themselves against the anxiety that accompanies death-awareness. In study one, hostile sexism was indeed enhanced by males under mortality salience conditions, though only for two of the seven legal factors. Benevolent sexism, however, played little role in

participants' sexual harassment decisions, and, as such, constitutes a much weaker cultural worldview, if it is indeed a worldview.

Most of the decisions participants made in study one, however, followed the law. That is, the manner in which participants arrived at their final determinations adhered closely to the prescriptions set down in federal law, where participants made objective sexual harassment determinations based on Supreme Court approved *Meritor* criterion. In line with *Meritor*, and as observed in the path models, the more unwelcome, pervasive, and severe the conduct, the more harassment and discrimination participants saw. The path analysis focusing on decisions made in the first film participants viewed versus the second film viewed provided a more detailed picture of the manner in which participants make sexual harassment decisions, with first-film harassment ratings influencing second-film decisions, and with hostile sexism correlating negatively with first-film severity and pervasiveness. This replicates and extends our prior research (Wiener, Winter, Rogers, & Arnot, 2004), and argues for the importance of using multiple fact patterns in legal research, an issue I will address again shortly.

With some supporting evidence for the mortality salience effect in study one, study two attempted to strengthen the mortality salience effect by engaging participants in experiential versus rational processing, a manipulation that produced contradictory mortality salience effects. Rational processing involves a deep reflection by evaluators, who consciously and deeply process information before providing an ultimate decision, while experiential processing involves more of a gut-level, passive cognitive processing approach. While mortality salience enhanced hostile sexist beliefs for the pervasiveness and negative work impact legal elements for some participants, the control condition

enhanced hostile sexist beliefs for these elements in other participants. Such conflicting evidence argues against hostile sexism as a valid cultural worldview, and no other main effects or interactions support the inclusion of hostile sexism as a viable worldview.

The more important study two finding involved the processing strategies women used to render their sexual harassment determinations. For the unwelcomeness, severity, victimization, and discrimination legal elements, hostile sexism only influenced females when they processed experientially. When processing rationally, high hostile sexist women did not differ from their low hostile sexist counterparts. As study one showed no hostile sexism differences for women, it is possible that women process at a rational level by default when confronted with sexual harassment decisions. Only when they were told to process experientially did they let their hostile sexist beliefs to color their evaluations. This explanation is purely speculative, as study two did not directly spur either males or females to make sexual harassment decisions from a rational versus experiential vantage point. Rather, I instructed participants to process the mortality salience versus control manipulation experientially or rationally, though the processing manipulation appears to have extended itself into females' sexual harassment determinations. Future research should directly test the impact of rational versus experiential processing on sexual harassment judgments to see whether gender-based processing differences emerge. Of course, males in study two utilized their hostile sexism attitudes regardless of their manipulated processing strategy, so a direct test of rational versus experiential processing on sexual harassment decisions is needed for males as well.

The path models in study two compliment the path models from study one. As in study one, combining legal elements provides only a partial picture of the decisions made by participants, where participants appeared to follow the law to some extent. The more unwelcome, pervasive, and severe the conduct, the more harassment and discrimination participants saw. Hostile sexism played a larger role in the study two path model than it did in the study one combined elements path model, with higher levels of hostile sexism predicting lower ratings of unwelcomeness, severity, pervasiveness, and victimization. Mortality salience once again played no role in the path model. The film-by-film path model presented a more complex model of participants' sexual harassment decisions, with second-film victimization influenced only by second-film legal elements, hostile sexism (which had a negative correlation), and benevolent sexism (which has a positive correlation). Several first-film legal decisions, however, once again directly impacted second-film legal decisions, showing that participants do not make their harassment decisions in isolation while ignoring their prior decisions.

Most of the first-film influences were assimilation-based, with greater first-film victimization leading to greater second-film unwelcomeness and greater first-film pervasiveness leading to greater second-film pervasiveness. Contrast effects emerged in which more first-film discrimination led to less second-film discrimination. That evaluators use information from a prior case to inform their judgments in subsequent cases at all provides evidence that decision-makers are not blank slates, and that many variables, including their personal experiences, may influence their evaluations. Though processing, gender, and mortality salience added little to the study two path models, participants' hostile and benevolent sexism beliefs heavily influenced their sexual

harassment decisions, with higher hostile sexism levels leading to lower harassment ratings, and higher benevolent sexism levels leading to higher harassment ratings.

Obviating these sexism effects seems a necessary step for securing bias-free sexual harassment decisions. One possible means for addressing these concerns is by using the reasonable woman standard.

Though mortality salience failed to enhance hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes as predicted in study two, study three attempted to enhance hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes using mortality salience as a priming mechanism. Rather than using experiential versus rational processing to enhance or attenuate the predicted mortality salience effect, respectively, study three altered the legal standard participants used to assess harassment. Prior research by Wiener et al. (1997), Wiener and Hurt (2000) has shown that, under some circumstances, the reasonable woman standard enables both men and women to find greater levels of harassment, even offsetting hostile sexism to some extent. Such findings, however, did not occur in study three. In fact, the reasonable woman standard actually lowered severity ratings. However, the reasonable woman standard did dampen the influence of benevolent sexism in participants' negative work impact determinations, giving some support to using the reasonable woman standard rather than the reasonable person standard. As legal standard only influenced the negative work impact variable, a minor variable only peripherally related to the unwelcomeness, severity, and pervasive elements enumerated in case law, the present study cannot offer a strong argument to adopt this standard. Rather, this finding supports critics' claims that the reasonable woman standard is an unnecessary reform (Gutek et al., 1999; Blumenthal et al., 1998).

The mortality salience manipulation, once again, showed contradictory results, with mortality salience enhancing hostile sexist attitudes for some sexual harassment decisions while the control condition enhanced hostile sexist attitudes for other sexual harassment decisions. The more robust results in study three involved hostile sexism, particularly in the *Faragher* film. For most legal decisions, higher levels of hostile sexism predicted lower ratings of harassment. That film effects were prevalent in study three shows the importance of using multiple films, as the observed hostile sexism effects were invariably stronger in the *Faragher* film. This recommendation is reinforced in the path analyses outcomes, where analyzing the films separately showed many of the same assimilation and contrast effects found in studies one and two.

In sum, though hostile sexism appears to have a robust impact on participants' sexual harassment decisions, the impact that mortality salience has on hostile sexism is spurious at best. Though males seem most susceptible to the mortality salience effect, this susceptibility relies on a combination of factors, including the order in which they view sexual harassment films. Though the present studies should give pause to categorizing hostile and benevolent sexism as cultural worldviews, mortality salience did appear to impact sexual harassment decisions at several points throughout the studies, with the path analyses showing higher ratings of first-film discrimination, second-film severity, overall unwelcomeness, and overall pervasiveness for mortality salient participants. As mortality salience does play some role in harassment decisions, additional research should address what potential cultural worldviews drive the decisions of mortality salient participants.

Gender and Ambivalent Sexism: The Role of Social Analytic Jurisprudence

Wiener and his colleagues (Wiener et al., 1995; Wiener & Hurt, 1997) advocate using *social analytic jurisprudence* to study legal decision making, a philosophy in which legal research begins by first looking at the legal doctrine and the assumptions that the law makes about human decision-making (Wiener & Hurt, 1999). Only after a thorough understanding of the law should researchers attempt to address legal assumptions with psychological theories and models, as the law provides the framework through which psychological results have the most useful impact. The current studies address such concerns by focusing on the legal principles of sexual harassment, using legal standards accepted by the courts (the reasonable person and reasonable woman standards) and legal criterion specifically enumerated in case law (e.g. unwelcomeness, pervasiveness, severity, and overall sexual harassment). I added discrimination and negative impacts on the complainant's work performance and psychological well being to this list of legal elements, which, while not based on controlling sexual harassment law, provide a fuller understanding of participant's sexual harassment decisions. These additional legal elements correlate highly with the more formal *Meritor* sexual harassment criterion, and have provided valuable insight into sexual harassment decisions in both the current set of studies and prior research in our lab (Wiener et al., 1997; Wiener & Hurt, 2000; Wiener, Winter, Rogers, & Arnot, 2004).

