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Assessing the Gap between Social and Individual Perceptions of Sexual Harassment

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Abstract

Sexual harassment in and out of the workplace has social and economic implications for both the harassed and those subject to the environment. Understanding the nature of sexual harassment perceptions is an important step in designing effective policies aimed at its elimination. This study estimates the gaps between individual and social perceptions of sexual harassment and examines the role of gender in perception gaps in this context. This is accomplished through a laboratory experiment in order to use an incentivized method to elicit the social norm perceptions for sexual harassment scenarios of different types that could be considered in the “gray area”. We find that a gap between individual and social perceptions occurs when accounting for gender but is not present when gender is not accounted for. This occurs because we find that men and women tend to have opposite perception gaps. Under the assumption that perceived social norms influence behavior, our findings suggest that it could be beneficial to design campaigns that consider the role of gender on perceptions of sexual harassment.

Keywords: sexual harassment, social norms, perceptions, perception gap, laboratory experiment.

1. Introduction

Sexual harassment, both in and out of the workplace, has been increasingly seen as both an economic and societal problem. In recent years, the discussion of sexual harassment has become increasingly important as a result of the “#metoo” movement that arose due to sexual abuse cases in the United States film industry. This movement that denounces practices of sexual abuse and harassment reached an international

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audience and highlighted the discussion of the forms, practices, and perceptions of sexual harassment.

Sexual harassment has important psychological and economic consequences, and therefore warrants increased study. Gruber and Fineran (2015) found that effects of sexual harassment are more profound and lasting than those effects from bullying. Other experts have pointed out that public spaces are not safe for women and girls (Plan International 2018) thus altering potential victims' behavior (Hand and Sánchez 2000 and Fineran and Gruber 2009), raising student dropout rates and affecting school and work performance. Furthermore, the presence of sexual harassment in work environments can have detrimental economic consequences for the harassed persons and the companies in general. For example, it has been shown in papers such as Antecol and Cobb-Clark (2006) and McLaughlin et al. (2017) that experiencing sexual harassment in the workplace leads to increased intentions to find new employment. This workplace turnover obviously implies increased costs to firms as well as financial instability and decreased chances for career advancement. Additionally, Houle et al. (2001), and Merkin (2008) found that sexual harassment affects the job performance not only those who suffer from it but also those who witness it. However, Hersch (2011) finds that there is generally a compensating wage differential for women and men employed in jobs deemed to be at a higher risk for sexual harassment due to the potential costs of eliminating many forms of sexual harassment. In general, where there are more laws protecting women in the workforce from discrimination and sexual harassment, more equal labor market outcomes are observed (Hyland et al. 2020).

The exact definition of what constitutes sexual harassment is often unclear (Fitzgerald et al. 1995). The official definition of sexual harassment outlined by the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) states that:

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Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of sexual nature constitutes sexual harassment when submission to or a rejection of this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual's employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment (EEOC 2019).

This definition only refers to sexual harassment taking place within a working environment; however, the definition has been extended to the educational spheres (Hill and Kearn 2011 and Morgan and Gruber 2011) and public spaces (Hoel and Vartia 2018). This definition leaves room for interpretation about what exactly can be classified as sexual harassment. The lack of a clear definition of what is and is not sexual harassment both within and outside of the work environment can lead to variation in the perception of appropriateness of different actions, especially those actions that may be considered in the "gray area".

While a clear understanding of formal definitions is important in the context of sexual harassment, social norms may also be an important factor influencing behavior and are therefore relevant to study. In other contexts, for instance, Xiao and Asadullah (2020) find that social norms account for a large proportion of the difference in labor force participation between men and women and it has been documented that perceptions of norms explain alcohol consumption (see for instance Schroeder and Prentice 1998; Kypri and Langley 2003 and Ahern et al. 2008). Information campaigns have also been shown to be an effective method of promoting desirable behavior as shown in Schroeder and Prentice (1998) who conducted a study where they showed university students that their own beliefs about alcohol use differed from the true norm. These students reported a decrease in their alcohol intake and were less likely to drink

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after the intervention. Additionally, policies including information regarding social norms have been analyzed in other contexts in the literature such as in electricity consumption (Alcott 2011 and Pellerano et al. 2017) and in tax compliance (Alm et al. 2019). In the context of anti-bullying campaigns, Paluck and Shepherd (2012), showed that influencing behavior of social referents in a school setting is an effective method for promoting desirable behavior for the general population within the school. Likewise, Stangor et al. (2001), in their study of the measurement of the racial stereotype, identified that closeness to the reference group can modify the perception related to these groups. They found that changes in beliefs about African American groups were stronger when the information came from the group of students from their own school than when it came from students from other schools.

However, individual beliefs do not always line up with the corresponding social norm. That is, there may be a gap between how an individual feels about a particular behavior (personal injunctive norms) and the social perception (injunctive expectations) of that behavior which from here after is referred to as a perception gap (Krupka and Weber 2013). This gap could lead to behavior and reporting that is inconsistent with individuals' views. Gaps between individual and social perceptions have been noted in several different contexts. For example, Sandstrom and Bartini (2010) investigated the relationship between high school aged students' perceptions of the gap between social norms and individual perceptions and students' bystander behavior in the context of bullying finding that the larger the gap, the less likely the students were to intervene. Additionally, studies such as Pryor et al. (1995) look at how actions classified as sexual harassment become more prevalent when the social norm aligns with the proclivity of potential aggressors. Other studies such as Hackman et al. (2017) examine social norms versus actual prevalence rates in the context of sexual violence, but to the best of our

knowledge, no studies have estimated or examined the gaps between individual and social perceptions of sexual harassment. This study aims to fill this hole in the literature by using a laboratory experiment using undergraduate students. The experimental setting allows us to also contribute to the literature by using an incentivized method to elicit the social norm for sexual harassment scenarios using an adaptation of the method proposed by Krupka and Weber (2013).

Another contribution of our paper is the analysis of the role of gender on the gap between social and individual perceptions. Several studies have found a relationship between a person's gender and their perception of sexual harassment (Konrad and Gutek 1986; Baker et al. 1990; Marks and Nelson 1993; Gutek and O'Connor 1995; Katz et al. 1996; Hand and Sánchez 2000; Rotundo et al. 2001; Runtz and O'Donnell 2006; McCabe and Harman 2010; Shechory Bitton and Ben Shaul 2013; Herrera et al. 2017; and Kunst et al. 2019), but the role of gender on the perception gap has yet to be addressed. Previous literature that has been building toward this question such as Shechory Bitton and Ben Shaul (2013) conclude that women tend to identify a broader range of situations as sexual harassment than men and tend to view these behaviors as more severe. Additionally, Gutek and O'Connor (1995) find that the gender gap (not the perception gap) in perceptions increases the more ambiguous the behavior is, but if the situation is perceived as benign the perception gender gap closes. Importantly, these studies highlight the importance of considering the severity of an action when studying perceptions with regards to gender.

Our results indicate that a perception gap appears when considering genders but is not present when genders are not accounted for. This occurs because we find that males and females tend to have opposite perception gaps (within degrees of inappropriateness). The findings also show that the role of gender in perception gaps

depends on the scenario. For two of the scenarios falling under the categories of “derogatory attitudes (impersonal)” and “unwanted dating pressure”, the tolerance of sexual harassment situations (difference between a perception of very inappropriate and somewhat inappropriate) depends on the gender. On average females individually believe that some actions are not as inappropriate as what they think their peers believe (with the opposite being true for males). For the last two scenarios “physical non-sexual contact” and “sexual coercion”, the perception of inappropriate behavior (difference between a perception of inappropriate and appropriate behavior) depends on the gender. However, this gender effect is explained almost completely from the female perception gap.

