

THE IMPACT OF PRIMING POWER ON SEXUAL HARASSMENT PROCLIVITY IN  
MALE CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS

by

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## ABSTRACT

### THE IMPACT OF PRIMING POWER ON SEXUAL HARASSMENT PROCLIVITY IN MALE CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS

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Previous research has shown that holding a position of power has a significant impact on the likelihood of an individual engaging in sexual harassment. Additionally, cultural scripts among men encourage seeking power, and exerting their power upon others through acts such as sexual harassment. Correctional officers exist in an environment that necessitates the adherence to and utilization of power to control dangerous environments. The combination of traditional male norms and the need to utilize power and authority for male correctional officers could lead to an increase in sexual harassment proclivity. This study explored whether a short term priming of power could increase sexual harassment proclivity within a sample of male correctional officers. Additionally, it was tested whether adherence to male norms impacted sexual harassment proclivity, and whether maturation through a correctional officer position influenced proclivity as well. Significant difficulties occurred in the data collection process. The findings, the challenges in data collection, and means of avoiding them in future research with correctional officers are discussed.

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## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

### *Significance of Problem*

Unwanted sexual advances, specifically sexual harassment, are often committed by individuals with greater power than their victims. Power has been known to have a significant influence on the actions of individuals. Individuals holding a sense of power tend to act on more goal directed behaviors with less regard for the feelings and concerns for those around them (Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003). Researchers have also discovered connections between power and sex (Kamphuis, DeRuiter, Janssen, & Spiering, 2005), specifically, that having power can lead an individual to be more likely to sexually harass an individual (Bargh, Raymond, Pryor, & Strack, 1995). Additionally, it is known that seeking greater power and status is considered a traditional male norm (Mahalik, Locke, Ludlow, Diemer, Scott, Gottfried, & Freitas, 2003). Clearly, power has a significant impact on the actions of individuals, and it is not uncommon for people, especially men, to seek power.

Classic research such as the ‘Stanford Prison Experiment’ found that those who are instilled with a sense of power are likely to act with little regard towards those with less power (Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973). Similar results have been found in more recent studies, for example, when individuals who have been made to feel they have power, be it physically or authoritatively, they are more likely to harm others in order to achieve their goals (Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003), engage in unwanted sexual touch (Pryor, 1987) and even hold beliefs that others are sexually interested in them (Kuntsman and Maner, 2011) compared to those who have not been primed to have a sense of power. Ultimately, it has been shown that if an individual feels they have power they are more likely to act with less regard for the impact they make around those around them. This relationship has been found to even support a

correlation between having a feeling of power and having an increased sexual assault proclivity (Chapleau & Oswald, 2010).

A group of individuals that have been historically known to hold a position of power are correctional officers. Correctional officers work in an environment where they are responsible for the safety and security of inmates and detainees who have a history of criminal, sometimes violent, behavior (Farkas & Maning, 1997). They are in charge of maintaining control and authority, which may require them to exercise their authoritative and physical power, such as when they have to break up a fight between inmates, or punish detainees for breaking rules (Farkas & Manning, 1997). This places them at an increased risk of mental, emotional, and physical harm from those they are responsible for (Sorensen, Cunningham, Vigen, & Woods, 2011), and as a result they have one of the highest rates of non-fatal work related injuries (Konda, Tiesman, Reichard, & Hartley, 2013). In order to attend to an often times dangerous occupation, correctional officers need to utilize a great amount of authority. They may be encouraged to physically aggressive towards inmates in order to maintain control over inmates, even if it may not be necessary to do so (Marquart, 1986). It has been found that some correctional officers engage in unwanted sexual activity with other staff and inmates and they may not be discouraged from doing so (Marquart, Barnhill, & Balshaw-Biddle., 2001). Furthermore, research done by Beck, Harrison, and Adams (2007) found that 25% of the alleged acts of sexual misconduct by staff was substantiated, with the number increasing to 47% in county jails. Considering the way in which power can influence the actions of others it makes sense to consider how power may have influenced the actions of these correctional officers as their job requires them to utilize their power.

The majority of correctional officers are men. Traditional male norms as found by Mahalik and colleagues (2003), suggest that men seek to be in positions of power, status, and authority over others. Some of the other norms found by researchers include seeking sexual conquests, viewing women as inferior, and having a tendency to be physically violent (Mahalik, et al., 2003). Correlations have been found between adhering to these norms and having increased sexual assault proclivity (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005). The cultural messages that men receive such as that they should be in charge, maintain dominance over others, that they should have multiple sexual partners, and be aggressive in behavior can be viewed as encouraging them to engage in sexual harassment or sexual assault (Edwards and Vogel, 2015). With this mind, it should come to no surprise then that men are significantly more likely to engage in sexual harassment behaviors than women (Pryor, 1987).

In considering the two populations of men and correctional officers it is worth noting that both place value in obtaining and maintaining power. For men, obtaining and maintaining power is considered a norm and a trait that is valued in the dominant male culture. The culture of correctional settings, as indicated, encourages and necessitates traits that similar to traditional male norms such as being aggressive, seeking a position of power, (Crouch & Alpert, 1982; Worley & Worley, 2011), and exerting dominance over inmates (Beck, et al., 2007). For men, these norms help maintain their position in society while for correctional officers they help in maintaining control over detainees. The similarities between traditional male norms and correctional officers makes sense considering the majority of correctional staff are men with men outnumbering women by a ratio of 3 to 1 (Stephan, 2005). Some of these norms may be related to seeking power, such as wanting dominance over others, having a playboy personality, and power over women while some have been viewed as ways of justifying unwanted sexual

advances. (Edwards & Vogel, 2015). Adherence to these beliefs may make men more susceptible to a priming of power as it the idea of having power is congruent with their beliefs about their gender Yzerby, Corneille, & Warlop (2009). In other words, men who hold traditional male norms may be more susceptible to being made to feel they have power, and therefore be more likely to sexually harass.

While the culture and environment correctional officers work within promotes similar traits, they can also be activated via a prime, which is a brief stimulation of a belief or heuristic. For example, a correctional officer may be required to forcefully restrain an unruly inmate who verbally and physically challenges the officer's authority and physical strength. The resistance the officer is met with may prime them to act overly aggressive in order to restrain the inmate, such as slamming them against the floor or wall, in order to assert their dominance and control. In psychological research, priming has been used as a way of discretely altering an individual's perception of a situation, allowing researchers to see how they may react to certain situations when they are triggered to feel a particular way. Priming individuals with a sense of power has been done in the past, and has been shown to make people act in a more goal oriented way with a lack of consideration of inconveniencing those affected (Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003), engage in unwanted sexual touch, and lead them to think individuals are more sexually interested in them (Kuntsman and Maner, 2011; Pryor, Giedd, & Williams, 1995). In an environment, such as a jail, where there are many opportunities to be primed with a sense of power, these beliefs and thoughts might be consistently activated, making male correctional officers more likely to engage in sexual harassment.

What is not fully understood is whether sexual harassment proclivity can be increased in male correctional officers just through being primed with power. Additionally, it is unknown

how being primed with a sense of power moderates the relationship between adherence to male norms and sexual harassment proclivity. In other words, it is not certain whether having a sense of power can impact the relationship of traditional male norms and sexual harassment proclivity. The role the influence of power plays in the eventual rise in deviant behaviors, such as sexual harassment, is also not well known. For example, correctional officers are given power through their job (Ross, 2013). They oversee a population of individuals, having the authority to punish and maintain control (Crouch & Alpert, 1982). Their occupation and work setting requires them to utilize authority and power to maintain control over a detainee population that is far larger than they are. It has been observed that adherence to the sub-culture of correctional officers can increase the likelihood of deviant behaviors such as being violent towards detainees through physical, emotional, or sexual means (Worley & Worley, 2009). Even individuals who are not employed correctional officers have been known to adopt these behaviors when simulating the role of a correctional officer (Haney, et al., 1973).

The proposed study will allow for a better understanding how power influences our decision making process, specifically in committing sexual harassment. The study will also explore the potential of a prime to impact on our perception of our own power and if it will lead to greater sexual harassment proclivity. Additionally, it will develop a better understanding of whether certain male norms create a greater susceptibility to the prime of power. More so, the study will explore the unique qualities male correctional officers hold surrounding the topics of power and traditional male norms, and how those qualities may change as they matriculate through their career. Lastly, the proposed study will allow for a better understanding of whether having a career that puts an individual in a position of power causes them to be more influenced by the effects power has been found to have.

While there is correlational evidence supporting the relationship between power and sexual harassment proclivity, it is not specifically known whether a priming of power will create greater sexual harassment proclivity. Therefore, it is clear that there is a gap in the literature that needs further exploration. From a men and masculinity perspective it helps to better explore the dichotomous theories of the function of male norms; exploring whether they are concrete, or context driven. Can the priming of power impact the relationship between adhered to male norms and sexual harassment proclivity? From a sexual harassment research perspective, it helps in understanding the pathway of thinking that may lead someone to engaging in sexual harassment. It will also help develop a better understanding of how influential power can be. The study will allow for a better understanding of the subgroup of male correctional officers; while they have their unique characteristics, there are commonalities that can be observed within them that can be applied to other careers such as police, military, and other types of uniformed parties with authority. If a relationship is found between power and sexual harassment proclivity, it can help in leading to potential occupational interventions if it is found that male correctional officers are adhering to ideas and beliefs that may lead them to deviant behavior, specifically sexual harassment.

### *Definition of Terms*

Before moving forward, it is important to define the terms that are being used in this study. First of all, men are being defined here as individuals who identify themselves as such and is not limited to the definition of men in a biological sense. Male norms are being defined by the cultural traits that are encouraged, mainly western norms as described by Mahalik et al, (2003) which are also the norms being measured in the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI).

Correctional officers are being defined as the staff in charge of supervising inmates and maintain order within a correctional setting. These staff work in a variety of settings including jails and prisons. Depending on their setting there are unique challenges they must face, and their training may vary. During data collection, due to challenges with access with the population, only staff at county jails were recruited. Literature reviewed, however, will include correctional officers working not just in county jails.

Power will be defined as having a status or position that is above another individual such as being an individual's boss. This means the individual has the ability to modify the status or position of other individuals by denying them resources or providing punishments as suggested by Keltner, Gruenfeld, and Anderson (2003). This is the definition of power that is utilized in Pryor's Likelihood to Sexually Harass measure (Pryor, 1987), which is being used in this study.

Some researchers believe that there are minimal differences between sexual harassment and other unwanted sexual advances such as sexual assault and rape (Groth, 1978). While many similarities exist, sexual harassment will be considered unique in this study and will not be lumped in the same category as rape or sexual assault. Definitions of sexual harassment are wide and vague among researchers (Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003). For this study sexual harassment will be defined as an unwanted sexual advance, verbal or physical, that can be categorized as an authoritarian aggression and interferes with the individuals work (Begany & Milburn, 2002; Maass, et al., 2003). Both of these conditions are met in the assessment that is being utilized to measure sexual harassment in this study. Sexual harassment is also often achieved through coercion. Additionally, sexual harassment proclivity is defined by the likelihood one would coerce an individual into sexual activity based on their status and power to

do so. While there are many similarities between sexual harassment, rape, and sexual assault, for this study sexual harassment will be exclusively categorized by the above definition.

Priming is the process in which an attitude, belief or heuristic is activated. This in turn makes the belief or heuristic more cognitively available. Priming is accomplished through having participants completed activities that cause them to be thinking about the subject of interest.

### *Research Questions*

The purpose of this study is to answer several questions.

1. Does a short term priming of power increase the sexual harassment proclivity of male correctional officers?
2. Which male norms, as defined by Mahalik et al. (2003), increase sexual harassment proclivity and which lower proclivity in male correctional officers?
3. Are male correctional officers who highly endorse the male norms of Power Over Women, Being A Playboy, and Disdain For Homosexuality more susceptible to the effect of a priming of power. In other words, will their sexual harassment proclivity will increase more than men who do not hold those traits when primed with power.
4. How does the length of time served as correctional officer impacts their likelihood to sexually harass?

### *Hypothesis*

1. A male correctional officers who is primed to have a feeling of power will have a greater sexual harassment proclivity than male correctional officers who are not primed to have a feeling of power. This means that those who are primed with power will have higher sexual harassment proclivity score than those who are not primed. This will be determined if scores on the

Likelihood to Sexually Harass scale (LSH) are significantly higher for those who received the priming of power compared to those who did not. If this is observed it means that a priming of power can lead an individual to be more likely to engage in sexual harassment. If this hypothesis is not confirmed it indicates that sexual harassment proclivity cannot be manipulated by the priming of power alone.

2. Male correctional officers who endorsed traditional male norms will have a greater sexual harassment proclivity regardless of whether they are primed or not. This will be determined if a positive correlation is found between the listed norms on the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory and the Likelihood to Sexually Harass measure. If confirmed it will indicate that traditional western norms that men adhere to encourage sexual harassment proclivity. If this hypothesis is not confirmed it means that traditional male norms, when adhered to, do not lead to increased sexual harassment proclivity.

3. The priming of power will have a greater influence on male correctional officers who highly endorse the male norms of Power Over Women, Being A Playboy, and Disdain For Homosexuality. Meaning their sexual harassment proclivity will increase more than male correctional officers who do not hold those traits when primed with power. This will be done by comparing the impact of the priming of power on sexual harassment proclivity in individuals who have highly endorse these traits compared to those who do not. The intent will be to look for an interaction between the male norms and the priming of power. If confirmed it means that increased adherence to certain male norms leads to being more influenced by a priming of power than men who do not strongly endorse these norms. For example, an individual who believes in dominance over women will be more influenced by the priming of power than someone who does not believe this. If this hypothesis is not confirmed it means that there is no difference in

the influence of a priming of power on individuals based on their adherence to traditional male norms.

4. Male correctional officers who have been working longer will be more likely to sexually harass than officers who have been working fewer years. A correlation analysis will be done to determine if a significant relationship can be found between the amount of years one works as a correctional officer and an increase in sexual harassment proclivity. This would be supportive of previously mentioned research suggesting that as correctional officers matriculate through their career their propensity for sexual harassment increases as it has been found that morality can decrease for correctional officers as they progress through their career (Kercher & Martin, 1975). If not found to be true, however, it suggests that previous research may have over simplified or exaggerated findings that more experienced correctional officers are more likely to engage in sexual harassment or similar deviant behaviors.

## CHAPTER II

### *Introduction*

As indicated in the first chapter, the proposed study will be exploring how adherence of traditional male norms, being primed to have a feeling of power, and the amount of years working as a correctional officer will impact men's sexual harassment proclivity. It has been shown through numerous studies that sexual assault proclivity and violent activity are not universal across all men, indicating that there are specific traits and characteristics that cause men to engage in sexual assault (Stillman, Yamawaki, Ridge, White, & Copley, 2009). Research has shown that adherence to specific traditional male norms can significantly increase the likelihood men may sexually harass others.

Nearly 90% of sexual assaults are by repeat offenders (Lisak & Miller, 2002). This leaves a large question as to why some men engage in sexual assault, and repeatedly, and others will never commit those acts, even though most men receive similar cultural messages about they should think, feel, and behave. Because of this it is likely that it is more than simply male cultural norms that encourage sexual assault, but rather something more complex. It also raises the question as to whether the likelihood to sexually assault or harass an individual comes from exclusively established beliefs or if other factors, such as situational ones, increase proclivity to sexually harass or assault.

Additionally, power has been hypothesized to have a strong connection to sexual harassment (Conroy, 2013). Specifically, that sexual harassment is an exercising of power, or a demonstration of dominance over someone else. Power can come from many sources, such as social status or occupation. One occupation that carries a lot of authority is a correctional

officer. Their position puts them in authority over a large number of individuals, which could potentially lead to an increase in proclivity for sexual harassment.

In order to understand how the intersection of power and male norms may impact sexual harassment proclivity a literature review was conducted. This review focused on men and masculinity, power, correctional officers, and sexual harassment and related actions. The goal of the literature review was to aggregate modern research on these topics, while acknowledging historical research when relevant or necessary.

### *Men and Masculinity*

The main population of interest in this study is men. The study of men and masculinity from a psychological perspective has produced a greater understanding of the traditional cultural norms that men are expected to abide by. These norms are pressured upon men as suggestions for how they should behave, feel, and think. They are presented to men through different means such as parents, peers, messages in the media, and community leaders. In western cultures these norms include risk-taking behaviors, motivation to win, controlling of one's emotions, dominance, aggressive behaviors, self-reliance, power over women, dislike of homosexuals, prioritizing work, a drive for higher status, and having a playboy personality (Mahalik, et al., 2003).

The evolution of the study of men and masculinity from a psychological perspective initial came from discovering how men and women were different, and the importance for individuals to adhere to the innate qualities that made men and women unique (Addis, Reigeluth, & Schwab, 2016). From a historical perspective, publications about the differences between men and women began to emerge in the late 1800's, initially stating that women were inferior to men; later changing to state that women and men were 'complementary' in their differences (Shields, 2007). This idea evolved into a concept that has been labeled the 'Essentialist' approach

(O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). The 'Essentialist' approach suggests that male traits are learned rather than ingrained, and it is extremely unlikely that they will be unlearned.

An example of this view is one held by Ronald Levant and his beliefs on gender differences in Alexithymia, the inability to identify or describes one's own emotions. (Levant, et al., 2009). Levant et al. proposed that men suffer from alexithymia more significantly women. In other words, men were less capable of identifying and describing emotions. Levant et al. (2009) clarify this by stating that male Alexithymia is developed through cultural pressure, which led to their eventual inability to identify and express emotions. Additionally, the authors suggest that not enough research has been done on diverse populations to form a conclusion as to whether men and women differ in their levels of Alexithymia. The authors concluded that men had a small, but significantly higher level of Alexithymia than women in reviewing existing literature. While significant, it should be noted that the difference was small. While this should be a compelling argument that societal pressures can generate trait differences for men and women the argument also features a great deal of limitations.

