

Gender Prototypes Hinder Bystander Intervention in Women's Sexual Harassment

Rebecca Schachtman

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Master of Science

University of Washington

2022

Committee:

Cheryl Kaiser

Cynthia Levine

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Psychology

© Copyright 2022

Rebecca Schachtman

University of Washington

**Abstract**

Gender Prototypes Hinder Bystander Intervention in Sexual Harassment

Rebecca Schachtman

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Cheryl Kaiser

Psychology

Bystander intervention is a powerful immediate response to sexual harassment that reduces victims' burden to respond. However, narrow gender prototypes depicting sexual harassment victims as stereotypically feminine (prototypical) women may hinder intervention when harassment targets stereotypically masculine (nonprototypical) women. Across three preregistered experiments ( $N = 931$ ), we test whether bystanders intervene less readily when sexual harassment targets a nonprototypical (vs prototypical) woman. Participants observed a man manager ask a series of increasingly sexually harassing job interview questions towards a woman who was portrayed as either gender prototypical or nonprototypical, and participants could intervene to stop the interview if/when they judged the questions as inappropriate. A meta-analysis revealed that participants intervened later when sexual harassment targeted a nonprototypical (vs prototypical) woman---a small but meaningful effect. Efforts to foster bystander intervention in sexual harassment would benefit by recognizing this neglect of nonprototypical women.

**Gender prototypes hinder bystander intervention in women's sexual harassment**

Allegations of Harvey Weinstein's sexual misconduct in Hollywood were met with public outcry, but many in the industry were unsurprised. As screenwriter Scott Rosenberg stated in a post apologizing for his own complicity: "Everybody f\*\*\*king knew." (cited in Gajanan, 2017, para. 3). This type of bystander silence is common across industries (Fitzgerald, 2017), leaving sexual harassment unchecked and creating norms that sexual harassment is acceptable (Mallett et al., 2021). Such permissive environments embolden harassers to continue and escalate their abuse, further harming women's health and well-being (Sojo et al., 2016; Willness et al., 2007) and performance and engagement at work (Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2005; Chan et al., 2008). The present investigation draws upon scholarship demonstrating that sexual harassment is more readily perceived when women embody the prototype of their gender group (i.e., possess stereotypically feminine traits and interests; Kaiser et al., 2022) to explore if women's resemblance to this prototype affects how readily bystanders intervene to interrupt sexual harassment. Understanding the barriers to bystander intervention is critical in identifying when victims of harassment are likely to be neglected and continue to suffer the adverse consequences of harassment and how interventions can be designed to mitigate this neglect.

**Bystander intervention improves outcomes for women**

Workplace sexual harassment is any gender-based harassment that creates a hostile professional environment or negatively impacts an employee's work performance or employment status (U.S. EEOC, n.d.). These behaviors include verbal and physical harassment that could be explicitly sexual in nature (i.e., sexual advances) or not (i.e., sexist comments). To bring sexual harassment to light, organizations have largely invested in formal grievance procedures whereby victims of harassment report their perpetrator to a human resources division.

Organizations widely adopted these procedures after two 1998 Supreme Court decisions made organizations with reporting mechanisms less liable for sexual harassment (Edelman & Cabrera, 2020). Consequently, grievance procedures serve organizations more than victims, who rarely utilize them given the risk of retaliation and revictimization (Bergman et al., 2002; Cortina & Magley, 2003; Dobbin & Kalev, 2020; Fitzgerald & Cortina, 2018), and the presence of these procedures is not associated with increased representation of women in management roles (Dobbin & Kalev, 2019). This organizational scholarship is consistent with research showing that these barriers to reporting, such as backlash and retaliation, reduce women's willingness to confront harassment, even when they desire to do so (Good et al., 2012; Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001).