The findings in this paper give important insights that can help to shape campaigns to eliminate sexual harassment and promote safer working environments. Under the assumption that perceived social norms influence behavior, our findings suggest that it could be beneficial to design campaigns to bring perceptions of the social norms closer to personal beliefs, especially in the case of males who perceive society as viewing some of the actions as less inappropriate than they personally do. Additionally, our findings suggest that caution should be used for legal cases involving the “reasonable woman” or “reasonable victim” standard due to difference in social norm perceptions between males and females.

2. Experimental Design

The experimental sessions were conducted using the software OTree (Chen et al. 2016) in January 2019 in the Experimental and Behavioral Economics Lab (LEE) at Escuela Superior Politécnica del Ecuador (ESPOL) in Guayaquil, Ecuador. Recruitment of the participants was done using ORSEE (Greiner 2015). There were two stages to the experiment. The first stage was used to estimate individual perceptions of a set of sexual

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harassment scenarios. The second stage was used to elicit the social norm perceptions corresponding to the scenarios. The participation fee was \$3 (USD), with the participants being paid \$ 3.86 (USD) on average at the end of the experiment.

Stage 1 – Individual Perceptions

The experiment consisted of 4 sessions each with 35 participants (54% female). Table 1 presents the corresponding summary statistics. We randomly assigned each participant to sit at an experimental station. The general instructions were given on the screens and one of the researchers was available to answer any questions. The participants were first asked to indicate their gender (female or male).

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Table 1. Summary Statistics

	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Has participated in Economic Experiments (binary)	140	0.757	0.430	0	1
First year (binary)	140	0.300	0.460	0	1
Second year (binary)	140	0.057	0.233	0	1
Third year (binary)	140	0.207	0.407	0	1
Fourth year (binary)	140	0.164	0.372	0	1
Fifth year and beyond (binary)	140	0.271	0.446	0	1
Social Sciences Student (binary)	140	0.364	0.483	0	1
Understood instructions (binary)	140	1.000	-	1	1
Age (years)	140	21.621	1.913	18	31
Mestizo (binary)	140	0.907	0.291	0	1
Lives in Guayaquil (binary)	140	0.700	0.460	0	1
Private High School with public funding (binary)	140	0.086	0.281	0	1
Private High School (binary)	140	0.529	0.501	0	1
Public High School (binary)	140	0.386	0.489	0	1
Christian (binary)	140	0.607	0.490	0	1
Male (binary)	140	0.457	0.500	0	1
Has sisters (binary)	140	0.686	0.466	0	1
Has brothers (binary)	140	0.621	0.487	0	1
Lived with father as a child (binary)	140	0.750	0.435	0	1
Lived with mother as a child (binary)	140	0.943	0.233	0	1
Father lives at home (binary)	140	0.679	0.469	0	1
Mother lives at home (binary)	140	0.907	0.291	0	1
Father has college education (binary)	140	0.086	0.281	0	1
Mother has college education (binary)	140	0.057	0.233	0	1
Father has formal job (binary)	140	0.450	0.499	0	1
Mother has formal job (binary)	140	0.335	0.473	0	1
Stay-at-home Mom (binary)	140	0.386	0.489	0	1

The participants were then asked to rate 4 hypothetical sexual harassment scenarios. The potential ratings were: very appropriate, somewhat appropriate, somewhat inappropriate, and very inappropriate. So as to be able to measure the appropriateness views and tolerance level of the participants, we chose not to use the simpler binary (appropriate / non appropriate) scale. It is likely that most people might share the view that an action is not appropriate but may differ on how they view its severity. Therefore, it is necessary to allow for the severity of the action to be considered when measuring differences in perception gaps (Rotundo et al. 2001; and

Shechory Bitton and Ben Shaul 2013). An even number of categories were presented to avoid participants defaulting to the middle (neutral) category (Nowlis et al. 2002), and 4 categories were selected to not overcomplicate the decision. To avoid order effects, we randomly assigned the order in which the participants saw the scenarios. We also decided against employing methods such as the randomized response technique when asking for the appropriateness level as it has the potential to confuse respondents while having an uncertain record of its validity in use (Holbrook and Krosnick 2010a; Holbrook and Krosnick 2010b; and Coutts and Jann 2011).

The scenarios

The participants were presented with scenarios of sexual harassment that young adults in Ecuador may encounter. They correspond to four of the seven harassment categories outlined in Rotundo et al. (2001): derogatory attitudes – impersonal, unwanted dating pressure, physical non-sexual contact, and sexual coercion. These scenarios within these categories were chosen with the intent of having some ambiguity (within the Ecuadorian social context) as to whether the actions would be considered sexual harassment by a participant.

Scenario 1: Photos (Derogatory Attitudes – Impersonal)

Andrés created a WhatsApp group (Chat Group) with all of his friends. Santiago has started sending photos of women with little clothing on.

Rate Santiago's behavior within the following scale...

Scenario 2: Dancing (Unwanted Dating Pressure)

Alfredo is madly in love with Marcia. They have been friends for many years. Alfredo is convinced that Marcia can come to feel something more than friendship, so when they

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met at a party, he took the opportunity to try and invite her to dance. Alfredo was already tipsy and insisted on inviting Marcia to dance six times. Marcia refused on all occasions.

Rate Alfredo's behavior within the following scale...

Scenario 3: Hugging (Physical Non-sexual Contact)

Luis and Johana are co-workers. They have a strictly professional relationship and are not friends nor meet in other places. During the company's anniversary party, Luis approached Johana from behind and hugged her.

Rate Luis' behavior within the following scale...

Scenario 4: Dinner (Sexual Coercion)

Israel is the head of hiring at a company. Lisette is applying for a job opening and attends her interview. When Israel and Lisette talk, communication flows excellently, and there is a lot of sympathy and empathy between them. Israel informs Lisette that the final decision will be made next week as he has yet to interview more people. The next day, Israel calls Lisette and invites her to a luxurious restaurant for dinner and wine tasting.

Rate Israel's behavior within the following scale...

Stage 2 - Eliciting social norms

In order to elicit the social norm, we used an adaptation of the procedure used in (Krupka and Weber 2013). Specifically, we showed the participants the scenarios a second time and asked them to indicate what they believe was the most common rating selected for each scenario. We let them know that one of the scenarios was going to be randomly selected. For that scenario, two participants of those who guessed correctly

were randomly selected to receive \$15 (USD) each. If only one person guessed correctly, then the \$15 were automatically given to that person. For this part, the order in which the scenarios were presented to the participants was also randomly assigned.

By using this method, we provided an incentive so that the participant makes the cognitive effort to think what others believe (the perception of the social norm). This allows us to separate the personal beliefs from the social norm.

All the instructions were given in Spanish and are presented in the Appendix along with English translations.

3. Results

A graphical presentation of the results makes it clear why gender effects in the perception gap should be investigated with deeper analysis. Figure 1 shows the distribution of individual and social perceptions for each of the studied scenarios without accounting for gender. For each scenario there is little evidence of differences between the two distributions. Moreover, the figure shows that most of the answers accumulate in the first two categories: Very Inappropriate and Somewhat Inappropriate. They account for around 90% of the responses.