The authors themselves point out that the conclusions generated do not prove anything about the theory, although it might provide a convincing backing. Normative Male Alexithymia theory (NMA) does give credit to societal pressure, but does not bring into account contextual factors that exist in the moment. The goal of this study, as indicated in the first chapter, is to explore how context can bridge the gender differences between men and women. The NMA theory also does not parse out the differences between thoughts and actions. This is similar to context, while men may hold different views than women about emotionality this study does not explore how men actually engage emotionally. The NMA theory generates an idea that while

societal pressures create the individual, the individual's traits do not fluctuate based on the situation or the context. This give a great discredit to the contexts that individuals must operate in, and how may they act in these contexts in order to be achieve goals they are set out to accomplish. The context, such as working in a correctional environment where power must be utilized, is likely to influence our actions and decision making, rather than just simply latent traits.

Cultural norms for men are a component of what dictates male behavior. In a western culture, such as the United States, these norms include traits such as a desire for achieving a higher status, seeking muscularity, and having multiple sexual partners. Additionally, for men there are emotional norms such as an emphasis on not showing emotion, not seeking psychological help, and expressing anger. These gendered norms can have advantages depending on the situation. For example, not showing emotion could be beneficial for men in situations that require a disconnect from traumatic stimuli such as in military combat. They can also create positive traits within an individual such as self-reliance or a desire to win (Mahalik, Talmadge, Locke, & Scott, 2005). On the other hand, these traits can also be a negative as they can lead to men engaging in destructive behaviors such as excessive drinking (Blazina & Watkins, 1996) or risk taking. In the research that exists there is a gap between the understand of believing in the cultural norms that are dictated for men, acting upon them, and the complicated relationship between the two concepts.

For example, Swami and Voracek (2013) predicted that sexist attitudes and the objectification of women would be a predictor of men having a stronger drive for muscularity. 345 men ages 19-60 were recruited for the study. The participants completed the Drive for Muscularity Scale (McCreary & Sasse, 2000) which is a 15 item measure that explores the desire

of individuals to have a muscular body, the Hostility Toward Women Scale (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995) which is a ten item measure that measures hostility towards women, the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1973) which is a 25 item measure that assess blatant sexist attitudes such as thoughts on the rights of women and gender roles, the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) which also assesses sexist beliefs towards women, a modified version of the Self-Objectification Scale which asked the participants to assess the importance of female body traits, and basic demographic information. Bivariate correlations were analyzed to determine the relationships between scores on each of the measures. This analysis showed that drive for muscularity scores were positively correlated to all the measures mentioned. It was also negatively correlated to one's age and one's body mass index. A multiple regression analysis was also done where drive for muscularity was the criterion and the other assessments were entered simultaneously. This too was found to be significant with the strongest predictor of the drive for muscularity being the objectification of women. The results confirm the hypothesis that was posited earlier that objectification of women and sexist attitudes influenced the drive for muscularity. In exploring the concept of power this makes sense as muscularity can be seen a literal concrete example of seeking power, and the objectification can be seen as another means of men maintain power. This helps support the current question at hand. With that said, however, the study has limitations that need to be addressed. As explored by Mahalik and colleagues (2003) there are multiple facets to male identity that are not explored here. This would have been valuable to explore since it might help better understand the relationship between sexism and a drive for muscularity. The correlations that were observed were significant, never higher than 40% meaning there is a large gap that needs to be explained. This gap could have likely been better explained by exploring a greater

scope of male norms. The researchers found that while there is a relationship between sexism and a drive for muscularity it is never properly explored why this relationship exists or what is moderating it. A more expansive study may help to better to understand what mediates or moderates the relationship between these factors.

Edwards and Vogel (2015) were interested in how different male norms affect men's likelihood to engage in sexual coercion and over perceive sexual intentions in casual interactions with women. They were also interested in how the interactions of these attributes impact the likelihood of men to engage in sexual assault. 382 college students, primarily in their early twenties and Caucasian were recruited. They were split into three groups a 'pro-rape norm' condition, a 'neutral norm' condition and an 'antirape norm' condition. Participants were informed they would be evaluating TV and printed advertisements. The commercial showed a man offering a soda to a woman on a bus stop to which she accepts. Participants were asked to assess if they felt the woman was behaving flirtatiously. Participants were then asked to assess printed advertisements. The posters presented had messages regarding sexual behaviors that matched the condition they were in meaning pro rape groups saw posters with poster supportive messages, neutral group participants saw neutral messages, and antirape groups saw posters that denounced rape. The second part of the study had participants read hypothetical scenarios about partners, and were then asked how likely they would force the women in the scenarios into sexual activities. Participants also completed the Sexual Experiences Survey (Koss & Oros, 1982) which assessed the participants consensual and forced sexual encounters.

Men who were exposed to the pro-rape messages had significantly higher sexual assault proclivity and supported sexual aggression more compared to the other groups. Additionally, those who were in the pro-rape group and also observed greater sexual intent in the video portion

of the test had two times higher odds of hypothetically committing sexual assault in the presented scenarios. In other words, receiving positive messages about rape and holding heightened perceptions of women's sexual intent were predictors of sexual harassment proclivity.

Edwards and Vogel (2015) ignore men as a whole and view only sexual intentions and susceptibility to messages of rape. While these are important factors to consider they fail to consider men as a whole individual. If there is a conscious decision to ignore male norms then it seems irrelevant to focus solely on men. The study does not consider if any male norms help subdue sexual assault proclivity. For men and masculinity studies this is problematic as it ignores positive norms that men can adhere to.

When masculine norms come into conflict with one's functioning it is known as gender role conflict (O'Neil, et al., 1986). Gender role conflict occurs when the strict demand of traditional gender roles does not coincide with the existing context leading negative consequences (O'Neil, 2008). There are four patterns of gender role conflict Success/Power/Competition, Restrictive Emotionality, Conflict Between Work and Family Relations, and Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men (O'Neil, 2008).

Mellon (2013) was interested in how gender role stress impacted sexual harassment proclivity. The author commented that previous research had supported the notion that adherence to masculine norms were a motivator for men to become more pervasive in their sexual harassment. 205 working adult males were recruited for the study. Participants first completed the Likelihood to Sexually Harass scale and then the Male Gender Role Stress scale (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987) which assess stresses, concerns, and fears of not achieving expectations of male gender roles. Correlations were found on four of the five subscales of the

MGRS and the LSH. In other words, men who felt more stressed by potentially not living up to gender expectations were more likely to engage in sexual harassment behaviors. Some of the subscales on the MGRS are not thematically related to sexual harassment specifically such as a fear of being physically inadequate and emotional inexpressiveness. If men feel a threat to their gender role they may be more likely to engage in sexual harassment. In considering the current study, correctional officers face multiple opportunities for their gender role adherence to be threatened by intimidating and violent detainees, superior female officers, or goading co-workers. This might create a greater desire to assure their masculine identity and therefore engage in more deviant behaviors including sexual harassment.

As indicated previously, certain gender roles could be seen as a positive. More specifically certain gender roles can be seen as beneficial within a specific context. Traditional theory on men and masculinity postulates a more permanent adherence, meaning that men adhere to their adopted norms universally across situations (Smiler & Gelman, 2008), while new theories about men and masculinity allude to the concept that context dictates which norms will be emphasized (Addis, et al., 2016). For some men, the clash of the demands of work environment and home environment can be overwhelming and confusing and result in great gender role conflict. Actions or behaviors that may be seen as helpful in one context can be seen as problematic in another. Take, for instance, the example mentioned of a member of the military who while in combat might find benefit in not being in tune with sensitive emotions, but this same action is not helpful when they return home to their partner who is frustrated due to his inability healthily emote. For male correctional officers, adherence to traditional male norms may help them in navigating their work environment. It may also impact their decision making

in a negative way, such as encouraging them to use their power more significantly to demonstrate authority over others which could be expressed through sexual harassment.

When gender role conflict does occur there can be negative consequences. Gender role conflict can have the ability to cause men to become depressed, anxious, have lower self-esteem, and make them more likely to abuse substances as a means of coping (Blazina & Watkins, 1996; Good, Dell, & Mintz, 1989; & Cournover & Mahalik, 1995). For example, consider a male who believe it is wrong for him to express sensitive emotions who has recently lost someone dear to them. The conflict of wanting to express sadness or even cry with the cultural script that men should not cry or express sadness can potentially cause conflicting thoughts and feelings within the individual. A desire for him to not want to experience the emotions that are not congruent with their gendered script may lead him to engage in behaviors that dull the emotional pain such as excessive abusing substances or behave in a way that helps assert their role as a man such as becoming more hostile toward those around them (Johnson, McCreary, & Mills, 2007).

Although there are some similarities within male norms across cultures they are not universal. Gender norms may differ due to ethnicity, culture, age, and even sexual orientation. This can be problematic for male minorities as they are being pressured to adhere to the dominant cultural norms, specifically a white Western European culture (Mahalik, et al., 2003). Adherence to these norms can be problematic for males of minority groups as it can result in psychological distress as they attempt to balance the demands of conformity to the dominant majority with those of their own culture. While this is important to discuss and consider, for the purpose of this study the focus will remain on traditional western cultural norms. This in part due to the population that is being analyzed, the availability of male norm measures, as well as

determining how adherence to the specific set of male norms mentioned previously will have an effect on the individual as was indicated in chapter 1.

The complexities of men and masculinity are often ignored in light of viewing men as primarily an oppressive group of individuals rather than a group of individuals with unique nuances and multicultural considerations (Wester, 2008). While previous research does support the notion that men are the primary culprits of sexual harassment (Pryor, 1987), what is not explored often enough are the cultural pressures that cause men to operate in these ways. Because of the interest in better understanding masculine norms, psychologists have been developing assessments to better understand how men adhere to these norms.

One of the initial assessments that was developed that began to touch on the concept of men and masculinity was the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986) or GRCS. The aim of the GRCS was to assess the negative repercussions men experience when they adhere to masculine norms. O'Neil et al. (1986) theorized that it is specifically the fear of femininity that produces male gender role conflict which he breaks down into six categories: restrictive emotionality, homophobia, socialized control, power and competition, restrictive sexual and affectional behavior, obsession with achievement and success, and health care problems. To best obtain an understanding of how to assess this paradigm the authors developed two separate measures the GRCS-I, which assessed the thoughts and feelings about gender-normed behaviors and the GRCS-II, which assessed their comfort and conflicting feelings with these normed behaviors. The sample used was quite large (527 participants), but it is unclear what the ethnic and cultural break-down of the participants was as it is not indicated. This raises a question of the diversity of the sample used. The GRCS-I contained 85 questions about certain thoughts, feelings, and behaviors men might have that adhered to the 6 patterns of

gender role conflict indicated above. The GRCS-II contained 51 self-report items that assess an individual's comfort and conflict in reading gender-related scenarios. Items were removed from both measures in order to create a more reliable and valid measure and in result only 37 of the original 85 items of the GRCS-I remained while 16 of the original 51 items of the GRCS-II remained. This is problematic as the GRCS-II lost the majority of its items during construction and with only 16 questions it is questionable whether it is an appropriate measure of gender role conflict. Additionally, factor analysis did not confirm all six factors. For the GRCS-I of the four factors observed only 36% of the variance was explained and for the GRCS-II only 48% of the variance was explained. This brings into question the validity of the measure as it appears that the items in the assessment were not fully capturing the theory that O'Neil et al. (1986) had set out to measure. With that said, the four factors that were confirmed had relatively high reliability and further reviews supported high test-retest reliability. While the measure may not have initially matched the proposed theory, what can be observed is that the measure measures four factors consistently.

Work has been done to identify the weaknesses of measures that assess gender role conflict and what can be done to make them more multi-culturally inclusive. Wester, Vogel, O'Neil, & Danforth, (2012), in developing the Gender Role Conflict Scale Short Form (GRCS-SF) asked whether the original assessment has cross-cultural applicability. This would reduce factorial variance between diverse groups as well as explore how the items are distributed across the four subscales that were initially observed. Previous research by Norwalk, Vandiver, White, & Englar-Carlso (2011) observed that individuals of different cultures and races were responding differently to questions on the original Gender Role Conflict Scale. As noted, the ethnic diversity of the sample used in first developed the GRCS was not indicated in the study bringing

into question the diversity of the group obtained. O'Neil et al. (1986) also admit in their study that the diversity of age in their study is heavily limited, providing a greater limitation to the scope of the measure. While it is true that the measure can be used to assess how diverse individuals cope with adhering to the dominant male culture it does little to properly assess the struggles individuals have in adhering to their own male norms (Norwalk, et al., 2011).

While the GRCS can have value it comes with the expressed limitation that it primarily focuses on the negative implications that exist within adhering to masculine norms as opposed to considering the potential positives of adhering to traditional male norms. In exploring the relationships between male behaviors it is beneficial to explore potentially positive behaviors as well. In looking at a problematic behavior such as sexual assault, one could simply observe how negative male traits lead to sexual assault proclivity, but it might also be beneficial to explore if positive male traits that help moderate those proclivities.

As indicated, one significant issue that has arisen within the development of masculine norm and gender role conflict assessments is the lack of multicultural considerations in assessing male norms (Wester, et al., 2012). As is typical in most psychological research, convenience sampling has been utilized more often than not in developing measures that assess male norms. As a result, samples often consist of young heterosexual adults who are predominantly Caucasian. While this can be beneficial as it helps generate an understanding of the dominant culture it does little to better understand the cultural demands and norms of minorities. As has been stated prior, masculine norms across cultures may share similarities, but are not universal.

Due to these considerations more robust assessments of masculine norms have been developed, specifically ones that do not place a judgment on the norms of men and do not place behaviors in a right or wrong category. One of the more recent assessments developed was the

Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (Mahalik, Locke, Ludlow, Diener, Scott, Gottfried, & Freitas, 2003). The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI) explores masculine norms through 11 domains: Winning, Emotional Control, Risk-Taking, Violence, Dominance, Playboy, Self-Reliance, Primacy of Work, Power Over Women, Disdain for Homosexuals, and Pursuit of Status. The CMNI was developed with the understanding that these norms are learned behaviors and that they are learned through the observation of individuals. These observations, they believe, are the primary means in which men and women begin to develop an understanding of how they should be behaving in society. Secondly, youth develop a concept of what norms are through simply having them be explained or observed. For example, a young boy may be told that men do not wear pink, or he may be observing on his own that he does not see any men wearing pink. Additional contextual factors such as SES, racial identity, and the characteristics of the local culture have a profound impact on how one develops a concept of masculinity as well. In other words, the messages a young boy receives about masculinity may be significantly different depending on where they grow up.

Finally, Mahalik et al. (2003) noted that men do not adhere to gender norms universally and because of all the mentioned factors above, individuals adhere to gender norms differently. The goal of the development of the CMNI was to capture these traits. Additionally, the idea behind the CMNI was to capture the variability in norm adherence ranging from extreme conformity to extreme nonconformity. Developing a measure such as this would allow for a better understanding of how men adhere to masculine norms. Additionally, the measure could be used in conjunction with other measures to better understand how adherence to norms can predict other behaviors.

Factor analysis of the CMNI had identified eleven distinct factors. In comparison studies it was found that men and women responded different to the CMNI, and additionally men responded consistently over time. Finally, one's response to the CMNI appeared to correlate with other measures that assessed similar traits as some of the CMNI's factors. While the CMNI did suffer from a similar issue as the GRCS in that its sample was not as diverse as ideal one could argue that in this case it is appropriate. This is because the measure does not implicate a specific set of values to the norms, rather, the measure is just a suggestion of the norms of the dominant male culture. This could be beneficial in research as men of color could be assessed for how they conform to the male norms of the dominant western European culture.

The sample used consisted primarily of heterosexual Caucasian males that were attending a university which is a rather homogenous group. It has been shown that adapted versions of the assessment that are designed to be briefer do a much better job of reflecting the norms of Caucasian males than other racial and ethnic groups (Hsu & Iwamoto, 2014). Additionally, the norms found in the CMNI are norms that have been observed in other measures of male norms such as the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil, et al., 1986), the Brannon Masculinity Scale (Brannon & Juni, 1984), the Male Role Norms scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986), and the Male Role Norms Inventory (Levant, Hirsch, Celentano, Cozza, Hill, MacEachern, et al., 1992). This is important because while the CMNI is a much broader assessment, it holds its roots in previous research and previously designed assessments.

The functionality of the CMNI has been discussed in a theoretical sense, specifically in its ability to be used in therapeutic settings (Mahalik, et al., 2005). It has been suggested that therapists may use the CMNI to better understand their male clients and find ways of better connecting with them. This will be kept in mind when considering future implications utilizing

the data found in this study. The CMNI has been also been adapted into shorter forms including a 46 item version (Parent & Moradi, 2011) and a 29 item version (Hsu & Iwamoto, 2014). These shorter forms have been utilized more consistently in research due to their abbreviated nature, making test fatigue less of an issue. The CMNI-46, for example has been used to assess men's health behaviors (Levant & Wilmer, 2014). The 94 item version will be utilized as due to its length, information from each factor will be easier to identify compared to more abbreviated versions of the assessment.

### *Correctional Officers*

Research about correctional officers is limited. In addition, the research that does exist is often dated, with many significant works having been conducted multiple decades ago without much updating of the literature. This is concerning as the nature of the correctional environment has changed since the 70s and 80s, with updates in policy and procedure, as well as the staff becoming increasingly diversified. Additionally, the research surrounding the attitudes of correctional officers is conflicting with some researchers such as Peretti & Hooker (1976) finding that correctional officers often saw themselves in a role similar to that of a 'zoo keeper', viewing inmates as "abnormal, revolting, and radical" (Pg. 194) and other researchers observing that correctional officers are aware of the value of rehabilitation and not specifically seeing their job as one that is purely punitive towards inmates (Whitehead, Linqis, & Klofas, 1987).

