How Does it Feel? Factors Predicting Emotions and Perceptions Towards Sexual Harassment

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Abstract: The present research addresses the effect of different variables on emotions and on perceptions held by research participants vis-à-vis situations that could be construed as sexual harassment. A total of 833 Israeli students participated in the study and use was made of a Sexual Harassment Definition Questionnaire (SHDQ). It was found that emotions aroused due to behaviour that is perceived as sexual harassment depend on variables such as age and gender of perpetrator and victim. More negative feelings were identified towards behaviours suggestive of sexual harassment among women than men, and among younger than older individuals, principally in situations where the perpetrator is a man. Situations in which the perpetrator and the victim were of the same gender were experienced as less flattering than those in which the gender was different. It was also found that women above the age of 40 perceived behaviour in which a woman related to a woman or a man in a similar way. The findings show the extent to which social perceptions and emotions relating to sexual harassment are dynamic and context-dependent.

Keywords: Sexual harassment, perceptions, emotions, gender differences, sexual schemas.

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of sexual harassment dates back to ancient times. However, it gained social, legal and ethical recognition only in the 1970s, mostly due to the efforts of social organizations, in the forefront of which were feminist movements (Gouws & Kritzinger, 2007). During the past two decades, the phenomenon has been the focus of public attention in the Western world in general, and Israel in particular (Glazerman, Maman & Ravinerson, 2008; Mor, 2009).

In Israel a consolidated public awareness has developed with respect to the extent and severity of the damage caused by the phenomenon in all walks of life: personal, social and public. Accordingly, in 1998 the Prevention of Sexual Harassment Law was enacted, based on the precept that sexual harassment is an affront to human dignity. Apart from the protection it provides against sexual harassment, the law is intended to raise public awareness of the phenomenon and promote public discourse on the issue. In the course of its 20 years, the law has wrought a revolutionary change in awareness in Israeli society: it has contributed to making the problem one that concerns all citizens, creating a deterrence against the phenomenon, and encouraging women to come out publicly and complain (Kamir, 2009).

Various definitions of sexual harassment – theoretical, empirical and legal – exist. According to Israeli law, sexual harassment inclu-des: 1) coercion under threat to perform an act of a sexual nature; 2) performance of indecent assault; 3) repeated propositions of a sexual nature to a person who has shown the perpetrator that he is not interested in the said propositions; 4) repeated references to a person's sexuality, where the person has shown the perpetrator that he is not interested in these references; 5) disparaging or demeaning references to a person with respect to his sex or sexuality, including his sexual orientation.

Based on Israeli law, the following behaviours will serve for the purposes of the present research: groping (rubbing or pinching in intimate places), comments with sexual innuendos, and propositions of a sexual nature.

Research studies conducted in various Western countries point to the fact that in spite of legislation there is a high incidence of sexual harassment – apparently more than previously thought (Sipe, Johnson & Fisher, 2009; Stockdale & Ohse, 2008). Survey findings report that "one in two (55%) women in the European Union have been a victim of sexual harassment since the age of 15" (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), 2014, p. 98). According to a recent survey conducted in Israel, 121,000 Israelis (2.2% of the population) reported experiencing sexual harassment in 2017. The overwhelming majority of the victims were women

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(79%) and the remainder (21%) men. The victims were mostly young women aged 20 to 35. An additional statistic that emerged was that 32% of the incidents occurred in the workplace (Knesset Research and Information Center, 2018).

As stated, regardless of the fact that women are victims in the majority of cases (Bryden & Fletcher, 2007; DeSouza & Fansler, 2003), both genders are liable to experience sexual harassment (DeSouza & Solberg, 2004; Jackson & Newman, 2004), occurring in diverse locations: in the workplace, on the street, in pubs and at parties (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008).

Sexual harassment in different environments is fraught with numerous, harsh consequences. Despite the proliferation of research studies dealing with sexual harassment, there is no single accepted, across-theboard empirical definition of the phenomenon (Rubin & Borgers, 1990; Strouse, Goodwin & Roscoe, 1994; Wiener, & Vardsveen, 2018). The field is still open to subjective interpretation and the disagreements between researchers as to the type of behaviour that constitutes sexual harassment reflect the lack of consensus among the general public: conduct defined by one person as sexual harassment may not be so defined by another.

As regards the perception of perpetrator vs. victim, Englander (2013) claims that the viewpoint of the object of the sexual behaviour, or the "victim", is a key variable. Comparing this to a dissimilar case, say, of a baseball game. It is a known fact that in that activity a person throws a round white ball and the receiver gets back a round white ball, while it is also common knowledge that all the balls are round and white. In social behaviour, on the other hand, a person can effect a "throw", namely, make a statement or behave in a certain way, with the recipient possibly receiving something different altogether. In other words, the experience depends not only on the object thrown but also on how the recipient interprets the throw. A comment aired by a person could be dismissed with a laugh by one girl interpreting it in a positive way, whereas another could construe exactly the same comment differently and find it offensive (Englander, 2013). The focus in research has therefore been on the impact of different factors on the perception of behaviour as constituting sexual harassment (Buddie, 2012; Foulis & McCabe, 1997; Shechory Bitton & Ben Shaul, 2013).