Given the barriers women experience in intervening to stop harassment, bystander intervention is increasingly recognized as an important tool in curbing sexual harassment (Lee, Hanson, & Cheung, 2019). Indeed, when women experience sexism, confrontations by bystanders are viewed more favorably than confrontations by the women, and bystanders are more effective in changing perpetrators' behavior (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Gulker et al., 2013). Relatedly, organizations who train managers to interrupt sexual harassment show greater increases in women in management roles compared to organizations without this training (Dobbin & Kalev, 2019). Bystander intervention also signals support for victims, and women experience a sense of safety when they see others support a bystander's intervention to thwart sexism (Hildebrand et al., 2020). Furthermore, when men bystanders confront sexism, women perceive less workplace hostility and isolation and are more likely to report sexism (Moser & Branscombe, 2021; Cihangir et al., 2014). In sum, bystander

intervention in sexual harassment supports women and can help prevent the insidious effects of this mistreatment.

### **Gender prototypes shape recognition of and responses to sexual harassment**

In the context of intervening to stop sexual harassment, potential bystanders must first recognize that sexual harassment occurred and is problematic (Latané & Darley, 1970; Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008). Recognizing harassment requires that bystanders link a perpetrator's motivation to the victim's gender group membership as a woman (i.e., the perpetrator targeted the victim *because* she is a woman) (Major et al., 2002). This process is facilitated when a victim's attributes and characteristics match the prototype of the gender category "woman" (Kaiser et al., 2022), which is stereotypically feminine, consisting of interpersonally oriented traits (i.e., caring, sympathetic, nurturing; Diekmann & Eagly, 2000; Prentice & Carranza, 2002) and interests related to traditional gender roles (i.e., caretaking; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Across multiple studies, when compared to prototypical women, nonprototypical women (those who violate this narrow prototype by displaying stereotypically masculine traits), were perceived as less likely sexual harassment targets, and their claims were viewed as less credible, and the women were perceived as being less psychologically harmed by the harassment (Goh et al., 2022).

We draw upon and expand this research on prototypicality and perceptions of and reactions to sexual harassment by examining how prototypicality affects bystander intervention. As sexual harassment is more likely to be recognized and viewed as problematic when it targets prototypical women relative to nonprototypical women, we hypothesize that bystanders will be less likely to intervene when sexual harassment targets nonprototypical women, who deviate from (versus conform to) the narrow prototype of women. This hypothesis is also consistent with

research on paternalistic sexism which demonstrates that bystanders preferentially protect women who adhere to gender norms, and neglect women who violate these norms (Estevan-Reina et al., 2020).

### **Prototype paradox: Nonprototypical women are most vulnerable but least protected**

Despite the barriers to perceiving sexual harassment when it targets nonprototypical women, nonprototypical women are in fact particularly vulnerable to sexual harassment. The violation of traditional gender norms often motivates sexual harassment, with stereotypically masculine women reporting experiencing more frequent sexual harassment than stereotypically feminine women (Berdahl, 2007; Leskinen et al., 2015). This creates a prototype paradox (Kaiser et al., 2022), whereby those most vulnerable to harassment are least likely to be recognized as experiencing harassment and being harmed by it, and therefore may be the least likely to garner support from bystanders.

### **Present research**

In the present research, we experimentally examine if bystanders intervene less readily when sexual harassment targets nonprototypical (i.e., stereotypically masculine) relative to prototypical (i.e., stereotypically feminine) women. Participants observed an ostensibly live interview of a woman who was randomly assigned to possess either gender prototypical or nonprototypical attributes. The man interviewer asked a series of increasingly sexually harassing interview questions, and participants had the opportunity to intervene.

Unlike bystander-related research that heavily relies on hypothetical scenarios or retrospection of bystander intervention behavior, this research uses ecologically valid experimental methods that hold exposure to sexual harassment constant and objectively measures intervention. These advances are important as memories about past intervention

behaviors may be self-serving, and people might biasedly recall more intervention behavior than they actually enacted. Additionally, those who report intervention might be imagining or recalling more severe sexist incidents than those who report not intervening, confounding the nature of the event with the intervention response.