Working through *social analytic jurisprudence*, Wiener and colleagues (Wiener et al., 1995; 1997, Wiener & Hurt, 1999) proposed a dual-process model for sexual harassment. In the first stage of their model, participants make decisions based on the strength of the sexually harassing conduct, using well-rehearsed and easily retrievable cues to assess the likelihood of harassment. Conduct that exceeds the evaluators' internal

offensiveness thresholds automatically trigger sexual harassment determinations, decisions made with little cognitive activity, and decisions that gloss over the nuances of the unwelcomeness, severity, and pervasiveness criterion (Wiener & Hurt, 1999). Similarly, conduct that falls below evaluators' internal offensiveness thresholds trigger automatic non-harassment determinations. When the conduct falls between these thresholds, participants move to the second-stage, which entails a more effortful examination of the sexually harassing conduct. Wiener & Hurt (1999) posit that people begin this second-stage processing by using themselves as a reference point for the conduct, essentially asking themselves if the conduct would have offended them had they been in the complainant's position. If the answer is yes, the perceiver finds evidence of sexual harassment; if no, the claim is less valid. This second-stage allows multiple factors freer reign to influence the evaluator's sexual harassment determinations, including legal standard, gender, hostile sexism, and Benevolent Sexism (Wiener & Hurt, 1999).

The current studies provide further evidence that evaluators use themselves as reference points for evaluating sexual harassment, with high hostile sexists finding less evidence of sexual harassment. The current studies add experiential and rational processing styles to this list, though these factors may not be influential for conduct that falls below the evaluators' internal offensiveness thresholds. For these benign behaviors, all decision-makers, regardless of their gender and sexist inclinations, find similar levels of sexual harassment, just as all decision-makers may find especially hostile conduct to be indicative of harassment.

Multiple Cases, Multiple Findings

The current studies utilized two sexual harassment fact patterns drawn from real-life sexual harassment court cases, *Faragher v. City of Boca Rotan* (1998) and *Rabidue v. Osceola Refining Company* (1986). At first, I was interested in seeing whether mortality salience had a greater impact on unstructured work environment like the one found in the *Faragher* case versus a more structured workplace like that of *Rabidue*, but results from the prior studies argue against a strong mortality salience effect. The findings that did emerge focus primarily on assimilation and contrast effects, where participants used information from prior sexual harassment cases to inform their decisions in subsequent cases. Such findings are not without precedent. Wiener et al. (2004) also showed the influence of prior sexual harassment decisions on subsequent case decisions, with first-case pervasiveness and severity ratings predicting unwelcomeness, pervasiveness, and harassment decisions in a second-case. Wiener et al. noted that the sexual harassment cases, though conceptually related, involved factually and temporarily separated fact patterns. As one case informed decisions about the other, it is clear that decision-makers are not relying solely on self-referencing to inform their sexual harassment evaluations, but looking for information relevant to the task at hand, including their experiences with prior stimulus material of a conceptually similar nature.

Study Limitations

As in most empirical investigations of legal decision-making, the current studies have several limitations. Although my stimulus materials involved more realistic sexual harassment simulations than the typical legal study (employing lengthy film reenactments that showed the harassment rather than asking participants to read written fact patterns), the current study used undergraduate participants who completed the materials for course

credit. It is possible that a college sample composed of young, predominantly white individuals have a “different code of conduct for interactions between women and men than is found in most work organizations” (Baker, Terpstra & Cutler, 1990, p. 410). This sampling limitation is tempered by the work status of many of my participants, with a minimum of 56% of the participants in each study working full or part time. The study should, however, be replicated with a more diverse sample, preferably one involving full-time community workers, who may respond differently than their collegiate counterparts (Gutek et al., 1999).

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Table One: Study One

Condition X Gender X Order X Hostile Sexism Interaction

Unwelcomeness			β	t -value	p
Mortality Salient	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	-.634	-2.32	.049*
		Faragher-Rabidue	.426	1.41	.191
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	-.353	-1.36	.196
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.374	-1.14	.287
Neutral	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	-.159	-.427	.682
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.273	-.694	.513
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	-.125	-.377	.715
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.554	-2.00	.077
Control	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	.082	.260	.800
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.149	-.476	.644
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	-.207	-.597	.567
		Faragher-Rabidue	.027	.073	.944
Discrimination			β	t -value	p
Mortality Salient	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	-.594	-2.20	.050*
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.060	-.199	.874
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	.070	.255	.803
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.185	-.532	.609
Neutral	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	-.503	-1.54	.168
		Faragher-Rabidue	.452	1.24	.261
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	-.161	-.489	.637
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.475	-1.62	.140
Control	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	.285	.941	.369
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.368	-1.25	.239
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	-.577	-1.99	.081
		Faragher-Rabidue	.017	.045	.965

Table Two: Study Two

Order X Process X Gender X Hostile Sexism Interaction

Unwelcomeness			β	<i>t</i> -value	<i>p</i>
Experiential	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	-.499	-2.37	.030*
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.082	-.350	.730
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	-.385	-1.82	.085
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.544	-2.82	.011*
Rational	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	-.474	-2.28	.035*
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.455	-2.17	.044*
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	-.440	-2.02	.060
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.243	-1.12	.276
Severity			β	<i>t</i> -value	<i>p</i>
Experiential	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	-.290	-1.25	.228
		Faragher-Rabidue	.007	.030	.976
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	.013	.055	.957
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.564	-2.98	.008*
Rational	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	-.461	-2.20	.041*
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.554	-2.82	.011*
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	-.276	-1.18	.253
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.103	-.464	.646
Victimization			β	<i>t</i> -value	<i>p</i>
Experiential	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	-.649	-3.52	.003*
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.173	-.745	.466
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	-.272	-1.23	.232
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.576	-3.15	.005*
Rational	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	-.289	-1.28	.216
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.771	-5.13	.000*
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	-.354	-1.56	.137
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.2.01	-.890	.405

Table Three: Study Two

Condition X Gender X Hostile Sexism – *Faragher* Film

Pervasiveness		β	t -value	p
Mortality Salience	Males	-.003	-.018	.985
	Females	-.308	-2.02	.050*
Control	Males	-.441	-3.03	.004*
	Females	-.132	-.842	.405

Table Four: Study Two

Order X Condition X Benevolent Sexism – *Faragher* Film

Pervasiveness		β	<i>t</i> -value	<i>p</i>
Mortality Saliency	Rabidue-Faragher	-.242	-1.52	.138
	Faragher-Rabidue	-.139	-.878	.385
Control	Rabidue-Faragher	-.437	-3.00	.005*
	Faragher-Rabidue	-.001	-.004	.997
Negative Psychological Impact		β	<i>t</i> -value	<i>p</i>
Mortality Saliency	Rabidue-Faragher	-.001	-.005	.996
	Faragher-Rabidue	-.193	-1.23	.258
Control	Rabidue-Faragher	-.051	-.313	.756
	Faragher-Rabidue	.357	2.42	.020*

Table Five: Study Two

Process X Gender X Benevolent Sexism – *Faragher* Film

Pervasiveness		β	t -value	p
Experiential	Males	-.092	-.564	.576
	Females	-.337	-2.26	.029*
Rational	Males	-.294	-1.90	.065
	Females	-.097	-.609	.546

Table Six: Study Two

Order X Condition X Gender X Hostile Sexism Interaction – *Faragher*

Negative Work Impact			β	<i>t</i> -value	<i>p</i>
Mortality Salience	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	.125	.520	.610
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.564	-2.90	.016*
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	-.240	-1.05	.309
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.070	-.306	.763
Control	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	-.308	-1.37	.186
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.304	-1.35	.193
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	.044	.186	.855
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.445	-2.22	.038*

Table Seven: Study Two

Order X Process X Gender X Hostile Sexism Interaction – *Faragher*

Discrimination			β	<i>t</i> -value	<i>p</i>
Experiential	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	-.511	-2.45	.025*
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.171	-.736	.471
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	-.131	-.575	.572
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.415	-2.08	.052*
Rational	Males	Rabidue-Faragher	-.073	-.310	.760
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.530	-2.65	.016*
	Females	Rabidue-Faragher	-.101	-.417	.682
		Faragher-Rabidue	-.105	-.471	.643

Table Eight: Study Three

Hostile Sexism Main Effects (Overall) and Film X Hostile Sexism Interactions (*Faragher* and *Rabidue* Separately)

		β	<i>t</i> -value	<i>p</i>
	Overall		ns <i>F</i> test	
Unwelcomeness	Faragher Film	-.277	-3.61	.000*
	Rabidue Film	-.046	-.573	.567
	Overall	-.273	-3.56	.000*
Severe	Faragher Film	-.327	-4.34	.000*
	Rabidue Film	-.082	-1.03	.304
	Overall	-.292	-3.83	.000*
Pervasiveness	Faragher Film	-.363	-.488	.000*
	Rabidue Film	-.117	-1.47	.143
	Overall	-.207	-2.66	.009*
Negative Psychological Impact	Faragher Film	-.258	-3.34	.001*
	Rabidue Film	-.080	-.999	.319
	Overall	-.301	-3.94	.000*
Victimization	Faragher Film	-.248	-3.20	.002*
	Rabidue Film	-.089	-1.04	.298
	Overall	-.209	-2.67	.008*
Discrimination	Faragher Film	-.237	-3.05	.003*
	Rabidue Film	-.058	-.734	.464

Note: This table includes hostile sexism main effects for both the repeated measures analyses (overall beta weights across films) and the multivariate follow-up analyses (either *Faragher* or *Rabidue* Film beta weights) for each legal element.