Gender is referred to in the literature as a key factor influencing perception of behaviour as sexual

harassment (Mor, 2011; O'Connor, Gutek, Stockdale, Geer & Melancon, 2004; Stockdale & Ohse, 2008). Studies have shown that although both men and women regard sexual harassment as an objectionable act in principle, they are divided as to exactly what kind of behaviour constitutes sexual harassment (McCabe & Hardman, 2005; Russell, 2004).

Considerable gender gaps appear to exist, with women tending more than men to define a greater range of behaviours as harassment, while also rating them more severely. Moreover, even when variables that mediate between gender and perception of the sexual context are tested, such as personality traits, age, the circumstances of the events described, etc., it transpires that gender continues to reign supreme in defining sexual harassment, over and above all other variables (O'Connor, Gutek, Stockdale, Geer & Melancon, 2004).

Shechory Bitton and Ben Shaul (2013) examined the role of gender in the determination of attitudes towards sexual harassment and the degree to which it predicts perceptions regarding the phenomenon. Their research found that gender differences do exist in the perception of behaviour as sexual harassment. Women were less tolerant of sexual harassment, irrespective of the victim's gender. In every case, less tolerant attitudes towards sexual harassment were expressed as more types of behaviour were defined as sexual harassment. In addition, women tended more than men to define sexual conduct in men as sexual harassment.

These gender differences can be explained by Script Theory (Gagnon & Simon, 1973). Sexual schemas appear to be learned in a similar manner to social schemas. Gagnon (1973) suggests that the schema used helps the perpetrator identify a potentially sexual situation, with men identifying a particular situation as sexual where women do not. Men are apt to behave according to a sexual schema that appears to them to be appropriate and normal to the situation. Because the woman does not perceive the situation as sexual, the behaviour displayed by the man could be viewed as undesirable and in some cases as sexual harassment (Metts & Spitzberg, 2016).

According to the Script Theory, people learn to behave in accordance with their gender at an early age as a result of reinforcements and exposure to models suited to their gender (Gagnon & Simon, 1973; Metts & Spitzberg, 2016; Mischel, 1966). According to this concept, gender differences in education are

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associated with differences in perception of a sexual situation (Kamir, 2009). It may be assumed that these differences in perception also lead to gender differences in emotional responses to sexual references (for the relationship between perceptions and emotions see Calkins & Bell, 2010; Chakravarty, 2010).

Emotional responses to sexual harassment have, to the best of our knowledge, received relatively little research attention. Research conducted by Foulis & McCabe (1997), for example, or the later research by Shechory Bitton & Ben Shaul (2013), referred to perceptions of the respondents rather than their emotions even though they were based on a Sexual Harassment Definition Questionnaire (SHDQ) which included references to emotional responses.

Emotions and perceptions regarding sexual harassment are psychological variables that do not necessarily represent concrete facts or real experiences, but rather subjective variables that are influenced by numerous factors (Wilson, 2000). These variables can be classified according to a number of principal categories: situational variables (the status of the perpetrator or the place where the harassment occurs), personal and biographical variables (such as age and gender), variables related to the nature of the harassment (the frequency with which the behaviour occurs and its severity: physical contact, verbal references), variables relating to the norms in the place in question, personality variables (self-confidence, masculinity or femininity, locus of control), the victim's reaction to the perpetrator's behaviour (assertive or avoidant), and the attitudes and beliefs of spectators (Henry & Meltzoff, 1998). The present research focuses on the emotions and perceptions of responders (research participants) to situations having potential sexual harassment and examines their dependence on the age and gender of the responder and the gender of the perpetrator or victim.

A variety of emotions are experienced in the face of references having sexual overtones, among them positive feelings of pleasure and gratification as a result of flattery (Graham *et al.*, 2017; Kimble *et al.*, 2016; Liss, Erchull, & Ramsey, 2011), and negative feelings such as humiliation, fear and anger, especially when the sexual reference is experienced as harassing or offensive (Graham *et al.*, 2017; Page, Pina & Giner-Sorolla, 2016). Anger is an elementary emotion that is experienced in a number of different situations and cultures (Ekman, 1992). As a social emotion, anger is

manifested in a reaction to acts by another person (generally negative acts) and is directed primarily towards others (Wickens, 2011). In reality, the principal reasons for anger are attack, unfair treatment and/or behaviour that is perceived as unjustified (Weiner, 1995). It transpires that anger and fear can be emotions that are experienced not only by the victim of an assault but also by a third party who is witness to the suffering of another person. Dionisi & Barling (2018) found that observation of a man who has experienced sexual harassment, apart from arousing anger, also affects functioning in people, even though their exposure to harassment is only indirect.

As regards feeling flattered, Unwanted advances and touching may not always be experienced negatively. Woman and men may feel flattered by the attention, even if it is unwanted and sexist (Fairchild, 2010; Sue, 2010). This might be especially true in social settings like parties and pubs where much of the focus is on sexuality, physical attractiveness, and appearance. Research studies have found a correlation between this feeling and gender (Herbert, 1986, 1989, 1990). Parisi & Wogan (2006) found that the content of flattery is related, among other things, to the gender of the flatterer.

