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I DIDN'T KNOW IT WAS HARASSMENT:
PERVASIVE & UNRECOGNIZED DISCRIMINATION ON THE COLLEGE CAMPUS

by

TIFFANY A. PARSONS

Under the Direction of Rosalind Chou, PHD

ABSTRACT

This exploratory study investigates college men's opinions about as well as their engagement in and knowledge of other men's participation in behaviors college women define as sexual harassment. There is a dearth of knowledge about male students' perceptions of sexual harassment, how those perceptions influence their sexually harassing behaviors, and how students' perceptions and behaviors align (or not) with academic and legal constructs of sexual

harassment. This study, conducted at a mid-sized state university in the U.S. suburban south, aims to add to the current knowledge by revealing men's self-reported perceptions and behaviors regarding sexual harassment and locating those perceptions and behaviors within the cultural context. Sexual harassment is discrimination, and legally, for a school to be held liable under Title IX, school personnel with the authority to stop the discrimination must know of the harassment and act with deliberate indifference. The results of this study provide the necessary evidence for school officials to know harassment, and therefore, discrimination, is occurring. The results reveal male students do not recognize behaviors that constitute sexual harassment, and moreover, they admit to committing sexual harassment, including egregious forms such as stalking and sexual assault.

INDEX WORDS: Discrimination, Sexual harassment, Hegemonic masculinity, Title IX

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TIFFANY A. PARSONS

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2020

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Tiffany A. Parsons
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by

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December 2020

DEDICATION

Dedicated to the women students in my Violence Against Women courses who bravely shared their experiences and encouraged me to develop the Parsons Inventory of Common Sexual Harassment Behaviors to find an answer to their question “do they know what they’re doing to us?”

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I wish to acknowledge the many people who have supported me throughout the many years it took to complete this project. To the teachers who guided and shaped my intellectual journey and to my sweet friends who were there encouraging me in victory and propping me up in what seemed to be defeat, thank you.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		V
LIST OF FIGURES		IX
1 INTRODUCTION		1
1.1 Literature Review		1
<i>1.1.1 Defining Sexual Harassment: Sex-based, Gender, Unwanted Attention, and Coercion</i>		<i>4</i>
<i>1.1.2 Perceptions</i>		<i>8</i>
<i>1.1.3 Theory: Hegemonic Masculinity</i>		<i>14</i>
<i>1.1.4 Theory: Exchange Theory</i>		<i>14</i>
2 METHODS		25
2.1 Participants		25
2.2 Measure		26
<i>2.2.1 Parsons Inventory of Common Sexual Harassment Behaviors</i>		<i>26</i>
2.3 Procedure		31
2.4 Analysis		33
3 RESULTS		34
3.1 Unwanted Sexual Attention/Coercion, Talk v Action		34
<i>3.1.1 Unwanted Sexual Attention/Coercion, Talk v Action: Men’s Opinions</i>		<i>34</i>
<i>3.1.2 Unwanted Sexual Attention/Coercion, Talk v Action: Men’s Participation</i>		<i>38</i>

3.1.3	<i>Unwanted Sexual Attention/Coercion, Talk v Action: Men’s Opinion & Participation</i>	41
3.1.4	<i>Unwanted Sexual Attention/Coercion, Talk v Action: Witnessing &/or Knowledge of Others</i>	45
3.1.5	<i>Unwanted Sexual Attention/Coercion, Talk v Action: Men’s Own Participation & Their Knowledge of other Men’s Participation</i>	47
3.2	Gender and Sex Based Harassment, Talk v Action	50
3.2.1	<i>Gender and Sex Based Harassment, Talk v Action: Men’s Opinions</i>	51
3.2.2	<i>Gender and Sex Based Harassment, Talk v Action: Men’s Participation</i>	54
3.2.3	<i>Gender and Sex Based Harassment, Talk v Action: Men’s Opinions & Participation</i>	55
3.2.4	<i>Gender and Sex Based Harassment, Talk v Action: Witnessing &/or Knowledge of Others</i>	59
3.2.5	<i>Gender and Sex Based Harassment, Talk v Action: Men’s Own Participation & Their Knowledge of other Men’s Participation</i>	60
4	DISCUSSION	64
4.1	Unwanted Attention & Coercion Harassment	64
4.1.1	<i>Men’s Opinions</i>	65
4.1.2	<i>Men’s Participation & Their Knowledge of Others</i>	70
4.2	Gender and Sex Based Harassment	78
4.2.1	<i>Men’s Opinions</i>	79

4.2.2	<i>Men's Participation & Their Knowledge of Others</i>	84
5	CONCLUSION	90
	REFERENCES	94

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1 Men’s Opinions on Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Talk	34
Figure 3.2 Men’s Opinions on Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors	36
Figure 3.3 Men’s Participation in Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Talk	39
Figure 3.4 Men’s Opinions on Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors	40
Figure 3.5 Men’s Opinions & Participation in Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Talk	42
Figure 3.6 Men’s Opinions & Participation in Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors	42
Figure 3.7 Witnessing or Knowledge of Other Men’s Engagement in Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Talk.....	46
Figure 3.8 Witnessing or Knowledge of Other Men’s Engagement in Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors.....	47
Figure 3.9 Men’s Own Participation and Their Knowledge of Other Men’s Participation in Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Talk.....	49
Figure 3.10 Men’s Own Participation and Their Knowledge of Other Men’s Participation in Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors	50
Figure 3.11 Men's Opinions on Gender/Sex Based Type Sexual Harassment Talk.....	52
Figure 3.12 Men's Opinions on Gender/Sex Based Type Harassment Behaviors.....	53
Figure 3.13 Men's Participation in Gender/Sex Based Type Sexual Harassment Talk	54

Figure 3.14 Men's Participation in Gender/Sex Based Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors	55
Figure 3.15 Men's Opinions and Participation in Gender/Sex Based Type Sexual Harassment Talk	57
Figure 3.16 Men's Opinions and Participation in Gender/Sex Based Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors	58
Figure 3.17 Witnessing or Knowledge of Other Men's Engagement in Gender/Sex Based Type Sexual Harassment Talk	59
Figure 3.18 Witnessing or Knowledge of Other Men's Engagement in Gender/Sex Based Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors.....	60
Figure 3.19 Men's Own Participation and Their Knowledge of Other Men's Participation in Gender/Sex Based Type Harassment Talk	62
Figure 3.20 Men's Own Participation and Their Knowledge of Other Men's Participation in Gender/Sex Based Type Harassment Behaviors.....	63

1 INTRODUCTION

In 2015, a Stanford athlete raped an unconscious woman after a party. A year later, Judge Persky sentenced him to 6 months in prison, and the rapist served 3. In 2017, the #MeToo hashtag went viral on Twitter, and within one year 2.6 million women around the country (and world) publicly shared their personal experiences as victims of sexual harassment on social media (Anderson and Toor 2018). In 2018, a Baylor fraternity president who raped an unconscious woman at party was found guilty and his penalty was a \$400 fine (Arnold 2018). That same year, U.S. Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos, established policy to support and protect students who rape, harass, and assault along with putting the impetus for reducing sexual misconduct on victims (Ryan 2018). In 2019, the Campus Climate Survey revealed the nation's top universities have sexual assault rates between 14 to 32% but at the same time low rates of outreach about sexual assault and misconduct (Anderson 2019). Earlier this week, the nation was made aware of yet another college campus, Louisiana State University, in which administrators and officials knew of male students' sexually harassing, assaulting, and raping women students but completely ignored it (Jacoby, Armour, and Luther 2020).

Sexual harassment is a common part of the cultural landscape (Bursik and Geftter 2011) and peer-to-peer sexual harassment discrimination is rampant in university settings (Hill and Silva 2005; American Association of University Women 2006; Kimmel 2008; Pino and Johnson-Johns 2009). Researchers have been studying sexual harassment since the 1970s, yet it continues. One potential explanation for why peer-to-peer sexual harassment discrimination is pervasive on college campuses is, as the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) admits, students "may not know what sexual harassment is" (2008). This study aims to find out if that is, indeed, the case, or if they know what it is and continue to harass.

Discrimination of any kind often has significant detrimental impacts upon the victim's well-being, including academic performance (Montgomery 2010). Title IX prohibits discrimination based on sex in schools that receive federal funding. In 1977, the Supreme Court first deemed sexual harassment to be discrimination, and by 1998 the Court had deemed all forms of sexual harassment to be discrimination. Title IX's prohibition extends to students, making it illegal for one student to sexually harass another. Yet, the university setting remains fertile ground for peer-to-peer sexual harassment (Ekore 2012) and, therefore, discrimination. Victims of sexual harassment discrimination may be male or female, however, sexual harassment discrimination disproportionately negatively affects females (American Association of University Women 2006).

Previous literature has focused on women's experiences as victims of sexual harassment and the detrimental outcomes. Little research has asked men if they know what behaviors make women feel harassed, and the research that has focused on perpetrators of sexual harassment tend to be conducted in the workplace. In this study, I investigate 1) what behaviors male college students believe constitute sexual harassment, 2) how often they engage in sexually harassing behaviors towards female students, as well as 3) whether they have witnessed and know of other students engaging in sexually harassing behaviors. There is a dearth of knowledge about male students' perceptions of sexual harassment, how those perceptions influence their sexually harassing behaviors, and how students' perceptions and behaviors align, or not, with academic and legal constructs of sexual harassment.

This study provides college administrators empirical evidence that sexual harassment is occurring on campus. Legally, for a school to be held liable under Title IX, school personnel with the authority to stop the discrimination must know of the harassment and act with deliberate

indifference (Baker 2010). Asking men, the primary¹ perpetrators of sexual harassment, these questions is a necessary foundation for developing a strategy to end sexual harassment. Despite more women attending university and earning degrees, the college campus remains a place of entrenched male dominance (Kimmel 2008; Baker 2010; Cullitan 2011). Cultural practices that encourage subtle aggression in negotiating sexual decisions and favor a more powerful perpetrator over the victim can reinforce treating cases of sexual harassment discrimination with levity (Ekore 2012). The college campus is such a culture, and cases of sexual harassment, even in its most severe form such as gang rape, have been treated with flippancy by administration and other officials (Sanday 1990, Simpson v University of Colorado Boulder 2007; Williams v Board of Regents University System of Georgia 2007; Cullitan 2011; People v Turner 2018; Jacoby, Armour, and Luther 2020).

There is also little explanation of male students' perceptions and behaviors regarding sexual harassment. As such, this study adds to the current knowledge by drawing on two theoretical perspectives and applying them to opinions about sexual harassment and sexually harassing behaviors. First, Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) Hegemonic Masculinity places sexual harassers into the cultural context and help us best understand why college men have positive attitudes toward sexual harassment behaviors and what motivates them to commit sexual harassment. Second, Hammons (1958) Exchange Theory explains the profit-loss logic behind the repetition of sexually harassing behaviors and clarifies how sexually harassing behaviors are rewarded rather than punished.

¹ While women commit sexual harassment as well, men are most often the perpetrators of sexual harassment and men are the focus of this study.

Sexual harassment discrimination is occurring on college campuses, and it is still being treated as if it is the natural result of being male - “boys will be boys” - instead of recognizing it as men attempting to live up to the cultural ideals of masculinity. Until now, we had failed to determine whether male students even recognize what behaviors are harassment and if their opinions are in line with what it means to be a real man. As such, we did not know if their beliefs about harassment aligned with their behaviors and, therefore, if they are acting in ways that demonstrate they measure up to the culture’s ideal man.

The dissemination of these results, at minimum, give those with authority on college campuses knowledge that it is happening and can aid them in developing more appropriate interventions. When male students do not know their behaviors are harmful to their fellow female students, the intervention necessary to reduce sexual harassment on college campuses is vastly different from the intervention necessary when male students do know their behaviors are harmful and do it any way.

1.1 Literature Review

While women today continue to be sexually harassed at work and in school, workplaces and schools are now more likely than not to have policies that prohibit sexual harassment. While there is no law that requires such policies or training, when victims file legal suit, the courts view those entities that lack policy and training more harshly (Yanez-Perez 1997). As such, many places of employment even have annual trainings that bring awareness both about what constitutes sexual harassment and how to report sexual harassment. Prior to the 1990s, however, sexual harassment was considered by most as something women just had to endure if they wanted to go to work or school (Webb 1991:4). Since women went to work in the public sphere, men’s sexual harassment of women has been a major barrier to women’s success and well being.

For decades, women's employment was often contingent on their willingness to engage in sexual relationships with either clients or supervisors (Mackinnon 1979:32). Women had to endure unwanted sexual attention, lewd comments and imagery, as well as a workplace environment that was hostile to women in general (Mackinnon 1979, Clark 1991, and Webb 1991). Even when a woman reported sexual harassment to supervisors or administration, those in positions of authority neither understood it as a problem, nor took action (Webb 1991:4). There simply was no recourse. If a woman wanted or needed to work, she was subject to any number of indignities. It was a condition of employment (Mackinnon 1979, Clark 1991, and Webb 1991).

The first record of women giving voice to what we now call sexual harassment was in 1734 when several women servants banded together and posted a notice in the *New York Weekly Journal* claiming they should not be subject to beatings and seduction by their mistresses' husbands (Clark 1991). Yet, it took 243 more years for the courts to recognize a single form of sexual harassment (*Barnes v Costle* 1977) and many more years before we had a comprehensive understanding that was legally actionable. The Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made discriminating against a person on the basis of her or his sex in the workplace illegal, but it was almost a decade later before this right was legally granted to women in school (Title IX 1972).

In 1977, the federal appellate court identified, for the first time, a specific act by an employer or supervisor as sexual harassment (*Barnes v Costle* 1977) and, therefore, as sex discrimination. The courts determined that quid pro quo sexual harassment, the exchange of tangible employment benefits for sexual favors, was sex discrimination (Klein, Apple, and Kahn 2011). At that point, it was the only form of sexual harassment legally defined as discrimination. Almost a decade later, in 1986, the Supreme Court added that an environment hostile with unwanted sexual attention is also sexual harassment and, therefore, discrimination

(*Meritor Savings v Vinson* 1986). It was almost the 21st century before the Supreme Court eventually included forms of sexual harassment that did not revolve around sexual desire (*Oncale v Sundowner Offshore Services, Inc.* 1998).

Although best known for expanding women's sports (Walker 2010), it is Title IX (1972) that prohibits discrimination based on sex in all educational activities at schools that receive federal funding. According to the Office for Civil Rights in the U.S. Department of Education (2001), sexual harassment of students is sex discrimination under Title IX. Moreover, the Supreme Court determined that Title IX also applies to instances of peer-to-peer sexual harassment discrimination and hostile environment (*Davis v Monroe County Board of Education* 1999). The current study provides insight into how pervasive this form of discrimination against women students is on the college campus. Moreover, beyond the frequency with which college men discriminate against their women peers, the study also reveals men's attitudes about those acts.

Peer-to-peer sexual harassment occurs in the way of "jokes," negative or otherwise unsettling comments, particular ways of looking, displaying or sharing pornographic images, unknown proximity, as well as through physical contact. Hostile environment includes a workplace in which the harassment is severe or pervasive enough to impact the conditions of the victim's employment and create an abusive working environment (*Meritor Savings Bank v Vinson* 1986). In this case, the harassing conduct must pass both a subjective and an objective test, meaning that the victim experiences the harassment as abusive and a reasonable person, similarly situated to the victim, would find the same (*Ellison v Brady* 1991 and *Harris v Forklift Systems, Inc.* 1993). However, unlike the standard for workplaces under Title VII, for a school to be held liable under Title IX, school personnel with the authority to stop it must know of the

harassment and act with deliberate indifference when they fail to do so (Baker 2010). If this study reveals that college men are discriminating against their women peers, upon dissemination of the results, those in authority will know of the harassment and can use the information to act with purpose to end it.

The movement of the court and the problematizing of sexually harassing behaviors at work and in school coincides with an increasing number of women attending college and entering the workforce. In 1950, only 5% of women were college graduates (Duffin 2019) and approximately 34% of women were in the workforce (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2000). The next decade brought about major cultural shifts that served to drastically increase both women's college attendance and labor force participation.

In the 1950's Dr. Margaret Sanger set out to create an oral contraceptive, and within 10 years, she had developed the birth control pill. The FDA approved the birth control pill and American women had access to it by 1960. Around that same time, Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) hit bookshelves and ushered in the second wave of the women's movement. Unlike the first wave which centered on property rights and suffrage, the second wave focused on women's liberation and gave specific attention to equality and discrimination. By the time Friedan's book was published in 1963, 2.3 million women were taking advantage of the birth control pill (Nikolchev 2010). For the first time in history, women had both the cultural support and the opportunity to attend and graduate from college as well as establish a career before, if ever, becoming mothers.

The numbers indicate, women took that opportunity. By 1975, the percentage of women college graduates had doubled to 10% (Duffin 2019), and 45% of all women were in the

workforce (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2000). A substantial portion of the increase in women's college enrollment was an increase in African American women entering college. By 1975, African American women's college enrollment hit record numbers: approximately 30% of African American women high school graduates were enrolled in college (Slater 1994:52). The increase in women's workforce participation by 1975 came largely from white women entering the workforce for the first time. The numbers of both white and black women in both higher education and in the workplace continued to increase and are still increasing today. Today, women, both white and black, are outpacing men in college graduation rates. As a result, women, such as Catharine Mackinnon, earned their law degrees, entered prestigious professions, and put a spotlight on the harassment that had plagued women for centuries which have led to better definitions and understanding of sexual harassment.

1.1.1 Defining Sexual Harassment: Sex²-based, Gender³, Unwanted Attention, and Coercion.

The most commonly recognized and clearly defined form of sexual harassment is sexual coercion, or quid pro quo. Sexual coercion occurs when an individual is encouraged to participate in a sexual act by the threat of losing or the promise of receiving a benefit (Mackinnon 1979:32). It involves bribes or threats and often, though not always, a power inequality between harasser and target (Leskinen, Cortina and Kabat 2011). The courts first recognized this form of sexual harassment in 1977 (*Barnes v Costle*), and Mackinnon revealed the breath of the problem in American workplaces in 1979.

² In this context, sex refers to one's legally defined status as male or female, often assigned at birth based on genitalia.

³ Gender refers to one's performance of masculinity and/or femininity, which may or may not be consistent with societal expectations associated with being a man or woman.

Another commonly recognized but less clearly defined form of sexual harassment is unwanted sexual attention, involving unwelcome expressions of romantic or sexual interests (Leskinen, Cortina and Kabat 2011). Unwanted sexual attention may come by way of comments about a woman's body, dress, or appearance; nonconsensual physical touch, such as a pinch, kiss, or caress; as well as the manipulation of time and space that renders a woman alone and blocked from leaving a confined area (Mackinnon 1979:40). At the core of both sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention is the harasser's sexual desire for the target.

However, it is not necessary that the harassment be motivated by sexual desire for an action to be sexual harassment. In 1976, the Supreme Court explicitly stated that "harassing conduct need not be motivated by sexual desire to support an inference of discrimination on the basis of sex" (Oncale v Sundowner Offshore Services, Inc. 1998:80). Gender and sex-based harassment refers to behaviors that are not aimed at gaining sexual cooperation. Instead, they are behaviors meant to insult and reject women rather than pull them into a sexual relationship (Lim and Cortina 2005; Hitlan, Pryor, Hesson-McInnis, and Olson 2009). For example, comments that women do not belong in management or referring to a coworker as a "dumb slut" are gender harassment (Leskinen, Cortina and Kabat 2011). Behavior that "derogates, demeans, or humiliates an individual based on that individual's sex" (Berdahl 2007:644) are sex-based harassment.

Just as sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention are related, sex-based and gender harassment are also related. They are related in that they both communicate hostility devoid of sexual interest (Lim and Cortina 2005). As it is crucial to understand the ways in which men are harassing women if we are to develop effective interventions to stop it, the current study measures both types of harassment. However, whether motivated by sexual desire or not, all are

forms of sexual harassment (Berdahl 2007; Hitlan et al. 2009; Leskinen, Cortina and Kabat 2011) and, therefore, discrimination.

1.1.2 Perceptions

As evidenced by the evolution of sexual harassment law between 1964 and today, the legal system clearly lags decades behind our knowledge in and about sexual harassment and discrimination. In addition, the literature reveals that there are frightening differences between what feminist and social science researchers have identified as sexual harassment and what lay individuals recognize as sexual harassment. Not only are there differences between academics, the law, and lay persons in perceptions of sexual harassment, but also, there are gendered differences among lay persons (Banerjee and Sharma 2011; Ekore 2012).