Table Nine: Study Three

Order X Condition X Hostile Sexism

Unwelcomeness		β	<i>t</i> -value	<i>p</i>
Mortality Salience	Rabidue-Faragher	-.274	-1.75	.088
	Faragher-Rabidue	-.339	-2.04	.050*
Control	Rabidue-Faragher	-.286	-1.95	.057*
	Faragher-Rabidue	-.210	-1.32	.194
Severity		β	<i>t</i> -value	<i>p</i>
Mortality Salience	Rabidue-Faragher	-.353	-2.32	.026*
	Faragher-Rabidue	-.136	-.778	.442
Control	Rabidue-Faragher	-.254	-7.73	.092
	Faragher-Rabidue	-.418	-2.83	.007*

Table Ten: Study Three

Order X Standard X Benevolent

Negative Work Impact		β	t -value	p
Reasonable Person Standard	Rabidue-Faragher	-.044	-.271	.788
	Faragher-Rabidue	.406	2.59	.014*
Reasonable Woman Standard	Rabidue-Faragher	.003	.017	.986
	Faragher-Rabidue	-.164	-.996	.326

Table Eleven: Study Three

Condition X Gender X Hostile Sexism

Victimization		β	t -value	p
Mortality Salience	Males	-.228	-1.32	.201
	Females	-.265	-1.72	.094
Control	Males	-.075	-.483	.632
	Females	-.524	-3.79	.001

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Figure One (Study One – Combined Objective Criterion)

Hostile

Benevolent

Gender

Mortality Saliency
vs. Control

Processing

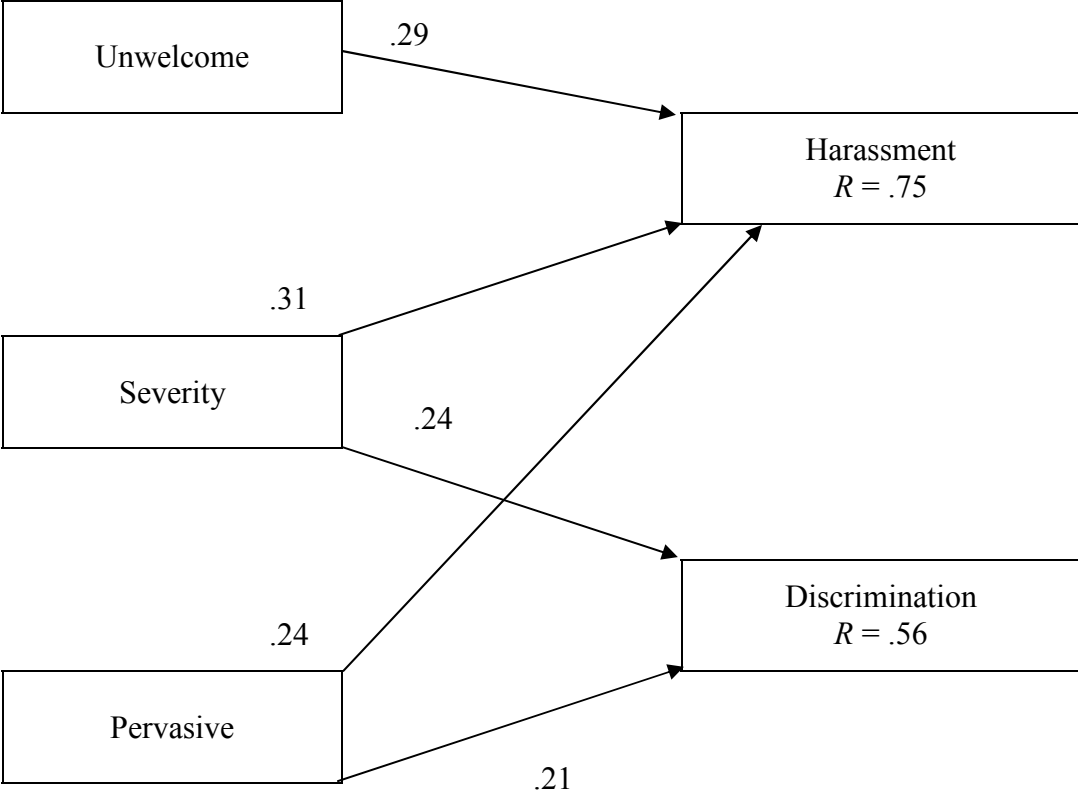


Figure Two (Study One – Separate Objective Criterion)

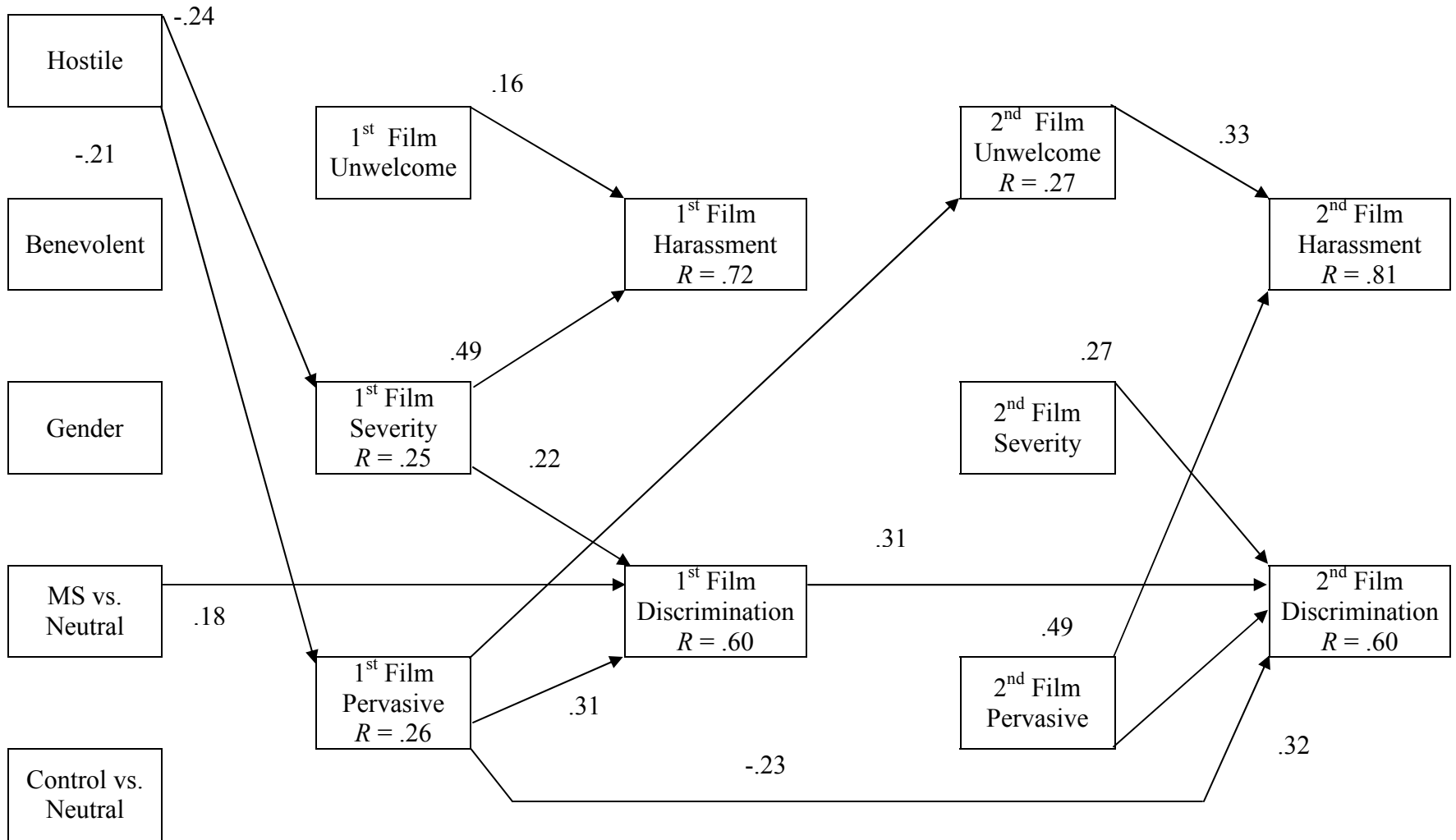


Figure Three (Study Two – Combined Objective Criterion)