According to the above researchers, men flattered women more on their external appearance than on their talents, whereas women tended more to flatter men on their talents and less on their looks. A possible explanation for this could be social norms, according to which greater importance is attached to women's appearance, while in men the emphasis is more on their skills. Another explanation could be the fact that women feel the need for caution in referring to a man's looks lest this be construed as an invitation to pursue a sexual relationship.

Graham *et al.* (2017) examined the emotional responses of women to unwanted sexual advances in pubs. Most experienced negative emotions such as anger and embarrassment, especially when the incidents involved touching (Graham, Bernards, Abbey, Dumas & Wells, 2017). Despite the existence of negative feelings, however, about one-quarter of the participants in the study reported feeling flattered in party situations. That is, women can feel flattered by attention received in the context of a party, even when it is sexual in nature and unsolicited (Fairchild, 2010; Sue, 2010).

The realm of work relations is a noteworthy arena for the occurrence of sexual harassment (Cortina &

Wasti, 2005; Dionisi, Barling, & Dupré, 2012; Fitzgerald *et al.*, 1997; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Generally sexual harassment is engendered by hierarchical structures and is the product of power struggles in the workplace (Lopez, Hodson & Roscigno, 2009). Research studies that point to differences in the perception of sexual harassment at work found that women, as opposed to men, have a more generalized and broader perspective when defining situations that are charged with sexual harassment at work (Gutek, 1985). Men exhibit greater tolerance towards sexual behaviour: they consider it less serious or problematic, more neutral and less offensive (Henry & Meltzoff, 1998).

The street too is a place where sexual harassment takes place. The term "street harassment" refers to unwelcome comments of a sexual nature directed at a person by a stranger in a public place. The research literature does not elaborate on uninvited sexual advances of this kind despite the fact that the law also applies to this offence in certain contexts. Accordingly, there is a relative paucity of information on the incidence of such cases; nevertheless, the meagre literature on street harassment reports a frequency of more than eighty percent with women - higher than the incidence of sexual harassment in the workplace - and points to the fact that women are exposed to it routinely (Macmillan, Nierobisz, & Welsh, 2000; Mor, 2017). Mor (2017) found that women were by far the more frequent recipients of wolf whistles, sexual comments, ogling and off-colour jokes, and experienced more physical contact, groping or non-innocuous nearness to their bodies than men.

A situational factor that could be relevant to the perception or emotion that is activated by a sexual reference is the identity of the perpetrator or the victim, and manifestation of the act between people of the same gender (DeSouza & Solberg, 2004; Jackson & Newman, 2004). Behaviour underlying sexual harassment between people of different genders has been researched exhaustively, with most of the studies focusing on perceptions where the perpetrator is a man and the victim a woman (Bryden & Fletcher, 2007; DeSouza & Fansler, 2003) - the consensus being that this is the commonest form of harassment (Berdahi & Moore, 2006; Buchanan & Fitzgerald, 2008; Cortina & Berdahi, 2008). The most well-known predictor in this context is the gender of the research respondent (Angelone, Michell & Carola, 2009). Very few studies have addressed the question of both parties (the perpetrator and the victim) being of the same gender or

the case where a woman harasses a man (for a review of the subject see O'Leary-Kelly, Bowes-Sperry, Bates & Lean, 2009).

The findings of such studies point to the fact that women regard potentially sexual incidents as more harassing than men. At the same time, an examination of different interactions shows that there is a higher probability among both men and women of identifying interactions as being more harassing when the perpetrator is a man and the victim a woman, and less harassing when they occur between members of the same gender or between a woman as perpetrator and a man as victim (McCabe & Hardman, 2005; Runtz & O'Donnell, 2003). A study carried out by Wayne, Riordan & Thomas (2001), however, did not identify these differences, finding instead that there was a greater likelihood that observers will define sexual behaviour as harassment when the perpetrator and the victim are of opposite genders than when they are of the same gender.

A variable other than the gender of the respondent that has been the focus of research attention is age. On the one hand, research has been carried out in which no correlation was found between the respondents' age and their perception of an incident as constituting sexual harassment (Buddie, 2012). In research conducted by Shechory Bitton & Ben Shaul (2013) too, where the average age of the subjects was 27.5, no significant differences were found in age and attitude towards sexual harassment. On the other hand, in a research study carried out by Foulis & McCabe (1997), young women perceived situations less as sexual harassment than older women.

Crittenden (2009) also found that the older the age, the lower the tolerance towards sexual harassment. Other research studies show that older people tend to view sexual harassment and street harassment by strangers with a more critical eye (Crittenden, 2009; Merkin, 2012). Reese & Lindenberg (2005) found that there is a greater likelihood of disclosing a past experience of sexual harassment among women over the age of 40, possibly due to the fact that they perceive more behaviours as constituting sexual harassment. A different outlook towards sexual harassment was found in women under the age of 40: they have less knowledge of what behaviour is regarded as sexual harassment and what is not. The above researchers concluded that young women do not view many forms of behaviour as sexual

harassment and therefore regard the issue as less problematic.