Many parallels have been drawn between more traditional law enforcement, and while it is true both occupations share some similarities, the two positions have their own unique sets of challenges and characteristics (Farkas & Manning, 1997). For this review, only research related to correctional officers will be explored. Correctional officers, by nature, have a hazardous occupation as they work with the potentially dangerous population of individuals. They may be in charge of breaking up fights between inmates, restraining uncooperative or violent inmates,

or protecting themselves against assaultive inmates. This risk appears to be growing as the amount of inmates an officer is responsible for is increasing (Stephan & Walsh, 2006).

Correctional officers have an incredibly challenging occupation, as they are tasked with supervising potentially dangerous and aggressive individuals. Compared to other countries, correctional officers in the United States work in facilities with a greater number of inmates, and oversee more inmates per staff member (Schaufeli, & Peeters, 2000). This leads to officers feeling on edge (Farkas, 1995) and quick to experiencing burnout (Finney, Sterigopoulos, Hensel, Bonato, & Dewa, 2013) with an estimated 37% of correctional staff experiencing burnout, which when compared to the range of 19%-30% of the general public shows that their job carries a great deal of stress and challenges. This increased rate of burnout may make correctional officers disinterested in adding additional duties to their work load such as participating in a research study.

The climate and culture of a facility can vary significantly from being cooperate and supportive to hostile. Previous research has found that many officers work in facilities with insufficient staffing (Cook & Lane, 2014). Another common trend in previous research is a lack of sufficient training, with many correctional officers feeling they were not prepared for all the tasks asked of them (Finney, et al., 2013). These various stressors lead many officers to feel burnt-out, overworked, and stressed (Finney, et al., 2013).

In addition to the stressors jail correctional officers face on the job, they struggle with perception issues such as job prestige. Jail correctional officers are sometimes viewed as of a lower status than other forms of law enforcement such as police officers. In some institutions, Jail correctional officers are not even sworn in law enforcement officers, further creating the image that their position and status is of less importance (Cook & Lane, 2014). These

perceptions further add to occupational stress along with painting a negative image of jail correctional officers.

Correctional officers often are working at odds with detainees, who are being held against their will and can have little motivation to comply with staff. Their goal is to maintain control and order within living areas, often placing them in dangerous and unpredictable environments and at odds with detainees. This places them at an increased risk of mental, emotional, and physical harm from those they are responsible for (Sorensen, et al., 2011). In turn this creates a great deal of emotional and mental stress on the officers themselves leading to negative consequences such as feeling stressed (Brodsky, 1977) substance abuse (Lindsay & Shelley, 2009), and marital discourse (Valentine, et al., 2012).

Boudoukha, Altintas, Rusinek, Fantini-Hauwel, & Hautekeete (2013) were interested in the profile of correctional officers based on these risk factors. They acknowledged the risks that correctional officers endure in their career. This led them to asking about officer burnout and PTSD along with inmate-to-staff violence. They hypothesized greater symptomology of PTSD would be correlated with increased rates of burnout. 240 correctional officers in French correctional facilities were recruited. 40 of these individuals were women while 200 were men. The participants' time spent working ranged from six months to 30 years. The participants completed the Impact of Event Scale Revised which assessed for posttraumatic stress symptoms via a 22 item questionnaire, the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Dion & Tessier, 1994 as cited in Boudoukha, et al., 2013) which is a 22 item scale that assess burnout through three subscales of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and a lack of personal accomplishment, and a 12 item stress questionnaire which asked questions related to stressors from their type of employment. The participants were also asked about assaults they experienced from inmates along with

demographic information. The questionnaires were distributed to correctional facilities and then collected when completed with a 56% response rate.

The results were in confirmation with the hypothesis. Greater rates of burnout were found in those with high rates of posttraumatic stress. Additionally, those with a moderate risk of PTSD differed in their response set than those with a low risk and high risk profiles differed from low risk profiles. Individuals that held high PTSD risk profiles had greater correlations with emotional exhaustion, stress, and depersonalization compared to low risk profiles and were at greater risk for burnout. It was found that gender, age, and rank did not have an impact on PTSD profiles meaning regardless of gender, age, and rank there was no difference in one's potential risk of having posttraumatic symptoms.

In addition to these findings certain correlations were discovered between the responses. Specifically, emotional exhaustion and depersonalization on the MBI were positively correlated, while both of these subscales were negatively correlated with having a sense of personal accomplishment. A positive correlation was found between IES-R global scores and experiences of inmate-to-staff violence. A correlation that was expected but not found was that the severity of an assault impacted PTSD symptomology. In fact, no correlation was found in this study between the two. The results of the study help to emphasize the risks that exist for correctional officers, how this risk may affect the perception of their work, and what kind of impact these risks have on their emotional well-being. This is important to consider in viewing male correctional officers as a whole and the risks they face

The researchers stated non-significant differences between the demographics noted. With this said, the distributions of these demographics were uneven which makes a formal conclusion questionable. For example, while likely a fair representation of the gender

distribution in jails, there were five times as many men compared to women who participated in the study. Additionally, the assessments used, while valuable, lacked a sense of applicability. For example, there was no exploration into how the traits of feeling burnt out or having PTSD symptoms impacted their work in the jail. This is an instance where qualitative work may have been valuable as it would have allowed for a better understanding of the impact on burnout and its impact on a correctional officer's work.

Concerns exist about the development of aggressiveness and callousness as correctional officers continue on in their career. Haney et al.'s (1973) study shows how even in a brief amount of time the occupational culture can cause individuals to become more aggressive and callous when put in a position of authority. Previous research supports the idea that as correctional officers progress through their career they are likely to become more aggressive towards detainees, using greater physical force to apprehend and restrain, than their less experienced co-workers (Kercher & Martin, 1975 as cited in Crouch & Alpert, 1982). Kercher and Martin (1975) interviewed three consecutive recruitment classes of correctional officers during their orientation at the training academy and also 6 months later. The participants completed demographic surveys along with the Attitudes Toward Punishment of Criminals Scale (Shaw & Wright, 1968), which assesses attitudes toward punishing criminals, and the Critical Incidents Scale (Kercher & Martin, 1975), which assesses aggression towards inmates in encounters in hypothetical scenarios. During the second data collection time 6 months later the participants were asked about their experiences so far on the job and expectations. Results from the initial round of data collection showed no considerable differences in attitudes between men and women. There were differences in how men and women's attitudes changed over time, as women became more tolerant of inmates and were less likely to engage in aggressive punitive

actions while men were more likely. This supports the hypothesis that as correctional officers progress in their career they will be more likely to engage in deviant behaviors such as unnecessary physical aggression, sexual misconduct.

As indicated, information about the occupational culture of correctional officers has not been well researched so the context about these changes is minimal. The study could have benefited from asking such questions, such as how actually working in the jail has altered the participant's attitudes towards punishment. This would have allowed for a better insight into the climate that was encouraging these shifts in beliefs. Additionally, although not surprising, there were significantly more men than women surveyed (68 men to 16 women). This does not allow for a formal conclusion to be determined on how men and women differ in their attitude changes. Lastly, the way in which the study was conducted prevented further analysis of the changes in attitudes over time. If a collection of officers were surveyed at various points in their career a regression analysis could have been done to see if this trend of callousness were to continue.

Worley & Worley (2009) were interested in the deviant actions of correctional officers in the Texas prison systems. Little research has been done in regard to deviant behaviors committed by correctional officers. What little research exists indicates, according to Worley & Worley, that being 'cared for' is an important factor in preventing officers from engaging in deviant behaviors. The data collected here was part of a larger data collection process regarding employee misconduct in the Texas Prison system. A survey instrument was developed due to what the authors describe as a lack of appropriate means to assess prison employee deviance. The assessment was designed to specifically assess only types of deviancy conducted while correctional officers were employed. The self-report deviance scale is a 16 item questionnaire that lists various means of inappropriate behavior a correctional officer could act in. These items

were answered on a five item likert scale with 1 being strongly disagree and 5 being strongly agree. Additional questions that were asked were regarding whether the officers felt 'cared for'.

501 prison employees participated in the study, the majority of the participants were Caucasian (66.9%) and male (65.9%). Participants were asked to complete the three assessments, the first which was about deviant behaviors they had engaged in, the second being deviant acts they believe occur in their jail and the third was an assessment about whether they felt 'cared for' within their facility and who they felt cared for them. Demographic information was collected as well.

The only item that had an average response of 'agreed' on the deviance scale was that an inmate tried to give the participant something. One could argue that this may be due to social desirability and that the majority of the officers did not want to admit to deviant behavior. Since the lead author had been associated with the participants this could have caused them to want to respond in a more appropriate manner.

Despite this, the participants were willing to admit that deviance occurred within their facilities. While participants did not admit to deviant behavior they believed deviant behavior was occurring. This again brings into question the notion of social desirability as the participants would not report their behavior, but felt others were engaging in deviant behaviors.

The final questionnaire asked whether the staff felt cared for, and if so who they felt cared for them. They were able to choose 'agency' 'unit administration' 'immediate supervisors' and 'co-workers'. Of the 501 participants 105 did not report that they felt cared for at all. A logistical regression analysis was then performed to determine whether a logistical pathway existed between not feeling cared for and engaging in deviant behaviors. No significant relationship was found between feeling 'cared for' and self-reported deviant behavior. This

means that if you did not feel cared for in your job you were not more likely than those that felt cared for to reported deviant behavior. Those that reported feeling cared for were more likely to report perceiving deviance within their work environment. Support may be a protective factor against committing deviant behaviors such as sexual harassment. While this study is not exploring support, potentially low adherence to some male norms, such as restrictive emotionality, which may make it difficult for male correctional officers to identify feeling supported may be protective against sexual harassment proclivity.

Faults exist within the study. One of the largest issues that exists is the means in which the data was collected. The first author was working within the correctional system which is how he gained access to the sample he interviewed. This brings into question the objectivity of the data that has been collected and the means in which the data was interpreted. Additionally, the term 'cared for' is not well defined. The measures were only tested on three officers, which also brings into question the quality of the assessments. A greater pre-test sample would have allowed for a firmer conclusion on the quality of the assessments. Qualitative data may have helped to develop a clearer understanding as to why individuals engaged in these deviant behaviors outside of the factor of feeling cared for. A more open ended qualitative study may have allowed for a clearer picture in which follow-up studies could be conducted. Research into deviant behaviors, which could include sexual harassment, is limited or with faults. While this study will not be specifically exploring previous deviant acts, it is looking potential and risk factors for such.

There have been historical instances of correctional officers using their power to take advantage of detainees and staff in sexual and violent manners. *Lucas v. White* (1999) is a landmark instance of this where three female prisoners were sold to male inmates as 'sex slaves'

which led to a \$500,000 settlement. Other instances that have been reported by previous researchers range from relatively minor incidents such as giving food items to inmates when they should not to engaging in sexual activity with them (Worely, Tewksbury, & Frantzen, 2010; Worley, Marquart, & Mullings, 2003). It is a consistent and ongoing issue with few suggestions for remedying. There have also been too few attempts to properly understand the issue as well and how it manifests within the setting.

Correctional officers have access to a large amount of authority and power through dictating the actions and behaviors of detainees. Power enables individuals to behave in ways they normally would not. Following is an exploration of the research on the psychological research of power.

### *Power*

Power is a construct that has had multiple operational definitions in research (Lukes, 1986 as cited in Keltner, et al., 2003). Power can be viewed as a physical attribute such as muscularity, an emotional attribute such as having confidence or being able to have control over emotions, or as an indication of status such as being the boss at a company or an instructor in a classroom. Power is an interesting dynamic to explore since, much like adherence to male norms, it is not necessarily a trait based quality, but rather state based. For example, an individual might have a position of power in their work environment such as they are the manager of a store, but because of their minority status their power diminishes once they leave work. Power has the ability to alter one's perspectives and actions (Keltner, et al., 2003).

Being in a possession of power can result in individuals acting differently than those who do not have power. For example, individuals with power are likely to have fewer inhibitions, meaning they are more likely to act on impulses, act without inhibition, or be concerned about the repercussions of their actions (Keltner, et al., 2003). As suggested prior, this too is viewed

through a contextual, state based lens, as opposed to purely trait based. Cultural privilege begets power, allowing one to be less critical of their own actions as they are less likely to believe they will be punished for their actions. Men, in this case, would be far less likely than women to be mindful of their actions and the effects they carry. Compare this to women, who are culturally viewed as having less power than men, and must be more mindful of their actions leading them to act with greater inhibition (Sanday, 1981). An example one might consider is how men who are authoritarian in their leadership style are considered strong and tough while women who do the same are viewed as 'pushy' or 'rude'.

Those in power are more likely to be proactive Galinsky, and colleagues (2003). When primed with a sense of power, participants in a study done found that individuals would be more likely to make risky gambling decisions than those who had not been primed with power. In a similar experiment, after being primed with power individuals were more likely to intervene with their surroundings in order to make themselves personally more comfortable, in this instance turning off fans that were blowing on the participants, meaning the participants were more willing to act in a self-interested way. Finally, in the third experiment participants were once again primed with power, or presented with a control variable, and given two scenarios in which they had the option to take resources for their benefit or to take resources. Based on the construction of the dilemmas the researchers believed that those primed with power would take more in one scenario and give more in the other based on the belief that being priming with power meant taking more action. In actuality the participants took in both scenarios. This means that those primed with power were self-serving and ego-centric at the cost of the well-being of others. Individuals with a sense of power may be more likely to act towards their own goals without the consideration of the well-being of others involved. The research did lack any

measures regarding empathy or about personality traits of the participants before they engaged in the experiments. It would have been beneficial to see how

Power has been seen to have a connection with sex, specifically sexual aggression (Chapleau & Oswald, 2010). This is indicated even in the lexicon of sexual actions where statements like ‘conquering, dominating, and submitting’ are acceptable. This connection, as suggested by the authors, is more than explicit beliefs, but also an ingrained implicit functioning. Chapleau and Oswald proposed two possible process models to explain rape myth acceptance in accordance with power. The first model suggests that implicit and explicit beliefs about the connection of power and sex promote rape myth acceptance and in turn rape proclivity while the second model suggests that rape myth acceptance is a predictor of believing in the power sex relationship which then in turn leads to rape proclivity. Two experiments were done in order to develop and explain these models.

For the first study 131 college students were recruited, both male and female. Participants completed 11 items that assessed their endorsement of the belief that sex is an act conducted in order to obtain dominance over another individual. They then completed the Nelson Sexual Functions Measure (1978) which also assessed reasons why individuals engage in sexual behaviors related to maintaining control followed by the *AMORE scale* (Hill & Preston, 1996) which assessed for arousal generated by dominating a sexual partner. What was found via an analysis of variance was that two separate concepts exist within the explicit power-sex association. First, there is the specific power-sex relationship in viewing sex as means of dominating an individual, while an independent trait is the enjoyment of domination or submission during sexual activities. While the data confirms the link between power and sex

exists and that a motive for sex can be to have power over them, it does encourage a careful parsing of concepts.

The second study explored a dual process model for sexual aggression, meaning that there are two pathways to rape proclivity and rape myth acceptance, an implicit pathway and an explicit pathway. 108 participants were recruited for the measure. They completed the IAT which is a means of assessing implicit attitudes, in this case the association between power and sex. Participants then completed an explicit power-sex assessment, an assessment about their endorsements of rape myth, an assessment of their rape proclivity, and questionnaire about their historical sexually aggressive behavior.

Results indicated that ‘On average, participants had an implicit association between power and sex’ (Chapleau & Oswald, 2010: p. 73) A small to moderate correlation was found between the implicit power-sex relation, rape proclivity, and rape myth acceptance. The implicit power-sex and explicit power-sex attitudes were not correlated. The conclusion from the authors is that rape myth acceptance mediates the relationship between both the implicit and explicit power-sex beliefs and rape proclivity. This falls in line with one of the hypotheses posited in that male norms will moderate the relationship between the power priming and sexual harassment proclivity.

The study does have limitations. In order to avoid assessing gender norms in their self-built power-sex assessment they utilized data gathered from a study surveying gay men. The authors argue that using questions from this study would help avoid gender norms. This is contrary to the fact, as gay men have gender-role conflict struggles in similar ways as heterosexual men (Kimmel & Mahalik, 2005; Frost & Meyers, 2009).

For this study power will be defined in the work environment and the use of correctional officers will represent the position of power as correctional officers have authority over the detainees in their facility. Does having this power generate the inhibitions and other actions that research has shown it to generate? In addition, does having power moderate the differences in men and women based on their cultural norms, especially in a hyper masculine environment?

### *Sexual Harassment*

Sexual harassment is defined as an unwanted sexual advance, verbal or physical, that can be categorized as an authoritarian aggression and interferes with the individuals work (Begany & Milburn, 2002; Maass, et al., 2003). It can also be defined as a hostile work environment that is generated by unwanted looks and comments (Terrance, Logan, & Peters, 2008). Coercion is often considered a component of sexual harassment as well, in which victims are threatened with work related punishments for not engaging in sexual activity with perpetrators.

Numerous theories exist as to why men are the perpetrators of sexual harassment at great levels than women are (Robertson, 2010). Feminist theory suggests that sexual harassment is specifically an instrument used by men to maintain power over women (Conroy, 2013). Other research has suggested that male norms can result in a greater likelihood for sexual harassment and rape proclivities. Specifically, the acceptance of the ideal of male social dominance (Pryor, 1987) may lead to men being more likely to engage in sexual harassment. Additionally, Pryor, and colleagues (1995) proposed that a combination of factors predict sexual harassment, specifically an interaction of the person and the situation.