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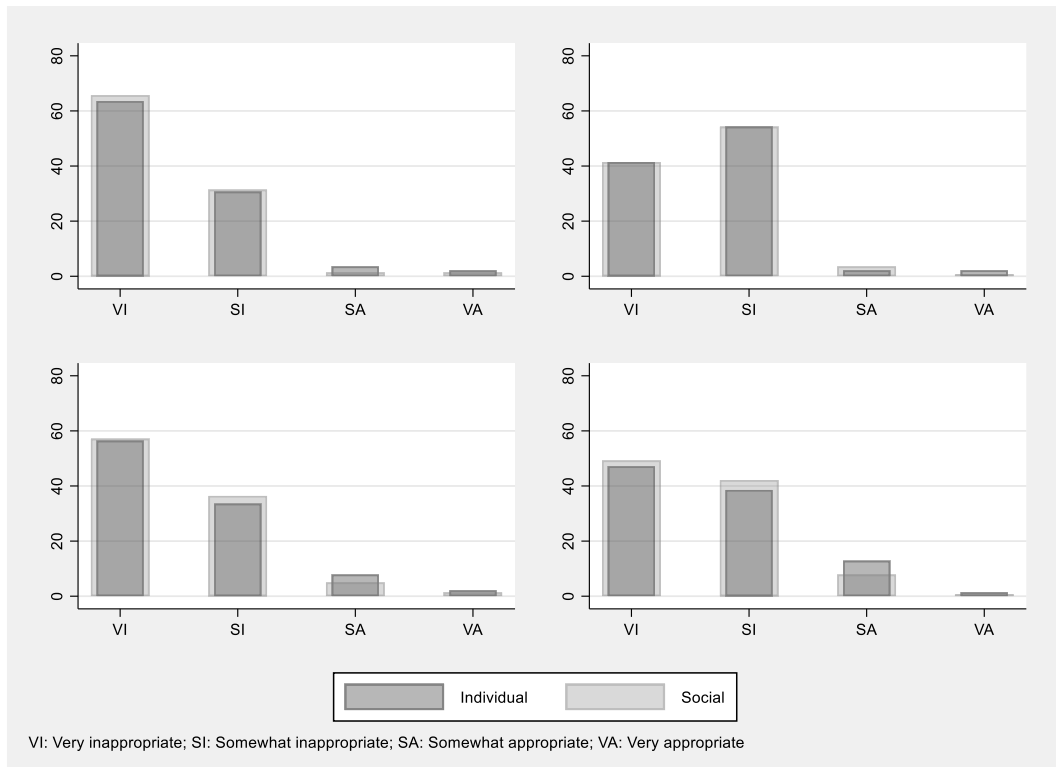


Figure 1. Distribution of Individual and Social Perceptions in Percentage Terms

However, Figure 1 might hide heterogeneous effects. Hence, to perform a deeper analysis, we consider the role of gender on perceptions. In particular, we want to analyze whether the gap between social and individual perceptions depends on gender. We define this gap as the difference between social and individual perceptions for each category.

Figures 2 through 5 show how the distributions change when considering gender. Here it becomes obvious that there is a gap and that the reason that it is not evident when not considering gender is because in general women have a positive perception gap while men have a negative perception gap in some of these cases. That is, it appears that females believe that society has more severe views relative to their own about how inappropriate some of the ambiguous sexual harassment scenarios are, while men believe that society has less severe views.

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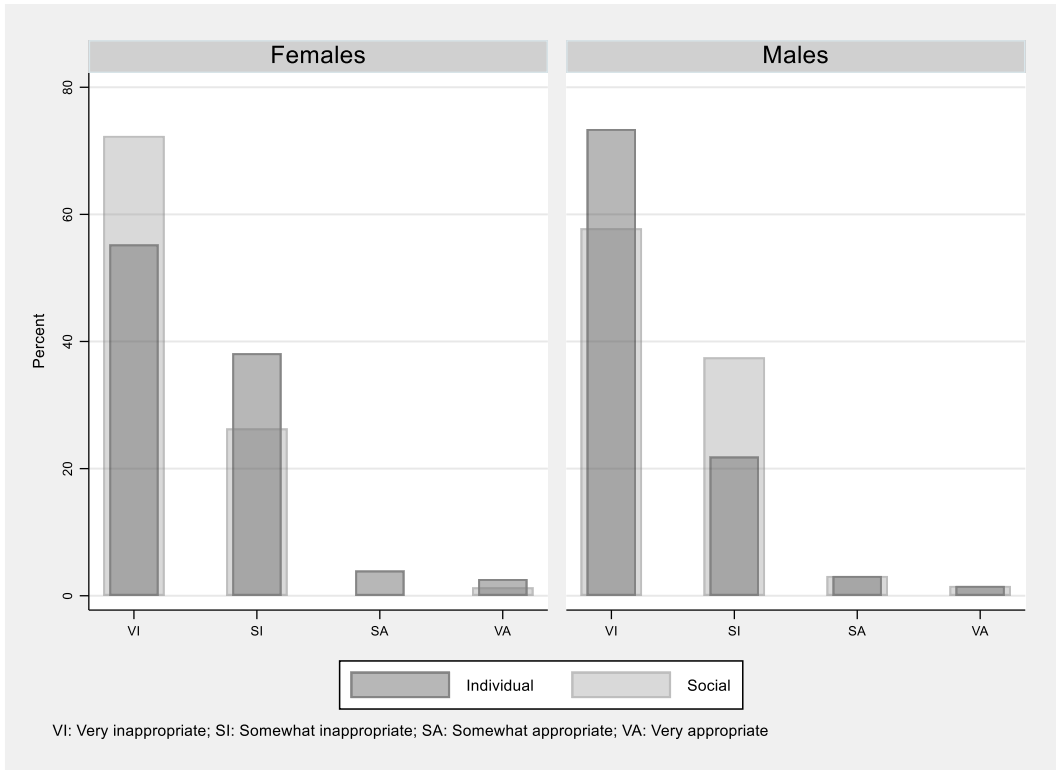


Figure 2. Individual vs. Social Perceptions (Photos Scenario)

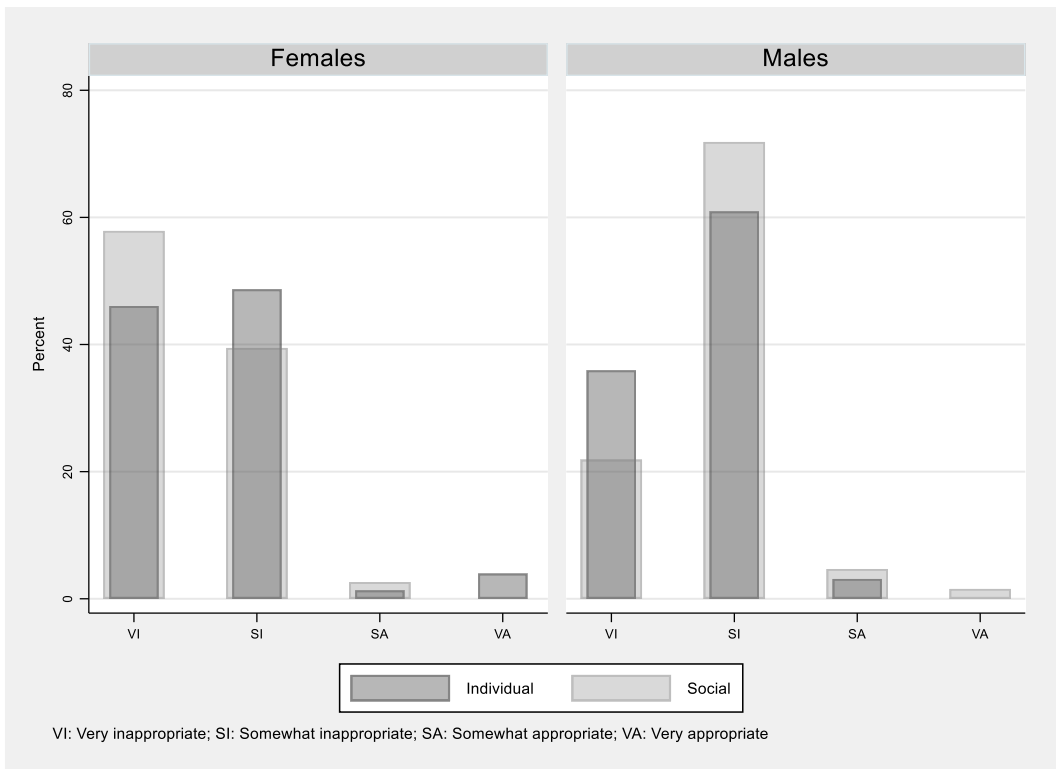


Figure 3. Individual vs. Social Perceptions (Dancing Scenario)