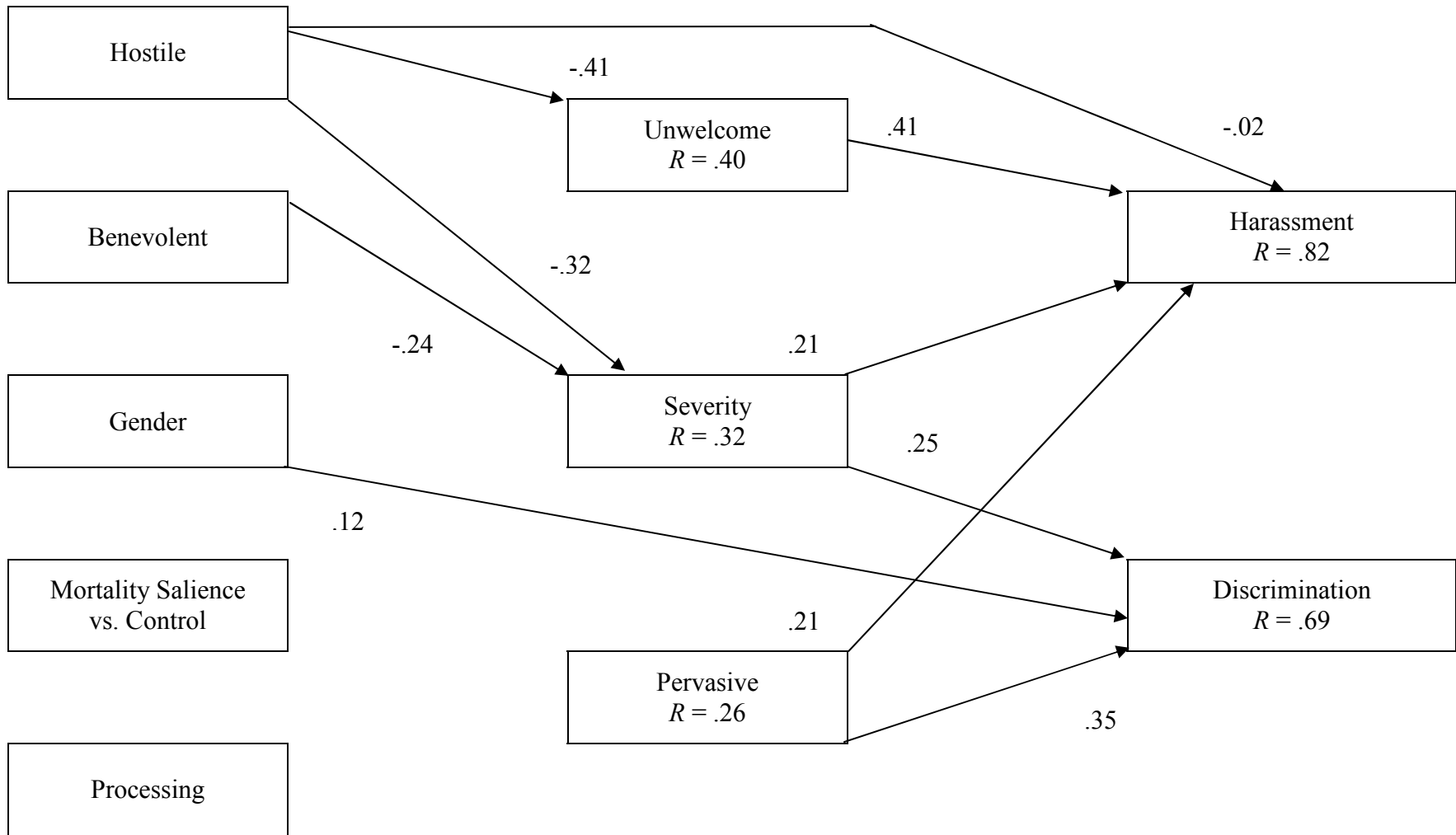


Figure Four (Study Two – Separate Objective Criterion)

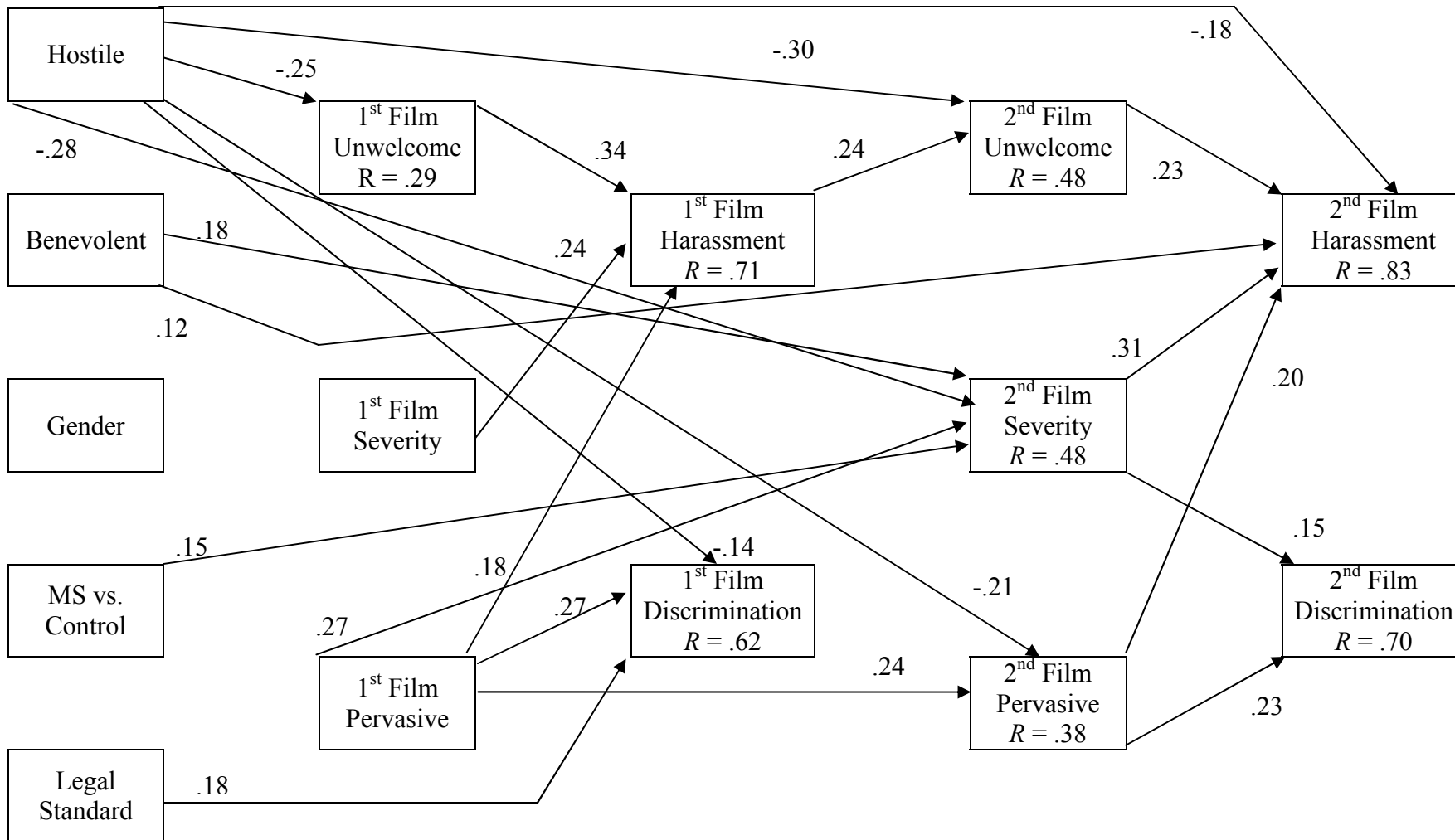


Figure Five (Study Three – Combined Objective Criterion)