Pryor (1987) conducted three studies to better understand the traits of men that would likely engage in sexual harassment. 117 male participants completed the then being developed Likelihood to Sexually Harass measure. They then completed the Six Attitude/Belief Scales from Burt (1980) regarding sex role stereotyping, sexual beliefs, adversarial sexual beliefs,

sexual conservatism, acceptance of interpersonal violence, and rape myth acceptance. After this they completed Malamuth's (1981) The Likelihood to Rape Scale (LR) and the FEM scale (Smith, Ferree, & Miller, 1975) which measures attitudes toward feminism. Finally, the participants completed the Interpersonal Reactivity Inventory (IRI) (Davis, 1980) which measured four dimensions of empathy.

It was found that the LSH scale was correlated to the other measures showing that an increased likelihood to sexually harass was correlated with less empathy, adversarial sexual beliefs, belief in sex role stereotyping, and rape myth acceptance. The biggest correlation found, however was the response from the LSH compared to the LR. Elevated LSH scores were correlated with elevated LR scales. Additionally, it was found that individuals who scored high on the LSH responded to the IRI in a way that indicated a difficulty with imagining another's perspective.

Pryor completed a second study with 185 undergraduate males. This time when the participants were given the LSH they were also given measures of authoritarianism, a measure of Machiavellianism, The Social Desirability Scale (Crown & Marlow, 1955) and the Sexual Opinion Survey (White, Fisher, Byrne, & King-ma, 1977) a scale which assess positive and negative attitudes toward sexual behavior. The LSH was found to be negatively correlated with Machiavellianism, which Pryor notes is a personal trait that leads to being comfortable manipulating others. Pryor comments that he believes this means that individuals see a difference between taking advantage of someone as the LSH measures and being manipulative. Pryor also hypothesizes that highly manipulative individuals might prefer subtler manipulations than the more overt situations that appear in the LSH.

Another correlation that appeared was that individuals with high authoritarianism also had high LSH scores. As mentioned previously in the section regarding power, individuals with power tend to be less inhibited and exhibit more goal seeking behaviors. An individual that holds power or seeks it may be more inclined to take advantage of others through their own perspective of gaining what they want or having less empathy towards those they are powering over. Additionally, it was found that individuals who scored higher on the LSH had more negative attitudes toward sex than those who scored low on the LSH. Pryor concludes that this could be because those who report having negative attitudes toward sex on the Sexual Opinion Survey tend to have fewer sexual experiences meaning they have less understanding of actual sexual relationships which may in turn make them less aware about how their responses on the LSH could be problematic. Another way to interpret the findings is that those individuals may just have more negative attitudes towards women and sex with women meaning they would be more likely to only engage in manipulative sex with women due to their disdain. No conclusions were found between the LSH and the Social Desirability Scale. It should also be noted that the correlations found were not particularly strong meaning that there is still a great deal of variance to be explained.

Pryor's final study was to assess the behavioral validity of the LSH, in other words, were the responses related to actual actions by the participants. The hope was to be able to notice a correlation between high LSH scores and subtle acts of sexual harassment such as unsolicited sexual touching at work. Previous research, according to Pryor, suggests that this unwelcomed touching is an act of dominance that is practiced more by males. In this study some male participants were asked to teach a female how to putt. Before completing the above mentioned acts they completed the LSH. Of those that completed the initial measures only 31 participants

that scored in the upper and lower quartiles of the LSH were selected for the second part of the study. Those that completed the second task were taught how to putt and given time to practice. They then were tasked with teaching a novice, a female confederate. It was found that high scores on the LSH led to more sexual touching when teaching the confederate how to putt compared to those with low LSH. One note to make about the LSH is that it was built using college aged students, meaning that the sample used is relatively homogenous; the majority would be in their early twenties. Additionally, all the participants were male, primarily heterosexual, and primarily Caucasian.

This can be viewed as a confirmation that those with a greater sense of power are likely to have an elevated sexual harassment proclivity. While these acts of sexual harassment were not overt it did lead to a greater sense of inhibition as discussed previously. One area that is not covered by Pryor's study is that while subtle sexual harassment is engaged here, we do not know about overt acts. This would be impossible to enact in a laboratory setting, but using his measure it could be possible to determine whether a sense of power will cause someone to engage in overt acts of sexual harassment. Another way of viewing these results, according to Pryor, is that likelihood to sexually harass has a relationship with exploitation. In other words, an individual with high sexual harassment proclivity is more likely to exploit an individual for their own gain. Although Pryor did not explore the idea, this could also be an indication of having a sense of power. The goal directed behavior of having power could very well lead to the exploitation of subordinates.

Pryor's study does have its limitations. The sample was garnered from Midwestern college campuses and the demographic distribution is not reported either, but it would be safe to assume the sample was rather homogenous in terms of race, ethnicity, and age. Additionally,

this study is nearly twenty years old. Cultural trends and the social acceptability of sexism have shifted in that time. This is not to state that these issues no longer exist, but it is important to acknowledge cultural shifts and the importance of revisiting similar subjects.

Pryor and colleagues (1995) wanted to better understand the connection between power and sexual harassment. They believed that if power was successfully then participants would be more likely to endorse sexual harassment proclivity. 112 male college participants were recruited. The participants were brought into an experimental room where a confederate was sitting. They were informed they would be tested on their perceptions of visual illusions. The participant along with the confederate were then given a form in order to write about an optical illusion and why they think the illusion worked. Both were then given a priming task which involved completing filling in letters to complete a word (e.g. \_fnl\_\_\_e would be 'influence). The prime varied from either completing neutral words, words related to having authoritative power, or words related to physical power. The participant was then asked to assess how attracted he felt the confederate was to him. Before completing the Likelihood to Sexually Harass assessment and the Attractiveness of Sexual Aggression scale (Malamuth, 1989), the participants completed an anagram task to remove any impact on the prime.

It was found that LSH scores were unrelated to the participant's opinion of the attractiveness of the confederate. This suggests that sexual harassment may not be directly related to attraction. This appears confirmatory with the views supported by feminist scholars in that sexual harassment is a means of exercising power and control (Conroy, 2013). Interestingly when primed with a sense of power, individuals who scored high on the ASA viewed the confederate as more attractive than participants who scored low on the ASA. This indicated that the priming of power does not have a universal impact on the changing of beliefs. Other

established traits appear to moderate the effects of the priming of power. This might also be true for male norms in regard to the proposed experiment.

It is uncertain if the priming of power had any impact on sexual harassment proclivity due to the removal of the effect via the anagram task or due to the nature of the prime. A similar failure to activate sexual harassment proclivity via a power prime was discovered by Gomory, Wester, & Danforth (In Press) in which a similar activity was utilized. The prime may need to be stronger, such as having the participant recite a situation in which they were in a position of power to remind themselves of that feeling (Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003).

It has been suggested that sexual harassment proclivity is not only determined by personal traits, but also situational factors (Pryor, et al., 1995). In addition, the culture in which an individual exists in may promote sexual harassment proclivity. Social norms have been suggested to be predictors of sexual harassment proclivity (Pryor, et al., 1993), specifically in environments where the norms of sexual harassment are acceptable. This also trickles down to social norms. For example, one of the traditional male norms that has been suggested by Mahalik and colleagues (2003) is dominance over women. This norm, even outside of the psychology of men and masculinity, has been described as a motive for sexual aggression and in conjunction sexual harassment (Malamuth, 1986).

It has been observed, however, that these behaviors are not limited to western cultures. Stillman, Yamawaki, Ridge, White, & Copley (2009) were interested in determining the differences in sexual harassment proclivity between Japanese and U.S. Men. The authors theorize that the gender norms U.S. and Japanese men adhere to would be similar and therefore their sexual harassment proclivity would be predicted by the same types of traits between both populations of men. They also hypothesized that due to the more male dominated culture of

Japan there would be greater sexual harassment proclivity among Japanese men. 102 U.S. men and 112 Japanese men participated in the study. To test sexual harassment proclivity Pryor's Likelihood to Sexually Harass measure (1987). The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Burt, 1980) was used to best understand any existing mediating variables. The Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis, 1980) was used to understand empathy. The first hypothesis was confirmed by the study in that the predictors of sexual harassment proclivity were the same for both cultures. Although some traits predicted sexual harassment proclivity significantly in one culture compared to another these differences were significant between the different cultures. In other words, U.S. men and Japanese men had similar predictors for sexual harassment. It was also found that the more male dominated Japanese culture predicted a greater amount of sexual harassment proclivity.

While domains of male norms were explored via the measures that were utilized, other norms were not explored. This is a consistent issue with the literature regarding men and sexual harassment in that they tend to only explore the negative male norm traits instead of viewing the cultural male as a whole. There is an overemphasis on viewing male norms as only a problem which as indicated prior is not necessarily the case. There are male norms that can be supportive. Studies like this focus on what mediates sexual harassment proclivity, but they too often ignore what might also be mediating one to not sexually harass.

Similar traits have been found in Brazilian men (D'Abreu & Krahe, 2014). The participants were 286 male college students in Brazil who were surveyed in order to better understand sexual aggression. 5 hypotheses were being test: first, that the acceptance and availability of behavioral risk factors for sexual aggression would be a predictor of showing those behaviors in sexual encounters, second, that risky behavior patterns dictated by sexual

scripts would be related to sexual aggression, third, that increased pornography use would increase sexual aggression, fourth that this path would be direct and indirect, and finally that experiences of childhood abuse would also be a predictor. All the participants completed a collection of surveys and 120 participants completed a follow-up six months later.

The researchers found support for their belief that when cultural scripts about sexual aggression are ingrained within the participant they are more likely to engage in sexual aggression. In other words, the more immediately accessible the belief about sexual aggression is, the more likely the individual will be to engage in those types of behaviors. Additionally, it was also found that using pornography was significantly associated with the prominence of risk factors within sexual scripts and their normative acceptance and it was directly correlated to risky sexual behaviors and sexual aggression. While the correlation with sexual aggression was significant it was not particularly strong (.20). Childhood abuse was found to be predictive of sexual aggression due to being related to specific sexual behavior patterns that comprise risk factors for sexual aggression. There was not a direct significant correlation found, however, between childhood trauma and sexual aggression. In addition, risk factors related to sexual aggression that were found at the first survey time were related to sexually aggressive behaviors found between the first and second survey point. More sexually aggressive individuals frequented pornography more and had greater acceptance of sexually aggressive behaviors as the norm. As indicated previously here there is a lack of focus on the male as a complete individual in this article as well as none of the measures used explore male gender norms completely, only sexual behaviors and beliefs.

Other characteristics that predict sexually aggressive behaviors including sexual harassment include one's acceptance of rape myth (Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002) and a

history of physical, verbal, or sexual aggression (Gidycz, Warkentin, & Orchowski, 2007). Additionally, men who are lacking in emotional empathy are found to be more likely support rape proclivity (Rice, Chaplin, Harris, & Coutts, 1994). Individuals are provided with a constant barrage of messages as to how to act 'normal' as they grow up. For men, the messages they receive is that it is normal to be aggressive, highly competitive, and sexually dominant. These messages can help to develop an individual who sees sex, violence, and power, as intertwining concepts. Additionally, experiencing violence as child can lead to men to engage in intimate partner violence as adults (Edwards, Dixon, Gidycz, & Desai, 2013). It is obvious, fortunately, that not all men end up committing sexual assault or being violent individuals.

It is not only how a male feels about themselves that has an effect on their likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive or sexually assaultive behaviors. Their attitudes toward women are critical as they affect how men view the severity of their actions towards the opposite gender. Ideas that women are inferior to men have been found to be correlated with rape supportive attitudes. Bleecker and Murnen (2005) believed that men who are more likely to have degrading images of women in their home (e.g. posters, screen savers) are more likely to be accepting of rape supportive attitudes and accepting of rape myths. They theorized that membership in a fraternity would cause someone to be more likely to engage in sexual assault. This was because beliefs of men's sexual dominance and aggression against women were more correlated with sexual assault proclivity. Due to the hypermasculine culture of American fraternities they believed that this type of environment would foster pro sexual assault attitudes. Additionally, there was a belief that these attitudes would result in individuals putting up 'sexual artifacts' such as lewd photographs, which would further foster the belief of women as sexual

'objects' as opposed to individuals. They wanted to see how men in fraternities differ from men not in fraternities in these regards.

30 fraternity members and 30 non-members were selected to participate in the study with an age range of 19-23. The experimenters visited the dorm rooms and apartments of the fraternity and non-fraternity members taking note of what was displayed in their rooms, taking photos if consent was given. The participants were then given the Rape Supportive Attitude Scale, a 20 item measure that assesses whether men believe various rape myths, followed by filling out demographic information. The pictures of the rooms were coded by female participants, rating them on a 4-point scale according to how sexual and degrading they were. A positive correlation was found between being a member of a fraternity and having sexual images in their room compared to non-fraternity members. Additionally, the images found in fraternity members' rooms were found to be more degrading than non-fraternity members.

A significant correlation was found between members of fraternities and their endorsement of rape supportive attitudes (about  $M=118.33$ ) compared to non-members ( $M=131.30$ ) with a lower score indicating greater belief. Additionally, having more degrading images in your possession was also related to greater endorsement of rape supportive attitudes. All of this makes sense based on the pre-established literature, yet at the same time none of it is particularly surprising. It also does not resolve the question of whether the culture of the fraternity created an individual more likely to endorse sexual assault and rape myths or if an individual who already had those attitudes was attracted to a culture that typically endorsed it. Research such as this clouds the understanding of the social construction theory of male norm adherence. Also, only exploring a small subsection of norms limits the bigger picture of the interconnectivity of gender norms for men. It can be concluded that men who are in all male

groups such as fraternities are more likely to receive anti-women messages and carry negative attitudes towards women and dismissive attitudes towards rape and sexual assault (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005). These anti-feminine messages can mature into something damaging such as outright hostility towards women (Russell, 1975 as cited by Hines, 2007).

For some men, as has been suggested earlier, power can be associated with sex (Kamphuis, et al., 2005). Specifically, for men who were committed sex offenders. Interviews with convicted sex offenders showed that a majority of those interviewed were motivated by a desire to have power over their victim (Groth, 1979 as cited in Pryor et al., 1995) Kamphuis and colleagues (2005) believed that since many individuals who commit sexual assaults and rapes would have preconscious motivational processes, which in turn powers automatic cognitions, that this would suggest that processes such as those looking to engage in sexual assault could also become automatic. In the case of these researchers they believe that 'dysfunctional, criminal, or sexually deviant behaviors form no exception'. In other words, for individuals with sexual crimes these automatic actions may be connected to implicit cognitions they hold. To better determine if an unconscious link exists in people who have molested children between sexual activities and power.

The researchers had ten men who sexually molested children, fifteen men who were violent offenders and 30 control students. The participants completed a lexical decision experiment as well as the Attraction to Sexual Aggression questionnaire. The participants were shown either a string of letters that was either a real word or a nonword that was pronounceable. Before being shown the word a real word was displayed on the screen. These words acted as experimental primes in some cases. This created three scenarios that would occur. First, there were neutral words that then led into nonsense words. There were then neutral words that would

come before real words. Finally, there were priming words that led to real words. Previous research, according to the authors, suggested that if the priming word has an unconscious connection to the target word then the participant will respond faster a phenomenon called the 'priming effect'. Three priming word types were used: those related to power, those related to sex, and neutral words.

The authors found that men who had molested children had higher scores on the Attraction to Sexual Aggression questionnaire. Additionally, men who had molested children were observed to have a significant sex-to-power relation. This means that when primed by a sex word they would respond quicker to power words. For violent criminals and non-criminals this effect did not occur. This indicates that for this subgroup of men, there was a connection between sex and power. This is a rather specific subgroup of individuals, however, that have committed a severe crime. As indicated, men who do not commit sexual assault are a much larger population than men who have, although men are constantly bombarded with messages via friends, family, and media about how to be a proper man. What might cause a certain group of men to go that extra step in committing sexual assault versus the men who do not has been explored in the past. While some individuals may come into a sexual situation with a pre-established sense of power and entitlement, there are perhaps some who might be swayed by a shorter term prime that influences their decision making. In other words, it is unclear whether a short term priming of power increase the likelihood that someone would commit an act of sexual harassment. In addition, how do these factors interplay with male gender norms? Could contextual factors have an effect on the response rate in an experiment such as that conducted by Kamphuis, et al. (2005)?

Authoritarian behavior, which is punitive, emotionally distant, and strict is complementary to some of the previously mentioned male gender norms such as a desire for dominance and self-reliance. Begany and Milburn (2002) sought to find individual characteristics that might make an individual more likely to engage in sexual harassment. 104 college males participated in their study. The participants completed the Pryor's Likelihood to Sexually Harass Scale (1987), the Right Wing Authoritarianism scale, a measure that studies authoritarian personalities and behaviors (Altemeyer, 1981), The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Fisk & Glick, 1995), the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960), questions regarding their Socio-economic status were asked and also ten scenarios that assessed rape myth acceptance were presented. Authoritarianism was significantly correlated with both hostile and benevolent sexism, as well as a support for rape myths. It was also found that hostile sexism and support for rape myths mediated the relationship between authoritarianism and likelihood to sexually harass. Although holding power and sexual harassment have correlation it appears that the relationship is mediated by preconceived notions. Authoritarianism results in a desire for the exertion of power, if sex can be seen as a means of holding power, and the opposite sex appears to be weaker, then this might lead to sexual harassment proclivity.

This is yet another study that would have benefited from exploring other male gender norms such as seeking of power, and primacy of work. Researchers explore the mediators of committing sexual harassment, but due to ignoring all male gender roles, miss out on factors that could be mediating men to not act on these actions as well. The researchers did do right, however, in exploring the social desirability. In testing sensitive subjects such as sexual harassment, researchers often ignore social desirability as a confounding variable that could have a profound impact on their data collection (Walker, Rowe, & Quinsey, 1993).

## *Priming*

Priming has been an effective means of generating short term changes in an individual's beliefs and attitudes (Kuntsman & Maner, 2002). Using a subtle peripheral route of communication researchers can change how someone responds to certain situations. These priming activities can have profound effects despite their subject matter.