Bursik and Geftter's (2011) study repeated a study Burskik (1992) completed earlier. The study examined men's and women's gendered perceptions of what constitutes sexual harassment. Both men and women tend to agree that sexual coercion constitutes sexual harassment (Rotundo, Nguyen, and Sackett 2001; Russell and Trigg 2004; Bursik & Geftter 2011). Moreover, both men and women tend to identify behaviors as sexual harassment when the harasser is clearly in a position of power over the target (Magley and Shupe 2005; Bursik & Geftter 2011). The similarities between men's and women's perception ends there. They do not recognize that both gender and race, separately and together, create unequal power between peers with seemingly equal status, such as student or coworker. The historical legacies of both racism and patriarchy has led to a social context in which white people and men hold dominant positions in society while people of color and women are inevitably subordinate. Being raced white bestows privilege; having the status of man bestows privilege. Race and gender act independently and intersect in such a way that they operate as an interdependent system of power

and privilege. As such, when a man sexually harasses a woman, even if that woman is a fellow student or coworker, he is doing so from a position of power.

In general, women view a greater range of behaviors as sexual harassment than do men (Rotundo, Nguyen, and Sackett 2001). Women are more likely than men to identify instances of sex-based and gender harassment as well as unwanted sexual attention as sexual harassment (Rotundo, Nguyen, and Sackett 2001; Russell and Trigg 2004). Men, on the other hand, are more likely to label sex-based harassment, gender harassment, and unwanted sexual attention as harmless (Rotundo, Nguyen, and Sackett 2001; Russell and Trigg 2004). Moreover, Ekore (2012) finds that men feel stronger than women that “people should not be so quick to take offense when a person expresses sexual interest in them” (4365) and that sexual harassment is overblown. The current study bolsters our knowledge about gendered differences in attitude toward sexual harassment behaviors in general, and it also adds to our limited understanding of gendered differences among college students.

Interestingly, there are even gendered differences in perceptions of sexual harassment among the same sex. The more traditionally masculine men are, the less likely they are to view sexual remarks and behaviors as sexual harassment (Russell and Trigg 2004; Bursik and Geftter 2011). In addition, the more traditionally masculine men are, the more likely they are to sexually harass women and have positive attitudes toward sexually harassing behaviors (Russell and Trigg 2004; Bursik and Geftter 2011). Bursik and Geftter (2011) also found that individuals with traditional masculine gender roles were less likely to label an incident sexual harassment if the harasser and target were equal in power. Ekore (2012) finds that gender differences remain in perceptions of what behaviors constitute sexual harassment. Furthermore, men continue to feel that folks should not be offended by expressions of sexual interest, sexual harassment is

overblown, and it takes place in the business settings more often than in the school setting (Ekore 2012).

There is clearly a mismatch between what men and women believe harassment is, and even more disturbing is that this trend has not changed in almost twenty years. Furthermore, these gendered differences in perceptions may be even more pronounced when the focus is on peer-to-peer sexual harassment on the college campus. Investigation into the perpetrators of peer-to-peer sexual harassment in college is well past due. This line of inquiry and this study is much needed because the majority of sexual harassment instances occur between peers with equal status (Angelone, Mitchell, and Carola 2009), and 80 percent of the sexual harassment college students report is harassment by other students, as opposed to faculty and staff (Hill and Silva 2005).

As most of the sexual harassment research focusses on workers in organizations, there is limited research into sexual harassment among university students (Ekore 2012). Though we know very little about sexual harassment among university students, what we do know is alarming. The literature indicates that even though the majority of college students, two-thirds, are victims of sexual harassment during their academic career (Hill and Silva 2005), college students are less likely than the workforce and general population to identify behaviors as sexual harassment, even when there is a clear power inequity (Bursik & Geftter 2011). Moreover, Caplan, Nettles, Millett, Miller, DiCrecchio, and Chu's (2009) Voices of Diversity study report high rates of sexual harassment that were subtle, nonverbal, or expressed in the form of jokes.

Bursik and Geftter (2011) find that among college students, sexual harassment has come to be understood as only occurring when there is physical contact or assault. Therefore, while

women college students do view a greater range of behaviors as sexual harassment than do male college students, the difference is less pronounced among college students than it is among the workforce and general population. Students describe behaviors such as staring or leering in a confined space and repeated requests for dates as inappropriate but not sexual harassment (Bursik & Geftter 2011).

Of particular concern for college women is that women often withdraw in the face of discrimination and nearly half ignore it (Caplan et. al 2009). How many bright young women are trying to learn in a hostile environment or leaving higher education altogether? We have long known the detrimental consequences of sexual harassment, including economic loss, declines in mental and physical health, as well as declines in overall well-being and life. Alarmingly, recent findings (Schwinle, Cofer, and Schatz 2009; Bursik and Geftter 2011) reveal that not much has changed since Catherine MacKinnon (1979) first brought national attention to sexual harassment. The laws have changed, but the harassment has not. Today, men who sexually harass are similar to, if not actually, men who are prone to aggress against their wives (Schwinle, Cofer, and Schatz 2009) or other women (Pino and Johnson-Johns 2009). This finding lends even more support to many feminists,' including Catherine MacKinnon, insistence that sexual harassment of women in all forms is aggression, not seduction, and it is violence against women (Dartnall and Jewkes 2012). In spite of this evidence, the popular belief, especially among men, remains that sexual harassment in the school setting is not a common practice (Ekore 2012). This study seeks to understand the types of, prevalence of, and attitudes toward sexual harassment on the college campus from the perspective of men. It is imperative that we study sexual harassment in new ways with a focus on the perpetrators if we endeavor to end sexual harassment, discrimination, and violence against women on the college campus.

For academics and the law identifying which behaviors and under what circumstances those behaviors occur constitute hostile environment sexual harassment is much more challenging than identifying the behaviors and circumstances that constitute quid pro quo. However, the prior research reviewed here makes clear that there is also discrepancy between formal definitions of sexual harassment and lay perceptions of harassment, including quid pro quo. Moreover, there are also gendered differences in lay perceptions of what constitutes sexual harassment. For a full understanding, it is important to measure not only whether sexual harassment in general is occurring but also the forms it takes. As such, I investigate sexual harassment discrimination motivated by both sexual desire and hostility. In legal terms, gender, sex-based, and unwanted sexual attention harassment behaviors fall under the hostile environment category of sexual harassment. Sexual coercion, on the other hand, most closely resembles quid pro quo sexual harassment (Leskinen, Cortina and Kabat 2011).

1.1.3 Theory: Hegemonic Masculinity

Philosopher Antonio Gramsci was a revolutionary thinker of the early 20th century. Between World War I and World War II, Mussolini's regime imprisoned Gramsci in an effort to silence him. While imprisoned, Gramsci wrote thousands of pages of history, analysis, and critique. It was during his incarceration that he developed the concept of cultural hegemony (Gramsci 1891-1937, 1971). He explains that the ruling class maintains power by manipulating culture. Through social institutions, such as education, media, religion, and even art, the bourgeoisie make certain that particular ideas, ideas that benefit the elite, dominate popular culture. It is accomplished by promoting the authors, leaders, and personalities who produce information and entertainment consistent with the ideas of the bourgeoisie and excluding those with alternative views. It comes to pass that the books, arts, education, and religion to which the

masses have access are consistently disseminating ideas that are in the best interest of the elite. As a result, the ruling class need not use force to make the populace comply because the ideas that are in the best interest of the elite become common-sense among the general public. The control is not loud or violent, and the masses, without even realizing it, take the ideas for granted as natural and normal.

Drawing on Gramsci's concept of hegemony, researchers in the early 1980s imagined a hegemony specifically related to masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:830-832). Whereas Gramsci's hegemony served to legitimize the domination of one class over others, hegemonic masculinity serves to legitimize men's domination over women. Hegemonic masculinity is the culture's perception of masculine perfection. It is the inclusion of all the masculine attributes and behaviors that the culture's ideal man symbolizes. Hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:832) proposes that manliness is synonymous with power, physical strength, and sexual prowess, and this proposition dominates popular culture. The notion of a man as powerful, strong, and sexually talented has come to be understood as natural and normal. What it means to be masculine and, therefore, its common-sense opposite, feminine are taken for granted. Men grow up embedded in a society that consistently reinforces a specific and narrow concept of what it means to "be a man." They are shown over and over again that masculine is superior to feminine, and men are superior to women. In addition, they learn that they are entitled to women's bodies. As such, if college men sexually harass women and have positive attitudes toward those behaviors, it is the logical outcome of hegemonic ideology and socialization in this culture.

In addition, race plays a significant role in the USA's cultural ideals. The United States is a white-supremacist society (Jensen 2012, Chou 2012, hooks 2004) and race is a socio-

historical (legal) construction, founded on the ideology that white Europeans are superior to all non-whites. In US culture, white is the norm, the standard, and the ideal. From the fictional cowboys of the Western territories, through the Marlboro Man, and to the men who are chosen for today's outrageously popular TV show "The Bachelor⁴," popular culture consistently reinforces the ideal man as a white man (Jensen 2012:127 and Chou 2012:3). Consequently, white men have been led to believe that they are entitled to the accoutrements of hegemonic masculinity: power, aggressiveness, as well as women and their bodies (Kimmel 2008). When a man acts on this entitlement, he is displaying hegemonic masculinity, and one manifestation of displaying hegemonic masculinity is sexual harassment.

Men's sexual harassing behaviors are displays of hegemonic masculinity. Sexual harassment behaviors are aggressive, assert superiority, and maintain dominance. Men engaging in such behaviors are *enacting* hegemonic masculinity. In its original formulation, Connell (1987) believed that "only a minority of men might enact it" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:832). The original formulation proposed that most men would be relegated to a masculinity less than hegemonic (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:832). Most men, if not all men, will never achieve hegemonic masculinity, but they can display it from time to time. Every time a man acts out or engages in behaviors consistent with the culture's ideal masculinity, he displays hegemonic masculinity. Though white men have grown up in a culture that has expected them to behave in hegemonically masculine ways and repeatedly told them that the color of their skin entitles them to women's bodies, enacting hegemonic masculinity and sexual harassment is not reserved for only white men.

⁴ As of the 24th season in 2020, 23 of the leading men have been white. There was one Latinx Bachelor, and there has never been a Black Bachelor.

Some might wonder how black men's sexually harassing behaviors can be displays of hegemonic masculinity if hegemonic masculinity is white. However, ideas about what it means to be a real man in our society does not change whether one is white or black. Hegemonic masculinity was never assumed to be the statistical norm but, rather, normative. As such, men who do not or cannot fully embody ideal masculinity must position themselves in relation to it in other and subordinated masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:832). There is one hegemonic masculinity, not one for white men and a different one for black men. It is true that in our white-supremacist society black men are relegated to a marginalized masculinity or at best they can be awarded a complicit masculinity when their attitudes and actions support hegemonic masculinity. It is also true that white men who do not meet the ideal have marginalized and complicit masculinities. Yet, any man can attempt to meet the ideal and display hegemonic masculinity.

Every time a man commits sexual harassment, he displays hegemonic masculinity, whether black or white, whether he fully embodies hegemonic masculinity on a regular basis or only in a single instance. Hegemonic masculinity encourages males to be aggressive in gaining sexual access to the opposite sex and dominant in negotiating sexual encounters. In courtship rituals, for example, young men routinely engage in pursuit of the opposite sex in ways that gamify the pursuit so that a man takes on the role of predator and women are cast as objects to be found, stalked, and conquered. The game is not simply out of sexual desire for a woman but to be played out in front of an audience of other men so that the result is an improved sense of masculinity (Grazian 2007:221). Men who use coercion or give unwanted sexual attention to women are behaving in ways consistent with what they believe it means to be a "real man." They are displaying hegemonic masculinity.

In addition, the performative nature of such displays of hegemonic masculinity and the increasing sense of masculinity that stems from enacting hegemonic masculinity in the presence of an audience of men, leads to some environments and/or groups to be more likely to endorse displays of hegemonic masculinity. Among groups that prioritize male solidarity, such as the military and fraternal organizations, hegemonic masculinity is likely to be dramatically supported and displays of such, encouraged. The construction of masculinity in college athletic teams and fraternities embraces hegemonic masculinity and encourages members to behave in hegemonically masculine ways (Jenkins 2012:234, Hearn 2004:55, Dempster 2009, Sanday 1990, Kimmell 2008, Fisher, Daigle, and Cullen 2010). As such, both black and white male students engrossed in cultures that actively support hegemonic masculinity are more likely to display hegemonic masculinity and do so more often than those who are not involved with such cultures.

As aggression is the culturally expected response to male sexual desire, members of society are not likely to view either individual men's or a group of fraternity brothers' aggressive, harassing behaviors motivated by sexual desire as harassment at all but rather as "typical" male behavior. The claim that when a man commits sexual harassment, he is acting out the culture's ideal masculinity, hegemonic masculinity, will likely receive much objection, especially from lay persons. It is likely that some lay persons will argue that behaviors such as aggression, pursuit of dominance, and assertions of superiority are not related to culture but rather are natural male traits, and therefore, men's sexually harassing behaviors are simply boys being boys. That is exactly what makes hegemony so tricky. It asserts itself as natural. Hegemonic notions are so persuasive that they are accepted as natural truths and common-sense.

However, notions of the ideal man differ from culture to culture and across time. If those characteristics associated with hegemonic masculinity were naturally male then all men in all cultures across all time periods would have the same natural, masculine tendencies, but they do not. Aggression, pursuit of dominance, and assertions of superiority are neither naturally male nor naturally white. What is considered a real man in our white-supremacist society is quite different than what is considered a real man among the Hmong in northern Thailand.

Even within a culture, the ideas of what it means to be a real man changes over time. What was considered a real man in the United States in the 1960s is quite different than what is considered a real man today. Men such as Bob Dylan and Clint Eastwood were the idea of real men in the US during the 1960s, and while they were certainly strong personalities, neither of them would meet the physical requirements of what it means to be a real man today. Today, through popular culture we learn that a real man has a body defined by its muscle mass (Prud'homme 2015). Two of the most popular shows on cable television are part of the WWE franchise, which showcases men who are among the largest and most muscular men on the planet. Forty years ago, the wrestlers were certainly physically fit and strong, but their physiques do not compare to those of the wrestlers today. Moreover, wrestling has become even more popular. Forty years ago, wrestling was primarily a Saturday morning program. Today, it is prime time and pay per view programming. According to CNN's Nathaniel Meyersohn (2018), the WWE has a level of fans that "sports leagues can only dream of catching."

Toys convey these messages. For example, in the 1960s, a GI Joe action figure's biceps were approximately 12 inches. Over the next 40 years, warrior heroism returned to levels similar to that during world war 2 and GI Joe's biceps increased 100% to 27 inches (Holmes 2001). Through popular entertainment, toys, and advertising, men, women, and children have

learned that a real man is big and strong. One consequence of this is what Harvard researchers have termed, the Adonis Complex (Pope, Philips, Olivardia 2000), and men are now putting themselves through unhealthy physical workouts and diets as well as going under the knife (ASPS 2020) to achieve the body of what society has taught them is a real man. Dr. Darren Smith, a plastic surgeon in New York City, even appeals to notions of hegemonic masculinity when discussing rhinoplasty. He explains to a reporter that for men, he attempts “to achieve a strong but refined masculine nose” (Mackenzie 2018).

Hegemonic masculinity, including aggression, dominance, exceptional physical strength, sexual conquest, and whiteness as superior is not natural. It is a cultural ideal, promoted through popular culture, by which the masses have been fooled. If college men do not identify unwanted sexual attention and coercion as sexual harassment, it is because they have believed the propaganda. They have come to understand that sexually charged actions and communications toward women are natural and expected from the aggressive in sexual pursuit and sexually talented “real man.” If college men, then, engage in these behaviors, they are attempting to demonstrate that they are “real men.” Likewise, if college men do not identify gender and sex-based harassment as such, it is again because they have believed the propaganda. They have come to understand that denigration of the feminine and male superiority is natural and expected from the dominant, strong, aggressive “real man.” Correspondingly, when they engage in these behaviors, they are living up to the culture’s expectations.

1.1.4 Theory: Exchange Theory

George Homans’ (1958) exchange theory can also provide insight and allow us to analyze and better understand sexual harassers’ harassing behaviors. Exchange theory builds on Skinner’s pigeon study, whereby a scientist gives a pigeon a bit of grain every time it pecks in a

particular place. As such, the pigeon learns where to peck to get a bit of grain. Unlike the scientist-pigeon study, Homans deals with at least two interacting individuals and explains social behaviors in terms of rewards and costs with the actor as a rational profit seeker.

The consequences of sexual harassment are too often rewards. As such, the rewards serve to encourage harassers to repeat the harassing behaviors. There are many ways in which a sexual harasser may be rewarded for harassing behavior. One often identified on college campuses is the approval of other men. Kimmel (2008:192) argues that young men's pursuit of conquest is much more about their peers than the women involved. College men may receive the reward of peer approval for sexually harassing women. Homans also asserts that the time between the behavior and the reward is important. The response time between harassment and reward is generally very short in the case when the reward is approval by other men.

An additional reward may very well be a sense of accomplishing and "getting away with it," which could boost white men's, athletes', or fraternity members' already inflated sense of entitlement. As peer-to-peer harassment at school is a violation of Title IX, harassers should face serious, formal sanctions. Unfortunately, the number of harassment incidents that women report, and the number of harassers sanctioned illustrates that most harassers are never sanctioned. There is an abundance of literature detailing specific cases of formally reported harassment, many involving athletes and fraternity members, in which the harasser was never or only slightly sanctioned (Sanday 1990; *Simpson v University of Colorado Boulder* 2007; *Williams v Board of Regents University System of Georgia* 2007; Cullitan 2011).

Whether a harasser will repeat the harassing behavior and under what circumstances may be predicted with a high rate of accuracy. Harassers do not necessarily relegate their harassing behavior to one set of circumstances but harass in a myriad of settings. They may extend their

harassing behaviors to many similar circumstances thereby exhibiting the process of generalization. Scholars such as Kimmel (2008), Grazian (2007), and Sanday (1990) have shown us that some types of harassing behaviors are in response to particular stimuli, the behaviors are rewarded, and are later repeated in similar situations. In a Homansian exchange theory analysis this can be explained via generalization. Sexual harassers tend to extend harassing behaviors to similar circumstances. For example, if a man's peers urge him to harass a woman at a party, he does and if he receives accolades from those peers, he is quite likely to harass at the next party, especially if the same peers are present. Grazian (2007) finds that in party-type environments, such as a nightclub, young men often engage in a process that is mutually supportive. Men urge each other to ogle women and pursue conquest "through deception and guile" Grazian (2007:238). In the aftermath of the pursuit, men receive positive feedback from the other men (Grazian 2007), and these men are likely to engage in similar behaviors at the next party or nightclub outing.

With some very basic rewards resulting from sexually harassing behaviors and the general lack of punishment meted out for such behavior established, it stands to reason that a harasser will likely be rewarded for his harassing behavior and, therefore, be more likely to harass again. However, as Homans identified, within his first proposition, reciprocation cannot go on indefinitely. Allow me to clarify reciprocation in this context. A victim may reward a harasser by modifying her own behavior, even against her will. For example, a female science major may silence herself in response to sex/gender-based harassment. If the harasser continues to harass the same victim, eventually she will change the behavior that is rewarding to him. The reason behind instituting the reasonable woman standard (rather than the reasonable person standard) in harassment cases was because women, unlike men, due to gender specific

socialization, tend to try alternative methods to make the harassment stop before reporting it to authorities.

Harassers may also use a process of discrimination to determine when to harass and when not to do so, and this process of discrimination may give us insight into raced differences in sexually harassing behaviors. There will be instances in which harassing behaviors would likely result in a negative consequence. As such, the harasser will choose not to engage in sexually harassing behaviors at a time or in an environment when he believes the outcome would be negative. White men may report engaging in sexually harassing behaviors most often because they feel entitled to *all* women's bodies. Chou (2012), Hill Collins (2005), Nagel (2003), and Kimmel (2008) all indicate that white men have a long history sexually harassing women of color. We do not have a similar record for men of color harassing white women. Black men, specifically black athletes and fraternity members who report engaging in these behaviors, may limit their sexual harassment to environments in which they know they will be supported. It is possible that Greek life and athletics provide the conditions that encourage sexual harassment that otherwise would not be accessible to Black college students. The addition of Greek life and athletics may exacerbate the already existing sexually harassing prone conditions that white men constantly have access to on the college campus.

Moreover, black men may restrict their sexually harassing behaviors to black women, because the possible punishments of harassing white women may be too great. This nation has a sad history of punishing black men for even a, fabricated, possible threat to white women (Hill Collins 2005, hooks 2004, Nagel 2003). White men continue to occupy the top positions on college campuses, and while reports of sexual harassment and sexual assault are all too often

quietly swept under the table (Kimmel 2008; Baker 2010; Cullitan 2011; Ekore 2012), that might not remain the case if black men begin harassing white women at the same rate as white men do.