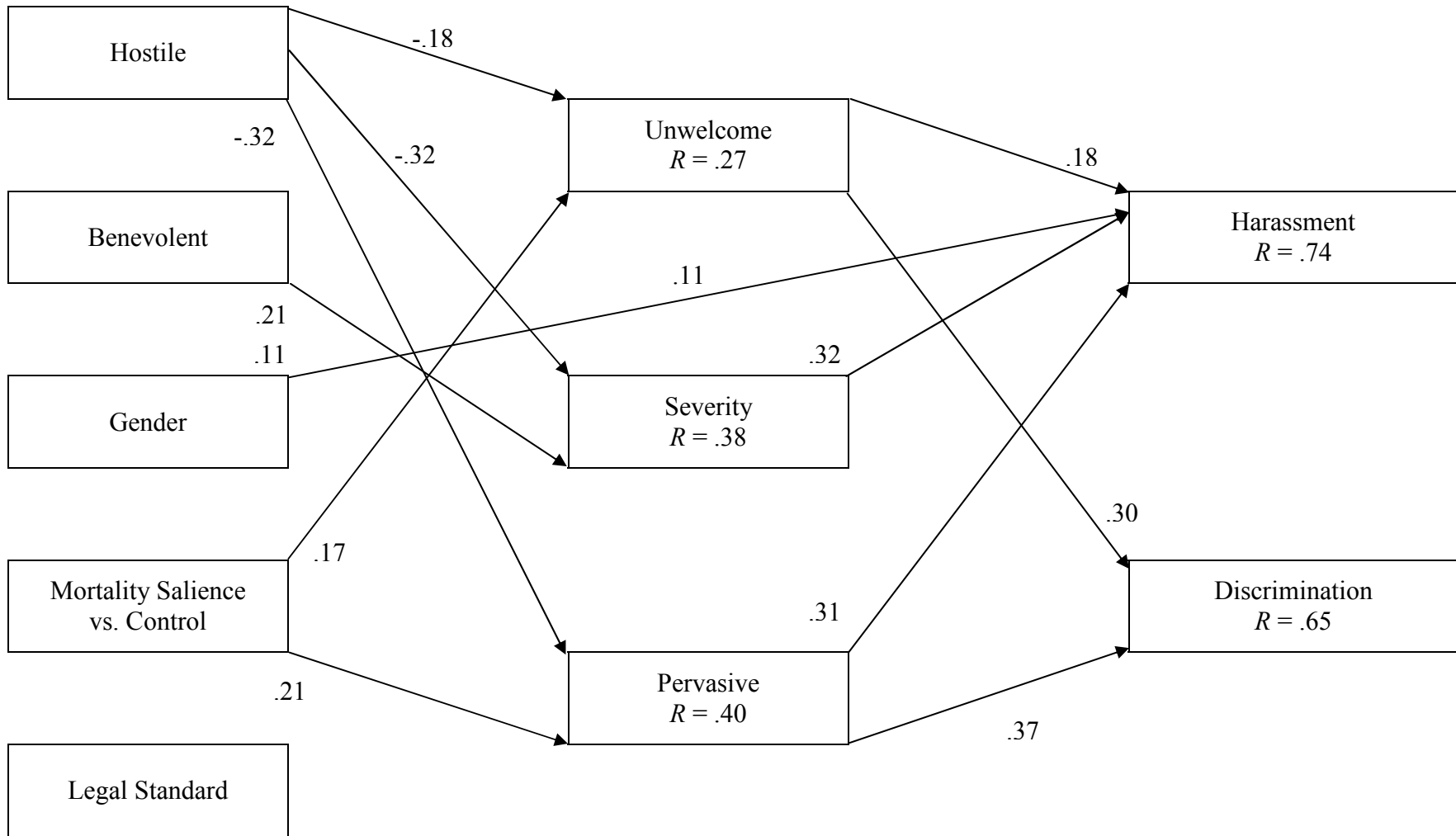
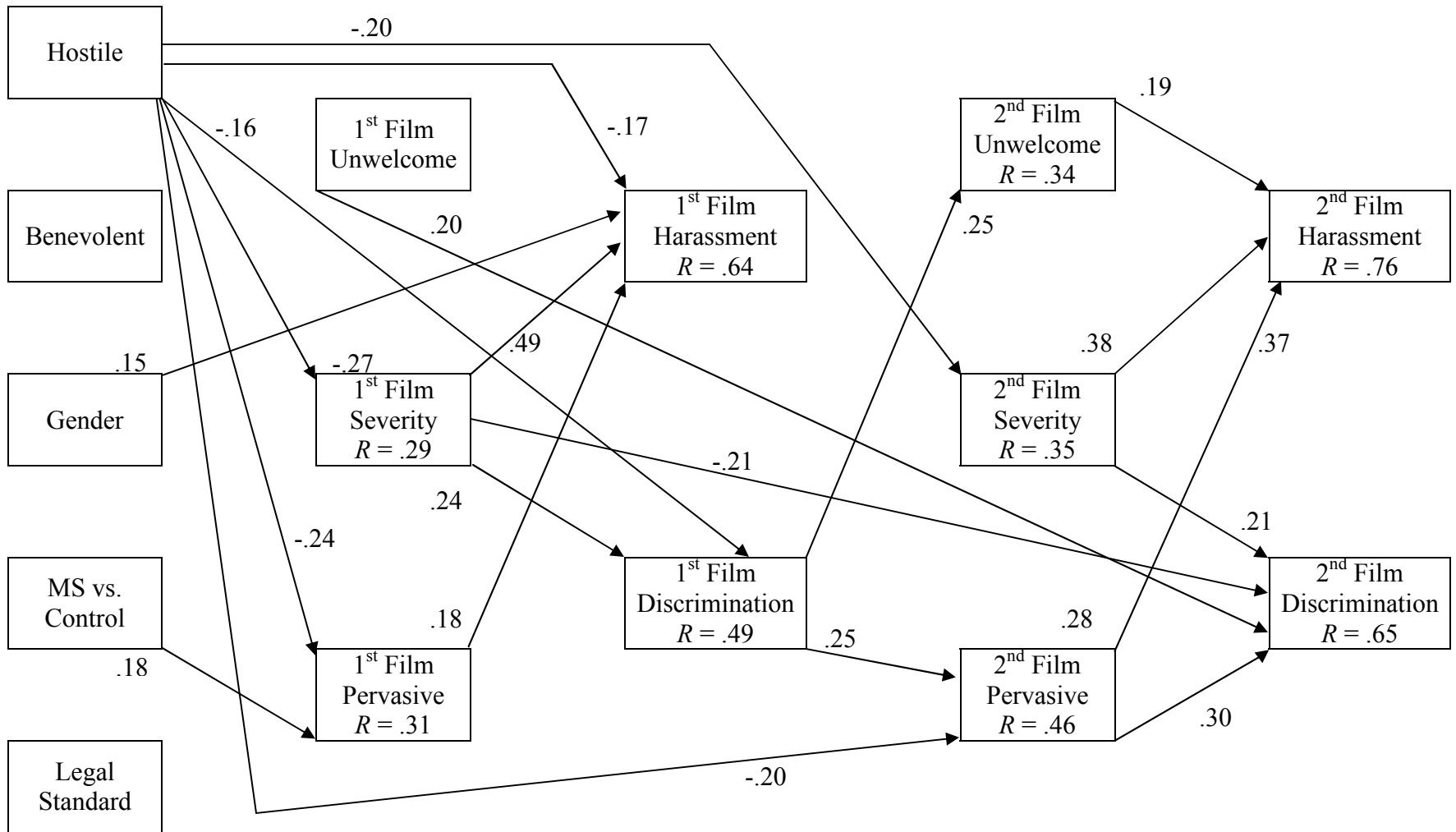


Figure Six (Study Three – Separate Objective Criterion)



CHAPTER SIX – APPENDICES

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(Note: Ambivalent Sexism Inventory Questionnaire & Demographics Questionnaire: identical to those used pilot study)

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(Note: Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, Mortality Salience Manipulations and foils, Demographics Questionnaire, & Sexual Harassment Questionnaires: identical to those used in Study One)

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(Note: Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, Mortality Salience Manipulations and foils, Demographics Questionnaire, & Sexual Harassment Questionnaires: identical to those used in Studies One and Two)

Appendix A – Informed Consent Form (All Studies)

Ryan Winter, a graduate student at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, is conducting the present research study. Dr. Richard L. Wiener, professor in the Psychology Department at UNL, is supervising the research. The title of the study is “Judgments of Workplace Conduct”. There are actually two studies you will be doing today. In one study, you will answer some questionnaires regarding your general attitudes, your personality, and your judgments. This study should only take about 10 minutes of your time. The purpose of the second study is to see how you respond to situations that often occur in workplace environments. During the time that you participate in this second study, you will watch two short videos of workplace behaviors. You will complete some questionnaires regarding your own evaluations about the workplace and the characters in each of the scenarios. You will also be asked to complete a demographic sheet. Participation for both studies will take place at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln main campus in room 21 of Burnett Hall. Both studies combined will take about 2 hours of your time.