Thomas and Gorzalka, 2013 were interested in how an individual's likelihood to engage in sexual coercion, which as stated is a component of sexual harassment, can be manipulated through cognitive priming (Thomas & Gorzalka, 2013). Thomas and Gorzalka were also interested in how ethnicity would impact these factors as well. 142 male university students were recruited for the study. Participants completed the Sexual Experiences Survey (Koss & Oros, 1982), which assesses sexual behaviors of the individual which ranges from consensual sexual activity to forced sex, Lamanuth's (1981) Likelihood to Rape Scale, Burt's (1980) RMA scale which assesses beliefs surrounding sexual coercion, the HTW Scale which assesses hostile attitudes and actions towards women (Check, Malamuth, Elias, & Barton, 1985), The Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000), and the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding-Version (Paulhus, 1984).

After participants completed the assessments they were split into of two conditions. One group was asked to make sentence using neutral words, while the other group was primed via completing sentences with sexually aggressive terms. After the priming task was completed participants were then introduced to a female confederate, whom they were told was participant in another study, and asked to read stories that contained sexual material in them, with the opportunity to leave the study at any point. Less than 50% of the participants read the entire story. Those that stayed were ask that if in reading the story they felt the female was

uncomfortable. Throughout the story the participant was asked to rate their comfort. The confederate was trained to act more discomfited as the story progressed.

A correlation was found between sexual coercion proclivity and the amount of the story completed. Those who were primed with sexually explicit material found the procedure more uncomfortable than those who did not. Discomfort was not related to the amount of story read directly. Discomfort only impacted the amount of story read for those who had low social coercion proclivity. In addition, individuals who were not likely to engage in sexual coercion prior to a priming were found to be likely to if prime, even to a point to where after the priming they would be just as likely to engage in sexual coercion as individuals who were highly likely to engage in sexual coercion prior to priming. Also, in confirmation with previously mentioned studies, no differences in the amount of story read were found between the two cultures (Canadian and Chinese) in the amount of story read regardless of the priming activity.

More specifically, we can see that believing one has power can be a significant influence. In this instance we refer to power as having a greater authority over someone such as being their boss, teacher, or someone who might be hiring you. The definition of power here indicates someone of a higher stature who can have an influence on one's fate be it long term or short. It does not appear that a significant amount of power must exist for this effect to take place. As (Kuntsman and Maner, 2011) explored, even overseeing a simple task can result in someone having a greater sense of power which impacts one's attitudes and beliefs.

Kuntsman and Maner (2011) were interested in how easy it can be for someone to have a sense of power. In addition, they were interested in how power alters one's perception. It has been discussed earlier that power has a great deal of influences on an individual and their actions such as lowered inhibition and greater goal seeking behaviors (Keltner et al., 2003). In studying

the impact of power the authors were testing four hypotheses. First, that power increases the expectation of sexual interest from a subordinate. Second, that this would only occur if the subordinate was an appropriate mate. Third, that this effect would only occur if the subordinate was also romantically available. Lastly, that face-to-face interactions between individuals would cause an individual in power to observe greater sexual interest and behavior from the subordinate. They believed that these hypotheses would be true due to the connection between power and goal seeking behaviors, in this case mating behavior.

Four studies were done to confirm these hypotheses. In the first study, 66 students were recruited. The experimental group participants were told they would be working with a partner, that was in a different room. The participants then completed the Achievement Motivation Scale, which they were told was a measure of ‘natural leadership ability’ and were told this scale would help determine whether they would be in charge in the next task or not. The participants were shown a picture which they were told was an image of the participant which was just an image of a confederate. The priming of power was enacted through telling the participant they scored very highly on the AMS (scoring was only pretend) and therefore would lead the team exercise. They were told that this meant they would determine how the task was done, how the reward of extra credit would be distributed, and they would be able to evaluate their partner as well. The control group was told they would work equally with their participant. Participants then completed a word completion task to measure activation of sexual goals (e.g. providing the letter string S\_X and being asked to complete the word).

In this first study it was found that participants who had been primed with power completed more sexual words than those who did not. For example, in the mentioned example above they would be more likely to write ‘sex’ instead of ‘six’ compared to the control

participants. According to the authors this meant that being in power created a motive for mating behavior, although it is not specifically clear how sexual words are immediately correlated as mating behavior.

The second experiment proceeded in a similar manner. The main difference was that after the priming task (being told they would lead the group after the AMS) they were informed they would watch a video of their confederate before completing the group task. The video was a prerecorded video of a confederate talking about life on a college campus. Participants, after the video, were then asked to describe their impressions of the individual through questions such as “I could see this person having romantic or sexual feelings for me” which were designed to measure sexual expectations. Then a few more questions were asked in order to measure general perceptions of like such as “I think this person is interested in getting to know me”. It was found that responses to both sets of questions were correlated. It was found that those who had been primed with power believed the participant had greater sexual interest in them and that they had a greater general interest in them. Interestingly, this effect did not differ between the male and female participants.

The third study wanted to see if these effects could be replicated if a greater boundary was placed between the participant and the confederate they interacted with. This tested whether attainability of a goal influenced the goal directed behavior. The process was the same as in the second study, but in this case the video of the confederate had an additional component where the confederate either stated they were engaged to be married or single and looking to meet someone. In this case, if the confederate stated they were engaged to be married the expected sexual interest that was observed in the previous study decreased. This means that if the goal is not attainable then it is unlikely to be pursued. A follow up study might want to use other

measures to see if there is a sub-population who continues to be motivated despite clear cultural barriers such as the confederate being in a relationship. The final study expanded the study by having actual face-to-face interactions. This meant that the sexual expectations would not be based on a soon to occur interaction, but an actual interaction that had occurred. Additionally, the subordinates were assessed for their interest in the participants who were given power. The participants were placed in opposite-gender dyads where the leader and subordinate were randomly assigned. They were told that they would complete a small block building task together, but that the leader would be in charge of the proceeding. The subordinates were also informed they would be evaluated after the experiment. Questions that were used in the previous studies about interest were asked after the test.

It was found that the face-to-face interaction increased the sexual perceptions that had been noticed in the experimental groups in the prior 3 studies. It was observed that power only increased sexual perceptions when the individuals had chronic sexual goals. In other words, the primes were only effective if the individual was sexually unrestricted. The study confirms the potential for sexual over perception in those primed with power. This also occurs across genders meaning that men and women both have the potential to have these observations. It was also found that sexual behavior during the face-to-face interaction increased if sexual interest was perceived, which for those primed with power, was likely the case.

The priming of power resulted in both men and women in believing that their subordinates were more interested in them. The implication of gender roles can also have a similar effect (Hundhammer & Mussweiler, 2012). When men were primed with gender normed messages, they were more likely to be assertive and domineering, in other words, more in line with their gender norms. The priming of gender norms and power may be overlying concepts as

power is often seen as a male gender norm, which might mean that if men are primed with power they may instinctively go into a more gender normed mindset.

This chapter has provided a detailed review of the existing literature related to the relevant topics being studied in this proposal. It should be clear now that while there is a great deal of information surrounding these topics there are significant holes that need to be filled and flaws in the processes that being utilized. A better attempt needs to be made to explore the interconnectivity of these topics. The following chapter will explain the proposed method of this study including the sample desired, the assessments being used and the methodology. It will also indicate any perceived risks in the data collection process as well as limitations that can be considered in advance along with means of potentially overcoming them.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODS

A gap in the literature exists in understanding the relationship between power and sexual harassment proclivity. There is also a gap in the understanding of how a priming of power can influence one's decision making. As correctional officers are often put in positions of authority and power, such as when having to give orders to inmates or having to physically restrain them, it was worth exploring whether in these moments of having to utilize their power, they may be more inclined to sexually harass due to the activated belief that they hold more power. The primary gender of correctional officers is men, whose gender norms have been shown to have associations with sexual harassment. The goal of the research was to see how male correctional officers can be influenced by a priming of power and how this may increase their likelihood to sexually harass.

#### *Primary Hypotheses:*

1. Male correctional officers who are primed to have a sense of power will have a greater sexual harassment proclivity than male correctional officers who do not have a priming of power.
2. Male correctional officers who endorsed traditional male norms will have a greater sexual harassment proclivity regardless of whether they are primed or not.
3. The priming of power will have a greater influence on male correctional officers who highly endorse the male norms of Power Over Women, Being A Playboy, and Disdain For Homosexuality. Meaning their sexual harassment proclivity will increase more than male correctional officers who do not hold those traits when primed with power.
4. Male correctional officers who have been working longer as correctional officers will be more likely to sexually harass than male correctional officers who have been working fewer years as correctional officers.

## *Participants*

368 county jails were contacted in order to recruit participants. From those 368 facilities, 308 individual responses were recorded. Of those, only 159 of the responses were utilized. This was because the other respondents did not complete a significant amount of the questions for their answers to be used for data analysis. Of the 159 participants whose data was used many were not fully complete either. There are numerous possibilities as to why participants did not fully complete the study, such as testing fatigue as the complete procedure takes about 30 minutes and no incentives were offered. Another possible explanation is that participants were uncomfortable with the subject matter being brought up in the measures as it was observed that of the participants whose data was utilized, 30% did not complete the Likelihood to Sexually Harass Measure compared to 5% who did not complete the Conformity to Masculine Norms Measure. The direct nature of the questions in the Likelihood to Sexually Harass Measure may have deterred participants from progressing. No relationships were found between demographic characteristics and fully completing the study. To address the issue of missing information in the responses used multiple imputation was used to fill in missing data for the responses that were used. The use of multiple imputation will be explained in further detail later in the chapter.

All participants were male correctional officers. All participants were from county jails. 70 of the documented participants responded to the demographic questions. Of those, 13% (9) reported having a High School diploma, 21% (15) reported having taken some college courses, 20% (14) reported having an Associate's degree, 40% (28) reported having a Bachelor's degree, and 6% (4) had a Master's degree. 4% (3) reported being African-American, 84% (59) identified as Caucasian, 4% (3) reported being Hispanic, 3% (2) reported being mixed or multi-cultural, and 3 did not respond. Ages ranged from 24 to 55 with an average age of 38. 69 of the

respondents identified as heterosexual and one did not respond. Years of experience ranged from 1 to 31 years with an average of 12.4 years of experience. 50% (35) reported working in an urban environment, 30% (21) reported working in a suburban environment, 14% (10) reported working in a rural environment, and four did not respond. National statistics regarding correctional officers are limited which makes statements regarding the generalizability of this data difficult. In looking at other studies that collected data from county jails, some similar findings were found (Cook & Lane, 2014). In looking at county facilities in exclusively Florida, Cook and Lane (2014) found a similar percentage of their correctional officers were Caucasian, and that a similar percentage of correctional officers had a high school or equivalent diploma, some college experience, or an associate's degree. Cook and Lane additionally found a similar age range as the current study's with a relatively similar average age. While this is only one other study it lends some credence to the generalizability of this sample to the correctional officer population. A more significant response set would have been better able to make a conclusion about the generalizability about the findings. Previous research regarding the priming of power in relation to sexual harassment has found effect sizes in the small to medium range which was anticipated in this study, especially since it is unexpected that power is the only predictor of sexual harassment proclivity.

It was hypothesized that a small effect size would be found. Historically, psychological research tends to find small effect size and only occasionally medium effect sizes (Cohen, 1977). After data collection was completed it became apparent that there were not enough participants, as recommended by Cohen (1992) to detect small effect sizes in any of the studies. Due to challenges in the recruitment process it was determined that it would not be likely that this could be corrected. The proposed statistical analyses were still conducted.

## *Measures*

*Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory* (CMNI: Mahalik, Locke, Ludlow, Diemer, Scott, Gottfried, & Freitas, 2003) The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI) is a 94-item questionnaire that measures adherence to masculine norms across 11 different domains which are winning, emotional control, risk taking, violence, power over women, dominance, playboy, self-reliance, primacy of work, disdain for homosexuality, and pursuit of status (Mahalik, et al., 2003). Participants are asked to respond to each item via a four point likert scale with how much they agree or disagree with a statement with 1 being strongly disagree and 4 being strongly agree. Items include “It is best to keep your emotions hidden”, “If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners”, and “I like fighting”.

The 11 factors of the CMNI were found to account for 44% of the common variance among individuals taking the test, meaning that items on the test were primarily loading into one factor and not measuring multiple traits. The factors were also found to have internal consistency with coefficient alpha score of .94, meaning items were consistently measuring a specific factor. Additionally, relationships among the subscales were low, and scores were stable over time with a total test-retest coefficient of .95. In other words, the CMNI is a reliable measure of adherence to male norms. Convergent validity was determined by comparing results on the CMNI and the Gender Role Conflict Scale and the Brannon Masculinity Scale-Short Form (Brannon & Juni, 1984). Content validity was determined by volunteers being able to correctly identify which of the items loaded into each male norm.

*The Likelihood to Sexually Harass Measure* (LSH: Proyr, 1987) The Likelihood to Sexually Harass Measure is a ten-item assessment that assesses an individual’s likelihood to engage in sexual harassment. The participants were presented with ten different scenarios in which they

were in a position of power. In these situations, participants had the ability to take advantage of an individual, coercing them into giving a sexual favor in exchange for something. An example scenario reads

Imagine that you are an executive in a large corporation. You are 42 years old. Your income is above average for people at your job level. You have had numerous job offers from other companies. You feel very secure in your job. One day your personal secretary decides to quit her job and you have the task of replacing her. The personnel department sends several applicants over for you to interview. All seem to be equally qualified for the job. One of the applicants, Michelle S., explains during her interview that she desperately needs the job. She is 23 years old, single and has been job hunting for about a month. You find yourself very attracted to her. She looks at you in a way that possibly conveys she is also attracted to you. How likely are you to do the following things in this situation?

After participants read the scenario they were asked on a scale from one to five, one being not at all likely and five being very likely, how likely they would help the individual (in this instance give the person the job), give them something in exchange for a sexual favor, or invite them to dinner to discuss the matter further. The only response that is observed in data analysis is the one related to sexual activities. In developing the LSH only one factor was observed, accounting for 68% of the possible variance indicating that the measure was consistently measuring what it is designed to measure and not measuring any other traits. Convergent validity was observed as individuals who responded as having high sexual harassment proclivity also highly endorsed higher likelihood of rape of Malamuth's (1981) Likelihood of Rape Scale, and highly endorsed adversarial sexual beliefs that were explored in

Burt's (1980) Six Attitude/Belief Scales. Discriminant validity was observed as participants who higher endorse of sexual harassment proclivity endorsed lower feminist attitudes. Predictive and behavioral validity were observed during the construction of this assessment as well. Men were tasked with teaching a female confederate how to putt. Men who highly endorsed sexual harassment proclivity were more likely to touch the female confederate in a sexual manner than men who had low endorsement of sexual harassment proclivity.

*Demographic Questionnaire.* Participants were asked to identify their age, race, sexual orientation, and how many years the individual has worked as a correctional officer.

### *Procedures*

Participants were recruited exclusively online. Administrators of county jails and county sheriffs were contacted via e-mail and telephone. Facilities were contacted in all fifty states. A dialogue was established with the contact person explaining the nature of the study and enquiring whether they would feel comfortable allowing their staff to participate. This was done in order to build rapport as well as be direct about the intentions of the research. County sheriffs who were contacted would forward the request to the administrator of the county jail. If the administrator agreed to let their staff participate this researcher would either e-mail the staff of the facility, or more commonly, they would forward the recruitment letter to their male correctional staff.

Correctional officers were provided a link to a survey that was placed on Qualtrix, a data collecting program hosted by the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. This allowed for data to be collected at far away facilities without the writer having to be present for data collection. When participants began the survey they were first presented with a consent page which described a component of the intention of the study. The participants were informed that the

researchers were interested in how difficult decision making could be impacted by the influence of power. It also explained that the study would take about 30 to 40 minutes, that no potential risks were anticipated in completing the study and how to contact the researcher if desired. They had to check a checkbox to indicate they have read the form and agreed to participate. Once the box was checked they were able to proceed to the study. Qualtrix was then programmed to send participants through either one of two scenarios; half of the participants would complete the study receiving a priming of power and half would receive a control condition. Qualtrix was programmed to ensure that each scenario was being evenly distributed to participants. For participants who received the prime they first completed the CMNI, then were given a priming task of writing about a time at work in which they had to use power over someone. The scenario read

Please recall a particular incident in which you had power over another individual or individuals. By power, we mean a situation in which you controlled the ability of another person or persons to get something they wanted, or were in a position to evaluate those individuals. Please describe this situation in which you had power what happened, how you felt, etc. Please refrain from including names or anything that would specifically identify yourself or other individuals.

This was a successful way of priming power as described by Galinsky, et al., (2003). This group of participants, after the prime, completed the LSH followed by the demographic questions that were indicated previously. Participants in the control variable completed the LSH first then were presented with a neutral non-priming task which read “Please recall a time that you spent with family. Describe the situation and what happened during this time, how you felt, etc.” After this task this group of participants completed the CMNI followed by the same

demographic questions. The order for the control group was changed to ensure that the CMNI did not inadvertently act as a prime for when the participants completed the LSH. For both groups, after completing the demographic questions they were led to a debriefing page which explained the full nature of the study.

Since the data collection was done primarily online the hope was that data collection would be able to proceed quickly after IRB approval. Since the study was completed online there were no timeline limitations. The goal was to have data collection completed by the middle of Spring 2016. Due to difficulties in recruitment data collection was completed in Winter 2016.

### *Research Design*

The study was Experimental. There were two conditions for the independent variable. The conditions were whether participants received a priming of power or not. Half of the participants received a priming of power while the other half was in a control variable and did not receive a prime. The dependent variable was the participant's sexual harassment proclivity as measured on the Likelihood to Sexually Harass Measure (Pryor, 1987) which measured sexual harassment proclivity based on presented scenarios.