We predicted that bystanders would take longer to intervene (i.e., have a greater threshold for intervention) when sexual harassment was directed towards a nonprototypical (vs. prototypical) woman job candidate. We also hypothesized that the nonprototypical (vs. prototypical) woman would be perceived as less sexually harassed and psychologically harmed. Finally, based on evidence that nonprototypical (vs. prototypical) women's harassers are viewed as less deserving of punishment (Zidenberg et al., 2019), we hypothesized that the harasser would be perceived as deserving fewer consequences (i.e., punishments) when the candidate was nonprototypical (vs prototypical).

We pre-registered all studies, and the materials, data, and code are available here: [https://osf.io/4pzus/?view\\_only=ef8621b9d0e6485a934d437ee67d4185](https://osf.io/4pzus/?view_only=ef8621b9d0e6485a934d437ee67d4185). The R package "pwr" (Champely et al., 2017) indicated that 276 participants were needed for a small to medium effect ( $d = 0.30$ ,  $\alpha = .05$ ) with 80% power. In all studies, we collected responses from 350 participants (via MTurk) to account for missing or incomplete data and pre-registered exclusions. Outlying scores exceeding an absolute value of three standardized residuals were winsorized to three. Participant gender moderated just one self-report effect across all studies, thus this factor is described in just the supplemental analyses (see online supplement).

## **Study 1**

### **Methods**

#### ***Participants***

Table 1 describes participants and exclusions; participant demographics are in Table 2.

See pre-registration here:

[https://osf.io/4cvd3/?view\\_only=0867fc231810464785960dbe6b6b4940](https://osf.io/4cvd3/?view_only=0867fc231810464785960dbe6b6b4940)

**Table 1**

*Study Exclusions*

Study	Initial <i>N</i>	Final <i>N</i>	Rationale for exclusion			
			Attention check <sup>a</sup>	Early intervention <sup>b</sup>	Completion time <sup>c</sup>	Boredom <sup>d</sup>
Study 1	350	313	24	8	2	3
Study 2	350	302	5	31	9	3
Study 3	350	316	14	12	6	2

<sup>a</sup> Failed an attention check

<sup>b</sup> Intervened after the first or second interview questions, which were not rated as sexually harassing in pre-testing, indicating they wanted to shorten their study experience.

<sup>c</sup> Spent three standard deviations above the mean completion time taking the study, indicating they were distracted

<sup>d</sup> Indicated in an open-ended response that they intervened because they were bored of the study (not pre-registered)

**Table 2***Participant Demographics*

Study	Total <i>N</i>	<i>M</i> age ( <i>SD</i> )	% Women	% White	% Black	% Asian	% LatinX	% Native	% Mid- Eastern	% Another
Study 1	313	39.32 (11.07)	39.97	71.57	9.27	9.27	6.39	0	0.64	2.24
Study 2	302	41.56 (11.63)	50.00	78.81	11.26	8.94	6.95	1.65	0.33	1.32
Study 3	316	42.89 (13.60)	58.54	84.18	6.33	7.28	6.96	2.53	0.32	0

*Note.* Some percentages do not add up to 100% because participants could select multiple answers for their race/ethnicity. In studies 1 and 3, 0.64% and 0.32% of participants respectively did not respond.

***Materials and Procedures***

Participants learned that the researchers were providing feedback to a company that was training managers to conduct online chat-based interviews. They first reviewed a woman job candidate's resume, and afterwards observed an ostensibly live interview between the candidate and man manager. Participants were asked to intervene if the manager asked unprofessional or

inappropriate questions. In reality, the interview was pre-programmed, with pre-tested questions that became increasingly sexually harassing as the interview progressed.<sup>1</sup>

**Resume manipulation.** Participants were randomly assigned to view the resume of a prototypical or nonprototypical job candidate named Mary (See appendix for resumes).<sup>2</sup> The resumes were identical across conditions apart from the descriptions of the candidate's previous experiences, awards and certifications, and other interests which were varied using different stereotypically feminine (prototypical condition) vs masculine (nonprototypical condition) traits and interests (Diekman & Eagly, 2000). Presumed heterosexual orientation was held constant across conditions by mentioning the candidate's husband in both resumes. A timer forced participants to remain on the resume page for at least 90 seconds. To strengthen the manipulation's salience, participants spent at least 60 seconds writing about their first impressions of Mary immediately after viewing her resume.