In Israel, it may be assumed that the law enacted in 1998 and the awareness it engendered regarding the question of sexual harassment has impacted attitudes, perceptions and emotions towards the subject, in particular among the younger population, which has not known a different reality, and possibly to a lesser extent among older people, who were used to the more permissive outlook that prevailed in their youth. Although the question of age in Israel was researched following establishment of the law (Shechory Bitton & Ben Shaul, 2013) the age group studied was relatively young. There appears to be a need to investigate the extent to which social and legal norms prevailing in a society affect feelings and perceptions towards sexual harassment.

In light of the above, the aim of the present research is to focus on the emotions and perceptions of participants to situations with a potential for sexual harassment while examining the correlation between the participants' age and gender and the gender of the perpetrator or victim in terms of the above variables.

The following hypotheses were formulated:

- A correlation exists between the perception of behaviour as sexual harassment and the emotions it arouses in the respondent. In other words, perception of behaviour as constituting sexual harassment is associated with negative emotions such as anger, and where behaviour is not perceived as sexual harassment, it is associated with positive or neutral emotions.
- A correlation exists between the gender of the respondent and the emotion aroused in him as a result of behaviour having a potential for sexual harassment. Women will experience situations as arousing more negative emotions than men.
- A correlation exists between the age of the respondent and the emotion aroused in him as a result of potential sexually harassing behaviour, with situations arousing more negative feelings in the younger respondents than the older respondents.
- A correlation exists between the gender of the perpetrator / victim and the emotion aroused in the respondent. Situations in which a man

harasses a woman sexually will be experienced in a highly negative manner while the most flattering emotion is associated with sexual harassment of a man by a woman. Situations in which the perpetrator and victim are of the same gender will be experienced as less flattering than a situation in which the genders are different.

METHOD

Participants

A total of 833 male and female students aged 22 to 72 participated in the research. The average age was 32.5 (standard deviation 9.4 years). The participants were studying for a bachelor's degree in the social sciences in colleges in northern and southern Israel. The sample was composed principally of women, Jews and single men. Most were native-born Israelis residing in cities (see Table 1).

Table 1:	Characteristics	of the	General	Sampl	e (N	-833)

Variable			
College	65.2% college in northern Israel		
	34.8% college in southern Israel		
Gender	26.8% male		
	73.2% female		
Age	82.9% below 40		
	17.1% above 40		
Year of study	43.8% first year		
	33.1% second year		
	14.1% third year		
	9.0% fourth year		
Religion	86.9% Jewish		
	3.4% Christian		
	8.3% Muslim		
	0.2% Druze		
	1.2% other		
Place of birth	84.0% Israel		
	16.0% other		
Marital status	70.7% single		
	25.7% married		
	3.0% divorced		
	0.6% widowed		
Place of residence	67.3% city		
	8.2% village		
	7.9% moshav		
	5.9% kibbutz		
	10.8% community settlement		

Tools

With a view to examining the emotions and perceptions of the male and female students towards sexual harassment, use was made of the Sexual Harassment Definition Questionnaire (SHDQ) (Foulis & McCabe, 1997). Description of the situations was based on the list of behaviours in the Sexual Harassment Experience Questionnaire (SHEQ). The questionnaire includes 16 statements that describe four possible situations that could be experienced as sexual harassment: of these, five describe a woman harassed by men, three refer to a woman harassed by women, five portray a man harassed by women, and three depict a man harassed by men.

The statements enable determination of whether the gender of the perpetrator or the victim influences definition/emotion with respect to sexual harassment. The situations presented to the participants included potentially harassing ones – on the street, at parties and in the workplace.

An example of a situation with sexual overtones on the street: "Dana walks down the street and two men in a passing car shout out comments of a sexual nature in her direction. How would you feel in Dana's place?" An example describing potential sexual harassment at a party: "When Dana was at a party a man she did not know pinched her bottom." An example of potential sexual harassment in the workplace, this time on the part of a woman: "In John's office a colleague deliberately rubbed against him while he was walking down the corridor, even though the corridor was wide enough for two people". For each of the situations the participant was asked to state how he would have felt (flattered, offended, concerned, angry, annoved, indifferent) and whether he perceives the situations as sexual harassment (YES/NO).

The possible score obtained from the answers ranged from 0 to 16 (the higher the score, the higher the perception of the situations by the subject as sexual harassment). The reliability of the questionnaire as found in the present research is $\alpha = .835$. The questionnaire concludes with additional questions on socio-demographic details such as gender, age, country of birth, religion, marital status and place of residence.

Procedure

The participants were recruited in 2016 from two academic institutions in northern and southern Israel.

The researchers entered classrooms, explained the aim of the research and what participation in it involved. The students who expressed an interest in participating constituted the sample. After signing a form of informed consent, including an assurance, among other things, of anonymity and confidentiality, the questionnaires were distributed in the classrooms during the last quarter hour of the lesson. The research obtained the approval of the Ethics Committee in both the colleges.

Data Processing

For the purpose of data processing, the sample was divided into two age groups: below 40 (defined as young) and above 40 (defined as old). As regards emotions – offended, concerned, angry, annoyed were defined as negative emotions; flattered was defined as a positive emotion. Irrespective of the gender of the perpetrator/victim, the participants answered all 16 questions as to whether they felt negative emotions (offended, concerned, angry or annoyed) or a positive emotion (flattered). Finally, the percentage of the negative emotions was calculated according to the gender of the perpetrator/victim.