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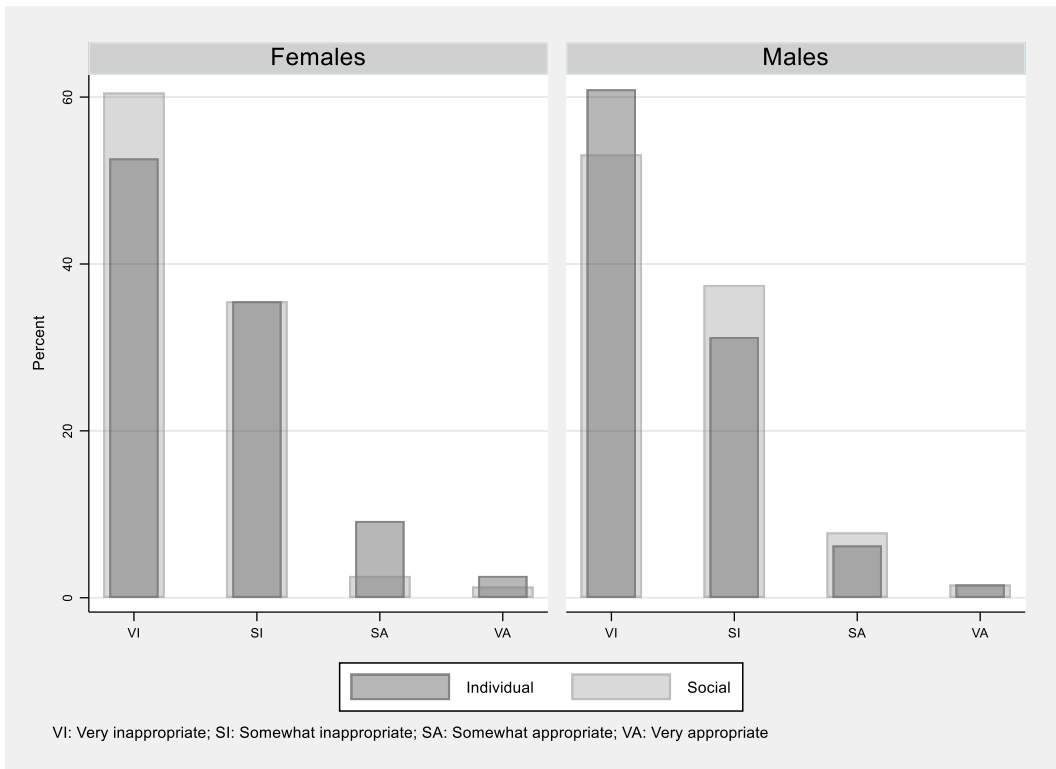


Figure 4. Individual vs. Social Perceptions (Hugging Scenario)

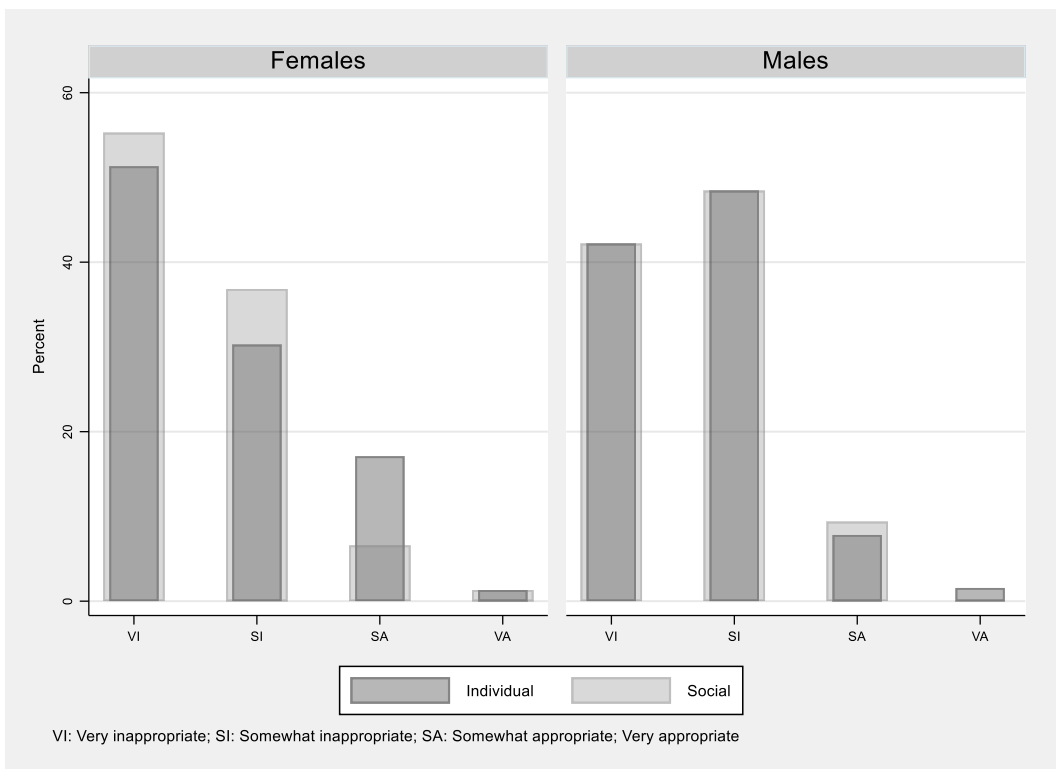


Figure 5. Individual vs. Social Perceptions (Dinner Scenario)

3.1 Perception Gaps in Tolerance

The previous graphical analysis does not allow for statistical inference. In order to determine if the previous findings are statistically significant and determine the role of gender in the perception gaps, we use regression analysis. Since most of the answers for every scenario fall in the first two categories, we start our statistical analysis focusing on them. We code out the dependent variable as an indicator that takes a value of 1 if the answer is very inappropriate and zero if the answer is somewhat inappropriate. Multinomial logit regressions using the four categories leads to similar conclusions⁵. These categories are used to assess the level of tolerance of these situations. We use the following basic specification:

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 female_i + \beta_2 social_i + \beta_3 female * social_i + u_i \quad (1)$$

Where *female* and *social* are indicator variables that take the value of 1 (0) if the observation corresponds to a female (male) or a social perception (individual perception) respectively. Hence, all the coefficients are interpreted as differences in the probability of perceiving the situation as very inappropriate as opposed to somewhat inappropriate. β_1 estimates the difference of individual perceptions between females and males (gender gap in individual perceptions); β_2 estimates the gap between social and individual perceptions (perception gap) for males; and β_3 the difference in perception

⁵ These results are available upon request.

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gaps between females and males.⁶ For the sake of completeness, we also show the estimation of the perception gap for females, and the gender gap in social perceptions.^{7,8}

For each scenario, and to test the robustness of our estimations, we show 6 specifications. Columns 1-4 in each table present linear probability estimations. The first column corresponds to our basic specification. The second adds session fixed effects to control for potential session specific characteristics. Our third specification augments the second with a variable that indicates if the student has participated in experiments before, and indicators for the year and major of the students (college variables). Column 4 adds demographic variables.⁹ Finally, in the last two columns we estimate our fourth specification using Probit and Logit regressions and report the marginal effects calculated at the mean value of the independent variables. All the estimations were performed using White robust standard errors clustered at the participant level.

Results corresponding to the Photos Scenario are presented in Table 2. The perception gap for females is around 14 percentage points, which is significant at the 5% level, and it is robust across all the specifications. For males, the gap ranges between -16.3 and -17.3 percentage points and it is also significant at the 5%. The different signs of the perception gaps confirm the graphical evidence presented in

⁶ Notice that β_3 also corresponds to the difference between the gender gap in social perceptions and the gender gap in individual perceptions.