**Interview observation.** Participants then observed the interview, which they were told was live, in which the man interviewer, Tom, made the increasingly sexist remarks (see supplement). To enhance the interview's believability, the job candidate's responses to each question or comment ranged from neutral to slightly bothered, as indicated by use of diluted language (i.e., adding unnecessary and extra words or phrases), false starts (i.e., starting to speak,

---

<sup>1</sup> In pilot-testing, women undergraduates ( $N = 50$ ) rated 53 interview questions and statements from a man interviewer on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not sexually harassing*; 7 = *very sexually harassing*). Means ranged from 1.25 to 5.36. The final interview contained ten harassing questions and statements arranged in increasing severity with nine neutral or filler items interspersed (See Table 3 for questions and means; see supplemental materials for interview script).

<sup>2</sup> In pilot-testing, 200 MTurk participants were randomly assigned to view either the prototypical or nonprototypical resume. They responded to five items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*) to measure their perceptions of the job candidate's gender prototypicality (i.e., feminine, masculine, similar to other women, resembles the typical woman, has a lot in common with other women) ( $\alpha = .80$ ). The prototypical candidate was rated as significantly more prototypical ( $M = 4.76$ ,  $SD = 0.87$ ) than the nonprototypical ( $M = 4.07$ ,  $SD = 4.76$ ) candidate,  $t(198) = 5.15$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = -0.73$ , 95% CI = [-1.02, -0.43]. The manipulation did not affect perceptions of the woman's age ( $t(198) = 0.22$ ,  $p = .826$ ), competence ( $t(198) = -0.75$ ,  $p = .453$ ,  $d = 0.11$ ), or hireability ( $t(198) = 0.80$ ,  $p = .425$ ,  $d = -0.11$ ). Most participants perceived the candidate as White (82% in both conditions) and heterosexual (94% overall; prototypical: 95%; nonprototypical: 93%).

stopping, then restarting), or repeated words. These responses modeled those provided by actual targets of sexually harassing interview questions in prior experiments by Woodzicka and LaFrance (2005).

After each question or statement from the manager, participants were asked if they would like to intervene (*yes* or *no*). Participants were told that intervention would be anonymous and would stop the interview. They were assured intervention would not harm the job candidate's outcomes as the candidate would automatically be reassigned to complete her interview with a different manager. When participants either intervened or finished observing the full interview if they failed to intervene, they completed dependent measures.

### ***Measures***

**Duration to intervene.** We used the time recording function in Qualtrics to record the length of time, in seconds, between the beginning of the interview and when the participant intervened (or finished observing the entire interview). We also used interview question number (1-19) as a dependent variable, as the interview questions became increasingly sexually harassing. If participants did not intervene, we coded their question number as 20. These measures were highly correlated ( $r = .99, p < .001$ ).

**Prototypicality of candidate.** Participants completed the same prototypicality manipulation check as those in the pilot testing study ( $\alpha = .86$ ).

**Sexual harassment.** Using a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *extremely*) participants responded to two items assessing degree to which they believed the job candidate was sexually harassed and sexually objectified during the interview ( $\alpha = .86$ ).

**Psychological harm.** Participants responded to three items on this same 7-point Likert scale assessing the extent to which the candidate was upset, distressed, and traumatized by the interview ( $\alpha = .86$ ).

**Consequences for manager.** A single item assessed whether the interviewing manager required more training in conducting professional interviews (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*).

## Results

### *Manipulation check*

An independent samples t-test revealed that the prototypical candidate was perceived as more prototypical ( $M = 5.35$ ,  $SD = 0.92$ ) than the nonprototypical ( $M = 5.01$ ,  $SD = 0.94$ ) candidate,  $t(311) = 3.29$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $d = -0.37$ , 95% CI = [-0.60, -0.15].