This study first hypothesized that a male correctional officer who is primed to have a sense of power will have a greater sexual harassment proclivity than male correctional officers who do not have a priming of power. To address this hypothesis a correlation analysis was conducted, which is a means of measuring the relationship between two variables (Sapp, 2006; Hepner, Wampold, & Kivligan, 2008). A Pearson's R was calculated to assess a relationship between the omnibus CMNI scores and LSH scores. Additionally, a Pearson's R was calculated to assess the relationship between the LSH score and each individual factor within the CMNI.

The null hypothesis for this research question was that there would be no relationship between the traditional male norms and sexual harassment proclivity ( $H_0: r=0$ ) while the alternative hypothesis was that there is a relationship between male norms and sexual harassment proclivity ( $H_1: 1.00 \geq r \leq -1.00$ ). Not all participants completed the priming process, and it was not always possible to determine whether a participant received a prime or not. 69 participants could be used for this part of the study. 35 received a prime, and 34 received a control variable. Cohen (1992) recommends a sample of 393 participants, per group. This was not possible due to challenges in recruitment. It was possible, however, to detect a large effect size as Cohen (1992) only recommends a sample of 26 per group to do so.

Second, it was hypothesized that male correctional officers who endorsed traditional male norms gender norms will have a greater sexual harassment proclivity regardless of whether they are primed or not. The null hypothesis for the research question is that there are no significant differences found in the sexual harassment proclivity regardless if any traditional male norms are endorsed or not ( $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$ ). The alternative hypothesis was that endorsement of traditional male norms impacts sexual harassment proclivity ( $H_1: \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$ ). The third hypothesis was tested simultaneously. The priming of power will have a greater influence on male correctional officers who highly endorse the male norms of Power Over Women, Being A Playboy, and Disdain For Homosexuality, meaning their sexual harassment proclivity will increase more when primed with power than men who do not hold those traits. The difference between the sexual harassment proclivity ratings of male correctional officers who highly endorsed these norms and were primed to have a feeling of power versus male correctional officers who did not endorse these norms and were primed to have a feeling of power was assessed. The null hypothesis for this assessment was that no significant differences would be found in the effectiveness of the prime

regardless of whether a norm was endorsed or not ( $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$ ). The alternative hypothesis was that the sexual harassment proclivity ratings between these two groups would be significantly different from each other indicating an interaction between the male norms being tested and the priming of power ( $H_1: \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$ ). Not all participants completed the priming process, and it was not always possible to determine whether a participant received a prime or not. 69 participants could be used for this part of the study. 35 received a prime, and 34 received a control variable. Cohen (1992) recommends a sample of 393 participants, per group, for comparing two groups as was done here. This was not possible due to challenges in recruitment. It was possible, however, to detect a large effect size as Cohen (1992) only recommends a sample of 26 to do so.

A 2x2 univariate ANOVA was calculated for each male norm to determine whether the endorsement of any of these norms impacted the influence of the prime. An ANOVA is used to determine if differences exist between different factors to an extent greater than one would anticipate by chance and random occurrence (Sapp, 2006). In order to conduct the 2x2 analysis the male norms had to be divided into two groups based on whether the responses were above or below the median (Iacobucci, Posavac, Kardes, Schneider, & Popvich, 2015). To do this a median split was conducted on each male norm meaning each norm was split into a group of high endorsement and a group of low endorsement. The 2x2 ANOVA was comparing the primed and non-primed group with high endorsement and low endorsement of each norm. Not all participants completed the priming process, and it was not always possible to determine whether a participant received a prime or not. 69 participants could be used for this part of the study. 35 received a prime, and 34 received a control variable. As there were four groups, high norm adherence with prime, high norm adherence no prime, low norm adherence with prime, and low norm adherence without prime the 69 participants were split between the four groups.

Participants were split near evenly between prime and no prime, with the priming group having one more participant. For an ANOVA with four groups Cohen (1992) recommends having 274 participants per cell. This was not possible due to challenges in recruitment.

Additionally, A Person's R correlation was calculated to explore the relationship between each traditional male norm and sexual harassment proclivity. The Pearson's R was calculated see if there was a correlation between any of the traditional male norms and sexual harassment proclivity. Cohen recommends a sample of 783 for a Pearson's R calculation with a small effect size. This was not possible due to challenges in recruitment. It was possible, however, to detect a large effect size as Cohen (1992) only recommends a sample of 28 participants per group to do so.

Finally, to address the last hypothesis about whether the amount of years served as a correctional officer increases one's sexual harassment proclivity a correlational analysis was conducted. A Pearson's R correlation was calculated. The null hypothesis was that sexual harassment proclivity does not change based on the number of years an individual has been a correctional officer ( $H_0: r=0$ ), while the alternative hypothesis was that sexual harassment proclivity will increase the more years an individual has been a correctional officer ( $H_1: 1.00 \geq r \leq -1.00$ ). We predicted that there would be a positive correlation, meaning that as the amount of years served increased so did sexual harassment proclivity. Cohen recommends a sample of 783 for a Pearson's R calculation with a small effect size. This was not possible due to challenges in recruitment. Only 66 participants provided the amount of years of experience they had. It was possible, however, to detect a large effect size as Cohen (1992) only recommends a sample of 28 to do so.

One concern that arose was that of social desirability, meaning responding in a way that presents an individual in a more positive light (Nederhof, 1985). Social desirability can have wide varying impacts on participant responses with Nederhof (1985) citing studies that social desirability can impact anywhere from 10%-75% of the variance of responses. There was a strong desire to reduce the potential of social desirability impacting responses.

As this study pertained to sexual harassment, there was the inherent risk that participants would be less likely to endorse sexual harassment proclivity as it is typically viewed as a negative behavior. Previous studies that have explored the topics of sexual violence proclivity have shown that while social desirability may have some influence on responses, the influence is not particularly strong or that there is no relationship between social desirability and sexual harassment or other forms sexual violence (Malamuth, 1989) (Begany & Milburn, 2002).

Regardless, to help reduce any potential risk of social desirability impacting responses, efforts were made at reducing the potential of social desirability. These included not revealing the explicit nature of the study until the end of the study, in order to reduce initial speculation of participants, and reiterating during the recruitment and consent stages of the study that the study was completely anonymous and voluntary. Additionally, the removal of an in-person proctor may have also reduced fears of judgment from the persona administering the study (Tan & Grace, 2008). The hope was that this would reduce the social desirability of responses.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

#### *Missing Data Replacement*

Before formal analysis of the data could be conducted the issue of missing responses needed to be addressed. There are numerous means of addressing missing data. A common method of doing so is deleting participants whose data was incomplete, methods such as these are called pairwise or singlewise deletion (Newman, 2014). Singlewise deletion was not used as a majority of the responses would not have been useable as they had at least a few missing responses. Single imputation methods, such as mean replacement where the average response on an item is used to fill in all missing responses, were considered. Due to about 30% of participants not completing the Likelihood to Sexually Harass measure it is possible that data was not missing completely at random, which with single imputation could lead to increased bias in the interpretation of the results. For example, relationships between factors may be more likely to appear when is not the case (Newman, 2014), due to decreased standard error from the homogeneity of responses that can be created by single imputation. Multiple imputation was used to fill in the missing data as a means of avoiding the concerns generated by single imputation and pairwise deletion (Graham, 2008).

Multiple imputation is a means of creating unbiased complete data sets by taking numerous guesses as to what the missing data may have been (Rubin, 1987). With single imputation there tends to be a specific rule that the imputed data adheres to, such as mean replacement (Graham, 2008). When there are large amounts of missing data the mean that is observed can be skewed and be more prone to error. With multiple imputation a single rule is not used to replace missing data, and therefore a wider range of data can be imputed into each set. This provides the researcher with numerous data sets.. The results of these analyses are then

pooled together. This pooled data helps limit the standard error and variance found within each data set and helps homogenize the data and create a more accurate picture of the results than what may be seen through a single imputation (Allison, 2001). The use of multiple data sets that are then pooled helps reduce the potential for bias that may occur from using only one imputed data set.

In determining the appropriateness from multiple imputation, Little's MCAR (Missing Completely at Random) test was done to determine if the data was missing at random. With a significance result of  $=.937$  we failed to reject the null hypothesis that the data was not missing at random. Therefore, it was concluded that the data was missing at random. This being stated, it was apparent from observing the data that far more participants were simply not completing questions on the Likelihood to Sexually Harass Scale (about 30%) compared the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (~5%). It is likely that data was both partially missing completely at random and not at random. Based on the results of Little's MCAR test, however, it was determined that multiple imputation could be used for this analysis. Statistical researchers have argued that creating between five to ten data sets is sufficient for multiple imputation (Widaman, 2006). Five data sets were created.

### *Research Question 2: Correlation Between Traditional Male Norms and Sexual Harassment*

#### *Proclivity*

Table 1 shows means, standard errors, and zero-order correlations for the 11 male norms along with sexual harassment proclivity. Cronbach's alpha was calculated for both the CMNI and LSH to determine internal consistency and intercorrelations Both tests showed significant internal consistency with the CMNI having an  $\alpha=.76$  and the LSH having an  $\alpha=.9056$ . Research Question 2 asked which male norms, as defined by Mahalik et al. (2003), promote sexual

harassment proclivity and which lower proclivity in male correctional officers. It was hypothesized that male correctional officers who strongly endorse traditional male norms (such as Male Social Dominance, Aggressive Behaviors, Power Over Women, and having a ‘Playboy’ personality) will have a greater sexual harassment proclivity regardless of whether they are primed or not. Correlations were found between some male norms and sexual harassment proclivity. Only Having a Playboy Personality (.179) and Seeking Dominance Over Others (.338) were correlated with sexual harassment proclivity. As they are positive correlations this suggests that as male correctional officers endorse these norms they more likely to endorse sexual harassment proclivity. It should be noted the additional correlational analyses were done incidentally. It was later determined that these analyses were redundant when linear regression analyses were being completed as well.

Table 1  
Intercorrelations and Descriptive Statistics for Measured Variables

Variable	Mean	SE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Likelihood to Sexual Harass	12.366	0.40208	-	0.027	0.089	0.107	-0.022	0.072	.338**	.179*	0.117	-0.016	0.027	-1.12	0.123
2. Winning	104.0805	0.18957		-	.308**	.335**	.243**	.187*	.257**	.285**	0.092	.313**	.249**	0.14	.568**
3. Emotional Control	114.5333	0.19924			-	.596**	.315**	.469**	0.011	.373**	.242*	.329**	.314**	.205*	.693**
4. Risk Taking	112.7195	0.16794				-	.369**	.472**	.282**	.428**	.397**	.322**	.264**	.189*	.745**
5. Violence	82.6063	0.15954					-	.253**	-0.113	.279**	.212*	.329**	0.115	.439**	.641**
6. Power Over Women	94.0767	0.16601						-	0.151	.357**	.288**	.319**	.280**	.210*	.299**
7. Dominance	42.1069	0.13584							-	.194*	0.073	0.099	.254**	-.275**	.657**
8. Playboy	124.7874	0.21681								-	.320**	.307**	.237**	0.114	.481**
9. Self-Reliance	62.2969	0.12431									-	0.154	0.136	.320**	.593**
10. Primacy of Work	83.9371	0.16886										-	.321**	0.153	0.554
11. Disdain For Homosexuality	104.4025	0.20546											-	0.123	.405**
12. Pursuit of Status	62.3937	0.14964												-	
13. CMNI Total Score	987.9409	1.05815													-
N=159															
*P<.05. **P<.01															

Linear Regressions were completed, using the pooled data calculated from multiple imputation and with Harel’s (2009) formula for calculating R<sup>2</sup> for multiply imputed data, on each norm in order to further explore potential relationships between norm adherence and sexual

harassment proclivity. All 159 participants' responses were used to answer this research question. Cohen recommends a sample of 783 for a Pearson's R calculation with a small effect size. This was not possible due to challenges in recruitment. It was possible, however, to detect a large effect size as Cohen (1992) only recommends a sample of 28 to do so. Just as with the correlations, only Having a Playboy Personality  $R^2=.0324$  [ $F(1, 157) = 5.2196, p=.0237$ ] and Seeking Dominance  $R^2= .123$  [ $F(1, 157) = 20.454, p<.0001$ ] were found to have a significant relationship with sexual harassment proclivity. This partially rejects the null hypothesis, and suggests that male correctional officers who want to dominate others or have a 'playboy' personality are more likely to sexually harass someone compared to me who do not endorse these beliefs.

#### *Research Question 1: Impact of Priming of Power on Sexual Harassment Proclivity*

Previous research has suggested that maintenance of power over others is a main motivator for engaging in sexual harassment (Conroy,2013). In order determine whether this would impact the sexual harassment proclivity of male correctional officers, half the participants were primed to have a feeling of power while the other half completed a neutral non-priming activity. Their responses to the Likelihood To Sexually Harass Measure were also recorded. Research question 1 asked if a short term priming of power can increase the sexual harassment proclivity of male correctional officers. It was hypothesized that receiving a priming of power would increase a male correctional officer's proclivity for sexual harassment. A one-way between-subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of a priming of power on sexual harassment proclivity on male correctional officers. Not all participants completed the priming process, and it was not always possible to determine whether a participant received a prime or not. 69 participants could be used for this part of the study. 35 received a prime, and 34

received a control variable. Cohen (1992) recommends a sample of 393 participants, per group, for comparing two groups as was done here. This was not possible due to challenges in recruitment. It was possible, however, to detect a large effect size as Cohen (1992) only recommends a sample of 26 to do so. An analysis of the main effect of the pooled resulted showed that a priming of power had no significant effect on sexual harassment proclivity [ $F(1, 63) = .03, p=.967$ ]. This means that being given a short term feeling of power did not impact the likelihood to engage in sexual harassment of male correctional officers.

*Research Question 3: How Adherence to Traditional Male Norms Impacts The Influence of Priming of Power.*

Research question 3 asked if whether male correctional officers who highly endorse the male norms of Power Over Women, Being A Playboy, and Disdain For Homosexuality will be more susceptible to the effect of a priming of power, meaning their sexual harassment proclivity will increase more than men who do not hold those traits when primed with power. It was hypothesized that these traits would be associated with the priming of power, specifically coinciding with an individual's self-concept (DeMarree, Petty, & Brinol, 2007) and therefore be more likely to be influenced by the priming of powers. A 2x2 ANOVA, using the pooled data from each male norm of the CMNI, was completed to answer this question. The 2x2 ANOVA compared high endorsement of male norms versus low endorse along with receiving a priming of power versus not receiving a priming of power. To create the two dichotomous groups of high and low endorsement of each male norm, a median split was conducted. A median split takes a continuous variable and turns it into a categorical variable. The median split procedure took the responses for each male norm and converted each into high endorsement or low endorsement groups based on whether the level of response was above or below the median score for

participants. Not all participants completed the priming process, and it was not always possible to determine whether a participant received a prime or not. 69 participants could be used for this part of the study. 35 received a prime, and 34 received a control variable. As there were four groups, high norm adherence with prime, high norm adherence no prime, low norm adherence with prime, and low norm adherence without prime the 69 participants were split between the four groups. Participants were split near evenly between prime and no prime, with the priming group having one more participant. For an ANOVA with four groups Cohen (1992) recommends having 274 participants per cell. This was not possible due to challenges in recruitment.

No relationships were found between any of the male norms and the priming activity, meaning individuals who reported a stronger adherence to a male norm were not significantly more impacted by the prime and therefore did not endorse sexual harassment proclivity at a higher rate than those who did not report stronger adherence to a male norm and received a priming of power. After it was observed that the initial three norms did not impact the influence of the priming of power, all the male norms as defined by Mahalik and colleagues (2013) were tested.

No relationships were found between the prime and the male norms of Winning [ $F(1, 61) = .1029, p=.9581$ ], Emotional Control [ $F(1, 62) = .6094, p=.6114$ ], Risk Taking [ $F(1, 62) = .6311, p=.5977$ ], Violence [ $F(1, 62) = .5352, p=.6598$ ], Power Over Women [ $F(1, 63) = 1.07, p=.3683$ ], Dominance [ $F(1, 61) = .1029, p=.9581$ ], Having a Playboy Personality [ $F(1, 62) = 1.3840, p=.2559$ ], Self-Reliance [ $F(1, 62) = .2570, p=.8560$ ], Pursuit of Status [ $F(1, 62) = .2391, p=.8667$ ], and Disdain for Homosexuals [ $F(1, 63) = .5672, p=.6386$ ]. Regardless of any male norms adhered to, one is not likely to be more influenced by a priming of power. Additionally,

regardless of the traditional male norms a male correctional officer adheres to, the priming of power did not increase one's likelihood to sexually harass.

*Research Question 4: Impact of Years Served on Likelihood to Sexually Harass*

Haney et al. (1973) and Kercher and Martin (1975) both observed that the more years a correctional officer serves the more emotionally callous they may become as well as more likely to exhibit aggressive behaviors. Because of this, it was hypothesized that this may also apply to their beliefs related to sexual harassment due to the links found between aggression and sexual misconduct (D'Abreu & Krahe, 2014). Research Question 4 asked if the length of time served as correctional officer impacted likelihood to sexually harass. It was hypothesized that the more years one has served as a correctional officer, the more likely they were to endorse sexual harassment proclivity. A linear regression was completed to determine this. Cohen recommends a sample of 783 for a Pearson's R calculation with a small effect size. This was not possible due to challenges in recruitment. Only 66 participants provided the amount of years of experience they had. It was possible, however, to detect a large effect size as Cohen (1992) only recommends a sample of 28 to do so. It was found that there was no relationship between years served and sexual harassment proclivity  $R^2=.1286$  [ $F(1,50) = 2.55$   $p=.1157$ ]. This means that the amount of years one works as a correctional officer is not going to impact their likelihood to sexually harass.