Homans' (1958) exchange theory gives us insight into the rewards and consequences harassers may receive and helps us understand under what circumstances men may harass or repeat harassing behaviors. It also sheds light on the raced differences that are observed on college campuses. White privilege gives white men a sense of entitlement to all women's bodies everywhere. Experience, including college administration, has taught them that they will receive rewards for sexually harassing women. Black men, on the other hand, can only be certain of rewards in particular environments and towards particular women.

2 METHODS

To find the answers to my research questions, I conducted a survey of men students at a midsized state university in the suburban south. I adapted the Schweinle, Cofer, and Schatz's (2009) Sexual Harassment Behavior Inventory through focus groups with women students in order to determine a number of items that would accurately measure behaviors that college women have experienced and make them feel harassed. Using the newly developed instrument, I surveyed 5 percent of the traditional, undergraduate male student recruited for range: ethnoraciality, majors, and extracurricular involvement.

2.1 Participants

Respondents were full-time (enrolled in a minimum of 12 credit hours), undergraduate male students between the ages of 18 and 25 who were also full-time students the previous semester. The sample was recruited for range, with the exception of student athletes, to reasonably approximate the Spring 2013 full-time male undergraduate enrollment with regard to socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity, majors, and involvement in student organizations. As the literature is replete with information asserting that athletes, who make up a smallest percentage of the overall study body, are responsible for the majority of sexual assaults on college campuses, the researcher surveyed an overrepresentation of athletes from the three most popular men's sports: football, baseball, and basketball. The researcher then asked potential respondents to volunteer to share their opinions and experiences in a survey. The study sample consists of approximately 170 participants, approximately five percent of the total full-time, undergraduate men students.

2.2 Measure

I constructed a survey inquiring about behaviors toward females with whom the respondent is neither in a romantic or sexual relationship, nor is close friends. Romantic or sexual relationship is defined as any relationship on a continuum from a legally recognized life partnership (married) to friends with benefits. Friends with benefits is widely understood among college students as having an ongoing sexual relationship without commitment or the emotional obligations typically attached to dating. Close friend is defined as a person one considers a favored companion and for whom one has, among others, feelings of platonic (nonsexual) affection. For the purpose of this study, if the respondent only knew, for example, the woman's first name, she was not to be considered a "close friend." In southern, American culture it is common for individuals to refer to an acquaintance as a friend. In addition, it is common for college students to refer to other students with whom they have only interacted on a superficial level as a friend. Requiring the knowledge of a woman's last name to qualify as a close friend helps to clarify the relationship of close friends and rule out acquaintances.

Respondents were informed that the behaviors may occur on campus or off campus at a location where other college students are present, including a local bar, a house party, or school sponsored events, such as a football game or geology field trip. Off campus also includes private and semi-private settings: settings in which one is completely alone or in the presence of only a few others.

The survey asked respondents to give their opinions on whether or not 25 behaviors are sexual harassment. Respondents had six choices: Is harassment, Inappropriate but not harassment, legally it might be but in my opinion it is not really harassment, Is not harassment, and Unsure. The survey also asked respondents to share how often they themselves have

engaged in the same 25 behaviors since the beginning of the school year – August 2012. Finally, the survey asked respondents to share if they know of or have witnessed another male student having engaged in the same 25 behaviors since the beginning of the school year – August 2012.

2.2.1 Parsons Inventory of Common Sexual Harassment Behaviors

I adapted Schweinle, Cofer, and Schatz's (2009) Sexual Harassment Behavior Inventory to create the survey for this study. To create the original inventory the authors assembled 24 female undergraduate psychology students and asked them to recall instances in which they felt sexually harassed. After creating the list, the group held several discussions during which they consolidated the list and agreed on 23 different behaviors that the majority regarded as sexual harassment. This inventory provided the researcher a list of 23 behaviors that undergraduate women agreed were sexually harassing behaviors and validated by additional scientists as evidenced by its publication in a peer-reviewed academic journal. However, Schweinle, Cofer, and Schatz (2009) were examining a different population and seeking answers to very different questions than the current study. As such, it was necessary to adapt the Inventory to best capture information specific to college men's perceptions and behaviors. Over a period of six months, I completed four stages of adaptation.

In the initial stage, I adapted the inventory to better fit a college campus context. As Schweinle, Cofer, and Schatz's (2009) respondents were married men in the workforce, the Inventory items referenced work and coworker, as well as wife. The intention of this survey was to investigate college males' behaviors regarding being a college student. Therefore, in the initial adaptation references to school and classmates, as well as romantic partners were added where appropriate. Other than adding these references, the researcher only made one additional adaptation to a single Inventory item. As technology is an increasingly significant way of

communication, the researcher added an electronic element to the item about exposing oneself. In the original inventory, the example given is moon or flashed and I added the phrase “in person or electronically, via email or text, etc.” There were no initial changes made to their frequency scale, but a scale was added: a belief scale to gauge respondent’s beliefs about what constitutes sexual harassment: Is sexual harassment, Is Not sexual harassment, and unsure.

The second stage was a preliminary test of the survey used to gather feedback from men students about the clarity of both the inventory and scale. In stage two, I engaged twenty-eight undergraduate students enrolled in an upper-division Violence Against Women course to do a preliminary test of the survey and gather feedback. I instructed the students to seek five men volunteers to take and give feedback on a survey about sexual harassment. Then I further instructed the students to write down each question a man asked while taking the survey, to ask the volunteer if any questions were unclear and note their answers, and to ask if they had any additional feedback for the researcher and note their responses. The students returned all of the feedback, and using this information, I identified areas of the survey that needed clarification in order to obtain reliable data.

The first area that needed addressing was the belief scale. Two themes emerged from respondents’ comments about whether a behavior is sexual harassment. The first was that respondents believed a behavior was wrong and wanted to identify it as such, but they did not believe it was sexual harassment. The other was that respondents believed a behavior to be legally considered sexual harassment but they did not believe it should be, and they wanted a way to differentiate between this kind of example and one that was both not legally sexual harassment and not sexual harassment in their opinions. Therefore, I changed the scale to

include both of these as options: inappropriate but not harassment and legally maybe but not really.

The second area was the use of the word woman. Some respondents equated the word 'woman' with age rather than sex/gender. As such, I exchanged the word 'woman' for the word 'female' throughout the survey. Another theme was that respondents were confused about the frequency scale. Therefore, I changed the scale to reflect specific numbers of instances within a given time period. The final theme that emerged from respondents' comments was about references to the combination of work and school. In essence, the survey question became double barreled when I added a reference to school to an already existing reference to work in a single inventory item. The question was touching upon more than one issue, work and school, but only allowed for the respondent one answer. As such, all references to work or coworkers were eliminated.

In the third stage, I conducted a focus group of college women to assess the instrument's relevance to college and clarity to college students. I assembled a focus group consisting of five sociology and criminology female graduate students. The women reviewed each Inventory item individually and then as a group discussed each one. The focus group agreed that 9 of the Inventory items needed no changes. Twelve others were identified as needing some tweaking to be more relevant to college and/or clear to college students. Two items were each split into two for a total of four inventory items. Finally, focus group participants identified and agreed on four behaviors that were missing from the inventory that were particularly relevant to college: 1) touching, smacking, pinching a female's butt 2) requesting a female to prove her heterosexuality by having sex with him 3) waiting for or sitting outside a female's house/apartment, class, or job

4) making negative comments about females in leadership roles or “hard” majors. I created four additional inventory items, one related to each missing element.

In the fourth and final stage, I conducted two additional focus groups that met twice and reconvened the original focus group to ensure reliability and validity. Two new focus groups were created: one consisting of 15 volunteer undergraduate women and one consisting of 20 volunteer undergraduate men from a variety of majors. Focus groups reviewed the new Inventory, consisting of 29 items. I was specifically interested in clarity: did the students interpret each item in ways consistent with the researcher. Overwhelmingly, they did. I was also interested in women’s agreement about the four added items: did the women students agree that the four new items represent sexual harassment, and are these items representative of behaviors that occur in college? Overwhelmingly, they did. They identified two items as very similar to other items, and two additional items as not particularly relevant to college.

Notes from the undergraduate focus group were then reviewed by the graduate focus group, and the graduates agreed with the undergraduates. Then all three focus groups reviewed the updated inventory, consisting of 25 items. All three groups did so and no problems were identified. Finally, the graduate focus group was tasked with answering the question, “are these 25 items appropriate for acquiring the data needed to answer the research questions, including that there are enough items for each sexual harassment category: sex-based/gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention/coercion, as well as severe and less severe forms of the latter?” They unanimously agreed, and the inventory of Common Sexual Harassment Behaviors was solidified:

1. Told sexual stories or jokes in a group of males and females
2. Made sexual remarks in the presence of females
3. Displayed sexy or nude pictures of females
4. Made negative comments about females or told jokes about females in general

5. Made negative comments to a female or were condescending toward a female
6. Attempted to discuss sex with a female
7. Tried to establish a relationship with a female who was unaware you were in a committed, intimate relationship with another female
8. Asked a female out for drinks, dinner, etc. after she said no at least once before.
9. Touched a female unnecessarily in a nonsexual way (touched on the shoulder/brushed up against) without invitation
10. Told a female something sexually descriptive about yourself, hoping to build a sexual relationship
11. Ogled or stared at a female
12. Asked a female about her sexual fantasies or desires
13. Gave a female something by dropping it down the front of her blouse or in her pants.
14. Spread sexual rumors about a female
15. Smacked or pinched a female's butt with hand or other object
16. Touched a female in a sexual way knowing that she did not want to be touched
17. Asked a female to perform sex acts with you, even in jest
18. Whistled, called, hooted, or sexually commented at a female
19. Threatened a female if she did not have sex with you
20. Asked a female to engage in sexual activity to prove her heterosexuality, even in jest
21. Treated a female differently than a male in the same situation (class, sport, major)
22. Exposed yourself electronically (sending a photograph via text, email, etc.) to a female who did not explicitly request such
23. Made gestures of a sexual nature toward a female
24. Waited outside a female's house/apartment, class, or place of work who did not ask you to do so
25. Made negative comments about a female being in a specific situation (major, leadership role, career aspirations, etc.)

2.3 Procedure⁵

The survey was administered in a Survey Research Lab at the university. Myself or an assistant⁶ (she) met each participant (he) at the lab, and verbally went through the instructions for the survey, including study specific definitions, such as romantic relationship and close friends, etc. We also explained that each survey has a unique number, and only he will know which survey number is his. Once the survey is opened, he will write the survey number in a particular

⁵ Due to the nature of the research topic, it is necessary to give greater detail than is typical in the Procedure section as we know privacy and confidence in anonymity produces more accurate self-reporting.

⁶ From this point forward the pronoun associated with the researcher will be she. Since all respondents are men, referring to the researcher as she will make the account more concise and not be confusing.

space on the demographic form, place the form into an envelope, seal it, and deposit it into a box on a table in the lab. We further explained that we will never have access to his survey data. And, since there is no record of his name on the survey or on the demographic form, his anonymity is guaranteed. We then read the consent statement and asked for verbal consent. Upon consent, we asked for his demographic and background information and filled out the form. Once the survey was open and the demographic form had been placed in the box, we exited the room and closed the door. He completed the survey in complete privacy.

Survey instruction reminders were posted in the room where respondents took the survey, such as “toward females with whom you are neither in a romantic or sexual relationship nor are close friends” and “may occur on campus or off, including in public or in private.” A list of study specific definitions was also posted in the room in case a respondent needed clarification during the survey.

One inventory item is on a page. Each respondent was asked, using the frequency scale, to share how frequently they have engaged in this one behavior since the beginning of the school year (August 2012). Then, turning the page, the same inventory item is listed, and the respondents were asked, using the belief scale, whether or not the behavior is sexual harassment. Turning the page again, the same inventory item is listed, and the respondents were asked if they know of and/or have witnessed other male students having engaged in this behavior since the beginning of the school year (August 2012). On the next page, the next inventory item appears, and the process repeats until all three questions for all 25 items are completed. Data collection was completed in March 2013.

2.4 Analysis

This research is exploratory, and the primary interest is whether or not men identify behaviors women do as sexual harassment, whether or not they self-report engaging in the behaviors, and whether or not they have witnessed or know of others engaging in them. As such, in the following report of the opinion results, the “yes, it is sexual harassment” response stands alone while all “no” and “unsure” answers have been combined as “does not identify as sexual harassment.” In the self-reported engagement results, the “never” response stands alone while all affirmative responses have been combined as “has engaged in the behavior this school year.” For the witness/know of others results, the “no, I have never witnessed and do not know of another student having engaged in this behavior” response stands alone, the affirmative responses have been combined as “has witnessed or knows of another student engaging in this behavior,” and the “unsure” responses was not used.

3 RESULTS

As this study measured both unwanted sexual attention/Coercion type and Gender/Sex Based type of harassment, the results are divided into corresponding sections. Further, the study measured men's opinions about, their self-reported participation in, and their knowledge of other men's engagement in sexually harassing behaviors. As such, the results are broken down into subsections for each type of harassment.

3.1 Unwanted Sexual Attention/Coercion, Talk v Action

3.1.1 Unwanted Sexual Attention/Coercion, Talk v Action: Men's Opinions

The college men in this study believe that verbal sexual attention alone does not constitute sexual harassment. For example, Figure 3.1 shows that fewer than one out of every five respondents believe that 'attempting to discuss sex with a woman' (Discuss) is sexual harassment. Similarly, only one out of three of the respondents agree that 'asking a woman about her sexual fantasies' (Fantasies) is sexual harassment.

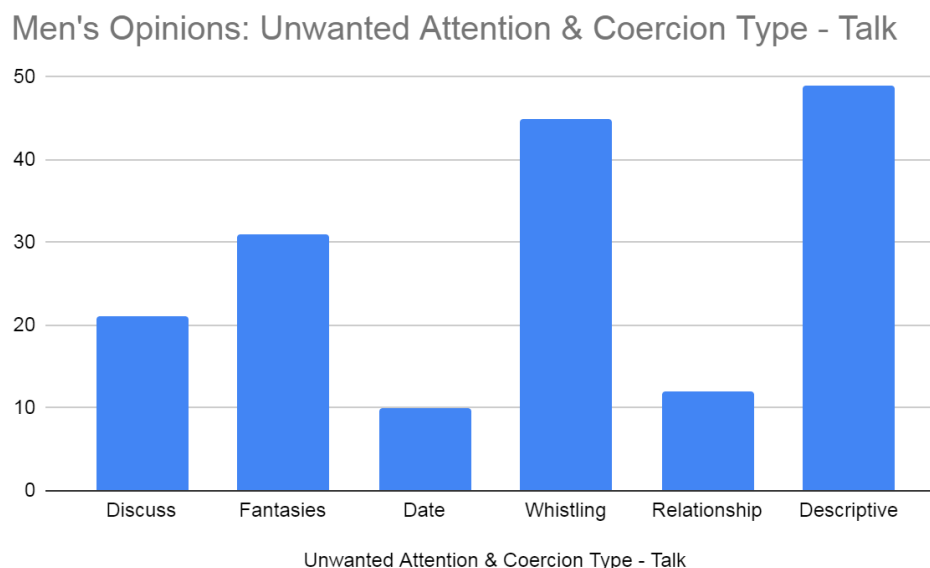


Figure 3.1 Men's Opinions on Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment
Talk

This same pattern continues when respondents were asked if ‘asking a woman out for drinks after she had previously said no’ (Date) or ‘attempting to establish a relationship with one woman while in a committed sexual relationship with another’ (Relationship) was an act of sexual harassment. In these cases, only 10 and 12%, respectively, of the respondents indicated that these verbal types of communication were acts of sexual harassment. Too, fewer than one-half of the respondents believe that talk of a sexual nature alone, including ‘whistling, calling, hooting, or sexually commenting at a woman’ (Whistling) and telling a woman something sexually descriptive about himself’ (Descriptive) qualifies as acts of sexual harassment. Believing that talking with a woman acquaintance in these ways does not rise to the level of harassment also reveals a belief that men are to be aggressive in their pursuit of sexual conquest and that men are entitled to women’s sexuality. As such, college men not recognizing forms of communication that are harassing demonstrates their appropriation of the ideals surrounding hegemonic masculinity.

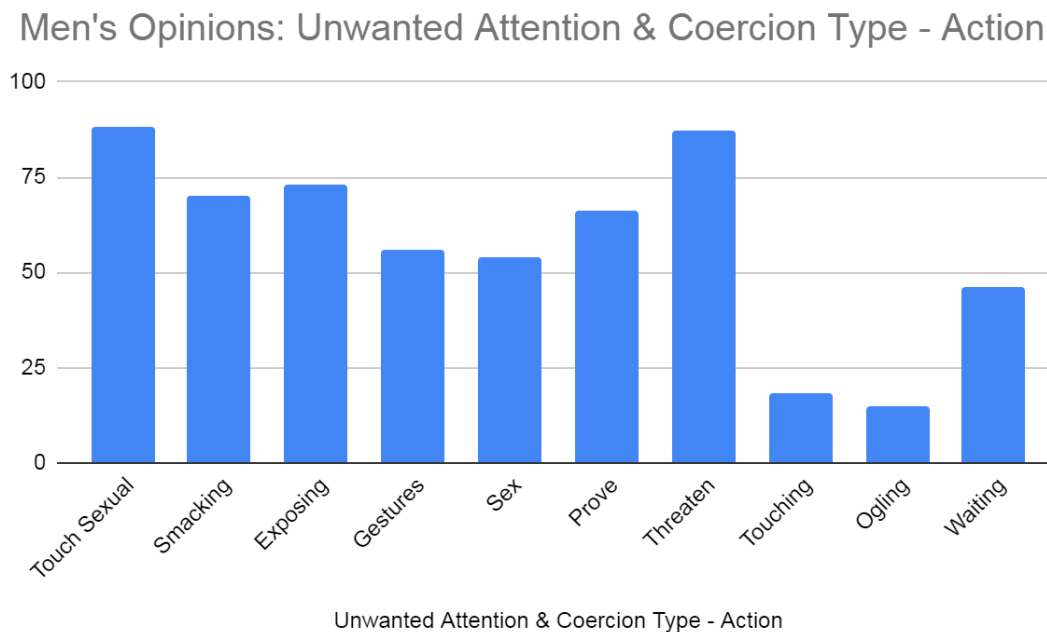


Figure 3.2 Men's Opinions on Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors

In exploring 'unwanted attention and coercion, it is interesting to note that when the questions turn to more overt and blatant behaviors, respondents are more likely to identify the item as sexual harassment. This is most obvious when the questions turn from just talk to action. The most overt type of action is physical contact with sexual implications. The vast majority of respondents believe that when physical contact with blatant sexual overtones is involved, the action constitutes sexual harassment. For example, Figure 3.2 reveals that 88% indicate that 'touching a woman in a sexual way knowing she does not want to be touched' (Touch Sexual) and 70% indicate that 'smacking or pinching a woman's butt' (Smacking) are indeed acts of sexual harassment. However, when the physical contact does not include obvious sexual overtones, such as 'touching a woman unnecessarily and in a nonsexual way,' (Touching) fewer than 20% of respondents believe the behavior constitutes sexual harassment.

Likewise, respondents also believe that observable sexually charged actions toward a woman, even without physical contact, is sexual harassment. For example, an overwhelming majority of respondents, 74%, agree that ‘exposing oneself electronically’ (Exposing) is sexual harassment and 56% agree that ‘gestures of a sexual nature’ (Gestures) rise to an act of sexual harassment. Yet, when the action toward a woman is less observable and may go unnoticed, such as ‘ogling or staring’ (Ogling) at a woman, only 15% of respondents believe the behavior is sexual harassment. Similarly, action that is legally stalking, ‘waiting outside of woman’s home, class, or work without being asked to do so’ (Waiting) did not constitute sexual harassment for the majority of respondents.

In addition, respondents believe that requests or commands for action from women are sexual harassment. For example, 54% to 66% percent of the respondents indicate that ‘asking a woman to perform a sex act, even in jest’ (Sex) or ‘to prove her heterosexuality’ (Prove), respectively, is sexual harassment, and 87% of the respondents believe ‘threatening a woman if she did not have sex’ (Threatening) constitutes acts of sexual harassment. Opinions about behaviors that include physical contact and those that do not but are blatantly sexual in nature, some of which are legally criminal acts, not even rising to the level of sexual harassment illustrate the acceptance of all the behaviors that the culture’s ideal man symbolizes: aggression in gaining sexual access, dominance in negotiating sexual encounters, power, physical strength, as well as entitlement to a woman’s body. These findings reveal, at minimum, college men are complicit with notions of hegemonic masculinity.