### *Duration to intervene*

Most participants (96.81%) intervened at some point. See Table 3 for intervention frequencies by question with means and standard deviations on perceived sexual harassment obtained in pilot-testing. Consistent with hypotheses, independent samples t-tests revealed that participants in the nonprototypical condition intervened later than participants in the prototypical condition on both question number  $t(311) = -3.24$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $d = 0.37$ , 95% CI = [0.14, 0.59] and time in seconds  $t(311) = -3.17$ ,  $p = .002$ ,  $d = 0.36$ , 95% CI = [0.13, 0.58]. Sexual harassment persisted for one minute (and one question) longer when the candidate was nonprototypical versus prototypical (see Table 4 for means).

### *Self-report Measures*

Independent samples t-tests revealed that the prototypicality manipulation did not affect perceptions that the candidate was sexually harassed ( $t(311) = 1.05$ ,  $p = .296$ ,  $d = -0.12$ , 95% CI

= [-0.34, 0.10]), psychologically harmed ( $t(311) = 0.58, p = .561, d = -0.07, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.29, 0.16]$ ), or that the manager needed follow-up training ( $t(311) = -0.31, p = .759, d = 0.03, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.19, 0.26]$ ). See Table 4.

**Table 3***Intervention Frequencies by Question*

Question/statement	Sexual harassment rating	Frequencies of intervention by study			
		Pilot-testing	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3
		<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>n (%)</i>	<i>n (%)</i>	<i>n (%)</i>
1. First, what made you apply for this position? <sup>a</sup>	1.57 (1.08)	3 (-- <sup>b</sup> )	15 (-- <sup>b</sup> )	4 (-- <sup>b</sup> )	
2. What strengths do you have as an employee? <sup>a</sup>	1.43 (0.97)	5 (-- <sup>b</sup> )	16 (-- <sup>b</sup> )	7 (-- <sup>b</sup> )	
3. Are you up for social outings with coworkers? They're an important part of our office culture. <sup>c</sup>	3.17 (1.48)	117 (37.38)	56 (18.54)	148 (46.84)	
4. Have you sought out any professional development opportunities in your career thus far? <sup>a</sup>	-- <sup>d</sup>	4 (1.28)	14 (4.64)	5 (1.58)	
5. I'm glad you applied to this position. It's great to see young, eager women getting involved in the business world.	3.53 (1.66)	49 (15.65)	85 (28.15)	43 (13.61)	
6. If you had to describe yourself as an employee with one word, what would it be? <sup>a</sup>	1.58 (0.95)	2 (0.64)	2 (0.66)	2 (0.63)	
7. Oh before I forget, I didn't get your phone number with your application materials. Can you give it to me so I can follow up with you? Emails seem so formal sometimes.	4.04 (1.84)	47 (15.02)	64 (21.19)	42 (13.29)	

8. What do you think would be the hardest thing in this job for you? <sup>a</sup>	1.66 (1.06)	1 (0.32)	2 (0.66)	1 (0.32)
9. In this position, you'll have meetings with lots of older male clients. Is that something you're up for?	4.47 (1.69)	32 (10.22)	32 (10.60)	24 (7.59)
10. Do you have any questions for me? <sup>a</sup>	1.25 (0.76)	2 (0.64)	1 (0.33)	0 (0)
11. We work pretty late nights here. Hope your husband likes to cook!	4.74 (1.68)	13 (4.15)	12 (3.97)	13 (4.11)
12. At WorldWide, we often have to put in long hours, but the work is very rewarding. <sup>a</sup>	1.57 (1.11)	3 (0.96)	0 (0)	0 (0)
13. Another thing I'll add is that I personally think it's wonderful to have a woman around the office. Hope you don't mind having a bunch of guys around! Haha	5.02 (1.70)	14 (4.47)	10 (3.31)	14 (4.43)
14. That employee was promoted actually. So, still at WorldWide, just in a different position. <sup>a</sup>	-- <sup>d</sup>	0 (0)	1 (0.33)	0 (0)
15. And regarding office norms, will you be fine with wearing skirts and dresses to the office?	5.21 (1.69)	10 (3.19)	8 (2.65)	7 (2.22)
16. Any other questions? <sup>a</sup>	-- <sup>d</sup>	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
17. Apart from the skirts or dresses, we don't have a strict dress code here, so it's always fun to see what all the women in the office wear.	5.32 (1.72)	6 (1.92)	3 (0.99)	3 (0.95)
18. You know, Mary is a really nice name. Same name as my ex-wife.	5.32 (1.65)	3 (0.96)	1 (0.33)	3 (0.95)
19. Thanks for interviewing with me today, Mary. We'll be in touch soon. <sup>a</sup>	-- <sup>d</sup>	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.32)