The workplace environment scenarios revolve around the workplace behaviors of employees. The descriptions depict interpersonal conduct among coworkers and/or their supervisors. If any aspect of this experiment makes you nervous, remember that you are free to leave at any time. Indeed, you will be able to leave the study at any time for any reason without penalty.

The results of this study may be published, but your name and identity will not be revealed and all of the data and information collected from you will remain anonymous. All data will be identified with numbers that have no links to you as a research participant and will be kept in a locked, secure lab in Burnett Hall for a period of 3 years after which it will be destroyed. Nonetheless, some of the questions on the demographic sheet ask about, among other things, your gender, your ethnicity, and your age. Please feel free to leave any of those items unanswered if you feel that the answers may reveal your identity.

Participation in this study may benefit you by allowing you to become better informed about your attitudes, judgments, and personality, and you will see how you react towards behaviors that occur in some workplace. This study may benefit society by contributing to the understanding of interpersonal office behaviors. **You will receive 2 hours of extra credit** for participating in these studies.

There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research. In the event of problems resulting from participation in the study, psychological treatment is available at the UNL Psychological Consultation Center for a sliding scale fee, telephone (402) 472-2351.

The alternative to participating in this study is non-participation. Your participation is voluntary. You are free to decide not to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time without adversely affecting your relationship with the investigators or the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Your refusal to participate will involve no penalty to you or loss of any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

I will be happy to answer any questions or concerns you may have about these studies. In addition, Dr. Richard Wiener will be available to respond to any of your

concerns. Please contact us at 402-472-9639. To obtain more information about your rights as a research participant, please feel free to contact the University of Nebraska – Lincoln Institutional Review Board (IRB) for Human Research at (402) - 472- 6965.

If you wish to participate in this study, please read and sign the following statement:

I have read and understood the information presented above. The researchers have answered all the questions I had to my satisfaction. I consent to take part in the Judgments of Workplace Conduct study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix B – “Survey Materials” (All Studies)

ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES, YOU WILL FIND A SERIES OF PERSONALITY, ATTITUDE, AND JUDGMENT QUESTIONNAIRES. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS FOR THESE SURVEYS; RATHER, DIFFERENT RESPONSES SIMPLY REFLECT DIFFERENT PERSONALITIES, ATTITUDES, AND JUDGMENT STYLES. PLEASE RESPOND HONESTLY AND NATURALLY TO EACH QUESTION AND COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRES IN THE ORDER THAT THEY APPEAR IN THE PACKET. YOUR ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS ARE COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS AND WILL BE USED FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES ONLY.

#1. *Your relationships to others:* Which of the following best describes your feelings?

_____ I find it relatively easy to get close to others and am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't worry about being abandoned or about someone getting too close to me.

_____ I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others. I find it difficult to trust them completely. I find it difficult to allow myself to depend on them. I am nervous when anyone gets too close, and it is often the case that my love partners want to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being.

_____ I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I often worry that my partner doesn't really love me or won't stay with me. I want to merge completely with another person, and this desire sometimes scares people away.

#2. Personality Inventory

Please answer each question by circling either “Y” for yes or “N” for no on the following questions. There are no right or wrong answers and no trick questions.

Work quickly and do not think too long about the exact meaning of each question.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Does your mood often go up or down? | Y | N |
| 2. Do you ever feel “just miserable” for no reason? | Y | N |
| 3. Do you often worry about things you should not have said or done?..... | Y | N |
| 4. Are you an irritable person?..... | Y | N |
| 5. Are your feelings easily hurt?..... | Y | N |
| 6. Do you often feel “fed up”?..... | Y | N |
| 7. Are you often troubled about feelings of guilt?..... | Y | N |
| 8. Would you call yourself a nervous person?..... | Y | N |
| 9. Are you a worrier?..... | Y | N |
| 10. Do you worry about awful things that might happen?..... | Y | N |
| 11. Would you call yourself tense or “high strung”?..... | Y | N |
| 12. Do you worry about your health?..... | Y | N |
| 13. Do you suffer from sleeplessness?..... | Y | N |
| 14. Do you often feel listless or tireless for no reason?..... | Y | N |
| 15. Do you often feel life is very dull?..... | Y | N |
| 16. Do you worry about your looks?..... | Y | N |
| 17. Have you ever wished that you were dead?..... | Y | N |
| 18. Do you worry too long after an embarrassing experience?..... | Y | N |
| 20. Do you often feel lonely?..... | Y | N |
| 21. Are you easily hurt when people find fault with you or your work?.... | Y | N |
| 22. Are you sometimes bubbling with energy and sometimes sluggish?... | Y | N |
| 23. Are you touchy about things?..... | Y | N |

#3. Feeling and Emotions Questionnaire

This scale consists of a number of words and phrases that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space to the left of the word. Indicate to what extent you feel this way RIGHT NOW. Use the following scale to record your answers.

1	2	3	4	5
Very slightly or Not at all	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely

_____	Cheerful	_____	Sad	_____	Active	_____	Angry at self
_____	Disgusted	_____	Calm	_____	Guilty	_____	Enthusiastic
_____	Attentive	_____	Afraid	_____	Joyful	_____	Downhearted
_____	Bashful	_____	Tired	_____	Nervous	_____	Sheepish
_____	Sluggish	_____	Amazed	_____	Lonely	_____	Distressed
_____	Daring	_____	Shaky	_____	Sleepy	_____	Blameworthy
_____	Surprised	_____	Happy	_____	Excited	_____	Determined
_____	Strong	_____	Timid	_____	Hostile	_____	Frightened
_____	Scornful	_____	Alone	_____	Proud	_____	Astonished
_____	Relaxed	_____	Alert	_____	Jittery	_____	Interested
_____	Irritable	_____	Upset	_____	Lively	_____	Loathing
_____	Delighted	_____	Angry	_____	Ashamed	_____	Confident
_____	Inspired	_____	Bold	_____	At ease	_____	Energetic
_____	Fearless	_____	Blue	_____	Scared	_____	Concentrating
_____	Disgusted with self	_____	Shy	_____	Drowsy	_____	Dissatisfied with self

Appendix C – Mortality Salience Manipulation (All Studies)

The Projective Life Attitudes Assessment

This questionnaire is a recently developed and innovative personality assessment tool. Recent research suggests that feelings and attitudes about significant aspects of life tell us a considerable amount about the individual's personality. Your response to this survey will be content-analyzed (we will look in-depth at the content) in order to assess certain dimensions of your personality. Your honest responses to the following questions will be greatly appreciated.

1. Please describe the emotions that the thought of your own death arouse in you

2. Write down, as specifically as you can, what you think happens to you physically as you die

Appendix D – Non-Mortality Anxiety Arousing Manipulation (All Studies)

The Projective Life Attitudes Assessment

This questionnaire is a recently developed and innovative personality assessment tool. Recent research suggests that feelings and attitudes about significant aspects of life tell us a considerable amount about the individual's personality. Your response to this survey will be content-analyzed (we will look in-depth at the content) in order to assess certain dimensions of your personality. Your honest responses to the following questions will be greatly appreciated.

1. Please describe the emotions that the thought of speaking in a large crowd of people arouses in you

2. Write down, as specifically as you can, what happens to you physically when you have to make a speech in front of a large crowd

Appendix E – Non-Anxiety Manipulation (Study One Only)

The Projective Life Attitudes Assessment

This questionnaire is a recently developed and innovative personality assessment tool. Recent research suggests that feelings and attitudes about significant aspects of life tell us a considerable amount about the individual's personality. Your response to this survey will be content-analyzed (we will look in-depth at the content) in order to assess certain dimensions of your personality. Your honest responses to the following questions will be greatly appreciated.