3.1.2 Unwanted Sexual Attention/Coercion, Talk v Action: Men's Participation

When asked about their own participation in these same behaviors, I find that more than one in four respondents have engaged in all six measures of verbal sexual attention. Figure 3.3 shows that 61% of the college men surveyed have participated in 'discussing sex with a woman who is neither their close friend or intimate partner' (Discuss) and almost half, 48%, have whistled, called, hooted, or sexually commented at a woman' (Whistle). In addition, 39% self-report that they have 'asked a woman, who is neither their close friend or intimate partner, about her sexual fantasies and desires' (Fantasies) while one-third have asked a woman on a date after she has already refused' (Date). Falling closely behind these two measures, 31% of respondents report communicating sexual interest by 'telling a woman something sexually descriptive about himself' (Descriptive). The item that has the lowest percentage, but still over 25% is 'attempting to establish a relationship with one woman without her knowing he is already involved in a committed and intimate relationship with another' (Relationship).

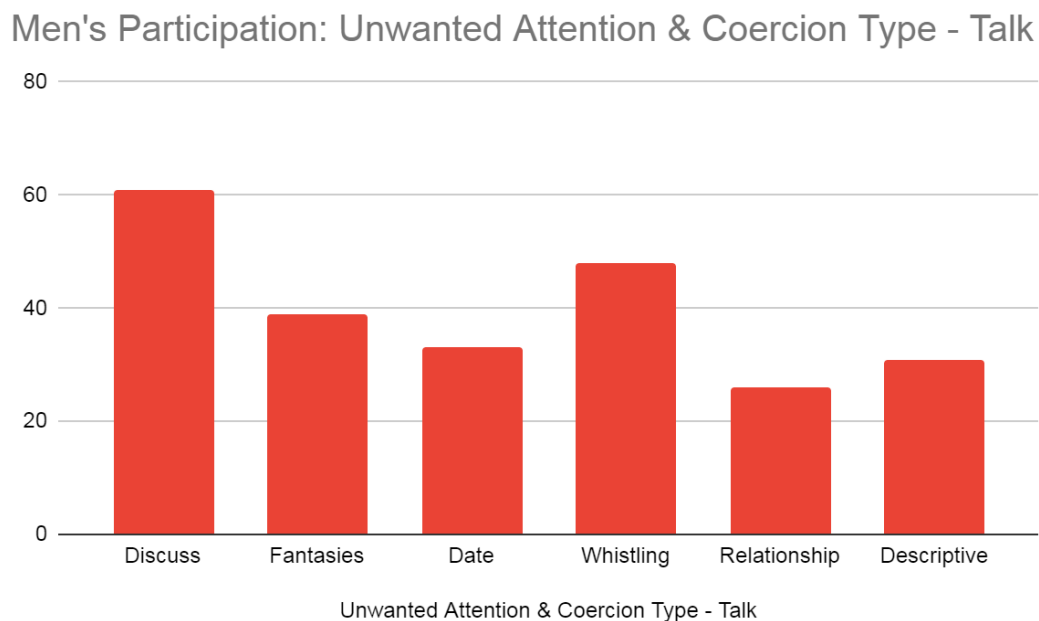


Figure 3.3 Men's Participation in Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Talk

Language is a powerful tool that can be used to declare one's dominance while simultaneously degrading and suppressing others. When men engage in talk-type sexual harassment, they are employing a strategy that establishes their dominant position while debasing and silencing the feminine. College men who sexually harass women are acting out hegemonic masculinity.

When the questions turn to more overt and blatant forms of harassment, such as those that include threats or sexually charged physical contact, respondents are less likely to report participating in the behavior. Fewer than 20 % of respondents report engaging in half of the action type measures of unwanted attention and coercion. The college men surveyed were least likely to report participating in behaviors that were obviously unwanted and sexually charged. Figure 3.4 shows that 8% of respondents reported having 'threatened a woman if she did not have sex' (Threaten), and 11% reported 'touching a woman in a sexual way knowing she

does not want to be touched' (Touch Sexual). Likewise, 12% of the college men reported having 'exposed themselves electronically' (Exposed) and having 'waited outside of a woman's class, work, or home without being asked to do so' (Waiting), while 14% reported having 'asked a woman to perform sex acts to prove her heterosexuality' (Prove).

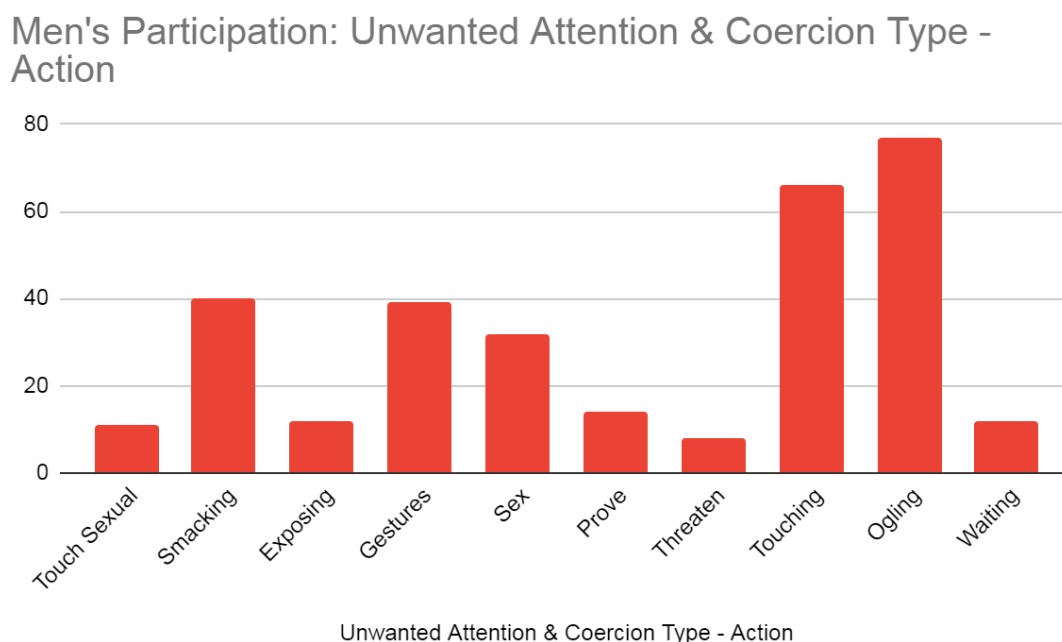


Figure 3.4 Men's Opinions on Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors

In addition, fewer than half of the respondents report participating in three additional measures. Forty percent of the college men surveyed report engaging in sexually charged physical contact with a woman by smacking or pinching her on the butt. Almost the same percentage, 39%, report engaging in sexually charged action toward a woman without physical contact in the form of making gestures of a sexual nature, and almost one-third admit to having asked a woman who is neither his close friend or intimate partner, to perform sex acts with him,

even in jest. The remaining two measures are exceptions to the trend of lower participation in action-oriented forms of unwanted sexual attention and coercion types of sexual harassment. The majority of the college men surveyed report having ‘touched a woman unnecessarily in a nonsexual way’ (Touching), 66%, and ‘ogled or stared at a woman’ (Ogling), 77%. These results indicate that men on the college campus have not only believed that a real man asserts his dominance, is entitled to women’s bodies, and is aggressive in sexual pursuit, but they are also acting out these convictions. Each time a man ogles a woman, touches her without invitation (whether it’s sexually charged or not), commands her to perform, exposes himself, or stalks her, he is behaving in hegemonically masculine ways.

3.1.3 Unwanted Sexual Attention/Coercion, Talk v Action: Men’s Opinion & Participation

I find an interesting relationship when looking at respondents’ beliefs about sexual harassment along with their self-reported participation in those behaviors. The higher the percentage of respondents that believe an item is sexual harassment, the lower the percentage of respondents that report participating in that behavior, and vice versa. Figures 3.5 and 3.6 reveal this trend. For example, in Figure 3.5 we see that fewer than a quarter, 21%, of respondents believe ‘attempting to discuss sex with a woman who is neither their close friend nor an intimate partner’ (Discuss) is sexual harassment, and we also see more than half of respondents, 61%, report having participated in this type of verbal sexual attention.

Opinion (blue/left) v Participation (red/right): Unwanted Sexual Attention & Coercion Type - Talk

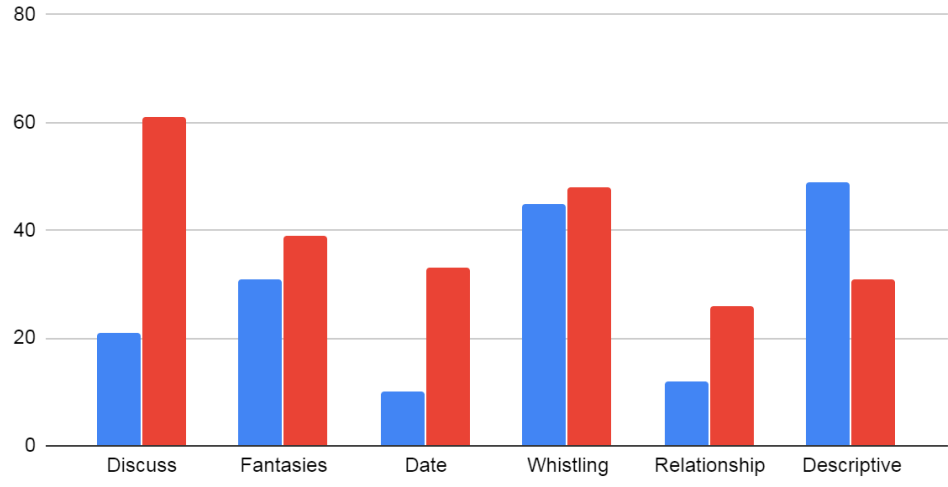


Figure 3.5 Men's Opinions & Participation in Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Talk

Opinion (blue/left) v Participation (red/right): Unwanted Sexual Attention & Coercion Type - Action

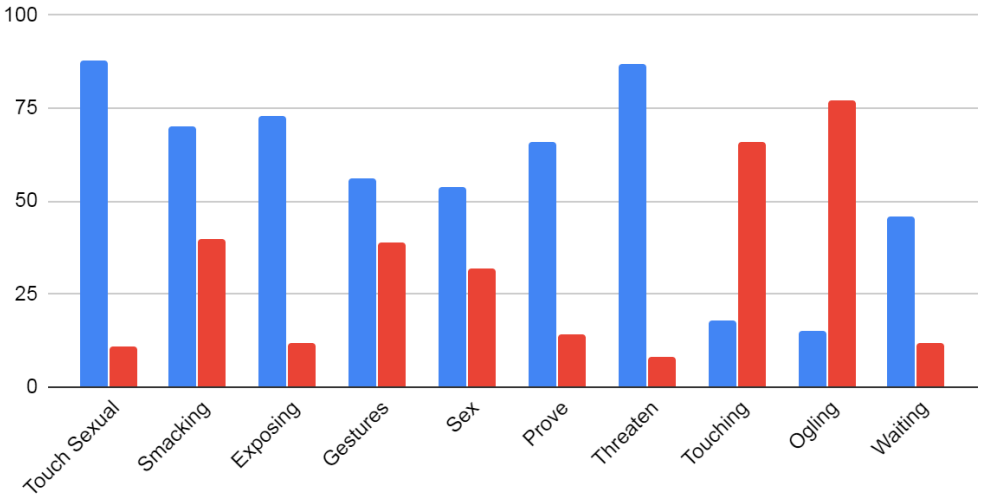


Figure 3.6 Men's Opinions & Participation in Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors

Comparably, fewer than 10% of respondents believe that ‘asking a woman on a date after she had refused the request previously’ (Date) is sexual harassment, and one third of the men report having done just that. The pattern of men reporting higher participation in behaviors they do not believe rise to the level of sexual harassment continues when respondents were asked about ‘attempting to establish a relationship with one woman while in a committed intimate relationship with another’ (Relationship), ‘asking a woman about her sexual fantasies’ (Fantasies), and whistling, calling, and hooting at a woman’ (Whistling).

With one exception, I find men’s participation in verbal sexual attention is higher than their beliefs that the attention is sexual harassment. The one measure that goes in the opposite direction is ‘telling a woman something sexually descriptive about self’ (Descriptive). While fewer than half, 49%, of respondents believe doing so is sexual harassment, it is the one sexual attention measure that is most likely to be identified as sexual harassment. In addition, almost one-third, 31%, of respondents admit to engaging in this form of sexual harassment, and it is in this measure alone, I find the percentage of men who self-report participating drop below the level of belief that it is sexual harassment. Overwhelmingly, respondents do not believe that talk of a sexual nature with women who are neither their close friends nor their intimate partners is sexual harassment, and in five of the six measures, men are more likely to engage in forms of sexual harassment that they do not believe constitute sexual harassment.

The relationship between men’s opinions and self-reported participation continues when I examine items involving physical contact with blatant sexual overtones. For example, 88% of respondents agree that ‘touching a woman in a sexual way knowing that she does not want to be touched’ (Touch Sexual) is sexual harassment, and far fewer men, 11%, admit having committed this violation. Likewise, 70% of the college men surveyed agree that ‘smacking or

pinching a woman on the butt' (Smacking) is sexual harassment, though clearly high, far fewer, 40%, self-report having done it.

As I explore obviously unwanted and sexually charged behaviors as well as actions toward a woman that include sexual overtones without physical contact, the relationship remains. For example, 87% of the college men surveyed believe that 'threatening a woman if she does not have sex' (Threaten) is sexual harassment, and considerably fewer, 8%, reported threatening a woman. Similarly, 73% of respondents agree that 'exposing oneself electronically to a woman without being asked to do so' (Exposing) is sexual harassment, and 12%, admit to sending unrequested images of themselves to women. More than half of the men agree that 'asking a woman who is neither a close friend or intimate partner for sex, whether in jest' (Sex) or 'to prove her heterosexuality' (prove), is sexual harassment, and fewer than half of the respondents reported having done so. Too, more than 50% of respondents believe 'making gestures of a sexual nature toward a woman' (Gestures) is sexual harassment and less than half report doing so.

There are only three, action-oriented measures, that the majority of men did not agree were sexual harassment. One of those three, 'waiting outside of a woman's class, work, or home' (Waiting), came close with 46% of respondents believing it constitutes sexual harassment, and a considerably fewer percentage of men, 12%, report engaging in stalking behaviors. The remaining two measures are those exceptions to the trend found in participation in action-oriented forms of sexual harassment above (Figure 4). Here, when participation is examined in conjunction with opinions, I find the pattern of higher levels of participation in behaviors that are not believed to constitute sexual harassment remains. Overwhelmingly, respondents do not believe either of these behaviors, 'touching a woman unnecessarily in a nonsexual way'

(Touching) and ‘ogling or staring at a woman’ (Ogling), rise to the level of sexual harassment. And, with only these two measures, the vast majority of men surveyed report engaging in both behaviors.

The results make clear that college men have not only believed and are complicit with the ideals of hegemonic masculinity but they are also acting in hegemonically masculine ways toward women on the college campus. They have positive attitudes about sexually harassing behaviors that align with hegemonic masculinity, and they admit to engaging in sexual harassment at alarming rates.

3.1.4 Unwanted Sexual Attention/Coercion, Talk v Action: Witnessing &/or Knowledge of Others

In line with their opinions and their own participation, more than half of the respondents report witnessing and/or knowing of other college men engaging in all six forms of verbal sexual harassment. See Figure 3.7. More than 70% of respondents have witnessed or know of other college men ‘attempting to discuss sex with a woman who is neither his close friend or intimate partner’ (Discuss) while 79% have witnessed or know of other men ‘whistling, calling, hooting, or sexually commenting at a woman’ (Whistling) as well as ‘trying to establish a relationship with a woman who did not know he was in a committed relationship’ (Relationship). In addition, 66% know of or have witnessed college men ‘asking a woman on a date after she has refused’ (Date) and ‘telling a woman something sexually descriptive about himself’ (Descriptive). Fifty-four percent of respondents also reveal that they have witnessed or know of other men ‘asking a woman about her sexual fantasies’ (Fantasies).

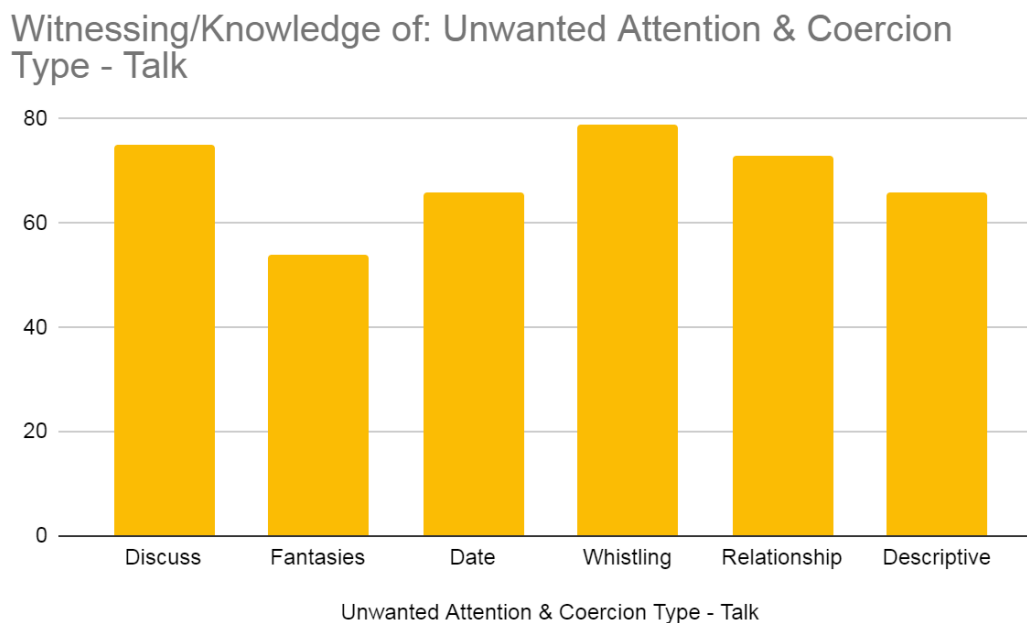


Figure 3.7 Witnessing or Knowledge of Other Men's Engagement in Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Talk

So far, there has been a stark contrast between talk and action in men's beliefs as well as their self-reported behaviors. When the question asks about witnessing or knowledge of other men's engagement in sexual harassment behavior, the contrast between talk and action is not as stark. Whereas the majority of college men surveyed know of or have witnessed others engage in all six measures of verbal sexual harassment, that is true for only half of the action oriented measures. Figure 8 shows that the majority of respondents know of or have witnessed other college men 'smacking or pinching a woman's butt' (Smacking), 'making gestures of a sexual nature' (Gestures), 'asking a woman for sex' (Sex and Prove), 'touching unnecessarily' (Touching), and 'ogling or staring at a woman' (Ogling).

Witnessing/Knowledge of: Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type - Action

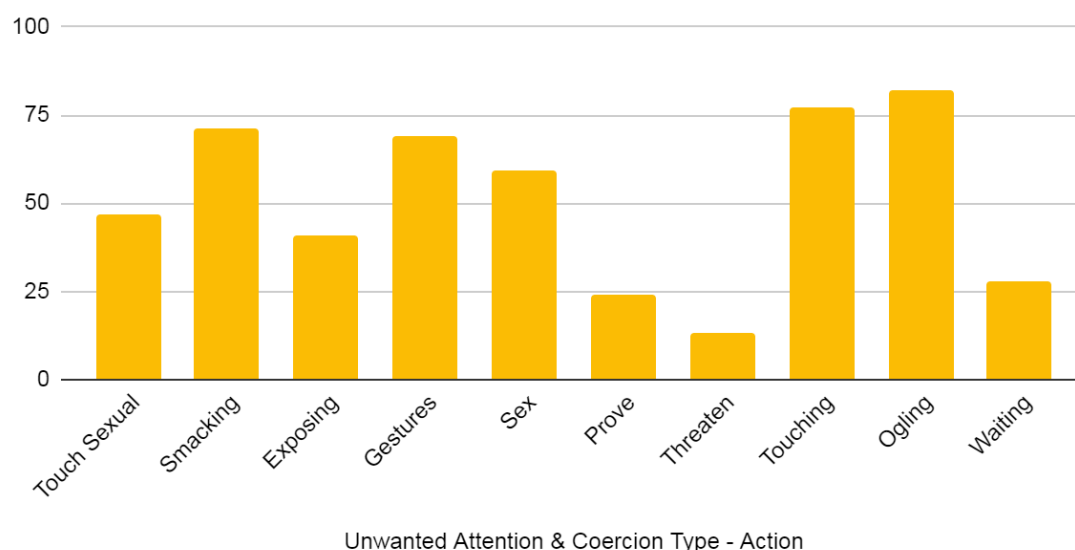


Figure 3.8 Witnessing or Knowledge of Other Men's Engagement in Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors

I see a similar pattern with the remaining measures of physical, sexual contact as well as blatant and overt behaviors toward a woman without physical contact. For example, 47% report they have witnessed or know of men 'touching a woman in a sexual way knowing she did not want to be touched' (Touch Sexual), and 71% reveal they have witnessed or know of other men 'smacking or pinching a woman on the butt' (Smacking). Likewise, 41% of respondents report witnessing or knowing of other men 'exposing themselves electronically' (Exposing), and 69% report witnessing or knowing of other men making 'gestures of a sexual nature' (Gestures).