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

This chapter will begin with an overview of the purpose of the current study. Afterwards, the results will be explored in relation to the current literature. Limitations of the study will be discussed followed by potential implications of the results as well as considerations for future research.

The purpose of the current study was to explore the relationship between power and sexual harassment, primarily whether a short term priming of power could increase sexual harassment proclivity in a sample of male correctional officers. In addition, it was explored whether adherence to traditional male norms would impact a male correctional officer's likelihood to be influenced by a priming of power and also how adherence to traditional male norms would impact a male correctional officer's sexual harassment proclivity. Lastly the relationship between years served as a correctional officer and sexual harassment proclivity was explored as well.

The data did not support the hypothesis that the priming of power would increase sexual harassment proclivity in male correctional officers, as was proven through a one-way ANOVA. There are numerous explanations as to why this occurred. It is possible that the priming task utilized was insufficient in priming the participants to have a sense of power. It is also possible that the lower than anticipated number of participants in the study impacted the statistical power and standard error of the data set. It is also likely that participants purposefully responded in a manner that they thought would make themselves appear in a positive light rather than truthfully, a phenomenon called social desirability bias (Nederhof, 1985) (Cohen 1992). This is not an uncommon occurrence when participants are asked questions about sensitive topics. The

questions related to sexual harassment, in general, were less responded to than questions about male norms, with about 30% of respondents completely skipping or not answering the majority of the questions in the LSH and about 5% of respondents not completing or not answering the majority of the questions in the CMNI. This could be seen as additional proof that the topic of sexual harassment made the participants feel uncomfortable and deterred them from responding. Another possibility, is that previous research that suggests correctional officers have tendency to be aggressive and engage in deviant behaviors such as sexual harassment (Worley & Worley, 2009) are not consistent with actual attitudes, beliefs, and actions. Rather, research that suggests correctional officers may be more progressive and are only somewhat punitive (Cook & Lane, 2014) may be more accurate. Additionally, while the work environment of male correctional officers may promote beliefs and attitudes that are similar of traditional male norms, the actual attitudes of correctional officers may not be as similar to the general public as initially presumed. In other words, while the two groups may hold similarities, some norms such as Having a Playboy Personality, may not be attitudes held by male correctional officers. The unique traits they hold may not be well understood or recognized in the research literature. This can be seen as further evidence that the picture of the culture and attitudes of male correctional officers is not clear.

Previous research has shown that individuals can be primed to engage in deviant behaviors (Bargh, et al., 1996). It was hypothesized that the priming of power would increase the participant's sexual harassment. Research by Smeesters, et al. (2009) may help explain the lack of relationship between priming of power and sexual harassment proclivity. In their research they found that participants who had a stronger orientation to their social values were less susceptible to primes as they were more likely to remain consistent with their attitudes and

not be as easily influenced by primes. Because of this, it is possible that the prime was not strong enough to overcome the participant's negative beliefs about sexual harassment or their desire to respond in a socially desirable way. Although the priming of power may have been congruent with their position as someone who has power and authority (Ross, 2013) it still may have been insufficient to overcome currently held beliefs that sexual harassment is wrong and their desire to engage in socially desirable behavior.

It was hypothesized that if male correctional officers adhered to traditional male norms as identified by the CMNI, (e.g. Dominance, Aggressive Behaviors, Power Over Women, and having a 'Playboy' personality) they would have a higher sexual harassment proclivity, regardless of whether they were primed to believe they have power or not. Through the use of linear regression analyses, this hypothesis was found to be partially true, as the norms of Dominance and having a Playboy personality were found to have significant positive correlations with sexual harassment proclivity, while the other norms were not. This may support the initial idea that power and sexual harassment proclivity are related as the questions that load into the norm of Dominance have strong indications of holding authority over others which is a form of power (e.g. I am comfortable trying to get my way). In other words, this may support the Feminist Theory that sexual harassment is a means of maintaining power (Conroy, 2013) or ideas promoted by Pryor and Stoller (1994) that men who are more likely to engage in sexual harassment may mentally connect ideas about social dominance and sexuality. Another possibility is that the norm of seeking dominance is related to power, and allows individuals to engage in "goal oriented" behavior regardless of the consequence (Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003); the goal being to obtain some form of sexual gratification.

It was additionally hypothesized that male correctional officers who highly endorse the norms of Power Over Women, Being A Playboy, and Disdain for Homosexuality would be more susceptible to the effect of the priming of power, meaning their sexual harassment proclivity would increase more than male correctional officers who do not hold those traits when primed with power. Using 2x2 one-way ANOVA's showed that adhering to any traditional male norm did not influence the impact of the prime. This is partially explained by the significant lack of impact the priming activity had on sexual harassment proclivity as well as not observing any changes in sexual harassment proclivity scores when accounting for highly endorsing the previously mentioned norms. As mentioned, issues related to social desirability and effectiveness of the prime may partially explain the lack of findings related to this research question. It was believed that traditional male norms would make men more susceptible to the prime as it would coincide with their self-concept (Smeesters, et al., 2009, Yzerby, et al., 2009), but this was not found to be the case.

A possible explanation for why no findings were found is that the Likelihood to Sexually Harass worked as its own type of prime, which activated a belief that sexual harassment is wrong or that they may want to respond in a socially desirable way (Dijksterhuis & Van Knippenberg, 2000). This may have overridden any impact the priming of power had as when they read the content of the LSH, which is rather direct about its subject matter, they felt a stronger desire to respond in a socially appropriate manner as opposed to what the priming had activated. In other words, the presentation of the scenarios in the LSH may have mediated the relationship between the prime and sexual harassment proclivity (Smeesters, Wheeler, & Kay, 2009). The significantly higher non-response rate of LSH questions (30%) versus the CMNI (5%) may be a further indication of this fact.

Lastly, it was hypothesized that the amount of years served as a correctional officer would increase one's sexual harassment proclivity. This was based on research found by Kercher and Martin (1975) and Haney et al. (1973) who noted that officers who had been working longer were more likely to be more aggressive towards inmates and more emotionally callous. It was believed that these traits may also make an individual more inclined to engage in sexual harassment. The data did not support this hypothesis either. There are a few possibilities for why these results emerged. First, it is possible that there is genuinely no relationship between the two factors, although it is worth noting that the significance value observed ( $p=.1157$ ) was not far from rejecting the null hypothesis, and due to smaller than desired sample, a small effect size may have existed, but not been detected. It is also possible that factors such as social desirability, or the sample collected impacted the study. Another consideration is that due to the age of the previous research, attitudes among senior correctional officers have changed, the occupational culture and environment of correctional officers no longer promotes these types of attitudes and behaviors, or correctional facilities do a better job of weeding out problematic staff before they can engage in deviant behavior.

#### *Challenges in Participant Recruitment*

In collecting data for this dissertation there were challenges which were not expected, and as a result the amount of participants initially proposed were not obtained. This section will explore some of the reasons this may have occurred. These challenges, however, generated valuable information as to how to potentially better conduct research with county jail correctional officers in the future. In contacting county jails for recruitment, many jails would not respond to e-mails or phone-calls for requests for assistance in participation. In addition, some facilities did not have contact information for administrative staff readily available. For

some counties, the sheriff had to be contacted who would then refer the writer to the jail administrator if they felt it appropriate. In a few instances the jail administrator would refer to a lieutenant who oversaw staff. These added an additional and unexpected layer of gate-keeping.

When considering the gate keeping of supervisory staff or a county sheriff, it is not surprising that data collection became significantly challenging. The administrators could prevent any of their staff from participating as they were the initial point of contact and the ones typically disseminating the study. This would prevent any potentially willing participant from receiving or completing the study. It is uncertain how many potential participants from all the contacted jails and detention centers there may have been due to this.

Jail administrators that did respond would frequently refuse to participate in the study. Reported reasons included feeling uncomfortable about the subject matter, not wanting to disseminate any research studies to staff, or they were currently participating in a different research study. If a facility did agree to disseminate the study the response rate was often low with typically less than five individuals attempting the survey per site. Fewer than half of the sites agreed to participate.

Of the recorded responses collected, many were incomplete, either missing random responses or not completing whole sections of the study, such as not completing the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory. Due to this, many responses did not have sufficient responses (such as having only one or two responses recorded) or had no responses to questions at all and could not be utilized. A few explanations can be considered for this pattern of response. First of all, it is possible that response issues came in the form of completing the study. Some questions were randomly skipped unintentionally. It is not uncommon for participants to skip questions when completing longer studies with numerous questions. Additionally, as the study was

completed online, user error may have contributed to this and participants may have been uncertain as to how to complete the study online correctly. Some participants may have also potentially stopped completing the study due to it taking too long (test fatigue) or losing interest.

One other possible reason for the lack of response is the sub-culture of correctional officers. A sub-culture is an organization that shares “Beliefs, attitudes, values, and norms” (Cochran & Bromley, 2003) (Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985). Research has shown the correctional officer sub-culture to be speculative of outside individuals and protective of their own. In other words, potential participants may have viewed attempts at recruitment as hostile or malicious, especially once it was clear that questions about sexual harassment proclivity were being asked. Participants may have felt that this study was designed to make correctional officers look bad. As it was trying to associate them as being likely to sexually harass staff and inmates or likely to abuse their power. As the public and self-image of correctional officers is relatively poor in comparison to other types of law enforcement, they may have feared perceived attempts at worsening their image.

It is possible that the content of the Likelihood to Sexually Harass measure was upsetting to participants. The Likelihood to Sexually Harass Measure has a rather direct line of questioning which may discourage answers that are reflective of an individual’s genuine beliefs and instead encourage participants to respond in a more socially desirable way. While the anonymity of responses was emphasized it is possible that participants did not believe this to be the case. The direct subject matter of the LSH may have discouraged participants not only from responding in a socially desirable way, but from responding at all. Participants may have feared that the results may have been used to chastise or condemn correctional officers and therefore chose not to respond in order to protect their image and that of their fellow officers.

Previous researchers doing research on correctional officers have had challenges in recruiting participants. Cook and Lane (2014) for example, when conducting a study on professional orientation among jail correctional officers, had a response rate of 32.4%. As a means of circumventing these challenges during this study it was initially proposed that professional affiliations would be used to more quickly recruit participants. The idea was that having personal or professional connections with the staff being recruited would reduce potential skepticism and fear of the data being used to present correctional officers in a malicious light. This would reduce resistance from correctional staff and potentially encourage them to participate in the study.

Due to unexpected circumstances these affiliations became significantly limited early in the data collection process. The initial contact person for other county jails was unable to assist in the recruiting process, reducing the number of county jails with personal affiliations that could be contacted to four. It became apparent that these four facilities would not be sufficient in completing the data collection process as it was not anticipated all male staff would participate, and due to the smaller nature of these county jails. As data collection proceeded beyond these personal connections, response rates from administrators and participants dropped quickly. It became increasingly apparent that it would take significantly more time and effort to collect the proposed 200 participants than initially anticipated. Even after reaching out to nearly 400 county jails an insufficient number of responses were recorded.

As mentioned, correctional officers in county jails have an incredibly demanding occupation. They are often overworked and face a significant number of occupational stressors and hazards. It is likely that participants may have felt that they are already too preoccupied with their duties to complete a forty-minute study. While some administrators contacted stated they

were allowing officers to complete the study while on duty, others noted that officers had to complete the study on their own time. It is highly possible that participants were not going to be willing to participate in the study on their own time, for an individual they did not know, and without any incentive. In other words, motivation was low for the correctional officers recruited to complete the study.

### *Challenges Conducting Sexual Harassment Research*

Research surrounding sexual harassment or any form of sexual violence has its own set of challenges as well. Recruitment for studies related to sexual harassment are often done with university students. While not atypical in psychological research in general, this likely eases the recruitment process. A researcher can more easily access a large pool of participants in this manner, for example Carr and VanDeusen (2004) were provided a list of men in fraternities from their university registrar. The reduction in gate keeping makes for quicker, easier, and less resistant data collection.

To encourage participation, many researchers may offer extra credit (Berdahl, 2007) to participate in research studies, make it a requirement for a class, or provide financial incentive (Carr & VanDeusen, 2004) (Malamuth, 1989). It also does not appear uncommon for studies to use smaller sample sizes due to challenges collecting participants with some studies having as few as 20 participants (Carr & VanDeusen, 2004). This is despite the potentially large recruitment pool researchers may have access to. It appears researchers have challenges in recruiting participants for research related to sexual violence even a convenient sample pool is available. These small samples have led to studies with low statistical power (Tan & Grace, 2008).

The topic of sexual violence is an uncomfortable topic to discuss. Asking participants to share their beliefs about the topic is even more challenging. Despite claims that a study is confidential, it would not be surprising for a participant to be worry that their results would be revealed or used against them. This may be especially true for individuals who are not familiar with conducting research and do not how data is handled once collected. This may be a difficult burden to overcome regardless of efforts to encourage and incentivize participation.

This wariness of participating in research related to sexual harassment was visible when communicating with jail administrators and captains. Initial willingness to share the study with their staff often fizzled when they became aware of the topic of the study or when they read the questions in the study. Many facilitators stated the subject matter of the study made them feel uncomfortable and that they did not feel comfortable sharing the study with their male staff. The consistency in which this happened made it abundantly clear that the subject of sexual harassment was going to be a challenging subject to study with this population.

Combining the reluctance of correctional officers and the challenges in general of collecting data regarding sexual violence led to an increasingly growing challenge of obtaining enough willing participants. These two issues lead to significant issues that were not able to be resolved. Future researchers will need to consider these types of challenges when conducting research with correctional officers, studying sexual violence, or both.

#### *Implications, & Future Research*

Additional limitations beyond the those in the data collection process were observed. While the priming activity used in this study had been effective for Galinsky and colleagues (2003) it may have not been the best prime to utilize for this study. Since participants were able to write in whatever they wanted for the priming activity, despite the prompt, they would at times

write very short statements that did not initiate a prime, or nothing at all. A similar situation occurred in a study conducted by Edwards and Vogel (2015) where they noted that participants were not spending as much time as they anticipated looking at posters the researchers wanted them to observe, which was used as a prime. They too noted this may have influenced their study. A priming activity that would generate consistent responses and would evenly apply to all participants may have helped resolve this issue. This may have been easier to do if data collection was done in person rather than online as a someone administering the test in person could have ensured a certain amount of time was spent on completing the priming process or a more effective priming process could have been used. As mentioned, social desirability may have impacted how participants responded to the Likelihood to Sexually harass measure. A way of circumventing social desirability in future studies would be to measure implicit responses to sexual harassment such as what was done by Kamphius and colleagues (2005) where they used a word completing task to assess the link between power and sex rather than having participants respond to written narratives. Doing this in the future may also help reduce the likelihood of responding in a socially desirable way. The utilization of a social desirability scale (Perinelli & Gremigni, 2016) may have helped in determining if participants were responding in a way that made them appear better.

Developing a measure that assesses sexual harassment proclivity in a more discrete manner could also possibly help reduce non-responses and socially desirable responding. Additionally, as the LSH was developed in the 80's it is possible that cultural changes in the perception of sexual harassment may make it a less viable measure than it previously had been. Perhaps a new sexual harassment proclivity measure needs to be developed.

In regards to implication, the indication of a relationship between dominance and sexual harassment proclivity should be noted. For correctional officer supervisors, observing this characteristic may warrant intervening with staff as they may be at a higher risk for sexually harassing staff or other inmates. This may include staff who attempt to control inmates excessively, or who work very hard to ensure their reputation as a figure of authority. In general, this is a further confirmation of results previously found that sexual harassment is a means of exerting power over someone. Annual trainings may also help in addressing issues such as this, and potential future research could explore in how to discourage excessive actions of asserting dominance in correctional officers. In a similar fashion, supervisors may wish to be vigilant about male officers that are overly flirtatious or are making lewd comments to staff or inmates as it was found that male correctional officers who display “playboy” style attitudes are also more likely to have high sexual harassment proclivity.

As mentioned previously, one of the major struggles in this study was obtaining enough participants. A goal of this study was to expand the breadth of research on correctional officers as there is little research being done; most of the articles found in this literature review are nearly twenty years old. Future researchers may consider exploring ways of better building rapport with correctional officers in order to improve their response rate. Since this study was conducted online, one possible solution may be to work with correctional officers in a more direct manner, by physically going to facilities and establishing more personal connections with correctional staff in order to encourage participation, discuss questions or concerns, or provide incentives.

Taking time to develop a relationship with the staff may have reduced skepticism about participating in the study, especially one about sexual harassment proclivity. There can be concerns for response bias when participants are familiar with the researcher, such as in the

research done by Worley and Worley (2009). Participants may feel inclined to respond in a way that pleases the researcher, or not respond in a genuine manner as they fear the researcher making a judgment about them. Additionally, it can take a significant amount of time to travel to each facility and develop a relationship with correctional staff at multiple county jails.

Qualitative researchers have noted similar concerns in conducting research, noting the risk of appearing too familiar with participants (Pitts & Miller-Day, 2007). When working with more sensitive, and in this case skeptical, populations such as correctional officers, the challenge of recruiting willing participants may supersede concerns about response bias. While Pitt and Miller-Day (2007) note potential risks that come with working with participants whom researchers have a relationship with, they also state the benefits of a long rapport building process with participants, indicating that this helps in building trust between the researcher and participants, and reduces resistant to participate in research studies. They mentioned that participants in qualitative studies often are very hesitant and distant during initial interactions. While there are differences between qualitative research and a quantitative study such as this, there is merit in these statements. More time should have been spent in building rapport with the jail captains and administrators that were reached out to. This may have helped reduce resistance to allowing their staff to be recruited. Participants did not have a relationship with the researcher and no sense of trust was developed. Participants did not communicate with the principal researcher. Developing a relationship with participants could have reduced feelings of distrust and skepticism and increased willingness to participate. Although participants were provided with contact information to reach out the principal researcher, they may have felt more comfortable discussing concerns if the researcher was on site and able to be easily accessed.