Regardless of the gender of the perpetrator/victim, all questions had only one answer relating to a positive emotion (feeling flattered). Most of the respondents in most of the situations described did not feel that the situations were flattering and therefore a positive emotion was rated using a dichotomous variable with a value of 1 if in at least one question (referring to the gender of the perpetrator or victim) the answer was "flattering" and 0 for any other situation.

In order to examine the effect of the respondent's gender, age, and gender of the perpetrator/victim on negative emotions, a three way mixed ANOVA was performed. To examine the effect of the gender of the perpetrator/victim on positive emotions, Cochran's Q test was run, comparing dependent samples. To examine the effect of gender or age of the respondent on positive emotions, a Z test was conducted, comparing proportions, with Bonferroni correction to counteract the problem of multiple comparisons.

FINDINGS

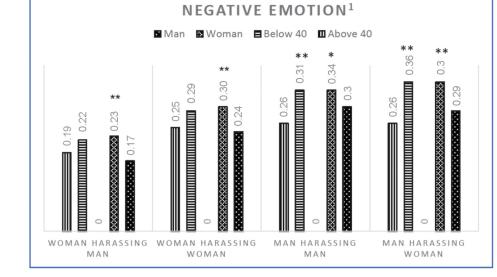
It was found that a significant inverse relationship exists between perception of a situation as constituting sexual harassment and a feeling of being flattered (p<0.01, r=0.226). The more the situation was perceived as harassing the less the participants rated it as flattering. In addition, a significant direct relationship exists between perception of the situation as harassing and negative emotions – harassed (p<0.01, r=0.386), angry (p<0.01, r=0.169), concerned (p<0.01, r=0.108), offended (p<0.01, r=0.348). The more the situation is perceived as harassing the more negative were the feelings that were experienced.

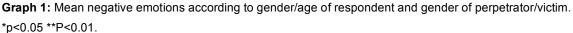
In analyzing negative feelings, the main effect found was the gender of the perpetrator/victim. In other words, irrespective of the gender and age of the respondent, a significant difference exists in the mean negative emotions, involving different genders on the part of the perpetrator/victim (Greenhouse-Geisser F(2.79,2311.22) = 122.88, p<0.01, $\eta^2 = 0.13$). In further analysis with Bonferroni correction it was found that the highest mean negative emotions were experienced when a man harasses a woman (M=0.34, SD=0.18), or when a man harasses a man (M=0.33, SD=0.18), exhibiting a significant difference from a woman harassing a woman (M=0.28, SD=0.16) or a woman harassing a man (M=0.21, SD=0.13), p<0.01. A woman harassing a woman arouses to a significant extent more negative emotions than a woman harassing a man, p<0.01. No significant difference was found in the level of negative emotions between a man harassing a woman and a man harassing a man.

In addition, a main effect was found of gender and age of the respondent. In other words, irrespective of the gender of the perpetrator or victim and age, a higher mean of negative emotions was found in the women's group (*M*=0.29, *SD*=0.17) than the men's group (*M*=0.24, *SD*=0.13), F(1,829)=13.76, p<0.01, η^2 =0,016. In addition, irrespective of the gender of the perpetrator or victim and gender, a higher mean of negative emotions was found in the group of younger participants (below 40) (*M*=0.29, *SD*=0.16) than in the group of older participants (above 40) (*M*=0.24, *SD*=0.14), F(1,829)=12.97, p<0.01, η^2 =0.015.

Graph **1** presents mean negative emotions according to gender/age of respondent and gender of perpetrator/victim. No significant interaction was found between the gender of the respondent and the gender of the perpetrator or victim (Greenhouse-Geisser F(2.79,2311.11)=1.47, p>0.05, $\eta^2=0.002$). In other words, the difference between men and women respondents was maintained irrespective of the gender of the perpetrator or victim (as may be seen in Graph **1**).

In addition, no significant interaction was found between gender and age of the respondent F(1,829)=0.003, p>0.05, $\eta^2=0.000$), namely, the difference between men and women is similar in both the age groups. In contrast, significant interaction was found between the age of the respondent and the gender of the perpetrator or victim (Greenhouse-Geisser F(2.79,2311.11)=17.28, p<0.01, $\eta^2=0.02$). In other words, the difference between the age groups depends on the gender of the perpetrator or victim.





1 - The comparisons are made within the gender and age groups for every perpetrator/ victim gender.

In the analysis of simple effects it was found that in the case of a man harassing (a woman or a man), the mean of negative emotions in the below-40 age group is higher than that of the above-40 age group. In contrast, no difference was found in the mean negative emotions between the age groups in the case of a woman harassing (a woman or a man) (as may be seen in Graph 1). Finally, no significant three-way interaction was found (Greenhouse-Geisser F (2.79, 23.11)=1.23, p>0.05, η^2 =0.001).