There are three measurements in which a smaller minority of respondents have seen or know of others engaging in. Though considerably less than the other 7 measures, still more than one quarter of the men have witnessed or know of others engaging in stalking behaviors (Waiting). Almost one in four have witnessed or know of another man 'asking a woman to have

sex in order to prove her heterosexuality' (Prove). Finally, more than 10% of the respondents have either witnessed or know of a man' threatening a woman if she did not have sex' (Threatening).

3.1.5 Unwanted Sexual Attention/Coercion, Talk v Action: Men's Own Participation & Their Knowledge of other Men's Participation

Examining men's own participation alongside their knowledge of other men's participation in verbal sexual attention type sexual harassment I find a clear pattern. See Figure 3.9. Across all six measures, men report considerably higher levels of other men engaging in talk type harassment than their own participation. The most striking of these measures is 'attempting to establish a relationship with one woman while in a committed sexual relationship with another' (Relationship). Twenty six percent of respondents admit to doing such but 73 % know of or have witnessed other men doing so. Further, 31% of men admitted to 'telling a woman something sexually descriptive about self' (Descriptive) and 33% admitted to 'asking a woman out for drinks after she had previously said no' (Date) while 66% of the respondents report having witnessed or knowing of other men engaging in both forms of verbal sexual harassment. Similarly, 48% admit to 'whistling, calling, hooting, or sexually commenting at a woman' (Whistling) and 79% report witnessing or knowing of other men doing such. While still following the trend, two measures have smaller increases between men's own participation and their knowledge of others' participation. Sixty-one percent of men reported 'attempting to discuss sex with a woman' (Discuss) and 75% reported having witnessed or knowing of other men doing the same. The final measure, 'asking a woman about her sexual fantasies' (Fantasies) shows an increase from 39% of men's own participation to 54% of other men's participation in this form of talk type sexual harassment.

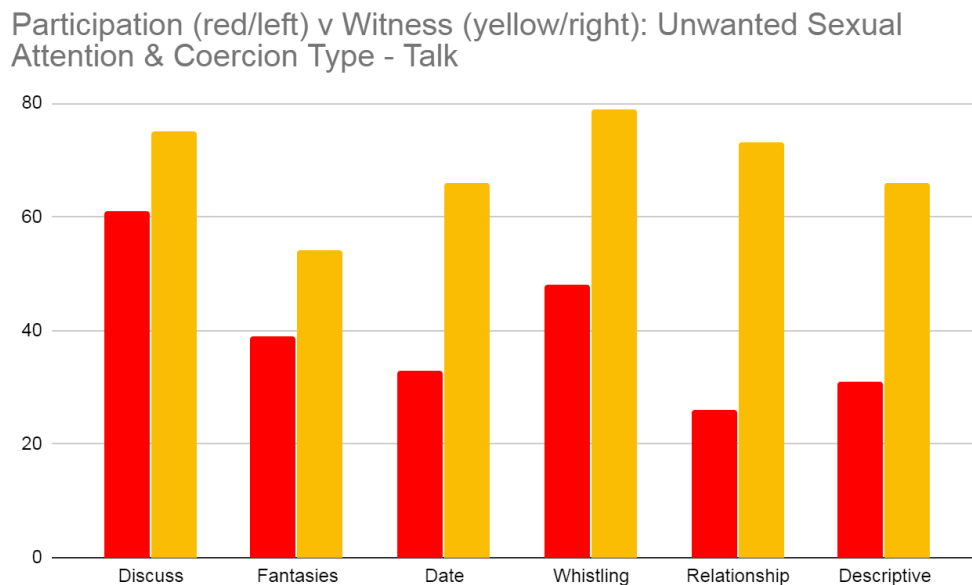


Figure 3.9 Men's Own Participation and Their Knowledge of Other Men's Participation in Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Talk

When the questions move from talk to action, the trend continues. See Figure 3.10. Across all 10 measures, men report higher levels of other men engaging in action-oriented harassment than their own participation. For example, there is a 36 percentage point increase between respondents that self-report 'touching a woman in a sexual way knowing she did not want to be touched' (Touch Sexual) and respondents that have witnessed or know of other men doing such. Similarly, there is a considerable difference between the percentage of respondents who admit to 'smacking or pinching a woman's butt' (Smacking), making 'gestures of a sexual nature' (Gestures), 'exposing one's self electronically' (Exposing), and 'asking a woman to perform sex acts, even in jest' (Sex) and the percentage of men who have witnessed or know of

others engaging in these action-oriented forms of sexual harassment.

Participation (red/left) v Witness (yellow/right): Unwanted Sexual Attention & Coercion Type - Action

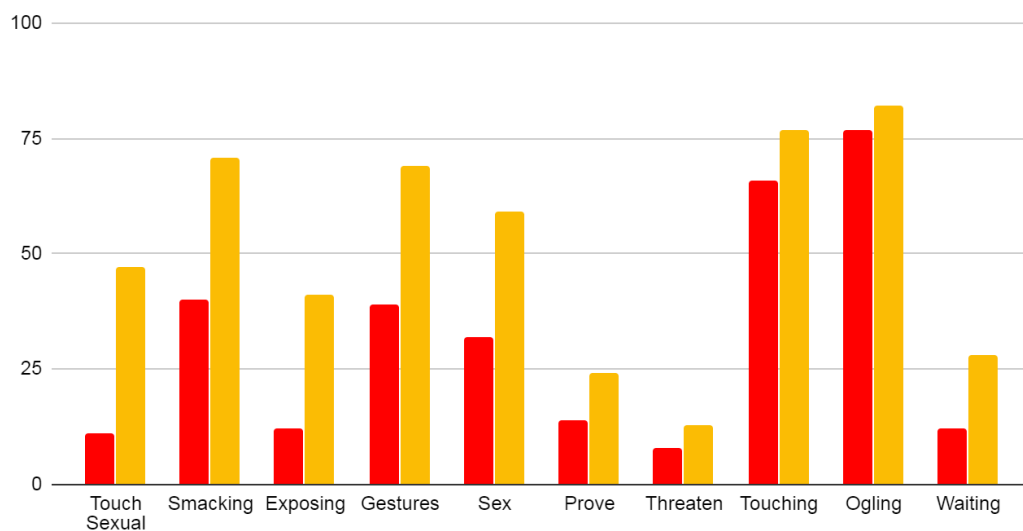


Figure 3.10 Men's Own Participation and Their Knowledge of Other Men's Participation in Unwanted Attention & Coercion Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors

While continuing the trend, three measures have smaller increases than those previously reported. For example, twelve percent of college men surveyed reported having engaged in stalking behaviors by 'waiting outside of a woman's home, class, or work without being asked to so' (Waiting) and 28% of the men surveyed reported having witnessed or knowing of other men also engaging in stalking behaviors. Likewise, 66% percent of respondents admitted to 'touching a woman unnecessarily and in a nonsexual way,' (Touching) and 77% have witnessed or know of other men doing so. Similarly, 14% of men admitted to 'asking a woman to perform a sex act in order to prove her heterosexuality' (Prove), and 24% reported having witnessed or knowing of other men doing the same. It is interesting to note that the slightest increase between self-reported participation and knowledge of others' participation is on either side of the spectrum. I find the smallest difference between participation and knowledge of or witnessing

on the measure with the highest level of self-reported participation, ‘ogling or staring’ (Ogling) and the measure with the lowest level of self-reported participation, “threatening a woman if she did not have sex” (Threatening). Seventy-seven percent of respondents reported they had engaged in ‘ogling or staring’ (Ogling) and 82% reported they know of or have witnessed other men do so. Eight percent of men admitted to “threatening a woman if she did not have sex” (Threatening) and 13% reported knowing of other men doing the same.

3.2 Gender and Sex Based Harassment, Talk v Action

3.2.1 Gender and Sex Based Harassment, Talk v Action: Men’s Opinions

When exploring Gender/Sex Based Type Harassment I find a similar pattern as was found when we explored ‘unwanted attention and coercion.’ With only one exception, men in this study do not believe that talk that is negative toward women or talk of a sexual nature in the presence of women constitutes sexual harassment. See Figure 3.11. Fewer than 1 in 10 believe ‘telling sexual stories or jokes in the presences of men and women’ (Stories/Jokes) is sexual harassment. Only 15% of respondents believe that ‘making negative comments about a woman in a specific situation- major, leadership role, career aspirations, etc.’ (Situational) or “in general” (General) is sexual harassment. Fewer than one in four believe ‘being condescending to a woman’ (Condescending) is sexual harassment, and only one quarter of respondents are of the opinion that ‘making sexual remarks in the presence of a woman’ (Sexual) is sexual harassment.

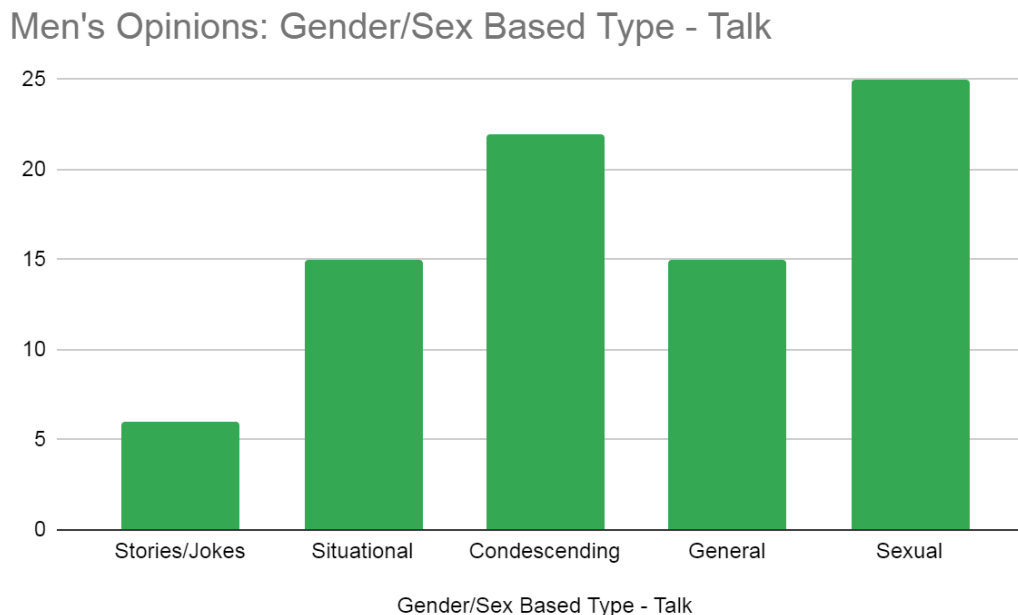


Figure 3.11 Men's Opinions on Gender/Sex Based Type Sexual Harassment Talk

As has been established, college men subscribe to notions of hegemonic masculinity with regard to sexual prowess. As such, it should come as no surprise that their beliefs extend to gender/sex based types of harassment as well. Though gender/sex based harassment is different from unwanted sexual attention and coercion type harassment in its intended outcome, both are strategies of hegemonic masculinity to advantage the masculine and degenerate the feminine. Hegemonic masculinity posits that a real man is in control, dominant, and entitled. Hence, positive attitudes toward language that reiterates masculine superiority and expresses the subjugation of the feminine is a manifestation of hegemonic masculinity.

With only one exception, when the questions turn from 'talk', e.g. 'telling sexual stories, making negative comments', or 'making sexual remarks,' to action,' e.g. 'treating a woman differently,' 'displaying sexy or nude photos,' and 'giving a woman something by dropping it

down the front of her blouse or in her pants,’ the percentage of men who believe the example within the question is an act of harassment increases. See Figure 3.12.

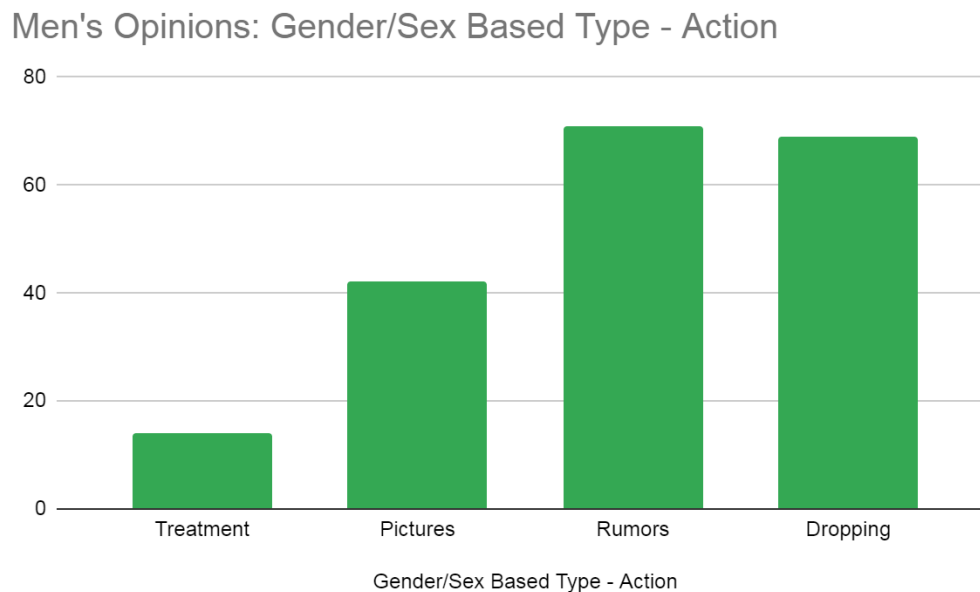


Figure 3.12 Men's Opinions on Gender/Sex Based Type Harassment Behaviors

In one case, the percentage of respondents who believe an action is sexual harassment nearly triples. Seventy-one percent of respondents agree that ‘giving a woman something by dropping it down her blouse or pants’ (Dropping) is sexual harassment, 69 % believe ‘spreading sexual rumors about a woman’ (Rumors) also constitutes sexual harassment, and 42% are of the opinion that ‘displaying or showing sexy or nude pictures’ (Pictures) is sexual harassment. The exception to these overwhelming increases is that only 14% of men believe ‘treating a woman differently than a man in the same situation-class, sport, major’ (Treatment) is sexual harassment.

3.2.2 *Gender and Sex Based Harassment, Talk v Action: Men's Participation*

As with the move from talk to action in unwanted sexual attention/coercion type harassment, I find the same pattern here. Figure 3.13 reveals that when asked about their own participation in these verbal gender/sex based types of sexual harassment, I find that more than three quarters of respondents have engaged in two measures, more than half have engaged in three measures, and one in four respondents have engaged in all five measures.

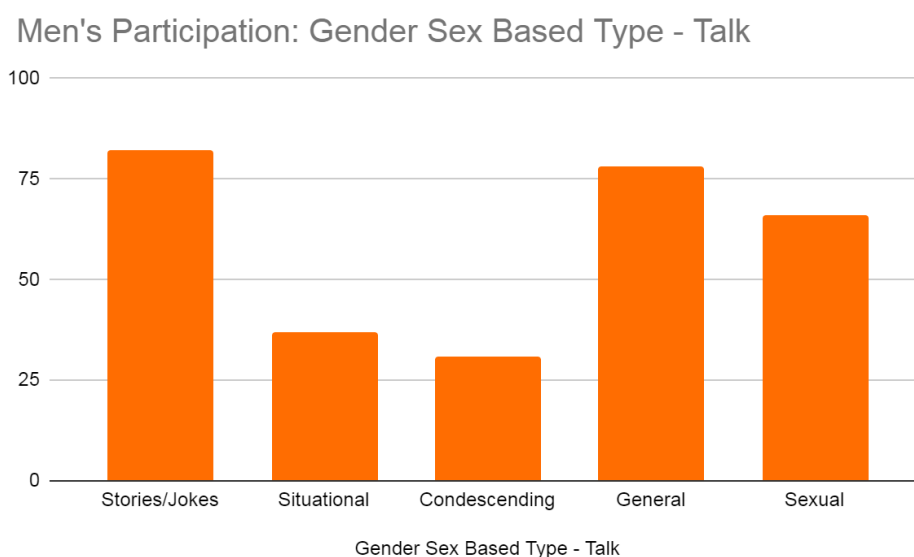


Figure 3.13 Men's Participation in Gender/Sex Based Type Sexual Harassment Talk

For example, 82% of the college men surveyed have participated in 'telling sexual stories or jokes in the presences of men and women' (Stories/Jokes), and 78% have engaged in 'making negative comments about women 'in general' (General). Sixty-six percent self-report 'making sexual remarks in the presence of a woman' (Sexual). The remaining two measures are also high with 37% of respondents having made 'negative comments about a woman in a specific situation-class, sport, major' (Situational) and 31% reported 'being condescending to a woman' (Condescending).

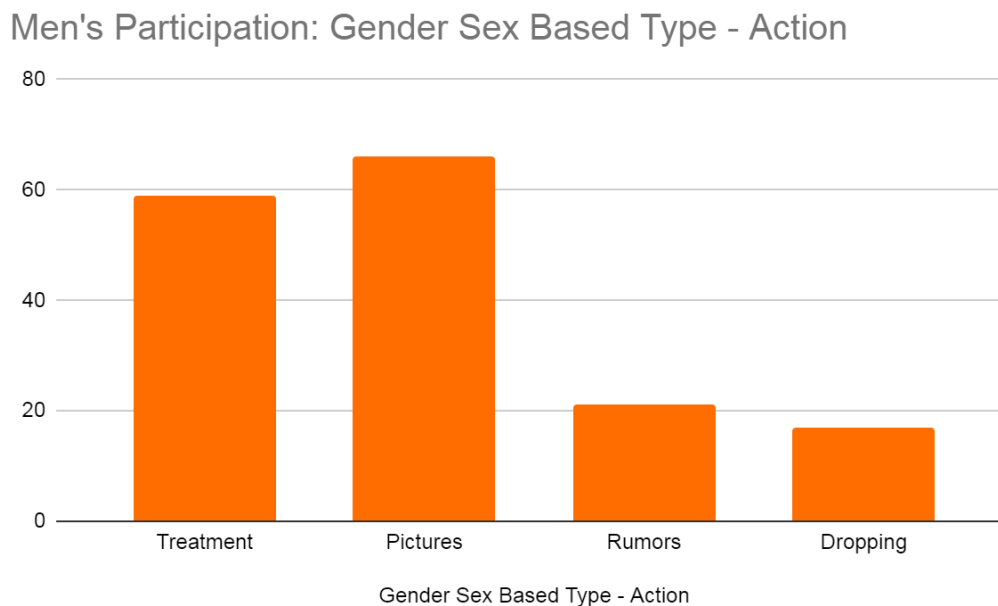


Figure 3.14 Men's Participation in Gender/Sex Based Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors

Men's participation in action-oriented gender/sex based type sexual harassment is polarized. Figure 14 reveals that more than half of the men have participated in two measures while fewer than a quarter have participated in the other two measures. Take for instance, 'giving a woman something by dropping it down her blouse or pants' (Dropping). Seventeen percent of respondents report engaging in this behavior, and similarly, 21 % have spread sexual rumors about a woman' (Rumors). On the other hand, 66% of the college men surveyed admit to 'displaying or showing sexy or nude pictures' (Pictures), and 59% admit to 'treating a woman differently than a man in the same situation-class, sport, major' (Treatment).

Hegemonic masculinity defines a "real man," and it also defines its common sense opposite, the feminine. When men treat women differently, display inappropriate images of women, and disparage women who have dared to step into a man's realm, they are responding to a perceived threat to their masculinity or better, hegemonic masculinity in general. The

discriminatory response is an attempt to quell women's participation, reclaim the space as one reserved for men, and reassert their dominant social position. Men who behave in such ways are defending and enacting hegemonic masculinity.

3.2.3 Gender and Sex Based Harassment, Talk v Action: Men's Opinions & Participation

As with unwanted attention/coercion type sexual harassment, men's self-reported participation in gender/sex-based talk type sexual harassment aligns with their opinions about whether or not the talk is sexual harassment. The men in this study overwhelmingly believe that talk alone, whether negative toward a woman or sexual in nature and in the presence of women, is not sexual harassment and more than 30% of the college men surveyed report participating in all five measures. See Figure 3.9. For example, an overwhelming majority of the respondents, 82%, self-report 'telling sexual stories or jokes in the presence of women' (Stories/Jokes) while only 6% of the respondents believe this kind of talk is sexual harassment. Again, the vast majority, 78%, admitted to 'making negative comments about women in general' (General) and only 15% believe doing so is sexual harassment.