⁷ The perception gap for females is obtained from specifications with the same structure as (1) but replacing the female indicator with a male indicator.

⁸ To get the gender gap in social perceptions, the social perception indicator in (1) is replaced by an individual perception indicator.

⁹ The included variables are: age, race, type of high school, religion, number of sisters, number of brothers, indicators for if the father and mother live with the students and if they lived with them during childhood, father education, mother education, and type of employment of the father and mother.

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Figure 2. Moreover, their difference is approximately 30 percentage points and it is highly significant. Notice that these estimations suggest that females believe that society has harsher views about the inappropriateness of this situation. For males, the estimation suggests the contrary.

**Table 2. Tolerance of sexual harassment
Perception and gender gaps
Photos Scenario**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	LPM	LPM	LPM	LPM	Probit	Logit
Perception gap (females)	0.142** (0.0579)	0.144** (0.0581)	0.144** (0.0582)	0.142** (0.0599)	0.136** (0.0532)	0.138** (0.0539)
Perception gap (males)	-0.164** (0.0697)	-0.163** (0.0702)	-0.163** (0.0709)	-0.171** (0.0725)	-0.171** (0.0664)	-0.173** (0.0676)
Gender gap (social)	0.127 (0.0815)	0.128 (0.0815)	0.154* (0.0833)	0.141 (0.0900)	0.143* (0.0784)	0.138* (0.0817)
Gender gap (individual)	-0.179** (0.0801)	-0.180** (0.0789)	-0.154* (0.0819)	-0.173** (0.0853)	-0.164** (0.0776)	-0.173** (0.0777)
Difference in gaps	0.306*** (0.0906)	0.307*** (0.0911)	0.308*** (0.0917)	0.313*** (0.0937)	0.307*** (0.0833)	0.311*** (0.0841)
Session FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
College variables	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographics	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	268	268	268	268	268	268

White robust standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. Each column represents a specification. See text for details.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

An equivalent way to analyze the previous estimations is by considering the gender gaps and their difference. If males and females tolerate this situation differently, it is interesting to assess the magnitude and direction of the difference for individual and social perceptions.

On the one hand, when it comes to individual perceptions the gender gap is negative (ranging from -15.4 to -18 percentage points), and it is significant at the 5% level. This means that males see this situation as more inappropriate than females do.

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This runs contrary to some previous studies such as Shechory Bitton and Ben Shaul (2013). On the other hand, for social perceptions the gap is positive (it ranges from 12.7 to 15.4 percentage points). Namely, females believe society views this situation as more inappropriate than males do. However, this gap is not as significant as the previous. Naturally, the difference in gender gaps is equivalent to the difference in perception gaps, and it is highly significant.

While we find here and in one other scenario that a higher percentage of men than women find the scenario to be very inappropriate which runs counter to some previous studies as mentioned above, some of the other scenarios are viewed more harshly by women. The nuances of when females or males will view a particular scenario more harshly relative to the other gender is beyond the scope of this work and will therefore be left to future research.

Table 3 shows the estimations for the Dancing Scenario in which a man repeatedly asked a woman to dance despite being told no multiple times. Notice that only the perception gap for males and the gender gap for social perceptions are significant at standard levels. This means that males believe that society views this situation as less inappropriate than they personally do, but for females social and individual perceptions are statistically not different from each other. It also means that even though there is a positive and highly significant gender gap for social perceptions, the individual perceptions of females and males are statistically the same. Note that the difference in gaps is approximately 25 percentage points and statistically significant at the 5% level. Taken together the results of the table suggest that, for this scenario, there is a difference between social and individual tolerance and that it depends on gender.

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**Table 3. Tolerance of sexual harassment
Perception and gender gaps
Dancing Scenario**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	LPM	LPM	LPM	LPM	Probit	Logit
Perception gap (females)	0.108 (0.0709)	0.109 (0.0713)	0.107 (0.0721)	0.111 (0.0749)	0.101 (0.0648)	0.102 (0.0647)
Perception gap (males)	-0.138* (0.0740)	-0.138* (0.0742)	-0.140* (0.0750)	-0.144* (0.0777)	-0.154** (0.0775)	-0.156* (0.0801)
Gender gap (social)	0.361*** (0.0797)	0.365*** (0.0798)	0.365*** (0.0819)	0.329*** (0.0907)	0.320*** (0.0818)	0.323*** (0.0825)
Gender gap (individual)	0.115 (0.0858)	0.118 (0.0852)	0.118 (0.0867)	0.0744 (0.0920)	0.0650 (0.0819)	0.0653 (0.0817)
Difference in gaps	0.246** (0.102)	0.247** (0.103)	0.248** (0.104)	0.254** (0.108)	0.255** (0.0998)	0.258** (0.102)
Session FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
College variables	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographics	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	268	268	268	268	268	268

White robust standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. Each column represents a specification. See text for details.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

We continue the analysis in Table 4, which shows the results for the Hugging Scenario. Even though the signs of the estimates are in concordance with those in Table II, none of them are significant at standard levels. Hence, the evidence implies that, for this scenario, social and individual perceptions are statistically equal. It also means that females and males report similar levels of tolerance.

The results for the Dinner Scenario are presented in Table 5. The only significant coefficient corresponds to the gender gap in individual perceptions. However, it is only significant at the 10% level in 3 out of 6 specifications. The point estimation means that more women see the scenario as very inappropriate than men do.

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**Table 4. Tolerance of sexual harassment
Perception and gender gaps
Hugging Scenario**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	LPM	LPM	LPM	LPM	Probit	Logit
Perception gap (females)	0.0331 (0.0647)	0.0346 (0.0651)	0.0343 (0.0661)	0.0411 (0.0672)	0.0431 (0.0629)	0.0417 (0.0638)
Perception gap (males)	-0.0748 (0.0788)	-0.0738 (0.0790)	-0.0778 (0.0804)	-0.0787 (0.0841)	-0.0804 (0.0762)	-0.0800 (0.0777)
Gender gap (social)	0.0439 (0.0867)	0.0432 (0.0865)	0.0626 (0.0902)	0.0458 (0.0980)	0.0586 (0.0908)	0.0553 (0.0938)
Gender gap (individual)	-0.0640 (0.0868)	-0.0652 (0.0879)	-0.0495 (0.0914)	-0.0740 (0.0986)	-0.0650 (0.0922)	-0.0664 (0.0955)
Difference in gaps	0.108 (0.102)	0.108 (0.102)	0.112 (0.104)	0.120 (0.108)	0.124 (0.0989)	0.122 (0.101)
Session FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
College variables	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographics	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	257	257	257	257	257	257

White robust standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. Each column represents a specification. See text for details.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

3.2 Perception Gaps in Inappropriateness

The findings for the last two tables imply that there is little evidence of differences by gender in the perceptions gaps for scenarios 3 and 4. However, Figures 4 and 5 showed that, for those scenarios, a substantial proportion of the answers fall under the somewhat appropriate category. To assess whether gender plays a role on the perception of inappropriateness of these two scenarios, we use estimations similar to those in the previous tables, estimated using an adaptation of expression (1).¹⁰ In particular, we use as dependent variable an indicator that takes the value of 1 if the

¹⁰ We performed the same estimations for the Photos and Dancing Scenarios and found no significant effects. The results are available upon request.

Sexual Harassment Perception Gap

answer was very inappropriate or somewhat inappropriate and 0 if it was very appropriate or somewhat appropriate.