1. Please briefly describe the thoughts that you have when you are coming to school

2. Jot down, as specifically as you can, the physical steps you took to come to school today.

Appendix F – Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (All Studies)

No.

Part I: Below are a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. **Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement using the scale below:** (Please place your answer on the blank line that comes before each statement.)

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

_____ No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.

_____ Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for “equality”.

_____ In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.

_____ Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

_____ Women are too easily offended.

_____ People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.

_____ Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.

_____ Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

_____ Women should be cherished and protected by men.

_____ Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

_____ Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

_____ Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

_____ Men are complete without women.

_____ Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

_____ Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.

Continued: **Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement using the scale below:** (Please place your answer on the blank line that comes before each statement.)

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

_____ When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

_____ A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

_____ There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

_____ Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

_____ Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

_____ Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.

_____ Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

Appendix G – Mortality Salience Manipulation Check (All Studies)

We would now like to ask you a few questions about the first task that you did:

1). Did you see any connection between the first study that you did (answering questions about your personality, attitudes, and judgments) and the second study (watching and evaluating whether sexual harassment occurred in the videotapes)? (Check one)

_____ Yes _____ No

If yes, describe in a few sentences what that connection was:

2). The open-ended questions you answered in that first set of surveys asked you to describe your thoughts and emotions about: (check one)

- _____ the United States economy
- _____ how you got to school today
- _____ your own death
- _____ abortion in the United States
- _____ giving a speech in public
- _____ going out on your first date

3). With regard to the open-ended questions you answered, to what extent did that topic influence your determinations of sexual harassment in the two videos you just watched on sexual harassment? (circle the most appropriate number)

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|--------------------------------|---|---|---------------------------------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| they did not
influence me at all | | | | they influenced
me somewhat | | | they influenced
me very much | |

Appendix H – Sexual Harassment Questionnaires (All Studies)

Questionnaire

No. _____

Reynolds [Farell] vs. Gateway Refining Co. [Clearwater Swim Club]

Section I:

Hostile Work Environment Harassment

For the purpose of this questionnaire, HOSTILE WORK ENVIRONMENT SEXUAL HARASSMENT results when an employee is subjected to unwelcome sexual conduct which a REASONABLE PERSON would view as sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive work environment.

Notes and Definitions:

1. The views of a REASONABLE PERSON are those that an objective worker would have in a similar environment under essentially like or similar conditions experienced by the complaining employee.
2. Severe - unsparing and harsh in treating others
3. Pervasive - spread throughout
4. Abusive - pertaining to hurt or injury by maltreatment

Hostile work environment harassment is a form of sex-based discrimination as defined in federal law. Federal law prohibits an employer from discriminating against an individual with respect to compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of that person's sex. It is illegal to subject a worker to an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment.

Section II: Please answer the following questions by circling the number on the numerical scales that best expresses your opinion.

1. How likely was it that Kathy Reynolds [Suzanne Farrell] was subjected to unwelcome sexual conduct?

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

2. How severe was the alleged sexual conduct to which Kathy Reynolds [Suzanne Farrell] was subjected?

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

3. How pervasive was the alleged sexual conduct to which Kathy Reynolds [Suzanne Farrell] was subjected?

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

4. How likely was it that the alleged sexual conduct affected Kathy Reynolds' [Suzanne Farrell's] work performance in a negative manner?

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

5. How likely was it that the alleged sexual conduct affected Kathy Reynolds' [Suzanne Farrell's] psychological well being in a negative manner?

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

6. How likely was it that Kathy Reynolds [Suzanne Farell] was the victim of hostile work environment sexual harassment?

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

7. How likely was it that Kathy Reynolds [Suzanne Farell] was the victim of sex-based discrimination at her work place?

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

Section III : For this portion of the questionnaire, please put yourself in the place of Kathy Reynolds and respond to the following statements as if you were Karen Reynolds. Please answer the following questions by circling the number on the numerical scales that best expresses your opinion.

1. If you had been treated like Kathy Reynolds [Suzanne Farell] , how likely is it that you would have been subjected to unwelcome sexual conduct?

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

2. If you had been treated like Kathy Reynolds [Suzanne Farell], how severe would you have rated the alleged sexual conduct?

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

3. If you had been treated like Kathy Reynolds [Suzanne Farell], how pervasive would you have rated the alleged sexual conduct?

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

4. If you had been treated like Kathy Reynolds [Suzanne Farrell], how likely is it that the alleged sexual conduct would have affected your work performance in a negative manner?

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

5. If you had been treated like Kathy Reynolds [Suzanne Farrell], how likely is it that the alleged sexual conduct would have affected your psychological well being in a negative manner?

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

6. If you had been treated like Kathy Reynolds [Suzanne Farrell], how likely is it that you would have been the victim of hostile work environment sexual harassment?

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

7. If you had been treated like Kathy Reynolds [Suzanne Farrell] how likely is it that you would have been the victim of sex-based discrimination at your work place?

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

Section IV (Farell Case): Below are 10 statements that describe incidents from the videotape that you just watched. Some of the descriptions are true and some are false. Please indicate whether each statement is true or false (circle the correct response).

1. Jim was always on time when relieving Suzanne Farell from her shift.
True False
2. Mike flirted with Suzanne Farell, but she was not interested in him in a romantic way.
True False
3. Gordon Kerchak approached Suzanne Farell to discuss complaints about the male lifeguards.
True False
4. Kate and Suzanne Farell planned to go to a baseball game together on the weekend.
True False
5. The lifeguards planned a night out to try out a new Chinese restaurant for dinner.
True False
6. Mike and John were lifeguards that showed respect for the swimmers at the pool.
True False
7. When Suzanne complained to her supervisor about the behavior of the male guards, her supervisor said that the joking was normal for lifeguards working at the pool.
True False
8. The EEOC officer wanted to know why Suzanne waited to file her harassment complaint.
True False
9. The lifeguards are paid so much money that they do not mind the strict code of behavior that they need to follow.
True False
10. The lifeguards pick up their paychecks at staff meetings.
True False

Appendix I – Demographics Questionnaire (All Studies)

No. _____

1. In what year were you born (mm/dd/yyyy)? _____
2. What is your gender? Check one: _____ Male _____ Female
3. What is your ethnic origin/race?
4. Indicate your highest educational training as of this date. (check one)
_____ freshman
_____ Sophomore
_____ Junior
_____ Senior
_____ Professional school or graduate school
5. What is your religious preference? (check one)
_____ Protestantism
_____ Catholicism
_____ Islam
_____ Judaism
_____ Hinduism
_____ Other
6. What is your current work status? Check one:
_____ Employed full time _____ Employed part time _____ Unemployed
7. What is your occupation?
8. What is your place of employment?
9. What is your current marital status? Check one:
_____ Single _____ Married _____ Divorced _____ Widowed
10. What is your political affiliation?
_____ Democrat _____ Republican _____ Independent

Appendix J – Debriefing Statement (Study One Only)

Thank you for participating in this study. The purpose of the study is to determine the extent to which individuals are affected by thoughts of their own death. According to one social psychological theory – Terror Management Theory, – knowledge that we are mortal and will someday die can be very terrifying for people. One way people can overcome this fear is to look at things in their life reinforce their value as human beings. Americans might become more patriotic when reminded of their death; religious people may turn to their faith when their mortality is made salient. We hypothesize here that people’s attitudes about sexual harassment will be enhanced when their own death is made salient. That is, people who are more likely to see sexual harassment in situations will be even *more* likely to see evidence of sexual harassment when they are reminded of their own death. Conversely, people who are less likely to see sexual harassment in situations will be even *less* likely to see evidence of sexual harassment when they are reminded of their own death.

To this end, one third of our participants filled out a set of questionnaires prior to the videos that included open-ended questions asking them to think about their own deaths. One third of participants, as part of our control group, filled out a set of questionnaires that included questions that probably aroused some anxieties and fears but not the fear of dying. That is, they were asked to describe their experiences when it comes to public speaking. A final control group answered more neutral open-ended questions about how they got to school today. These latter two control groups should be very similar in their assessments of sexual harassment.

We ask that you not share any information about this experiment with any other student who might wish to participate later on. Sharing information about this study might make them sensitive as to what to expect, but in order to gauge how real people react to these kinds of videos, we need to have participants who don’t have any preconceptions or biases with regard to what they are about the watch. Telling other potential participants about this study may hurt any findings that might otherwise come from this study. After spending two hours participating here, it would be a shame if your data did not have any scientific benefit because others knew what to expect when they came in to participate.