It became apparent during the literature review that there is little known about correctional officers which makes differentiating them from the general public difficult. It also limits the ability to generalize the findings there were found during the course of this study. Literature that explores the unique sub-culture of correctional officers is scarce and often times dated by more than two decades. As the field continues to diversify and change future researchers may consider attempting to better understand the unique qualities of correctional officers. This is especially true as although only correctional officers working in county jails were used for this study, correctional officers work in a wide variety of settings with different challenges and receive different levels of training, support, and supervision. Additionally, Women now make up nearly forty percent of correctional staff (Management and Training Corporation Institution, 2008) and attitudes and beliefs held previously by correctional officers may have changed as a result of this. This would develop a stronger basis for which further research could be conducted as we do not have a clear understanding of the attitudes and beliefs held by these staff. These efforts could also in turn develop a stronger relationship between correctional officers and psychological researchers, something that is lacking. Correctional officers have a demanding task of supervising often large numbers of individuals and as Worley & Worley (2009) noted, a significant number of them feel they are not “cared for”. It is clear that correctional officers have a challenging line of work. Addressing concerns such as finding out how they may feel “cared for” may also lead to a better understanding of why a percentage of officers engage in deviant behavior such as sexual harassment. From there a better understanding can be made of how to best intervene and prevent such actions from happening. The goal of this research was to begin to explore some of these topics in relation to male correctional officers. What has been

concluded is that the topic is far broader and will require additional future research to better understand this unique population.

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**APPENDIX A ANOVA Tables: Prime vs no Prime and 2x2 ANOVAs**

<b>Prime Vs. No Prime</b>					
COMBINED OVERALL TEST					
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	.0030	1.0000	62.6094	.9567	
COMBINED RESULTS					
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
Intercept	581.4560	1.0000	63.1778	.0000	
Prime / No Prime	.0030	1.0000	62.6094	.9567	
	Estimate	SE	t	df	p
Intercept	11.3801	.4719	24.1134	63.1778	.0000
Prime / No Prime	-.0258	.4732	-.0545	62.6094	.9567
<b>Prime &amp; Winning</b>					
COMBINED OVERALL TEST					
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	.1029	3.0000	61.1107	.9581	
COMBINED RESULTS					
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
Intercept	479.6594	1.0000	58.4688	.0000	
Winning	.0765	1.0000	56.7417	.7831	
Prime	.2547	1.0000	55.8705	.6158	
PrimexWinning	.0123	1.0000	57.8617	.9121	
	Estimate	SE	t	df	p
Intercept	11.2868	.5154	21.9011	58.4688	.0000
Winning	-.1435	.5186	-.2766	56.7417	.7831
Prime	.2625	.5202	.5047	55.8705	.6158
PrimexWinning	.0573	.5165	.1109	57.8617	.9121
<b>Prime &amp; Emotional Control</b>					
COMBINED OVERALL TEST					
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	.6094	3.0000	62.0519	.6114	

	COMBINED RESULTS				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
Intercept	400.6720	1.0000	61.2431	.0000	
Prime	.0268	1.0000	60.1943	.8706	
Emotional Control	1.7145	1.0000	59.9053	.1954	
PrimexEmotional Control	.0156	1.0000	61.0801	.9011	
	Estimate	SE	t	df	p
Intercept	11.0439	.5517	20.0168	61.2431	.0000
Prime	-.0907	.5544	-.1636	60.1943	.8706
Emotional Control	.7269	.5551	1.3094	59.9053	.1954
PrimexEmotional Control	-.0689	.5522	-.1248	61.0801	.9011
<b>Prime &amp; Risk Taking</b>					
	COMBINED OVERALL TEST				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	.6311	3.0000	62.6021	.5977	
	COMBINED RESULTS				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
Intercept	483.8651	1.0000	62.3866	.0000	
Prime	.0578	1.0000	62.2375	.8107	
Risk Taking	1.8382	1.0000	60.7527	.1802	
PrimexRisk Taking	.1300	1.0000	61.9971	.7197	
	Estimate	SE	t	df	p
Intercept	11.1256	.5058	21.9969	62.3866	.0000
Prime	.1217	.5062	.2405	62.2375	.8107
Risk Taking	.6917	.5102	1.3558	60.7527	.1802
PrimexRisk Taking	-.1828	.5069	-.3605	61.9971	.7197
<b>Prime &amp; Violence</b>					
	COMBINED OVERALL TEST				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	.5352	3.0000	62.4833	.6598	
	COMBINED RESULTS				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	

Intercept	560.6818	1.0000	60.6212	.0000	
Prime	.0046	1.0000	60.1156	.9462	
Violence	.9208	1.0000	59.2204	.3412	
PrimexViolence	.7162	1.0000	62.7360	.4006	
	Estimate	SE	t	df	p
Intercept	11.3165	.4779	23.6787	60.6212	.0000
Prime	.0325	.4790	.0678	60.1156	.9462
Violence	.4614	.4808	.9596	59.2204	.3412
PrimexViolence	-.3998	.4725	-.8463	62.7360	.4006
	<b>Prime &amp; Power Over Women</b>				
	COMBINED OVERALL TEST				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	1.0700	3.0000	62.7584	.3683	
	COMBINED RESULTS				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
Power Over Women	482.3189	1.0000	61.2729	.0000	
Prime	3.2194	1.0000	62.3696	.0776	
PrimexPowerOverWomen	.0000	1.0000	61.8389	.9952	
	.0189	1.0000	61.7576	.8912	
	Estimate	SE	t	df	p
	11.0496	.5031	21.9618	61.2729	.0000
Power Over Women	.8973	.5001	1.7943	62.3696	.0776
Prime	-.0030	.5017	-.0060	61.8389	.9952
PrimexPowerOverWomen	-.0689	.5019	-.1373	61.7576	.8912
	<b>Prime &amp; Dominance</b>				
	COMBINED OVERALL TEST				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	.6211	3.0000	62.7292	.6040	
	COMBINED RESULTS				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	485.0028	1.0000	61.9152	.0000	
Prime	.0033	1.0000	60.7432	.9546	

Dominance	1.7640	1.0000	61.7776	.1890	
PrimexDominance	.0672	1.0000	62.2882	.7963	
	Estimate	SE	t	df	p
	11.1511	.5063	22.0228	61.9152	.0000
Prime	-.0291	.5093	-.0572	60.7432	.9546
Dominance	.6730	.5067	1.3282	61.7776	.1890
PrimexDominance	-.1310	.5053	-.2593	62.2882	.7963
	<b>Prime &amp; Playboy Personality</b>				
	COMBINED OVERALL TEST				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	1.3840	3.0000	62.4651	.2559	
	COMBINED RESULTS				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	599.7098	1.0000	60.7701	.0000	
Prime	.0001	1.0000	61.4918	.9936	
Playboy	3.9908	1.0000	62.6534	.0501	
PrimexPlayboy	.2401	1.0000	58.1148	.6260	
	Estimate	SE	t	df	p
	11.4571	.4678	24.4890	60.7701	.0000
Prime	-.0037	.4662	-.0080	61.4918	.9936
Playboy	.9251	.4631	1.9977	62.6534	.0501
PrimexPlayboy	-.2318	.4730	-.4900	58.1148	.6260
	<b>Prime &amp; Self Reliance</b>				
	COMBINED OVERALL TEST				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	.2570	3.0000	61.8734	.8560	
	COMBINED RESULTS				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	404.6984	1.0000	61.2434	.0000	
Prime	.0313	1.0000	56.6377	.8602	

Self-Reliance	.5273	1.0000	61.6550	.4705	
PrimexSelf Reliance	.2267	1.0000	55.8415	.6358	
	Estimate	SE	t	df	p
	11.1822	.5559	20.1171	61.2434	.0000
Prime	.1002	.5663	.1769	56.6377	.8602
Self-Reliance	.4028	.5547	.7262	61.6550	.4705
PrimexSelf Reliance	-.2704	.5679	-.4761	55.8415	.6358
	<b>Prime &amp; Pursuit Of Status</b>				
	COMBINED OVERALL TEST				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	.2391	3.0000	61.2784	.8687	
	COMBINED RESULTS				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	499.2504	1.0000	59.1803	.0000	
Prime	.0353	1.0000	57.5153	.8516	
Pursuit of Status	.3047	1.0000	57.3217	.5831	
PrimexPursuit Of Status	.4544	1.0000	56.8207	.5030	
	Estimate	SE	t	df	p
	11.2677	.5043	22.3439	59.1803	.0000
Prime	.0954	.5075	.1879	57.5153	.8516
Pursuit of Status	.2803	.5079	.5520	57.3217	.5831
PrimexPursuit Of Status	-.3429	.5088	-.6741	56.8207	.5030
	<b>Prime &amp; Disdain Of Homosexuals</b>				
	COMBINED OVERALL TEST				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	.5672	3.0000	62.6502	.6386	
	COMBINED RESULTS				
	F-Value	df1	df2	p	
	488.3534	1.0000	59.6293	.0000	
Prime	.0038	1.0000	60.3387	.9512	
Disdain of Homosexuals	1.4636	1.0000	61.9843	.2310	
PrimexDisdain of Homosexuals	.2313	1.0000	61.5800	.6323	

	Estimate	SE	t	df	p
	11.1879	.5063	22.0987	59.6293	.0000
Prime	.0310	.5047	.0614	60.3387	.9512
Disdain of Homosexuals	.6057	.5007	1.2098	61.9843	.2310
PrimexDisdain of Homosexuals	-.2413	.5017	-.4809	61.5800	.6323

### APPENDIX B Regression Tables: Male Norms and Sexual Harassment Proclivity

Model	N	R <sup>2</sup>	Sig
CMNI Total	157	2.46	.119
Winning	157	.16	.6897
Emotional Control	157	1.3288	.2402
Risk Taking	157	.4048	.5255
Violence	157	.4048	.5255
Power Over Women	157	.8344	.3624
Dominance	157	20.454	<.0001
Playboy Personality	157	5.2196	.0237
Self-Reliance	157	2.1994	.1401
Primacy Of Work	157	.0496	.8241
Disdain for Homosexuality	157	.1514	.6977
Pursuit of Status	157	2.3166	.13

### APPENDIX C Regression Table: Years Served and Sexual Harassment Proclivity

Model	N	R <sup>2</sup>	Sig
Years Served	61	2.5462	.1157

### APPENDIX D Intercorrelations and Descriptive Statistics for Measured Variables

Variable	Mean	SE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Likelihood to Sexual Harass	12.366	0.40208	-	0.027	0.089	0.107	-0.022	0.072	.338**	.179*	0.117	-0.016	0.027	-1.12	0.123
2. Winning	104.0805	0.18957		-	.308**	.335**	.243**	.187*	.257**	.285**	0.092	.313**	.249**	0.14	.568**
3. Emotional Control	114.5333	0.19924			-	.596**	.315**	.469**	0.011	.373**	.242*	.329**	.314**	.205*	.693**
4. Risk Taking	112.7195	0.16794				-	.369**	.472**	.282**	.428**	.397**	.322**	.264**	.189*	.745**
5. Violence	82.6063	0.15954					-	.253**	-0.113	.279**	.212*	.329**	0.115	.439**	.641**
6. Power Over Women	94.0767	0.16601						-	0.151	.357**	.288**	.319**	.280**	.210*	.299**
7. Dominance	42.1069	0.13584							-	.194*	0.073	0.099	.254**	-.275**	.657**
8. Playboy	124.7874	0.21681								-	.320**	.307**	.237**	0.114	.481**
9. Self-Reliance	62.2969	0.12431									-	0.154	0.136	.320**	.593**
10. Primacy of Work	83.9371	0.16886										-	.321**	0.153	0.554
11. Disdain For Homosexuality	104.4025	0.20546											-	0.123	.405**
12. Pursuit of Status	62.3937	0.14964												-	
13. CMNI Total Score	987.9409	1.05815													-
N=159															
*P<.05. **P<.01															













APPENDIX F The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (Mahalik, Locke, Ludlow, Diemer, Scott, Gottfried, & Freitas, 2003)

The following pages contain a series of statements about how people might think, feel or behave. The statements are designed to measure attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors associated with both traditional and non-traditional masculine gender roles.

**Thinking about your own actions, feelings and beliefs**, please indicate how much **you personally agree or disagree with each statement** by circling SD for "Strongly Disagree", D for "Disagree", A for "Agree", or SA for "Strongly agree" to the left of the statement. There are no right or wrong responses to the statements. You should give the responses that most accurately describe your personal actions, feelings and beliefs. It is best if you respond with your first impression when answering.

1. It is best to keep your emotions hidden SD D A SA
2. In general, I will do anything to win SD D A SA
3. If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners SD D A SA
4. If there is going to be violence, I find a way to avoid it SD D A SA
5. It is important to me that people think I am heterosexual SD D A SA
6. In general, I must get my way SD D A SA
7. Trying to be important is the greatest waste of time SD D A SA
8. I am often absorbed in my work SD D A SA
9. I will only be satisfied when women are equal to men SD D A SA
10. I hate asking for help SD D A SA
11. Taking dangerous risks helps me to prove myself SD D A SA

12. In general, I do not expend a lot of energy trying to win at things SD D A SA
13. An emotional bond with a partner is the best part of sex SD D A SA
14. I should take every opportunity to show my feelings SD D A SA
15. I believe that violence is never justified SD D A SA
16. Being thought of as gay is not a bad thing SD D A SA
17. In general, I do not like risky situations SD D A SA
18. I should be in charge SD D A SA
19. Feelings are important to show SD D A SA
20. I feel miserable when work occupies all my attention SD D A SA
21. I feel best about my relationships with women when we are equals
22. Winning is not my first priority SD D A SA
23. I make sure that people think I am heterosexual SD D A SA
24. I enjoy taking risks SD D A SA
25. I am disgusted by any kind of violence SD D A SA
26. I would hate to be important SD D A SA
27. I love to explore my feelings with others SD D A SA
28. If I could, I would date a lot of different people SD D A SA
29. I ask for help when I need it SD D A SA
30. My work is the most important part of my life SD D A SA
31. Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing SD D A SA
32. I never take chances SD D A SA
33. I would only have sex if I was in a committed relationship SD D A SA
34. I like fighting SD D A SA

35. I treat women as equals SD D A SA
36. I bring up my feelings when talking to others SD D A SA
37. I would be furious if someone thought I was gay SD D A SA
38. I only get romantically involved with one person SD D A SA
39. I don't mind losing SD D A SA
40. I take risks SD D A SA
41. I never do things to be an important person SD D A SA
42. It would not bother me at all if someone thought I was gay SD D A SA
43. I never share my feelings SD D A SA
44. Sometimes violent action is necessary SD D A SA
45. Asking for help is a sign of failure SD D A SA
46. In general, I control the women in my life SD D A SA
47. I would feel good if I had many sexual partners SD D A SA
48. It is important for me to win SD D A SA
49. I don't like giving all my attention to work SD D A SA
50. I feel uncomfortable when others see me as important SD D A SA
51. It would be awful if people thought I was gay SD D A SA
52. I like to talk about my feelings SD D A SA
53. I never ask for help SD D A SA
54. More often than not, losing does not bother me SD D A SA
55. It is foolish to take risks SD D A SA
56. Work is not the most important thing in my life SD D A SA
57. Men and women should respect each other as equals SD D A SA

58. Long term relationships are better than casual sexual encounters SD D A SA
59. Having status is not very important to me SD D A SA
60. I frequently put myself in risky situations SD D A SA
61. Women should be subservient to men SD D A SA
62. I am willing to get into a physical fight if necessary SD D A SA
63. I like having gay friends SD D A SA
64. I feel good when work is my first priority SD D A SA
65. I tend to keep my feelings to myself SD D A SA
66. Emotional involvement should be avoided when having sex SD D A SA
67. Winning is not important to me SD D A SA
68. Violence is almost never justified SD D A SA
69. I am comfortable trying to get my way SD D A SA
70. I am happiest when I'm risking danger SD D A SA
71. Men should not have power over women SD D A SA
72. It would be enjoyable to date more than one person at a time SD D A SA
73. I would feel uncomfortable if someone thought I was gay SD D A SA
74. I am not ashamed to ask for help SD D A SA
75. The best feeling in the world comes from winning SD D A SA
76. Work comes first SD D A SA
77. I tend to share my feelings SD D A SA
78. I like emotional involvement in a romantic relationship SD D A SA
79. No matter what the situation I would never act violently SD D A SA
80. If someone thought I was gay, I would not argue with them about it SD D A SA

81. Things tend to be better when men are in charge SD D A SA
82. I prefer to be safe and careful SD D A SA
83. A person shouldn't get tied down to dating just one person SD D A SA
84. I tend to invest my energy in things other than work SD D A SA
85. It bothers me when I have to ask for help SD D A SA
86. I love it when men are in charge of women SD D A SA
87. It feels good to be important SD D A SA
88. I hate it when people ask me to talk about my feelings SD D A SA
89. I work hard to win SD D A SA
90. I would only be satisfied with sex if there was an emotional bond SD D A SA
91. I try to avoid being perceived as gay SD D A SA
92. I hate any kind of risk SD D A SA
93. I prefer to stay unemotional SD D A SA
94. I make sure people do as I say SD D A SA

## APPENDIX G Demographic Questionnaire

1. If willing to disclose how much schooling did you complete?
2. If willing to disclose how would you define your racial identity?
3. If willing to disclose what is your age?
4. If willing to disclose how would you define your sexual orientation?
5. If willing to disclose how many years have you worked as a correctional officer?
6. If willing to disclose how would you describe the location of the facility you work in? (rural, urban, suburban)

## CURRICULUM VITA

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### Education

B.S., Illinois State University, May 2010  
Major: Psychology, Minor: History

M.S., Indiana University, May 2012  
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Dissertation Title: The impact of priming power on sexual harassment proclivity in male correctional officers