**Table 5. Tolerance of sexual harassment
Perception and gender gaps
Dinner Scenario**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	LPM	LPM	LPM	LPM	Probit	Logit
Perception gap (females)	-0.0290 (0.0724)	-0.0286 (0.0726)	-0.0276 (0.0734)	-0.0206 (0.0765)	-0.0227 (0.0721)	-0.0220 (0.0737)
Perception gap (males)	0.00000 (0.0839)	-0.00136 (0.0844)	0.00211 (0.0854)	0.00178 (0.0882)	-0.000394 (0.0804)	0.00258 (0.0805)
Gender gap (social)	0.134 (0.0887)	0.137 (0.0889)	0.150 (0.0917)	0.123 (0.0939)	0.118 (0.0876)	0.117 (0.0877)
Gender gap (individual)	0.164* (0.0906)	0.165* (0.0910)	0.180* (0.0945)	0.146 (0.0969)	0.140 (0.0888)	0.141 (0.0899)
Difference in gaps	-0.0290 (0.111)	-0.0273 (0.111)	-0.0297 (0.112)	-0.0224 (0.117)	-0.0223 (0.108)	-0.0246 (0.109)
Session FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
College variables	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographics	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	248	248	248	248	248	248

White robust standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. Each column represents a specification. See text for details.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The estimations corresponding to the Hugging Scenario are shown in Table 6. Only the perception gap for females is significant across the specifications. It ranges from 7.9 to 11.4 percentage points. That is, when it comes to judge a situation in which a male unexpectedly hugs a female, it is more likely that women believe that society perceives the situation as inappropriate than that they themselves feel that way. For males there is no evidence of a significant perception gap, but the point estimation goes in the opposite direction. Hence, the difference in the perception gaps is positive. It is also significant at least at the 10% level. These findings suggest, not only the perception gap is heterogeneous across gender, but also that the difference is significant.

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**Table 6. Perception of Inappropriateness of sexual harassment
Perception and gender gaps
Hugging Scenario**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	LPM	LPM	LPM	LPM	Probit	Logit
Perception gap (females)	0.0789** (0.0364)	0.0789** (0.0366)	0.0789** (0.0370)	0.0789** (0.0383)	0.114*** (0.0417)	0.0983** (0.0453)
Perception gap (males)	-0.0156 (0.0417)	-0.0156 (0.0419)	-0.0156 (0.0424)	-0.0156 (0.0438)	-0.0240 (0.0360)	-0.0153 (0.0406)
Gender gap (social)	0.0543 (0.0431)	0.0543 (0.0428)	0.0454 (0.0459)	0.0302 (0.0483)	0.0574 (0.0500)	0.0533 (0.0572)
Gender gap (individual)	-0.0403 (0.0504)	-0.0403 (0.0503)	-0.0492 (0.0546)	-0.0644 (0.0515)	-0.0804* (0.0449)	-0.0602 (0.0492)
Difference in gaps	0.0946* (0.0553)	0.0946* (0.0556)	0.0946* (0.0563)	0.0946 (0.0581)	0.138** (0.0569)	0.114* (0.0625)
Session FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
College variables	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographics	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	280	280	280	280	280	280

White robust standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. Each column represents a specification. See text for details.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7 presents the results for the Dinner Scenario, an invitation for dinner from a potential employer. They are similar to the findings for the Hugging Scenario. The perception gap for females is around 10 percentage points and significant at least at the 5% level. Therefore, it is more likely that females think that others perceive this situation as inappropriate than their own perception. For males there is no evidence of perception gap. The difference of these gaps is positive (as it is for the Hugging Scenario), but it is only significant in one specification.

The table also suggests that females are less likely to consider this situation as inappropriate than males do (individual gender gap), but the coefficients are only

Sexual Harassment Perception Gap

significant in 4 specifications at standard levels. There is no evidence of a social gender gap.

**Table 7. Perception of Inappropriateness of sexual harassment
Perception and gender gaps
Dinner Scenario**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	LPM	LPM	LPM	LPM	Probit	Logit
Perception gap (females)	0.105*** (0.0402)	0.105** (0.0404)	0.105** (0.0408)	0.105** (0.0422)	0.0995*** (0.0346)	0.100*** (0.0386)
Perception gap (males)	0.0000 (0.0499)	0.0000 (0.0501)	0.0000 (0.0507)	0.0000 (0.0524)	-0.0170 (0.0545)	0.0000 (0.0622)
Gender gap (social)	0.0148 (0.0482)	0.0148 (0.0484)	0.00724 (0.0534)	0.0145 (0.0533)	0.00724 (0.0608)	-0.0101 (0.0825)
Gender gap (individual)	-0.0905 (0.0580)	-0.0905 (0.0584)	-0.0980* (0.0572)	-0.0907* (0.0543)	-0.109** (0.0546)	-0.110* (0.0616)
Difference gaps	0.105 (0.0640)	0.105 (0.0644)	0.105 (0.0651)	0.105 (0.0673)	0.116* (0.0659)	0.100 (0.0750)
Session FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
College variables	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographics	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	280	280	280	280	280	280

White robust standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. Each column represents a specification. See text for details.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The previous findings imply that while most participants view these sexual harassment scenarios as being inappropriate, there is heterogeneity when considering the level of inappropriateness.

We also find that the perception gaps of men and women tend to go in opposite directions, and that the role of gender in perception gaps depends on the scenario. For the Photos Scenario and the Dancing Scenario gender plays a substantial role in the tolerance of sexual harassment situations (difference between a perception of very inappropriate and somewhat inappropriate). The perception gaps go in different directions for each gender, and its difference is significant.

For the Hugging Scenario and the Dinner Scenario gender plays an important role in the perception of inappropriate behavior (difference between a perception of inappropriate and appropriate behavior.) However, this gender effect is explained almost completely from the female perception gap.

4. Conclusions

Sexual harassment is a societal problem that can have a variety of economic and psychological impacts on the victim. Its elimination can help to make more productive and safe workplaces. Many studies have examined the effects of and the perception of sexual harassment, but little work has been done on social norms regarding sexual harassment. Furthermore, to our knowledge, no study has examined the perception gap between individual and social perceptions of sexual harassment.

Through an experimental setting whereby we elicited the social norm with regard to the appropriateness of four sexual harassment scenarios, we find evidence of gender playing a significant role in both individual and social norm perceptions of sexual harassment in several interesting ways. First, while perception gaps do not appear when aggregating male and female data, we find evidence of perception gaps in the examined scenarios as well as significant differences in the perception gaps between males and females when gender is accounted for. For the first two scenarios, we find significant gender specific perception gaps with regards to the perceived severity of the inappropriateness of the actions. For the last two scenarios, we find significant gender specific perception gaps with regards to the perception of appropriateness of the actions. Additionally, in most of the cases we find gender gaps in both individual perceptions and social norm perceptions.

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These findings have several implications. First, since both individual and social perceptions may explain behavior, it is important for policy makers, workplace managers, and campaign designers to realize that in addition to having differing personal perceptions, males and females have differing perceptions of the social norm in some cases. This implies that some differences in behaviors regarding sexual harassment between males and females could potentially be explained by gaps in perceptions.

Another related implication of our findings is that since we find differences between personal perceptions and social perceptions for each gender, a phenomenon known as pluralistic ignorance may be occurring where the perception of the social norm does not coincide with the personal beliefs (Prentice and Miller 1993). This phenomenon is the result of a false inference of the attitudes and beliefs of peers towards a social behavior and can lead to individuals supporting a behavior in public but rejecting it in private as could potentially be the case that we see with males in this study.

Understanding this phenomenon is especially important in legal cases involving sexual harassment where the “reasonable woman” or the “reasonable victim” standard may be used. As males and females on average have differing perceptions about the social norm relating to the examined cases of sexual harassment, this suggests that using these standards could lead to differing legal results based on the gender of the deciding parties.

This work contributes to the literature on sexual harassment perceptions and helps to bring a fuller understanding of the role of gender in the related perception gaps. Future research in this area could build on this work by examining how social norm

information influence behavior related to sexual harassment especially when considering gender differences.