Hegemonic masculinity normalizes men's superior status, men's authority, and validates entitlement space and place as well as women's bodies. The college campus today, though, is a space in which those ideas are being challenged: Large numbers of women are not sexually available to all men, women are succeeding in traditionally male-dominated fields, and women are rising to the top positions of authority. The results here indicate that college men continue to believe hegemonically defined masculinity is the desired masculinity and femininity defined in opposition is the rightful and authentic femininity. College men are acting, harassing, and discriminating in ways consistent with those beliefs.

Opinion (green/left) v Participation (orange/right): Gender/Sex Based Type - Talk

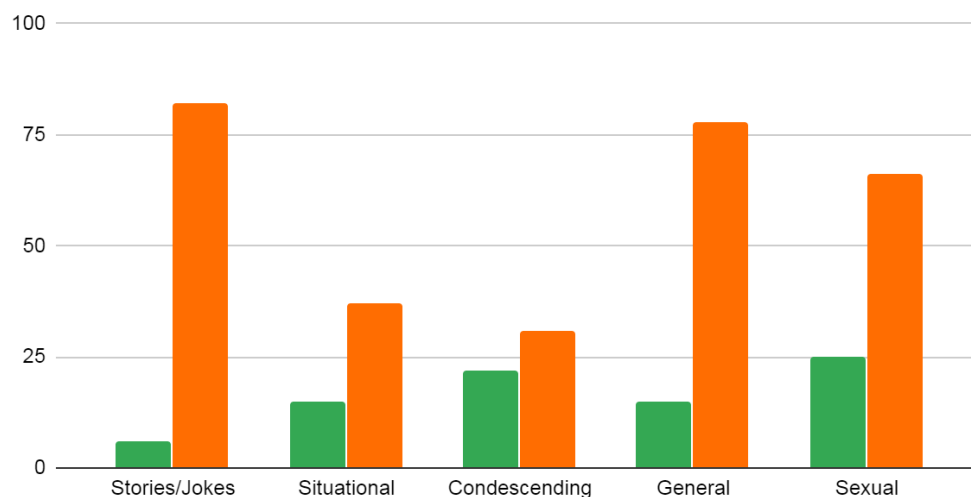


Figure 3.15 Men's Opinions and Participation in Gender/Sex Based Type Sexual Harassment Talk

Moreover, only 15% of respondents believe ‘making negative comments about a woman in a specific situation - major, leadership role, career aspirations, etc’ (Situational) is sexual harassment and more than double that figure have done so. Following this trend, I find that only a quarter of men believe that ‘making sexual remarks in the presence of women’ (Sexual) is sexual harassment and 66% of men reporting doing such. The one measure that has the smallest increase but continues to follow the trend is ‘being condescending to a woman’ (Condescending). Less than one-quarter, 22%, of men believe doing so is sexual harassment and only slightly more than that report having been “condescending to a woman.’

The alignment between men’s opinions and their behaviors is most clear in the comparison of Gender/Sex based, action-oriented sexual harassment. Figure 3.16 shows men’s opinions and their participation side-by-side. Again, we find that as men perceive an action to be sexual harassment, they are less likely to report participating in that behavior and vice versa. As

noted above in Figure 3.14, participating in action-oriented sexual harassment is polarized, and here in Figure 3.16, we see there is a relationship between those behaviors and men's opinions.

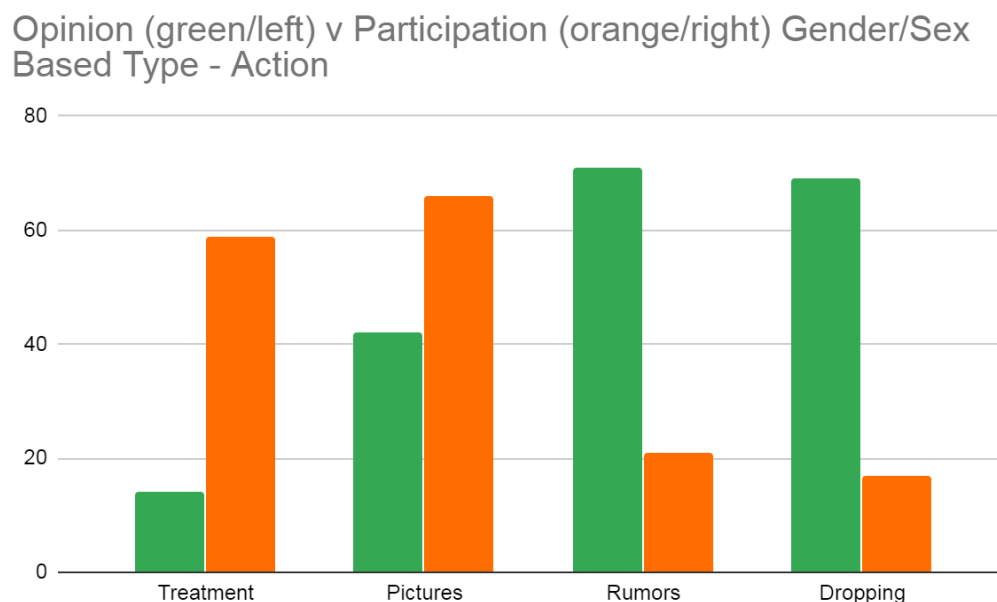


Figure 3.16 Men's Opinions and Participation in Gender/Sex Based Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors

For example, men in this study do not believe that 'treating a woman differently than a man in the same situation -class, major, sport' (Treatment) is sexual harassment, and in line with these beliefs, 59 % of respondents admit to treating a woman differently than a man in the same situation report doing so. At the same time, the majority of respondents, 69%, do believe 'giving a woman something by dropping it down her blouse or pants' (Dropping) is sexual harassment and only 17% report having done such. Likewise, the majority of college men surveyed, 71%, do believe that 'spreading sexual rumors about a woman' (Rumors) constitutes sexual harassment and fewer than one in four, 21%, report having participated in spreading sexual rumors. On the other hand, fewer than half of respondents, 42%, agree that displaying sexy or nude images of women is sexual harassment and 66% report doing such.

3.2.4 *Gender and Sex Based Harassment, Talk v Action: Witnessing &/or Knowledge of Others*

A large majority of respondents report witnessing or knowing of other men engaging in 8 of the 9 measures of gender or sex based sexual harassment. Figure 3.17 shows that more than three-quarters of respondents have witnessed or know of other men participating in four of the five measures of talk type harassment, and the majority of respondents have witnessed or know of other men engaging in all five measures.

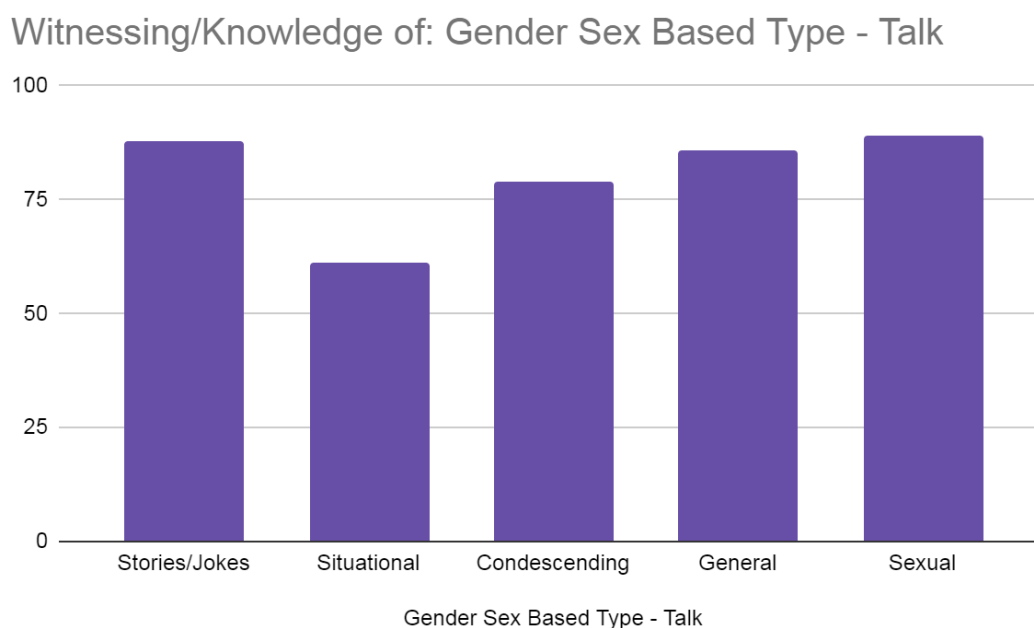


Figure 3.17 Witnessing or Knowledge of Other Men's Engagement in Gender/Sex Based Type Sexual Harassment Talk

Eighty-nine percent of respondents report witnessing or knowing of other men 'making sexual remarks in the presence of women' (Sexual) while 88% report witnessing or knowing of other men 'telling sexual stories or jokes in the presence of women' (Stories/Jokes). 'Making negative comments about women in general' (General) as well 'in specific situations-major,

leadership role, career aspirations, etc’ (Situational) are both common. Eighty-six percent of respondents report they have witnessed or know of other men making negative comments about women in general and 61% about women in specific situations.

The remaining four gender/sex based sexual harassment measures are action-oriented and presented in Figure 3.18. When the questions move from talk to action, I continue to find a considerable presence of gender and sex based sexual harassment with the majority reporting having witnessed or knowing of other men engaging in three of the four action type measures.

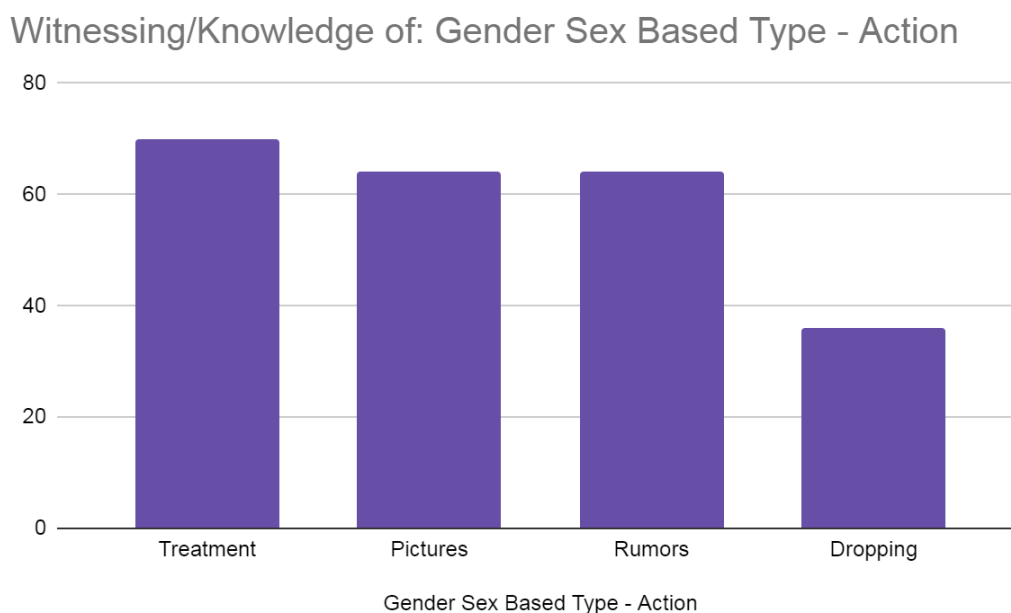


Figure 3.18 Witnessing or Knowledge of Other Men's Engagement in Gender/Sex Based Type Sexual Harassment Behaviors

While 64% of respondents report witnessing or knowing of other men ‘displaying sexy or nude images’ (Pictures) and ‘spreading sexual rumors about a woman’ (Rumors), 70% report witnessing or knowing of other men ‘treating a woman differently than a man in the same situation-class, sport, major’ (Treatment). Even on the one exception, ‘giving a woman

something by dropping it down her blouse or pants' (Dropping), more than one-third of respondents acknowledge having witnessed or knowing of other men engaging in this harassment behavior.

3.2.5 Gender and Sex Based Harassment, Talk v Action: Men's Own Participation & Their Knowledge of other Men's Participation

Examining men's own participation alongside their knowledge of other men's participation in verbal, gender/sex based sexual harassment I see a pattern similar to what I find with unwanted sexual attention. Figure 3.19 reveals that across all five measures, men report higher levels of other men engaging in talk type harassment than their own participation. For example, less than half of the men admit to 'being condescending to a woman (Condescending), 31%, and 'making negative comments about a woman in specific situation-major, leadership role, career aspirations, etc' (Situational), 37%, but 70% report having witnessed or knowing of other men condescending to a woman and 61% having made negative comments about a woman in a specific situation. Similarly, there is a 23 percentage-point difference between men's participation in 'making sexual remarks in the presence of a woman' (Sexual) and their knowledge of others engaging in that kind of conversation. Though not as stark a contrast, the remaining two measures follow the same trend. The vast majority of respondents, 82%, admit to 'telling sexual stories and jokes in the presence of women' (Stories/Jokes), and even more, 88%, have witnessed or know of others doing the same. Likewise, 78% admit to 'making negative comments about women in general' (General) while 89% have witnessed or know of others engaging in negative talk about women in general.

Participation (orange/left) v Witness (purple/right): Gender/Sex Based Type - Talk

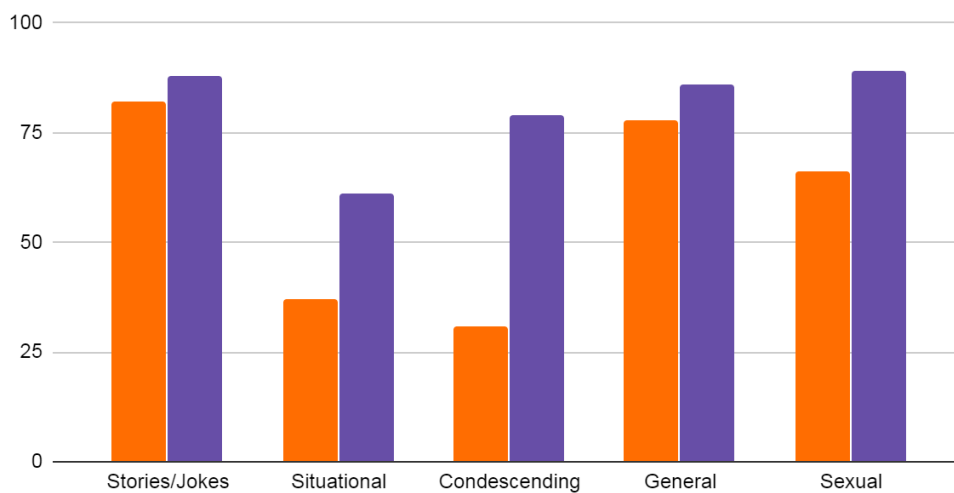


Figure 3.19 Men's Own Participation and Their Knowledge of Other Men's Participation in Gender/Sex Based Type Harassment Talk

In comparing men's own participation with their knowledge of other men's participation, one measure stands out when the questions move from talk to action. Figure 3.20 shows the comparison of action-oriented measures. Interestingly, 66% of men report 'displaying sexy or nude images' (Pictures) but only 64% report having witnessed or knowing of others doing the same. It is the only one of all 25 sexual harassment measures, talk or action, unwanted sexual attention/coercion or gender/sex based, in which men self-report higher levels of participation than knowledge of others' participation.

Participation (orange/left) v Witness (purple/right): Gender/Sex Based Type - Action

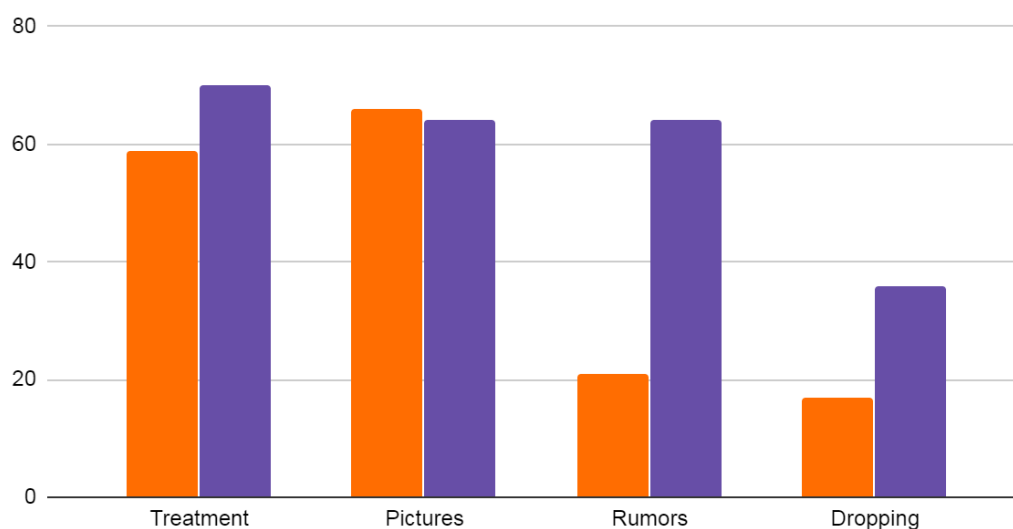


Figure 3.20 Men's Own Participation and Their Knowledge of Other Men's Participation in Gender/Sex Based Type Harassment Behaviors

The remaining three, action-oriented gender/sex based sexual harassment measures follow the trends we have previously seen. Two of them show considerable increases from their own participation to knowledge of others' participation. For example, 21% of the respondents have participated in 'spreading sexual rumors about a woman' (Rumors), and 64% have witnessed or know of other men doing such. Likewise, 17% of the college men surveyed admit to 'giving a woman something by dropping it down a woman's blouse or pants' (Dropping) and 36% know of or have witnessed other men doing so. Finally, the majority of men admit to 'treating a woman differently than a man in the same situation-major, class, or sport' (Treatment), and even more, 70%, have witnessed or know of other men treating a woman differently than a man in the same situation.

The results clearly show college men believe and are acting upon the beliefs that men are superior, women are inferior, men have the right to control, men should be in authority, as well

as men are entitled to space, place, women's bodies, and women's sexuality. The ideals of hegemonic masculinity are deeply rooted in men's belief systems about what it means to be a man and are manifesting in language and actions with women and in front of other men.

4 DISCUSSION

Strategies of sexual harassment and other sexist behaviors that neutralize the feminine or seek to gain advantage from women's subjugation have a long history in Western thought (Sanday 2007:185). This mentality is neither universal nor is it an unconscious process (Sanday 2007: 187). While Americans tend to focus on biological and natural explanations of men's sexual aggressiveness and violence (Sanday 2007: 195), it is cultural, and it is purposeful. Young men in this society grow up in a culture that expects them to behave in hegemonically masculine ways and has repeatedly told them they are entitled to women's bodies. Men's sexual harassment, positive attitudes toward behaviors women find harassing, and other forms of sexism are logical outcomes of hegemonic ideology and socialization in this culture. "Sexual harassment is integral to the performance of hegemonic masculinity and is a critical expression of the converging power regimes of gender and heterosexist oppression" (Robinson 2005:22). These behaviors and attitudes are not innate in male development (Sanday 2007:195). Culture, ideology, and socialization teach men what a 'real man' is, what is and is not harmful to women, and ultimately to sexually harass and abuse women (Sanday 2007:195).

4.1 Unwanted Attention & Coercion Harassment

Sexual harassment does not begin at the campus gates. When young men enter college, they have had an average of 18 years of gender socialization and are well versed in what a 'real man' is supposed to be. Boys sexually harassing girls as a way to establish hegemonic masculine

status begins in grade school (Saker 2008:80; Robinson 2005:22). And now, in their college years, they are navigating an uncharted territory. Many are away from home for the first time and living in a college setting very different than their K-12 education. They have freedoms they have never enjoyed before; their sexual pursuits are at an all-time high, and they may feel anxious about relating to and communicating with both men and women (Sanday 2007:187). Society, the media, and the hook-up culture have misled men to believe that when they arrive on the college campus, there will be an abundance of women available to them. As a result, we see the 'real man' ideology demonstrated in men's opinions about, as well as their participation in, unwanted sexual attention and coercion type sexual harassment. In fact, while certainly there are college men who do not engage in sexual harassment, this study reveals that most college men still do not recognize unwanted, verbal sexual attention as sexual harassment. (See Figure 3.1)

4.1.1 Men's Opinions

The overall pattern found in this study indicates that college men have adopted opinions consistent with hegemonic masculinity. A 'real man' is understood to be sexually skilled, entitled to women's bodies, and aggressive in their pursuit of sexual conquest. The men surveyed do not know the difference between appropriate ways to communicate their own sexual attractions to women and sexual harassment. Respondents do not understand that when in conversation with a woman they barely know that discussing sex (Discuss), asking about her sexual fantasies (Fantasies), or sharing something sexually descriptive about themselves (Descriptive) is, in fact, sexual harassment and demonstrates their adoption of hegemonic masculinity. The opinion that attempting to discuss sex with an acquaintance and asking about her sexual fantasies is not sexual harassment indicates an entitlement to women's sexuality. In

addition, the notion that broadcasting one's sexual expertise or distinguishing anatomy is a perfectly reasonable way to entice a woman into a sexual experience reveals men's understanding of and desire to be identified as a "real man."