In analyzing the effect of gender of the perpetrator/victim on positive emotions, a significant difference was found to exist in the percentage of respondents who felt flattered (Cochran's Q test $\chi^2(3)$ =792.32, p<0.01). Further analysis with Bonferroni correction showed that in a situation where a woman makes sexual references to a man, most of the respondents (57%) felt this was flattering, differing significantly from any other situation, followed by a man who makes sexual references to a woman (28%), differing significantly from a woman who makes sexual references to a woman (12%) or a man who makes sexual references to a man (5%). Situations in which a woman makes sexual references to a woman and a man makes sexual references to a man are experienced as least flattering, the significantly least flattering case being one in which a man makes sexual references to a man.

With respect to gender and age of the respondent, in most of the situations (a man making sexual references to a man/woman) no significant differences As stated, perception of the situation as constituting sexual harassment was also examined in the context of age, gender and gender of the perpetrator/victim. In most of the cases a correlation was found between the findings obtained in the emotional domain and the findings relating to perception of the situations as sexually harassing. However, in the case of perception, significant three-way interaction was found between gender, age and gender of the perpetrator and victim (Greenhouse-Geisser F(2.72,2253.52)=3.03, p<0.05, η^2 =0.004).

40 age group (as described in Graph 2).

In order to interpret the interaction we examined the relationship between age and gender of the perpetrator/victim for the group of men and women separately. In the men's group no interaction was found between age and gender of the perpetrator/ victim, and no difference was found between the age groups in every situation of sexual harassment. In the women's group interaction was found between age and gender of the perpetrator/victim. In analyzing the simple effects it was found that the older women's group regard a woman harassing a man or a woman harassing a woman with greater severity than the younger women.



Graph 2: Percentage of respondents who in at least one question (referring to the gender of the perpetrator or victim) answered that it is flattering, by gender and age.

**P<0.01.

1 – The comparisons are made within the gender and age groups for every perpetrator/ victim gender.

Where a man harasses a woman or a man. No difference was found in perception between the older and younger women.

Finally, although no reference was made to it in the research hypotheses, the effect of place on negative emotions was examined with the help of a one-way and repeated measures ANOVA. It was found that the place of the incident influences the mean negative (Greenhouse-Geisser emotions F(1.96,1627.29)= 153.45, p<0.01, η^2 =0.155). On further analysis with Bonferroni correction it was found that the mean of negative emotions at a party (M=0.34, SD=0.18) is significantly higher than in the workplace (M=0.29, SD=0.16) or on the street (M=0.26, SD=0.16). It appears that with the respondents, the street on average arouses to a significant degree the least negative emotions.

In order to examine the effect of the place where sexual harassment occurred on positive emotions, Cochran's Q non-parametric test was performed, comparing dependent samples. A significant effect of place was found in the proportion of respondents who felt the situation flattering (χ^2 (2) = 66.42, p<0.001). In further comparisons with Bonferroni correction, it was found that sexual references on the street are regarded as more flattering (38%) than at a party (31%) or in the workplace (24%), p<0.01.

DISCUSSION

In the present research a correlation was found to exist between perception of behaviour as constituting sexual harassment and the emotions aroused among the research participants. Behaviour that is perceived as sexually harassing arouses principally negative emotions such as anger, concern and hurt, and less positive emotions such as feeling flattered. It was also found that emotions aroused as a result of behaviour that is perceived as potentially harassing sexually depends on variables such as the gender and age of the respondent and gender the of the perpetrator/victim.

In general, more negative emotions were identified towards potential sexually harassing behaviour among women than men, and among younger than older individuals, primarily in situations where the perpetrator is a man. The situation that aroused the most negative emotions was one in which a man harasses a woman, and the most flattering where a woman harasses a man. The younger participants regarded a situation in which a woman makes sexual references to a man as more flattering than did the older participants.

Situations in which the perpetrator and the victim were of the same gender were experienced as less flattering than situations in which the genders were different. Men regarded a situation in which a woman harasses a woman as more flattering than did women. As regards perception of behaviour as being sexually harassing, it was found that women above the age of 40 perceived behaviour in which a woman makes sexual advances to a man or a woman as having a higher potential for sexual harassment than women under 40.

Despite the possibility that both men and women may feel flattered by sexual advances, even when perceived as undesirable and harassing (Fairchild, 2010; Sue, 2010), a relationship was found to exist between perception of behaviour as constituting sexual harassment and the emotions aroused among the participants, according to which perception of the situation as sexually harassing is associated with negative emotions and non-perception of the situation as negative is associated with positive or neutral emotions.

This finding is in line with knowledge in the literature on the mutual effects of emotion and cognitive performance such as attention, perception, thought and memory (Baron & Byrne, 2000; Calkins & Bell, 2010; Chakravarty, 2010). The relationship is bidirectional, such that emotions can influence thought to the same degree that thought can influence emotions. These two aspects of the human experience can act in tandem or in opposition (Calkins & Bell, 2010). Emotion can serve as a clue based on which it is possible to interpret the response to a particular stimulus, individual or event (Baron & Byrne, 2000).

In general, more negative emotions were identified towards potential sexually harassing behaviour among women than men. These gender differences, as known in the literature (McCabe & Hardman, 2005; Mor, 2011; O'Connor, Gutek, Stockdale, Geer & Melancon, 2004; Rotundo, Nguyen & Sackett, 2001; Russell, 2004; Shechory Bitton & Ben Shaul, 2013), can be explained on the basis of Script Theory (Gagnon & Simon, 1973), which point to the possibility that men identify a particular situation as sexual whereas women do not. Even where women do not perceive a situation as sexual, the behaviour exhibited by a man may be unwelcome, causing it to be regarded as sexual harassment.