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Appendix: Experimental Instructions in Spanish and English translations

Instrucciones

Usted va a participar en un estudio.

Por su participación usted recibirá una compensación de \$3 y podrá ganar una compensación adicional basada en las decisiones que tome y el azar.

Su saldo total acumulado se pagará al final del estudio.

Por favor presione “Siguiete” para continuar

Siguiete

Instrucciones

No hablar

Durante el estudio no está permitido hablar con otros participantes.

Privacidad

Su identidad está protegida en este estudio. No se pedirá que revele su identidad durante el mismo. En este estudio se le asignará un número de identificación que es solo de su conocimiento. Recibirá la compensación monetaria identificándose con este número. La compensación será entregada al final del experimento en privado y en una habitación adyacente a esta sala.

Siguiete

Instrucciones

Uso de Información

La información de este estudio será usada exclusivamente para investigación académica, sin ningún fin comercial. Sólo los investigadores responsables de este estudio tendrán acceso a la información.

Participación

Por favor recuerde que su participación es libre y voluntaria.

Siguiete

Sexual Harassment Perception Gap

Instrucciones

¿Cuál es su sexo?

___ Hombre

___ Mujer

Siguiente

Estructura del estudio

El estudio está dividido en dos partes:

1. Usted deberá leer 4 escenarios hipotéticos y evaluarlos
2. Usted deberá completar una breve encuesta.

Siguiente

Primera parte

Por favor, lea cuidadosamente las siguientes instrucciones.

En esta parte del estudio, se pedirá su sincera opinión respecto a cada escenario. Después de leer cada escenario evalúelo de acuerdo a la siguiente escala:

- Muy inapropiado,
- Algo inapropiado,
- Algo apropiado, o
- Muy apropiado.

Por favor, recuerde que su identidad permanecerá oculta.

Siguiente

Sexual Harassment Perception Gap

Primera parte

Andrés creó un grupo de WhatsApp formado por todos sus amigos y amigas. Santiago ha empezado a enviar fotos de mujeres con poca ropa.

Califique el comportamiento de Santiago dentro de la siguiente escala; luego presione "Siguiete".

Muy Inapropiado	Algo Inapropiado	Algo apropiado	Muy Apropiado

Siguiete

Primera parte

Alfredo está perdidamente enamorado de Marcia. Son amigos desde hace muchos años. Alfredo está convencido de que Marcia puede llegar a sentir algo más que amistad, por lo tanto al coincidir en una fiesta aprovechó la oportunidad para intentar invitarla a bailar. Alfredo ya estaba pasado de tragos e insistió en invitar a bailar a Marcia seis veces. Marcia se negó en todas las ocasiones.

Califique el comportamiento de Alfredo dentro de la siguiente escala; luego presione "Siguiete."

Muy Inapropiado	Algo Inapropiado	Algo apropiado	Muy Apropiado

Siguiete

Primera parte

Luis y Johana son compañeros de trabajo, tienen una relación estrictamente laboral, no son amigos ni se ven en otros sitios. Durante la fiesta de aniversario de la compañía Luis se acercó por detrás a Johana y la abrazó.

Califique el comportamiento de Luis dentro de la siguiente escala; luego presione "Siguiete".

Muy Inapropiado	Algo Inapropiado	Algo apropiado	Muy Apropiado

Siguiente

Primera parte

Israel es el jefe de selección de personal de una empresa. Lisette se encuentra aplicando para una vacante y asiste a su entrevista. Cuando Israel y Lisette se conocen la comunicación fluye de manera estupenda, hay mucha afinidad y empatía entre ambos. Israel le informa a Lisette que la decisión final la tomará la próxima semana ya que aún tiene que entrevistar a más personas. Al día siguiente, Israel llama a Lisette y la invita a un lujoso restaurante para cenar y degustar vino.

Califique el comportamiento de Israel dentro de la siguiente escala; luego presione "Siguiente."

Muy Inapropiado	Algo Inapropiado	Algo apropiado	Muy Apropiado

Siguiente

Segunda parte

Instrucciones

1. A continuación, se presentará un juego corto sobre los cuatro escenarios anteriores.
2. Usted deberá seleccionar, para cada escenario la respuesta que considere fue elegida por la mayoría de los participantes. (Esto es equivalente a adivinar que piensan los demás).

Pagos

1. Al final del juego la computadora seleccionará aleatoriamente uno de los cuatro escenarios.
2. Para el escenario seleccionado por la computadora dos participantes, entre quienes acierten cuál es la respuesta más popular, serán elegidos aleatoriamente por la computadora para ganar \$15 adicionales.
3. Todos los participantes que acierten tendrán la misma probabilidad de ser elegidos para este pago adicional.
4. Si sólo un participante acierta cuál es la respuesta más popular, automáticamente gana el pago adicional de \$15.
5. Si ningún participante acierta, se seleccionará aleatoriamente otro escenario y se vuelve a realizar el proceso.

Siguiente

Sexual Harassment Perception Gap

Segunda parte

Andrés creó un grupo de Whatsapp formado por todos sus amigos y amigas. Santiago ha empezado a enviar fotos de mujeres con poca ropa.

Por favor, indique qué respuesta fue la más elegida por los demás participantes para calificar el comportamiento de Santiago. Luego presione "Siguiete".

Muy Inapropiado	Algo Inapropiado	Algo apropiado	Muy Apropiado

Siguiete

Segunda parte

Alfredo está perdidamente enamorado de Marcia. Son amigos desde hace muchos años. Alfredo está convencido de que Marcia puede llegar a sentir algo más que amistad, por lo tanto al coincidir en una fiesta aprovechó la oportunidad para intentar invitarla a bailar. Alfredo ya estaba pasado de tragos e insistió en invitar a bailar a Marcia seis veces. Marcia se negó en todas las ocasiones.

Por favor, indique qué respuesta piensa usted fue la más elegida por los demás participantes para calificar el comportamiento de Alfredo. Luego presione "Siguiete".

Muy Inapropiado	Algo Inapropiado	Algo apropiado	Muy Apropiado

Siguiete

Segunda parte

Luis y Johana son compañeros de trabajo, tienen una relación estrictamente laboral, no son amigos ni se ven en otros sitios. Durante la fiesta de aniversario de la compañía Luis se acercó por detrás a Johana y la abrazó.

Por favor, indique qué respuesta piensa usted fue la más elegida por los demás participantes para calificar el comportamiento de Luis. Luego presione "Siguiete".

Muy Inapropiado	Algo Inapropiado	Algo apropiado	Muy Apropiado

Siguiete

Sexual Harassment Perception Gap

Segunda parte

Israel es el jefe de selección de personal de una empresa. Lisette se encuentra aplicando para una vacante y asiste a su entrevista. Cuando Israel y Lisette se conocen la comunicación fluye de manera estupenda, hay mucha afinidad y empatía entre ambos. Israel le informa a Lisette que la decisión final la tomará la próxima semana ya que aún tiene que entrevistar a más personas. Al día siguiente, Israel llama a Lisette y la invita a un lujoso restaurante para cenar y degustar vino.

Por favor, indique qué respuesta piensa usted fue la más elegida por los demás participantes para calificar el comportamiento de Israel. Luego presione "Siguiete".

Muy Inapropiado	Algo Inapropiado	Algo apropiado	Muy Apropiado

Siguiete

Por favor espere

Esperando a los otros participantes

Resultados

Escenario	Primera Etapa La Mayoría dijo	Segunda Etapa Su Elección
1	"Algo Apropiado"	"Algo Inapropiado"
2	"Algo Inapropiado"	"Algo Inapropiado"
3	"Algo Inapropiado"	"Algo Inapropiado"
4	"Algo Inapropiado"	"Algo Inapropiado"

Siguiete

Si participante acierta la respuesta.