The most troubling findings with regard to men's opinions about talk-type unwanted, verbal sexual attention is that verbal communications that involve deception or may be classified as stalking was not only not recognized as sexual harassment, but they were also the two measures that were least likely to be recognized. The vast majority of these men are of the opinion that initiating a sexual relationship with a woman without mentioning they are in a sexual relationship with another woman (Relationship) is not sexual harassment. This speaks to the gamifying of sexual pursuit among young men that Grazian (2007) reports and illustrates their beliefs that men are to maintain dominance in negotiating sexual encounters. Similarly, repeatedly asking a woman to spend time with them (Date) after she has already refused the offer is not only sexual harassment but is technically stalking. Men not believing this behavior rises to the level of sexual harassment also demonstrates their belief that a 'real man' is persistent in his pursuit of sexual conquest.

To any woman who ventures outside of her home in the United States, the finding that men do not identify whistling and cat calling as sexual harassment should not be surprising. Even without recent media attention about street harassment, women who utilize public transportation, walk on populated streets, or are in public spaces in which the harasser can remain relatively anonymous, such as a campus, observe and/or are the victims of this type of harassment regularly. While college men have adopted opinions that are consistent with notions of hegemonic masculinity, college women are frightened and harassed by such displays, not flattered. Though the aim of this study is to explore college men's opinions, we should not

overlook the fact that college women developed the survey instrument and unanimously agreed that all 25 inventory items are sexual harassment. Knowing that college women deem each of these examples as sexual harassment and the college men surveyed do not believe they are, demonstrates that men continue to have a much narrower view of sexual harassment than do women (Rotundo, Nguyen, and Sackett 2001). The respondents' overwhelming belief that talk alone is not sexual harassment indicates there has been little change in men's beliefs that expressions of sexual interest are not sexual harassment (Ekore 2012) and are harmless (Russell and Trigg 2004). As sexual harassment in itself is a display of hegemonic masculinity, all of the talk type measures exhibit characteristics of hegemonic masculinity. Rather than understanding these verbal communications as sexual harassment, men have positive attitudes toward them and may even believe they are appropriate masculine ways of communicating sexual interest.

Though men were more likely to identify sexual harassment when the harassment involves action, this study demonstrates there is considerable work yet to be done to make the college campus safe for women. Again, we see the majority of men do not recognize a behavior that is legally defined as stalking (Waiting) as sexual harassment. Young men who have believed the lies told through popular culture about masculinity may view waiting outside of a woman's home, class, or place of employment without her knowing about it as a manly and appropriate way to express sexual interest. Sexual harassment in the form of stalking is another form of the "hunt," and an aggressive pursuit of sexual conquest that maintains male dominance (Grazian 2007; Kimmel 2009). That men do not recognize stalking as sexual harassment is yet another manifestation of internalized hegemonic masculinity revealing that they have believed what the culture has taught them about a "real man."

Moreover, sexual assault is a blatant and physically violent manifestation of hegemonic masculinity. As aggression is the culturally accepted response to men's sexual desires, for many men aggressive sexual conquest and male dominance in the form of sexual assault is not considered sexual harassment. There were two measures of sexual harassment on the survey instrument that legally rise to the level of sexual assault, and too many men did not identify touching a woman sexually knowing she does not want to be touched (Touch Sexual) or smacking or pinching a woman on the butt (Smacking) as harassment. Likewise, there is another inventory item also legally defined as assault. Threatening a person is simple assault in the state in which this research was conducted (Code Section 16-5-20), and yet again we see more than 10% of the respondents do not believe that threatening a woman if she does not have sex with him (Threat) is sexual harassment. These opinions about sexual assault and simple assault not rising to the level of sexual harassment illustrate the acceptance of all the behaviors that the culture's ideal man symbolizes aggression in gaining sexual access, dominance in negotiating sexual encounters, power, and physical strength.

Interestingly, Bursik and Geftter (2011) found that college students, both men and women, view acts that involve physical contact as sexual harassment. However, the findings of this study indicate that the physical contact must include a sexual component, either overtly sexual in nature or involve a sexualized body part, for the majority of men to identify the behavior as harassment. Overwhelmingly, the respondents did not identify unnecessarily touching a woman in a nonsexual way (Touching) as sexual harassment. Touching another's body unnecessarily and without permission, even in a nonsexual way, indicates one believes he is naturally deserving of and has a right to both her body and personal space.

Moreover, men's acceptance that women are passive objects of men's desire is illustrated in men's opinions that staring and ogling women is not sexual harassment. There is a difference between seeing someone and finding them attractive and ogling them. The former is something that occurs instantaneously as one goes about her or his day. The other is a conscious decision, based on entitlement, that dehumanizes the recipient. College men, unsure of how to communicate their feelings, may believe nonsexual touching and staring are legitimate ways of expressing interest. Previous research (Caplan et. al. 2009), indicates that subtle forms of harassment are often not identified as sexual harassment, and this still seems to be the case. However, even with regard to more subtle form of sexual harassment, men's responses continue to indicate an adoption of opinions consistent with hegemonic masculinity.

Interestingly, one might assume that exposing one's self electronically without being requested to do so is akin to indecent exposure under the law. However, this seems to be an area of cultural lag in which the laws have not kept up with technological advances⁷. A case came before the Iowa Supreme Court in 2018 attempting to charge a man with indecent exposure for exposing himself electronically to a woman he was stalking. The all-male court dismissed the charges (Pitt 2018). The court stated, "while we acknowledge that one can be offended by a sexually explicit image transmitted via text message, it is much easier to 'look away' from that image than it is to avoid an offensive in-person exposure." If mature men with law degrees and appointments to the bench are adhering to the mandates of hegemonic masculinity by identifying this violation as something one *can* be offended by and avoided by just looking away, the number of young college men who did identify this behavior as sexual harassment gives us some reason for hope. Moreover, some states have taken action to criminalize the sending of unwanted

⁷ Indecent exposure laws initially addressed flashing and streaking but over the years have addressed such issues as public sex, going to the bathroom in public, and the act of mooning among others.

nude photographs. Texas enacted a new law that went into effect September 1, 2019 that does just that (House Bill 2789). Maybe, by the time some of these young men become politicians and lawyers, all states will recognize this form of sexual harassment legally as indecent exposure.

Up until now, the measures discussed have had a component, at least implicitly, that the perpetrator has a sexual interest in the victim. There were three measures on the survey that are sexual in nature, but do not necessarily require the actor to have a sexual desire for the recipient. College men may not view making gestures of a sexual nature (Gestures) as a true expression of sexual interest meant to elicit a positive response from a woman, but they certainly do not believe engaging in this behavior is sexual harassment. Likewise, as more than a quarter of men believe requesting sex from women in jest (Sex) or to prove her heterosexuality (Prove) is not sexual harassment, these behaviors may also be viewed as harmless fun and not requests for action based on any real sexual desire for the woman being propositioned. Again, however, the opinions that these behaviors are not sexual harassment indicate a belief in the natural sexual aggressiveness of men and the legitimization of dominance over women. The opinions of these men about sexually harassing behaviors overall indicate a large portion of college men are, at minimum, complicit with notions of hegemonic masculinity.

4.1.2 Men's Participation & Their Knowledge of Others

As we move from men's opinions to their behaviors and knowledge of other men's behaviors, it is clear that college men are not only complicit, but they are also enacting hegemonic masculinity. Social interaction between men and women serves as the most common means of social control against women. It is through social interaction that women are constantly reminded of what their place is (Henley and Freeman 2008:84). Sexual harassment is

an effective strategy for asserting male dominance, subordinating women, and performing hegemonic masculinity.

Some men have healthy relationships with women who are co-workers, fellow students, and acquaintances, and even communicate without reverting to sexual harassment or inciting anxiety and fear. Then, there are others who do not (Sanday 2007: 185). Unfortunately, this study reveals that there are considerable numbers of college men among those who do not. More than half of the college men surveyed have witnessed other college men engaging in all 6 measures of sexual harassment that involve talk alone. Moreover, they admit engaging in sexual harassment themselves at alarming rates.

Language can be mobilized as a signal to enforce one's social definition (Henley and Freeman 2008:84). When men strike up conversations with women they do not know and discuss matters of a sexual nature or share sexually descriptive details about themselves, they are being aggressive in sexual pursuit and signaling their dominant social position. As a common response from women victims of sexual harassment is silence (Sandler 2008:207), men speaking in these ways to women are displays of dominance in that it renders their victims literally speechless (Henley and Freeman 2008:89).

The sexual harassment behavior men reported engaging in most often was ogling and staring. More than three quarters of the men admitted to doing such and witnessing others doing the same. A look can convey a multitude of sentiments and the meaning of a look depends on the context. In humans as well as other primates, staring conveys interpersonal dominance and control (Davidio and Ellyson 1982). This study finds that even without saying a word, men on the college campus are harassing women at extremely high rates. Staring at and ogling women is an aggressive and purposeful act, one that maintains dominance and asserts power. Certainly,

77-82 % of college men do not achieve hegemonic masculinity, but each time a man ogles and stares at a woman, he is absolutely enacting it. That the vast majority of college men surveyed report enacting it themselves and witnessing other men do so indicates that sexual harassment and displays of hegemonic masculinity proliferate on the college campus.

Men also invade women's personal spaces without being invited and report doing so at very high rates. Men's personal space is private, controlled by the men themselves and only breached by invited intimate others or those with whom a violent altercation is imminent. Women's space, on the other hand, is not their own but perceived by men as open to enter at will without invitation. In general, the U.S. is a low-contact culture. Americans are conscious of our own and others' personal space and will work diligently to avoid touching others. Those who accidentally touch another person or bump into them on a crowded sidewalk are quick to apologize (Henley and Freeman 2008:87).

However, this pattern changes when there is a power imbalance. Brown (1965) found that in interactions between pairs with status differences, the person with superior status is more likely to invade the space of and touch the other person, including teacher/student, minister/parishioner, adviser/advisee, supervisor/worker. Men have more power, prestige, and status than do females, a fact that cannot but affect men's and women's interactions with each other. Even casual relationships between women and men are embedded in a social context in which men wield power over females (Henley and Freeman 2008:90).

Based on the finding in this study, college men are, at least subconsciously, aware of their superior status to college women as touching a woman unnecessarily and purposefully without invitation was the second most reported sexual harassment behavior. The vast majority of men not only revealed that they've seen others do it, but also that they themselves do it. Henley and

Freeman (2008:88) assert that women students are used to being touched by their male counterparts indicating that this finding is consistent with men's sexual harassment behaviors across the country. When college men invade the personal space of college women and purposefully touch them without invitation, they are revealing their own superior status, as well as women's inferior status, exerting male dominance, and demonstrating hegemonic masculinity.

Another way men are invading women's personal space is by smacking or pinching a woman's butt. It is important to remember that this survey specifically asked men about their behaviors with women who are no more than acquaintances. The respondents did not report on women with whom they are in intimate relationships or even close friends. Yet, nearly half admitted to engaging in such behavior and nearly three quarters have witnessed or know of other men doing so. It is possible that men think this behavior is funny and harmless, but it is indisputable this behavior is an act of exerting control over a woman's body. This type of behavior occurs unexpectedly, at least from the victim's perspective and an invasion of personal space that renders the victim's body at the mercy of the perpetrator. In addition, smacking or pinching a woman on the butt is, technically, sexual assault.

The most disturbing finding in this study is related both to the invasion of women's personal space and sexual assault. Sexual harassment of all types is violence, and in the case of touching a woman in a sexual way knowing she does not want to be touched is also sexual assault. More than 10% of the college men surveyed admitted to and almost half of the respondents reported witnessing and knowing of other men commit sexual assault by sexually touching a woman against her wishes. There is no greater display of domination, and therefore

hegemonic masculinity, than to physically force one's will upon another, and this finding brings into focus men's demonstration of internalized cultural attitudes about a "real man."

There is a pervading myth that good girls say "no," but that "no" really means "yes." Accompanying this myth is the idea that real men push, verbally or physically, until they get a "yes" (Gold and Villari 2008:620). Hegemonic masculinity is aggressive in sexual pursuit and successful in sexual conquest. In this culture, men's sexuality is inextricably linked to power, violence, and men's domination over women. Susan Griffin (2008:501) illustrates this link plainly: "James Bond alternately whips out his revolver and his cock," and he always gets the 'girl.' The pervasiveness of hegemonic masculinity throughout our culture and promoted through our social institutions, such as the media, encourages men to be aggressive in gaining sexual access and dominant in negotiating sexual encounters. Heterosexual social interaction finds erotic expression in men's domination of women (Griffin 2008:501), and as such, sexual harassment and sexual assault are categorized not as a violent crime but as seduction (Gold and Villari 2008:620).

Similarly, stalking may too be categorized as a seduction behavior. Depending on the context, a man's behavior toward a woman may be a genuine expression of intimacy or it may be a demonstration of power and entitlement (Henley and Freeman 2008:91). One romantic partner who has a few extra minutes waiting outside of a classroom to walk his significant other to their next class can be romantic. This same scenario though, when the man and woman are mere acquaintances, is sexual harassment. Hegemonic masculinity posits men as sexual aggressors and women constructed as objects to be hunted and conquered. Waiting outside of a woman's class, work, or home (Waiting), or in legal terms, stalking, then, is a means of manly pursuit. One that reveals men's entitlement to the spaces and places women inhabit without their permission. The

findings in this study indicate college men are sexually harassing women by stalking them with more than a quarter of respondents knowing of or having witnessed it and 10% admitting they have done so themselves. When college men stalk college women in the hallways of the campus, at their places of employment, and in their own neighborhoods and apartment complexes, they are aggressively pursuing sexual conquest, demonstrating their superior status, and reinforcing male dominance. They are performing the role of a 'real man' and enacting hegemonic masculinity.

The most blatant example in this survey of a man's display of hegemonic masculinity is the inventory item, exposing oneself electronically to a woman without being asked to do so (Exposed). In Western cultures, men consistently associate penis size with power and sexual ability (Castleman 2011). Beyond the arrogance required for a man to send such an image unrequested, doing so is a declaration of power and sexual supremacy. It is literally a display of his sexual organ representing, in his imagination, the extent of his power and ability to sexually satisfy. Initially, one might consider this particular act as being between the sender and recipient, but this study reveals there might be more to this display than simply a ridiculous attempt to conjure sexual desire in a woman. While more than 10% of men reported displaying their penises to unsuspecting women in such a way, almost half of them have witnessed and/or know of other men doing so. It is quite possible that this display of hegemonic masculinity is not solely for the recipient. It is clearly being played out in front of an audience of other men, and as such, this behavior is not limited to the sexual harassment of women. It is also a display of power and sexual ability for other men, thereby resulting in an increased sense of masculinity.

Making gestures of a sexual nature toward a woman (Gestures) often occurs in public spaces and in the company of peers. Almost half of the respondents admitted to behaving in this

way themselves, but many more revealed they have witnessed and know of others making sexual gestures toward women. This indicates that men are enacting hegemonic masculinity in this way on the college campus in front of an audience. This behavior, more than any of the others measured, may be the one form of sexual harassment that is solely for the benefit of the harasser's audience with no actual intent to convey sexual interest or elicit a positive response from a woman. The performative nature of this particular display of hegemonic masculinity serves to enhance the harasser's sense of masculinity through the audience's reactions (Fisher, Daigle, and Cullen 2010).

The remaining three measures are about directly requesting or demanding sex acts from women. Based upon the findings of this study, it is rather common for college men to ask women they barely know to perform sex acts with them (Sex). Comparably, but with an added level of entitlement, is the request for a woman to engage in sexual activity to prove her heterosexuality (Prove). Society, specifically through the media and the hook-up culture, has led young men to believe women are and should be sexually available to them, especially during college. The culture's ideal man has a plethora of sexual conquests and is dominant in negotiating sexual encounters. When a man requests sex from a woman who is not his intimate partner, he is acting on these misconceptions and enacting hegemonic masculinity. When a man asks a woman to prove she is heterosexual by having sex with him, he is demonstrating entitlement and a not-so-veiled attempt to reinforce men's dominance over women, operating from the idea that women's bodies should be available for men's use and pleasure.

Further, a man who threatens a woman if she does not have sex with him (Threaten) is enacting all of the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity related to sexuality: entitlement, aggressive sexual pursuit, dominance, and retribution upon failure. The good news is that this

measure was the lowest reported, both in men admitting to threatening a woman and knowing of or witnessing other men threaten a woman. However, it is reasonable to presume a situation in which a man was in a position to threaten a woman if she did not have sex with him would be in a private setting. It is also reasonable that a public threat might prompt a bystander to intervene. As such, men might be less likely to perform this behavior in front of an audience of other men. Moreover, in the case his threat did not yield the desired results, he is unlikely to discuss the attempt with peers. Either an intervention by a bystander or the admission of sexual failure would likely result in a decreased sense of masculinity, and therefore, men who engage in this type of sexual harassment, or in legal terms, simple assault, are likely to do so in private and keep the incident to themselves. Yet, the findings show that some college men are threatening women if they do not have sex with them and even more are aware of it occurring on campus. If, indeed, the majority of men who are behaving in this way are keeping it quiet, there are incredible numbers of college women choosing between performing sex acts on demand or vengeance.

When conversations arise about sexual violence against women, from acquaintance rape to sexual harassment, invariably the discussion will include mention of the ambiguous nature of navigating the man-woman sexual terrain. Sexual boundaries and the rules will be deemed murky, and there will be hesitancy to place blame or responsibility on the perpetrator (Gold and Villari 2008:619). Always, this vagueness is called up when one person's harassment is another person's joke or first amendment right. Yet, sexual harassment really isn't that complicated. It's behavior of a sexual/gendered nature that is unwanted and/or offensive, usually repeated, and impedes one's ability to effectively and without complication complete her regular activities. When put in hypothetical scenarios, most people, from students to firefighters to top executives

have no trouble identifying the difference” (Bravo 2008:203). The 9to5 organization reports that “no one has ever called [the] hotline to complain that someone said, ‘you look great.’ They call because they’re being subjected to course and abusive behavior and they can’t make it stop” (Bravo 2008: 203). Sexual harassment is not a compliment and it is not flattering; it is scary and demeaning. These behaviors do not occur in a vacuum. It is not an accident. It is an active choice by a man who has bought into the lies of hegemonic masculinity and is attempting to embody it. Sexual harassment is an aggressive way to assert superiority and maintain dominance.

4.2 Gender and Sex Based Harassment

To To this point, the discussion has been about harassment revolving around sexual desire. Now, I move the discussion to harassment motivated by hostility that insults or demeans women because they are women. When young men, new to the college campus, begin to observe and participate in the party culture on college campuses, they are often quickly faced with the reality that there is not an abundance of women sexually available to them. Moreover, the nature of young male social culture is such that men regularly engage in ‘misogynous boasting’ of their sexual conquests (Mac and Ghail 1994). The result is that these new college men are led to believe that women are sexually available to other men, just not them (Kimmel 2008:190-216). For example, Michael Kimmel (2008: 209) surveyed college men on campuses across the country and asked what percentage of men on their campus they thought had sex on any given weekend. The average answer was 80%. When he asked them about their own sexual activity on any given weekend, he found that the actual percentage of college men who have sex on any given weekend is between 5 and 10%. This leaves college men feeling pressured to “score” and angry at women whose bodies they feel entitled to but are rejected by (Kimmel 2008).

Moreover, more women are entering historically male-dominated college majors, such as natural sciences, technology, engineering, or mathematics (STEM). While society continues to reinforce the world as a “man’s world” - a white man’s world, young men enter college with ideas about dominating the corporate world or making the next big discovery. Yet, in their classrooms they are finding more and more women, and those women are excelling. They come face-to-face with the realization that while their fathers and grandfathers only competed against their white, male peers for sought after occupations, they will also have to compete with women. Yet, they do not feel these changes as a competition among equally qualified rivals but as if women are taking jobs and opportunities, things that belong to men, away from them. Many college men feel these changes as a loss of entitlement, control, and unchallenged rule, and these feelings manifest as anger and hostility toward women (Kimmel 2008: 160, 227). They are angry at women who they see as having taken away what belongs to them: sex, jobs, sacred spaces, and domination of the world (Kimmel 2008). This anger manifests, in one way, as gender/sex based sexual harassment, and the findings of this study are consistent with previous research that finds that gender and sex based harassment is more common than unwanted sexual attention/coercion type harassment (Hunt & Gonsalkorale 2014, Hitlan & Noel 2009, Dresden, Dresden, Ridge, & Yamawaki 2018).