In addition, according to Defensive Attribution Theory (Bell, Kuriloff & Lottes, 1994), people tend to attribute less blame to those with whom they identify, and considerable responsibility and blame to those who are different from them. Accordingly, it may be reasonably assumed that the female respondents, against the backdrop of their vulnerability (Graham et al., 2017; Kavanaugh, 2013) and based on their identification with the victims of potential harassment (Stockdale, Gandolfo Berry, Schneider, & Cao, 2004), tend more to blame and, consequently, to be angry over an incident of harassment, especially in a situation where the perpetrator is a man and the victim a woman. As regards men, identification with the weak victim could be threatening, as a consequence of which they might experience less anger.

Whereas most of the research conducted to date in the field of sexual harassment has focused on the perception of behaviour with sexual overtones as sexual harassment (for instance, Foulis & McCabe, 1997; Shechory Bitton & Ben Shaul, 2013), the findings presented in the present research refer principally to the emotional realm. As regards perception, we chose to present the main findings that contribute to the existing knowledge. For example, in the present research a significant correlation was found between age and gender on the one hand, and perception on the other.

Women over age 40 perceived behaviour in which a woman makes sexual references to a man as a situation with a higher potential for sexual harassment than do women below age 40. Although this finding is in line with research studies, which show that older women perceive more situations as harassing than younger women (Crittenden, 2009; 2011; Foulis & McCabe, 1997; Merkin, 2012; Reese & Lindenberg, 2005), in the present research it was found that older women respond with especial severity to a situation in which a woman makes sexual advances to a man. The reason for this could be the different perception of sexual behaviour that older women have vis-à-vis younger women. In their younger days it was not customary for women to approach men: according to the learned behavioural schema the man was supposed to be the one to initiate contact with the woman. A woman who approached a man sexually was considered immoral (for which reason they possibly find it difficult to identify with her).

It is also possible to explain this finding based on the apprehension on the part of older women – which is stronger than that of younger women – regarding infidelity, a context in which women pose the main threat. Older single women find it especially difficult to acquire a partner, so that younger women could arouse jealousy and a sense of competition. In addition, against the background of the claim that one of the negative implications of the Sexual Harassment Prevention Law is the fear of wrongful complaints by women (Kamir, 2009), it is possible that the findings also express the respondents' concern, besides the fact of their partners' being seduced by other women, that they will also ensnare them with wrongful claims.

As regards the emotional sphere, negative emotions were identified towards behaviours with a potential for sexual harassment more among the younger than older participants (both men and women), particularly in situations in which the perpetrator is a man. Although a comparison could not be performed with previous research - since to the best of our knowledge the focus has been on differences in perception according to gender and age rather than emotional responses - the findings are contrary to those presented in the literature with respect to perception. However, they do endorse the possibility that enactment of the 1998 law in Israel has given rise to a public awareness, influencing attitudes, perceptions and emotions regarding sexual harassment, especially among the younger population, which knows no other reality, and to a lesser extent among the older generation, which was raised on the more chauvinistic and permissive values that prevailed in their youth. On the other hand, with respect to positive emotions, a woman who approaches a man sexually is experienced by the younger group as more flattering than by the older group, which has learned a contrary behavioural schema (a man is supposed to initiate contact with a woman).

When all the respondents are taken into account, the most flattering situation relative to others (a man harassing a woman/man or a woman harassing a woman) is when a woman makes sexual advances to a man.

An explanation for the sense of being flattered, principally on the part of the male respondents, by a woman making sexual advances to a man, may be found in Attribution Theory (Heider, 1958). According to this theory as well as research studies that found gender differences with respect to perception (Abbey, 1987; Haselton, 2003; George *et al.*, 2006), men tend to interpret reality more on the basis of dispositional attribution. It follows that when women are friendly

towards men, the men interpret it as an act of seduction and ignore the possibility that the women are simply being nice due to situational circumstances. Apart from this, the finding is in line with social perceptions which regard the woman as a weak, non-threatening figure (Graham *et al.*, 2017; Kavanaugh, 2013), so that their behaviour, though perceived as sexual, is received as flattering.

The situation engendering the most negative emotions in all the respondents was one in which a man harasses a woman or a man (no difference was found between a man who harasses a woman and a man who harasses a man). This finding is in contrast to the results of a study by Marks & Nelson (1993) which found no differences in perception between the case of a man harassing a woman and a woman harassing a man. On the other hand, the finding is in conformity with other research (Hendrix, Rueb & Steel, 1998; Katz, Hannon & Whitten, 1996), according to which a situation in which the harasser is a man appears to arouse principally negative feelings; such a situation may be viewed as relatively more threatening because, among other things, the man has a physical advantage and non-submission on the part of the victim could involve risk-taking (Robinson, 2005).