Resultados del Escenario

El escenario elegido fue el Escenario 4

Escenario	Primera Etapa La Mayoría dijo	Segunda Etapa Su Elección
4	"Algo Inapropiado"	"Algo Inapropiado"

Usted acertó la respuesta más popular, por lo tanto ha entrado al sorteo para un pago adicional de \$15

Siguiete

Sexual Harassment Perception Gap

Cuando el participante NO Acierta la respuesta.

Escenario	Primera Etapa La Mayoría dijo	Segunda Etapa Su Elección
4	"Algo Inapropiado"	"Algo Apropiado"

Usted no acertó la respuesta más popular.

Siguiente

Cuando el participante entra al sorteo y Gana

Resultados del sorteo

Usted ganó el sorteo, por lo tanto, recibirá un pago adicional de \$15

Siguiente

Cuando el participante entra al sorteo y no Gana

Resultados del sorteo

Usted no ganó el sorteo, por lo tanto, no recibe un pago adicional de \$15

Siguiente

Cuando el participante no entra al sorteo

Por favor espere

Esperando a los otros participantes

Sexual Harassment Perception Gap

Instructions

You are going to participate in a study.

For your participation, you will receive a payment of \$3 and may earn additional compensation based on the decisions you make and chance.

Your total accumulated earnings will be paid at the end of the study.

Please press "Next" to continue.

Next

Instructions

No Talking

During the study it is not allowed to talk with other participants.

Privacy

Your identity is protected in this study and you will not be asked to reveal your identity. In this study you will be assigned an identification number that only you will know. In order to receive your payment you will have to identify yourself using this number. The earnings will be distributed at the end of the experiment in private and in a room adjacent to this room.

Next

Instructions

Use of Information

The information in this study will be used exclusively for academic research without any commercial purpose. Only the researchers responsible for this study will have access to the information.

Participation

Please remember that your participation is voluntary.

Next

Instructions

What is your sex?

Man

Woman

Next

Sexual Harassment Perception Gap

Structure of the study

The study is divided into two parts:

1. You will read 4 hypothetical scenarios and evaluate them.
2. You will complete a brief survey.

Next

First Part

Please read the following instructions carefully.

In this part of the study, your honest opinion will be asked about each scenario. After reading each scenario, evaluate it according to the following scale:

- Very inappropriate,
- Somewhat inappropriate,
- Somewhat appropriate, or
- Very appropriate.

Please remember that your identity will remain hidden.

Next

First Part

Andrés created a WhatsApp group with all of his friends. Santiago has started sending photos of women with little clothing on.

Rate the behavior of Santiago within the following scale; then press "Next".

Very inappropriate	Somewhat inappropriate	Somewhat appropriate	Very appropriate
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Next

First Part

Alfredo is madly in love with Marcia. They have been friends for many years. Alfredo is convinced that Marcia can come to feel something more than friendship, so when they met at a party, he took the opportunity to try and invite her to dance. Alfredo was already tipsy and insisted on inviting Marcia to dance six times. Marcia refused on all occasions.

Rate Alfredo's behavior within the following scale. Then press "Next."

Sexual Harassment Perception Gap

Very inappropriate Somewhat inappropriate Somewhat appropriate Very appropriate

Next

First Part

Luis and Johana are co-workers. They have a strictly professional relationship and are not friends nor meet in other places. During the company's anniversary party, Luis approached Johana from behind and hugged her.

Rate Luis' behavior within the following scale. Then press "Next".

Very inappropriate Somewhat inappropriate Somewhat appropriate Very appropriate

Next

First part

Israel is the head of hiring at a company. Lisette is applying for a job opening and attends her interview. When Israel and Lisette talk, communication flows excellently, and there is a lot of sympathy and empathy between them. Israel informs Lisette that the final decision will be made next week as he has yet to interview more people. The next day, Israel calls Lisette and invites her to a luxurious restaurant for dinner and wine tasting.

Rate Israel's behavior within the following scale. Then press "Next."

Very inappropriate Somewhat inappropriate Somewhat appropriate Very appropriate

Next

Second Part

Instructions

1. Next, a short game about the four previous scenarios will be presented.
2. For each scenario, you must select the answer you think was chosen by the majority of the participants. (This is equivalent to guessing what others think).

Payments

1. At the end of the game the computer will randomly select one of the four scenarios.
2. For the scenario selected by the computer, two participants among those who guess which is the most popular answer will be chosen randomly by the computer to earn an additional \$15.

Sexual Harassment Perception Gap

3. All of the participants who answer will have the same probability of being chosen for this additional payment.
4. If only one participant correctly guesses which answer is the most popular, he or she automatically wins the additional payment of \$15.
5. If no participant succeeds, another scenario will be randomly selected and the process is carried out again.

Next

Second Part

Andrés created a WhatsApp group with all of his friends. Santiago has started sending photos of women with little clothing on.

Please indicate which response was most often chosen by the other participants to rate Santiago's behavior. Then press "Next".

Very inappropriate Somewhat inappropriate Somewhat appropriate Very appropriate

Next

Second Part

Alfredo is madly in love with Marcia. They have been friends for many years. Alfredo is convinced that Marcia can come to feel something more than friendship, so when they met at a party, he took the opportunity to try and invite her to dance. Alfredo was already tipsy and insisted on inviting Marcia to dance six times. Marcia refused on all occasions.

Please indicate which answer you think was most often chosen by the other participants to rate Alfredo's behavior. Then press "Next".

Very inappropriate Somewhat inappropriate Somewhat appropriate Very appropriate

Next

Second Part

Luis and Johana are co-workers. They have a strictly professional relationship and are not friends or meet in other places. During the company's anniversary party, Luis approached Johana from behind and hugged her. Please indicate which answer you think was most often chosen by the other participants to rate Luis' behavior. Then press "Next".

Very inappropriate Somewhat inappropriate Somewhat appropriate Very appropriate

Next

Sexual Harassment Perception Gap

Second part

Israel is the head of hiring at a company. Lisette is applying for a job opening and attends her interview. When Israel and Lisette talk, communication flows superbly. There is a lot of affinity and empathy between them. Israel informs Lisette that the final decision will be made next week as he has yet to interview more people. The next day, Israel calls Lisette and invites her to a luxurious restaurant for dinner and wine tasting. Please indicate which answer you think was most often chosen by the other participants to rate Israel's behavior. Then press "Next".

Very inappropriate Somewhat inappropriate Somewhat appropriate Very appropriate

Next

Please wait

Waiting for the other participants.

Results

Scenario	First Part The Majority Said	Second Part Your Choice
1	"Somewhat Appropriate"	"Somewhat Inappropriate"
2	"Somewhat Inappropriate"	"Somewhat Inappropriate"
3	"Somewhat Inappropriate"	"Somewhat Inappropriate"
4	"Somewhat Inappropriate"	"Somewhat Inappropriate"

Next

If the participant guesses the correct answer

Scenario Results

The scenario chosen was Scenario 4

Scenario	First Part The Majority Said	Second Part Your Choice
4	"Somewhat Inappropriate"	"Somewhat Inappropriate"

You guessed the most popular answer. Therefore you have entered the draw for an additional payment of \$15.

Next

When the participant doesn't guess the correct answer.

Sexual Harassment Perception Gap

Scenario	First Stage The Majority Said	Second Stage Your Choice
4	"Somewhat Inappropriate"	"Somewhat Appropriate"

You did not choose the most popular answer.

Next

When the participant enters the drawing and wins.

Results of the drawing.

You won the drawing. Therefore, you will receive an additional payment of \$15.

Next

When the participant enters the drawing and does not win

Results of the drawing

You did not win the drawing. Therefore, you will not receive an additional payment of \$15.

Next

When the participant does not enter the drawing.

Please wait

Waiting for the other participants.