4.2.1 Men’s Opinions

Hegemonic masculinity works in such a way to not only define a ‘real man’ but to also define its common sense opposite, the feminine. In the context of gender hegemony, masculine is dominant and femininity, by definition, is subordinate (Schippers 2007:89). As such, in the world of the hegemonically masculine, women are to be sexually available, in subordinate positions, and in fields that align with traditional notions of femininity. Women who step

outside of that by rejecting sexual advances, are in positions of authority, and/or attaining degrees in fields traditionally dominated by men, are challenging hegemonic masculinity. They are refusing to complement hegemonic masculinity and, therefore, threatening male dominance (Schippers 2007:95). A “real man’s” response to such a challenge is anger, hostility, and maybe even violent retaliation. Women who upset the hierarchy are deemed by a “real man” as socially undesirable and contaminating to social life more generally (Schippers 2007:95). The threat to male dominance must be contained (Schippers 2007:95), and one method of violent relation is sexual harassment. Moreover, the relationship found between women’s presence in male-dominated career fields, men’s fear of losing power and dominance, increased hostility toward women, and cultures of tolerance toward sexual harassment (de Haas and Timmerman 2010; Wilson & Thompson 2001) are generalizable to an academic setting (Dresden et. al 2018).

As has been made clear, college men have adopted opinions consistent with hegemonic masculinity, and those opinions are revealed in their views of gender and sex-based harassment that is condescending to, makes fun of, and demeans the feminine. Consistent with research among grade schoolboys who also do not identify talk alone as sexual harassment, Robinson (2005) found that the use of derogatory sexualized language, such as slut, is an essential piece of hegemonically masculine practices. Moreover, C.J. Pascoe (2007) reveals another way in which boys use language to demean the feminine and assert their own masculine competence: fag discourse. In this case, the target are other boys who demonstrate any characteristic that is culturally associated with femininity: emotion, creativity, drama, concern with aesthetics, etc. As an insult, often in the form of “jokes,” the use of fag discourse has become an essential piece of hegemonically masculine practices. Akin to the findings related to talk type unwanted sexual attention/coercion harassment, the men surveyed overwhelmingly do not believe gender and sex-

based talk is sexual harassment either. It worth noting that the most frequent form of sexual harassment women and girls experience is verbal, visual, and written (Herbert, 1992; Larkin, 1994; Robinson, 1996).

The measures least and most likely to be identified concern sexuality. Only a quarter of the respondents identified making sexual remarks (Sexual) in the presence of women as harassment and only 6% identified telling sexual stories and jokes in a group that includes women (Stories/Jokes) as harassment. These findings are telling. The opinion that making fun of sexuality, telling riveting sexual stories, and making sexual remarks when women are present is not sexual harassment demonstrates men's feelings of entitlement to space, to control conversations, and their dominant position. For those attempting to embody hegemonic masculinity, even in the case they understand such a discussion is uncomfortable for women, women, who enter a space or group where men are present, are considered guests in the space. As such, it is not harassment at all, but "boys being boys." It's a woman's choice to be present and hear these conversations. If she dislikes them, she should leave. Men are not and should not be required to accommodate women's presence by refraining from or altering the conversation they want to have in their space.

The three other talk type measures center on contempt. The respondents do not believe making negative statements about women in general (General), being condescending toward a woman (Condescending) or making unfavorable remarks about a woman being in a specific major, in a leadership role, or having a particular career aspiration, etc. (Situational) is sexual harassment. These findings are troubling and again divulge men's feelings of superiority and entitlement. Though making negative statements about women in general and those who are in a specific role could conceivably be made only in the company of other men and, therefore, were

not identified as harassing women, expressing one's feelings of superiority directly to a woman cannot be explained away. It is consistent with previous research that indicates college men's continued "implicit bias stereotyping women as associated with the home and men associated with careers" (Dresden et. al 2018). When remembering that this survey asked respondents about situations involving women the harasser doesn't know, the findings that being condescending and making negative comments about women in leadership roles, etc., are even more troubling than at first glance. Separately and all three measures together reveal a large portion of men are harboring an incredible amount of hostility toward women.

There is considerably more variation in men's opinions about action type, gender and sex-based harassment. Of the four behaviors measured, a majority identified two as sexual harassment but did not identify the other two as the same. Respondents disclosed that they do not believe blatant discrimination is sexual harassment. Treating women differently than men in the same class, sport, or major (Treatment) is most certainly discrimination, and as has been established, discrimination on the basis of gender or sex is sexual harassment. Yet, these men do not agree. Hegemonic masculinity normalizes men's superior status and validates entitlement. Believing that treating a woman differently in an educational setting is harassment would indicate a belief in equality between men and women in both status and the right to be present. That 86% of men surveyed do not believe such demonstrates college men remain committed to hegemonic notions that men are inherently deserving of privileges and special treatment.

Interestingly, the other measure men do not identify as sexual harassment is the displaying of sexy or nude pictures of women (Pictures). Though this very thing was the subject of a seminal case in the history of sexual harassment law (Robinson v Jacksonville Shipyards,

Inc. 1991), college men do not define it as such. Hegemonic masculinity posits that a ‘real man’ is in control, and this includes control of space. Men’s belief that the display of women’s bodies is not harassment indicates their belief in the right to do as they wish in public spaces because they are entitled to control the space. It is not their behavior that needs to change but others’ responsibility to adapt or leave. While some may argue that the display of an image, even one of a woman’s naked body or body parts, is an innocuous act, Justice Sandra Day O’Conner writes in a unanimous opinion (*Harris v. Forklift Systems* 510 U.S. 17 1993) that “harassment need not lead to a nervous breakdown before it is determined to be harassment.”

More than a quarter of college men may consider giving a woman something by dropping it down the front of her blouse/pants (Dropping) a harmless joke. The good news is that the majority of men do recognize this behavior as sexual harassment. College men’s immature humor notwithstanding, the belief this behavior is not harassment illustrates that a substantial number of men are of the opinion that men have a right to infiltrate a woman’s personal space. Though, this is a gender/sex-based type of harassment as opposed to one related to sexual attraction, the same underlying notions of hegemonic masculinity are at play: entitlement to women’s bodies and space. Likewise, the belief that spreading sexual rumors about a woman (Rumors) is not sexual harassment also implies an inherent right to women’s sexuality.

As with dropping something down a woman’s blouse, the good news is that the majority of respondents do identify spreading sexual rumors as sexual harassment. Perhaps the high percentage of men who do believe such is an act of harassment is because this generation of students are well aware of the devastating consequences of rumors. The media, particularly social media, is replete with stories of the horrific effects of gossip and rumors, from debilitating mental health issues to violence. Yet, more than a quarter of men are of the opinion that a

behavior so tormenting that young women have committed suicide (see Farah 2017) is still not harassment.

In totality, men's opinions about gender and sex based sexual harassment communicate their belief in men's superiority and women's inferiority, men's right to control and authority, as well as entitlement to space, place, women's bodies, as well as women's sexuality. The opinion that these behaviors and conversations are not sexual harassment reveals notions of hegemonic masculinity is deeply rooted in a large number of college men.

4.2.2 Men's Participation & Their Knowledge of Others

Moving from men's opinions about sexual harassment to men's participation in sexual harassment, I find that not only do they have opinions making them complicit but also, overwhelmingly, college men are enacting hegemonic masculinity by committing gender and sex based sexual harassment. Moreover, they admit it. While this form of harassment is often considered less severe than unwanted sexual attention and coercion harassment, multiple studies suggest that gender and sex based sexual harassment is innately more hostile (see Hitlan, Pryor, Hesson-McInnis, & Olson 2009; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson 2001; Dresden et. al 2018). And it is by far the most prevalent form of sexual harassment (Hunt & Gonsalkorale 2014, Hitlan & Noel 2009, Dresden et. al 2018).

Telling sexual stories and jokes in a group that includes women (Stories/Jokes) may be akin to other forms of harassment carried out in a public setting. It may be another means to enact hegemonic masculinity for an audience that will enhance the harasser's sense of self through the audience's reactions (Fisher, Daigle, and Cullen 2010). Mac and Ghail (1994) find that "misogynous boasting," sharing tales of sexual escapades, is common among young men students "striving for masculinity." Or, it may be an intentional strategy to establish men's

dominance in the space. Similar to making sexual remarks in the presence of women (Sexual) and making negative comments about women who are in positions of leadership, traditionally male dominated majors, and/or have lofty career aspirations (Situational), telling sexual stories and jokes renders the environment uncomfortable for the women present.

Being disrespectful and expressing disdain for women or asserting the collective superiority of men may be a conversation meant to enhance one's own sense of masculinity. It may serve to build camaraderie among men who are feeling replaced in the mathematics classroom or feeling controlled by women, such as student body presidents or teaching assistants. Whether or not the intent to harass is present, these particular performances of hegemonic masculinity reaffirm the idea that higher education, positions of authority, traditionally male-dominated fields, and related locations belong to men. On the college campus today, women's very presence is a reminder that traditional notions of men's higher status are being constantly called into question (Hunt and Gonsalkorale 2014:15). As such, using sexist and harassing language in the presences of women serves to position men in control of the conversation and stifle the threat to masculinity posed by women's very presence. Men who subscribe to notions of hegemonic masculinity are more likely to sexually harass in general (Mahalik, Locke, Ludlow, Diemer, Scott, Gottfried, & Freitas 2003 and Rudman & Fairchild 2004), and those who are exposed to women who threaten men's privileged status are more likely to engage in gender harassment (Hitlan & Noel 2009 and Hunt & Gonsalkorale 2014).

The number of men enacting hegemonic masculinity in these ways is staggering. Almost as many men admitted to making negative comments about women in general as they did to telling sexual stories/jokes and making sexual remarks. More than half of the respondents know of or have witnessed other men disparage women for having a specific major, leadership role, or

particular career aspirations, and almost 40% admit to doing so themselves. Men who are attempting to be 'real men' are likely to perceive women in leadership positions as a threat to their own masculinity and masculinity in general. Dresden, Dresden, and Ridge (2018:8) find men subscribing to notions of hegemonic masculinity are likely to exhibit increased behavioral aggression toward women leaders and have decreased perceptions of leadership effectiveness. These findings demonstrate that men not only believe that particular fields of study belong to them and that they are entitled to positions of authority and particular occupations but also, they are putting voice to their anger about women's increasing presence in these areas.

Moreover, it does not end with men verbalizing their contempt for women. They are also expressing their disdain directly to women. The vast majority of respondents have witnessed other men be condescending toward a woman (Condescending). Of all the talk type gender and sex-based harassment measures, this one demonstrates college men are enacting hegemonic masculinity most blatantly. Dresden et. al (2018:460) suggests that while most higher education harassment studies have focused on traditionally male dominated majors, gender and sex-based harassment are related to organizational culture and connected to male dominance in general. It is also worth pointing out once more that this research specifically focuses on peer-to-peer harassment in which the harasser does not know the victims well. Almost one third of men admitted to verbalizing feelings of patronizing superiority toward a woman peer who he does not know well. These men are audacious, and when their masculinity is threatened, they are responding by aggressively acting on their feelings of superiority and attempting to maintain male dominance. When examining their behavior through the lens of hegemonic masculinity, their impertinence and boldness should come as no surprise.

Treating a woman differently than a man in the same class, sport, or major (Treatment) is also a response to women's presence in these locations challenging men's dominance, superiority, and entitlement to space. Hegemonic masculinity is not only the embodiment of authority, leadership, success, control, and dominance, (Robinson 2005) but it is also the "expression of the privilege men collectively have over women" (Connell 1996:209). In this study, more men reported they have seen or know of other men treating women different than men than any other gender and sex-based action type measure, and more than half admitted they too have treated women differently than men in the same situation. Another study (Dresden et. al 2018:468) found that 69% of college women had been "treated differently because of their sex," and the longer a woman is in school the more likely she is to experience gender harassment. Harassment such as this serves to police women's gender expressions by reminding them they are unwelcome and relegating them to a status less than their male peers in the classroom and on the field. Moreover, it reinforces male-dominated power structures (Greenhalgh-Spencer and Taylor 2019:5).

The gender and sex-based harassment men most report engaging in themselves is having displayed sexy or nude pictures of women (Pictures). As with many of the talk type measures, displaying images of women's bodies is another manifestation of men's expression of ownership of space in which women are guests. Displaying such images is a form of sexual harassment that may be a means of making known one's own sexual identity (Maass & Cadinu 2006), and it also serves to claim the space as reserved for heterosexual men. Moreover, the display of women's bodies, particularly in a space others have access to, serves to ridicule the very presence of women. As women's participation in college and male-dominated fields of study continues to rise, men feel that presence (and women's and administrator's demands) as an attempt to take

away “their entitlement, control, unchallenged rule and the untrammled right to be gross, offensive, and politically incorrect” (Kimmel 2009:160).

Another behavior that speaks to the ownership of space is giving a woman something by dropping it down the front of her blouse/pants (Dropping). While this behavior might be regarded as a joke, it is not a joke men play on one another. It is harassment based on sex, but it is also not one related to sexual desire. Yet, the same hegemonically masculine entitlements are at play, and college men are engaging in the behavior and displaying hegemonic masculinity. A man does not have to be sexually attracted to a woman to feel entitled to her body and a right to invade her personal space. Harassment of this form in an educational setting also works to remind women that they are women in what is still considered, by those who subscribe to traditional ideologies about masculinity, a man’s domain. Doing hegemonic masculinity successfully is the active demonstration of one’s gendered power (Connell 1987), and the childish act of an adult man dropping something down a woman’s shirt absolutely meets the goal.

Leora Tanenbaum (2015: 40) writes in her groundbreaking book, “[W]hen you want to put down or undermine a woman, accusing her of being slutty works every time.” Finally, the last behavior of gender and sex-based harassment measured is the spreading of sexual rumors about a woman (Rumors). Rumors about sexual promiscuity are uniquely degrading and insulting to women because of the sexual double standard. While hegemonic masculinity encourages men’s sexual promiscuity and applauds their sexual conquest, it is also disgusted by this same behavior in women. Hegemonic masculinity also includes compulsory heterosexuality. As such, it is also disgusted by a woman’s sexual desire for another woman. However, for the sexual rumor form of harassment to be effective in its goal to

humiliate and degrade, whether or not the target has actually engaged in any sexual behavior, hetero or otherwise, is irrelevant (Tanenbaum 2015). This behavior more than any others measured is most blatantly aimed at humiliating women. Sexual rumors about a woman is gender-based harassment, and it is insulting because it censures a woman for daring to challenge masculinity (Hess 2016). The challenge may be in the form of violating the sexual double standard or the breaking of sexuality norms, but because of its effectiveness, the challenge may be in other forms and the sexual rumor is just the way of retaliation. Starting a sexual rumor is the low-hanging fruit for the man whose masculinity has been threatened. It is the quickest and most efficient way to retaliate against a woman or women.

5 CONCLUSION

Men's opinions about what constitutes sexual harassment, their own self-reported engagement in sexually harassing behaviors, and their knowledge of other men's participation in sexual harassment all demonstrate that college men have learned well the lessons culture, ideology, and socialization has taught them about what a 'real man' is and how he behaves. Hegemonic masculinity's strategies of sexual harassment attempt to neutralize the feminine and seek to gain advantage from women's subjugation, and it is alive and well on the college campus today. The term, "sexual harassment," was first used at Cornell University in 1975. This study reveals that forty-five years later, sexual harassment remains a problem on the college campus. Sexual harassment of all types, unwanted sexual attention/coercion and gender/sex-based types, are an outcome of hegemonic ideology and socialization.

Spaces like college campuses where men do not recognize sexual harassment and men committing sexual harassment is common are places of entrenched hegemonic masculinity. Moreover, spaces of entrenched hegemonic masculinity fuels rape and sexual assault. Brock Turner is a perfect illustration of a college student who was embedded in the college culture and fully embraced hegemonic masculinity. It is in this context that he attempted to be a real man on January 17, 2015. That evening, Brock Turner attended a party in which he enacted hegemonic masculinity in front of multiple witnesses (People v Turner 2018) similar to the ways many of the men in this study self-reported behaving. Brock Turner aggressively pursued a woman at the party that evening, and he demonstrated his entitlement to her body and sexuality by invading her personal space and attempting to kiss her without consent. When she rejected his advances, he was persistent and continued to attempt to gain her compliance. To this point, Brock Turner could have been any number of the men in my sample. His aggression, entitlement, and

persistence are all consistent with the opinions and self-reported behaviors of the men in this study.

The woman Brock Turner harassed at the party never did comply, and early the next morning, as she lay unconscious, he enacted hegemonic masculinity one last time. He raped her. By raping the unconscious woman who had earlier rejected him, he epitomizes the horrific consequence of the college campus as a place of entrenched hegemonic masculinity. One that promotes a harmful ideal of what a real man is and encourages men to perform hegemonic masculinity. With 40% of respondents self-reporting that they have committed sexual assault, 11% admitting that they have touched a woman sexually knowing she did not want to be touched, and another 8% disclosing they have threatened a woman if she didn't have sex with them, 33% confessing that they have been persistent in their sexual pursuits even after rejection, and way too many divulging their entitlement to women's bodies on multiple measures, it is reasonable to assume that more than one of the men in this study could be the next Brock Turner.

Studies like this one are important so that educators and administrators can undeniably know that sexual harassment is rampant on the college campus and develop effective interventions. As noted in the 2019 College Campus Climate Survey, universities have low rates of outreach. The results here reveal men students do not know that their behaviors are sexual harassment. The results also reveal, though, that when men do know a behavior is sexual harassment, they are less likely to engage in that behavior. Most men do not want to hurt women. These results indicate that, in fact, when a man knows his behavior is hurtful, he avoids it. Since the instrument itself consists of 25 behaviors that college women agree make them feel

harassed and we know many men do not recognize those behaviors as harassment, the instrument itself is a tool that schools can use to begin educating students.

Sexual harassment has been treated flippantly on the college campus and most often it's only addressed with individual students after an allegation has been made. It is time college administrators take pro-active measures, such as incorporating sexual harassment education into new and first-year student requirements. In schools across the nation, first year students are taught about plagiarism. When a sophomore plagiarizes a paper and claims he didn't know it was plagiarism, professors and administrators respond with some iteration of "you were taught, and it is your responsibility to know." Then, they dole out penalties accordingly. Sexual harassment should be, at least, treated with a similar level of seriousness as is plagiarism. College administrators, coaches, and professors know men are coming to the college campus not knowing what sexual harassment is. It is the responsibility of administration to ensure that students are made aware of what constitutes sexual harassment and place the onus of responsibility on the perpetrators. Then, when an incident of harassment occurs, severe penalties are applied: removal of privileges, removal from teams and organizations, probation, suspension, and expulsion.

Schools that are serious about reducing sexual harassment will not simply establish a new peer-mentoring workshop offered once a year that passes out lists of behaviors that are wrong. A successful intervention will challenge the commonly held ideas about what it is to be a real man, including encouraging bystander interruption, as well as the normative nature of sexual harassment behaviors. Moreover, it will recognize that college men have the capacity to be men who respect others and behave in just ways. Lastly, studies repeatedly show that student athletes and those involved in Greek life are responsible for the majority of sexual misconduct incidents.

When schools are more interested in ensuring each of their students has unfettered access to education than they are in keeping one good basketball player on the court or one fraternity legacy's father donating to their annual campaign, they will develop and mandate interventions for these student populations.

As this study is exploratory and the first of its kind, there is more work to be done. A limitation of this research is that I surveyed 5% of the male undergraduate population on only one campus. While the results are sufficient for understanding the problem on this campus, the number is too low to test for significance and the findings are not generalizable. Further studies need to be conducted on multiple college campuses and in multiple regions of the United States for a greater understanding of the pervasiveness of discrimination on the college campus around the country. The instrument should be made available for other researchers and schools to replicate the study. Comparing data across multiple schools and regions of the country will provide additional insights.

In the most active year of the #MeToo movement (2017-2018), #MeToo was successful in removing at least 201 powerful perpetrators from their jobs (Carlsen, Salam, Miller, Lu, Ngu, Patel, and Wichter 2018). The vast majority of these men were in the occupational fields of politics and media. Eight were in higher education. We do not yet know if the movement has had any impact on men's opinions about or participation in sexual harassment. As the data for this study was conducted prior to the #MeToo movement, replication of the study on the same campus will give us insight into whether or not the movement has had any impact on the college campus.

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