Situations in which the perpetrator and victim are of the same gender (O'Leary-Kelly, Bowes-Sperry, Bates, & Lean, 2009) are experienced in a less flattering manner than situations in which the genders are different and are perceived in a more severe light. It is possible that this finding explains the existing contradiction in the literature which, on the one hand, shows that it is more disturbing when the perpetrator and victim are of different genders than when they are of the same gender (Wayne, Riordan & Thomas, 2001), but on the other hand shows that men and women perceive harassment from a member of the same gender severely (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1993).

The present research supports the fact that a case of harassment from a member of the same gender is experienced in a less positive light than similar harassment from the opposite gender. This finding may be seen to reflect conservative social attitudes which still view heterosexual relations as desirable and preferable, with advances that suggest homosexual/ lesbian orientations being experienced as less appropriate and therefore less flattering. As regards the male respondents, a situation in which a man harasses another man is a threat to the victim's masculine image, and is therefore also more enraging (Sleath & Bull, 2010).

Findings have emerged in the present research that were not referred to in the research hypotheses. It was found, surprisingly, that the mean of negative emotions in the framework of a party is significantly higher than in the workplace or on the street. Sexual advances at a party are perhaps more infuriating since they are perceived as more personal than on the street. In this context it is possible to explain the more negative emotions towards the harasser at a party than the one on the road.

Mead (1934) refers to the "significant other"; according to him the personality is developed as a result of contact with others, and principally with the significant other, namely, all those people with whom the individual is in close contact and who are meaningful to him (parents, siblings, uncles, aunts, etc.). Goffman (1963) in referring to labelling, claims that one of the important parameters in the process of labelling is the significant other, and states that in order for labelling to be successful, a significant connection must exist between the labeller and labellee on an emotional or cognitive level. Thus, it is not enough to share certain things with the labellee, the person sharing them is also important – there must be a relationship between them.

This is also the case with respect to harassment on the street vs. harassment at a party: the harasser at a party is a person known to one and is perhaps even a relative; thus sexual behaviour on his part will be interpreted as harassment and feelings towards his behaviour will be negative. In contrast, the harasser on the street, and perhaps also in the workplace, is a more distant individual and has no significance for the victim or feelings towards him; it follows that his behaviour will engender less negative emotions. Accordingly, it was found that references of a sexual nature on the street arouse the least negative emotions and are even experienced as more flattering than at a party or in the workplace.

These findings accord less with the apprehension expressed by Mor (2017) regarding harassment of women on the street. Mor claims that women and girls in Israel cannot walk freely in the public domain without encountering sexual harassment from strangers wherever they go, to a much more frequent extent than men. According to Mor, about half of all women who were harassed on the street report a sense of fear at the time of the incident vs. one percent of men. Also emerging from her research is the finding that women treat harassment much more seriously than men, the latter relating to it light-heartedly and in most cases (unlike women) attributing good intentions to sexual advances.

Despite its findings, the present research is not without its limitations. Firstly, a limitation exists in generalization of the findings in view of the fact that the sample consists of social science students with a high awareness of social issues, among them sexual harassment. In addition, it should be noted that following presentation of situations with a potential for sexual harassment, the respondents were asked to answer YES or NO to the possibility that sexual harassment is being described. Apparently it would have been more appropriate to use the Likert scale, which broadens the respondent's response possibilities. As regards the division of the student sample into young and old age groups, this was arbitrary, deriving from certain research constraints. It is recommended in future, for the purposes of a more valid comparison between the ages, to pick a random sample from an old and young population, and predefine the meanings of old and young.

In summation, similar sexual references are defined and experienced differently by people of differing gender or age, and in different situations. A difficulty therefore exists in determining an objective standard for the question, What is sexual harassment? – a grey area indeed. Apart from examining emotions and perceptions and the relationship between them with respect to sexual harassment, it is important to examine to what extent the social and legal processes that are applicable in today's society affect gender and age differences in perceptions and emotions associated with sexual harassment. Accordingly, it is recommended to continue examining emotions and perceptions now as well as in the future.

October 2017 witnessed the emergence of the #MeToo movement, which laid the groundwork for the "I didn't complain" protest in Israel about one year later. Each of these protests has in turn flooded the social networks with content relating to sexual offences and the victims' experiences. It appears that these protests have made a significant contribution to raising awareness, to rearranging the scale of social values regarding sexual misconduct, and to reshaping the culture that encourages justification, denial and trivialization of sexual offences.

Against this backdrop, and in view of the fact that the present research was conducted about one year before the protest, it is recommended to repeat the research in the wake of the above occurrences in order to examine the validity of the findings in the present time. For example, has the negative perception of older women towards potentially harassing women changed? What is the explanation that they offer for this perception? It would also be interesting to examine the attitudes of men and women towards the campaign.

In addition to all of the above, open qualitative interviews with older women (above 60) could shed better light on their "permissive" attitude towards sexual harassment when the harasser is a man and the victim a woman, as well as their "severe" attitude to a situation in which the harasser is a woman and the victim a man. The #MeToo movement is also characterized by its older women's perception, and most of the women defined as those who "did not complain" have been asked the reason why: apparently in most cases, on the occurrence of an incident in their youth, they were still clueless as to the meaning of such behaviour, accepting it as "flattering" rather than "harassing".

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