Once again, thank you for participating. If you have any questions or comments, feel free to contact Ryan Winter at (402) 472-9639 or by e-mail at ryjwinter@aol.com.

Appendix K – CEST Manipulations (Study Two Only)

(Precede the Mortality Salience and Public Speaking Manipulations)

Rational Processing Manipulation:

On the following page are two open-ended questions. Please carefully consider your answers to them before responding. We would like you to be as rational and analytic as possible in responding to these questions. Please be careful and thorough when considering your responses to the questions.

Experiential Processing Manipulation:

On the following pages are two open-ended questions. Please respond to them with your first, natural response. We are just looking for people's gut-level reactions to these questions.

Appendix L –Rational/Experiential Manipulation Check (Study Two Only)

We would now like to ask you a few questions about the first task that you did:

1). Did you see any connection between the first study that you did (answering questions about your personality, attitudes, and judgments) and the second study (watching and evaluating whether sexual harassment occurred in the videotapes)? (Check one)

_____ Yes _____ No

If yes, describe in a few sentences what that connection was:

2). The open-ended questions you answered in that first set of surveys asked you to describe your thoughts and emotions about: (check one)

_____ the United States economy _____ abortion in the United States
 _____ how you got to school today _____ giving a speech in public
 _____ going out on your first date _____ your own death

a). With regard to the open-ended questions you answered, to what extent did that topic influence your determinations of sexual harassment in the two videos you just watched on sexual harassment? (Circle the most appropriate number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
they did not influence me at all				they influenced me somewhat				they influenced me very much

b). The open-ended questions you answered in that first set of surveys asked you to describe these thoughts and emotions by responding: (check one)

_____ as rational and analytically as possible to the questions. We asked you to be careful and thorough when considering your responses to the questions.

_____ to them with your first, natural response. We were just looking for people's gut-level reactions to these questions.

_____ we did not ask you to respond to them in any special way

Appendix M – Debriefing Statement (Study Two Only)

Thank you for participating in this study. The purpose of the study is to determine the extent to which individuals are affected by thoughts of their own death. According to one social psychological theory – Terror Management Theory, – knowledge that we are mortal and will someday die can be very terrifying for people. One way people can overcome this fear is to look at things in their life reinforce their value as human beings. Americans might become more patriotic when reminded of their death; religious people may turn to their faith when their mortality is made salient. We hypothesize here that people’s attitudes about sexual harassment will be enhanced when their own death is made salient. That is, people who are more likely to see sexual harassment in situations will be even *more* likely to see evidence of sexual harassment when they are reminded of their own death. Conversely, people who are less likely to see sexual harassment in situations will be even *less* likely to see evidence of sexual harassment when they are reminded of their own death.

To this end, one half of our participants filled out a set of questionnaires prior to the videos that included open-ended questions asking them to think about their own deaths. One half of participants, as part of our control group, filled out a set of questionnaires that included questions that probably aroused some anxieties and fears but not the fear of dying. That is, they were asked to describe their experiences when it comes to public speaking.

In addition, some participants were asked to think analytically and rationally about their own death while others were asked to think about them with their first, natural gut-reactions. Past research has shown that people’s thoughts about their own death are more terrifying when they think about death from a gut-reaction level because it is outside of their conscious awareness and, thus, they have no control over those thoughts. On the other hand, when people think more rationally about their own death, this more conscious awareness helps them to overcome the terrifying thoughts.

We ask that you not share any information about this experiment with any other student who might wish to participate later on. Sharing information about this study might make them sensitive as to what to expect, but in order to gauge how real people react to these kinds of videos, we need to have participants who don’t have any preconceptions or biases with regard to what they are about the watch. Telling other potential participants about this study may hurt any findings that might otherwise come from this study. After spending two hours participating here, it would be a shame if your data did not have any scientific benefit because others knew what to expect when they came in to participate.

Once again, thank you for participating. If you have any questions or comments, feel free to contact Ryan Winter at (402) 472-9639 or by e-mail at ryjwinter@aol.com.

Appendix N – Legal Standard Manipulations (Study Three Only)

(Presented both in the Sexual Harassment Videotapes and the Questionnaires)

reasonable person Instruction:

Hostile Work Environment Harassment

For the purpose of this questionnaire, HOSTILE WORK ENVIRONMENT SEXUAL HARASSMENT results when an employee is subjected to unwelcome sexual conduct which a REASONABLE PERSON would view as sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive work environment.

Notes and Definitions:

1. The views of a REASONABLE PERSON are those that an objective worker would have in a similar environment under essentially like or similar conditions experienced by the complaining employee.
2. Severe - unsparing and harsh in treating others
3. Pervasive - spread throughout
4. Abusive - pertaining to hurt or injury by maltreatment

Hostile work environment harassment is a form of sex-based discrimination as defined in federal law. Federal law prohibits an employer from discriminating against an individual with respect to compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of that person's sex. It is illegal to subject a worker to an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment.

Reasonable Woman Instruction:

Hostile Work Environment Harassment

For the purpose of this questionnaire, HOSTILE WORK ENVIRONMENT SEXUAL HARASSMENT results when an employee is subjected to unwelcome sexual conduct which a REASONABLE WOMAN would view as sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive work environment.

Notes and Definitions:

1. The views of a REASONABLE WOMAN are those that a female worker would have in a similar environment under essentially like or similar conditions experienced by the complaining employee.
2. Severe - unsparing and harsh in treating others
3. Pervasive - spread throughout
4. Abusive - pertaining to hurt or injury by maltreatment

Hostile work environment harassment is a form of sex-based discrimination as defined in federal law. Federal law prohibits an employer from discriminating against an individual with respect to compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of that person's sex. It is illegal to subject a worker to an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment.

Appendix O – Legal Standard Manipulation Check (Study Three Only)

Definition of Sexual Harassment

Which of the following statements summarizes hostile workplace environment sexual harassment as it was defined in the videotapes that you watched?

Hostile work environment sexual harassment is: (Place an X by the space left of the correct definition.)

_____ 1. Sexual conduct, which a REASONABLE MAN would view as sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive work environment.

_____ 2. Sexual conduct, which a REASONABLE WOMAN would view as sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive work environment.

_____ 3. Sexual conduct, which a REASONABLE PERSON would view as sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive work environment.

Appendix P – Debriefing Statement (Study Three Only)

Thank you for participating in this study. The purpose of the study is to determine the extent to which individuals are affected by thoughts of their own death. According to one social psychological theory – Terror Management Theory, – knowledge that we are mortal and will someday die can be very terrifying for people. One way people can overcome this fear is to look at things in their life reinforce their value as human beings. Americans might become more patriotic when reminded of their death; religious people may turn to their faith when their mortality is made salient. We hypothesize here that people’s attitudes about sexual harassment will be enhanced when their own death is made salient. That is, people who are more likely to see sexual harassment in situations will be even *more* likely to see evidence of sexual harassment when they are reminded of their own death. Conversely, people who are less likely to see sexual harassment in situations will be even *less* likely to see evidence of sexual harassment when they are reminded of their own death.

To this end, one half of our participants filled out a set of questionnaires prior to the videos that included open-ended questions asking them to think about their own deaths. One half of participants, as part of our control group, filled out a set of questionnaires that included questions that probably aroused some anxieties and fears but not the fear of dying. That is, they were asked to describe their experiences when it comes to public speaking.

In addition, some participants were asked to use the reasonable person standard to determine whether sexual harassment had occurred in each video while others were asked to apply the Reasonable Woman standard. Past research has shown that some people who use the Reasonable Woman standard are more likely to find evidence of sexual harassment than people who use the reasonable person standard. Here, we want to see if the different legal standards produce similar results when people think about their own deaths.

We ask that you not share any information about this experiment with any other student who might wish to participate later on. Sharing information about this study might make them sensitive as to what to expect, but in order to gauge how real people react to these kinds of videos, we need to have participants who don’t have any preconceptions or biases with regard to what they are about the watch. Telling other potential participants about this study may hurt any findings that might otherwise come from this study. After spending two hours participating here, it would be a shame if your data did not have any scientific benefit because others knew what to expect when they came in to participate.

Once again, thank you for participating. If you have any questions or comments, feel free to contact Ryan Winter at (402) 472-9639 or by e-mail at ryjwinter@aol.com.

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