Did not intervene	--	10 (3.19)	11 (3.64)	10 (3.16)
<hr/>				
Total		313 (100)	302 (100)	316 (100)
<hr/>				

*Note.* This table includes each question or statement made by the interviewer with extraneous phrasing (i.e., “Ok great,”) removed.

<sup>a</sup> Neutral question/statement.

<sup>b</sup> Eliminated for intervening too early and were not included in calculations.

<sup>c</sup> In Study 2, this question was “At this company, we really value customer satisfaction. Do you consider yourself a people pleaser?” ( $M = 3.00$ ,  $SD = 1.62$ ).

<sup>d</sup> Not pre-tested because added later as a filler item to improve interview realism and flow.

**Table 4***Means and Standard Deviations for all Dependent Variables by Condition*

Dependent variable	Study 1		Study 2		Study 3	
	Prototypical ( <i>n</i> = 154)	Nonprototypical ( <i>n</i> = 159)	Prototypical ( <i>n</i> = 153)	Nonprototypical ( <i>n</i> = 149)	Prototypical ( <i>n</i> = 157)	Nonprototypical ( <i>n</i> = 159)
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Duration to intervene (Q#)	6.00 (3.99)	7.62 (4.83)	6.94 (4.11)	7.02 (3.97)	6.02 (4.11)	6.40 (4.71)
Duration to intervene (seconds)	289.82 (169.68)	356.81 (201.96)	306.05 (165.82)	312.52 (169.45)	291.22 (175.39)	308.64 (204.58)
Sexual harassment	2.17 (1.35)	2.01 (1.26)	2.64 (1.68)	2.49 (1.53)	2.11 (1.35)	2.22 (1.54)
Gender harassment	— <sup>a</sup>	— <sup>a</sup>	3.40 (1.80)	3.32 (1.78)	2.97 (1.48)	2.94 (1.66)
Psychological harm	2.01 (1.10)	1.94 (0.95)	2.73 (1.46)	2.66 (1.45)	2.72 (1.33)	2.78 (1.49)
Consequences for manager	5.08 (1.53)	5.14 (1.57)	3.53 (1.74)	3.46 (1.60)	3.90 (1.50)	4.01 (1.55)

<sup>a</sup> Not collected in Study 1

## Discussion

Study 1 provides initial support for the hypothesis that bystanders will intervene later when sexual harassment targets a nonprototypical woman relative to a prototypical woman. However, prototypicality did not significantly affect any of the self-report variables. Study 2 replicates these methods and explores the generalizability and strengthens the manipulation by adding professional headshots of the candidates, subtly morphed to convey masculinity or femininity, to their resumes.

## Study 2

### Methods

#### *Participants*

Table 1 describes participants in exclusions; demographics are in Table 2. See preregistration here: [https://osf.io/smkj2/?view\\_only=16dca28b3ba5401fbfc40ae1fdd7d0ef](https://osf.io/smkj2/?view_only=16dca28b3ba5401fbfc40ae1fdd7d0ef)

#### *Materials and Procedures*

**Resume manipulation.** Participants were randomly assigned to view either a prototypical or nonprototypical woman job candidate's resume. We strengthened the manipulation by pairing each resume from Study 1 with a White woman's professional headshot, subtly morphed to make her appear either more feminine (prototypical condition) or more masculine (nonprototypical condition). To increase generalizability, we used stimulus sampling (Wells & Windschitl, 1999), so participants in each condition saw the resume paired with one of five headshots of women who varied by characteristics like their hair color, face shape, etc. (see appendix). Pilot-testing ( $N = 100$ ) revealed that this manipulation produced a large prototypicality effect,  $t(98) = -4.41$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = -0.88$ , 95% CI = [-1.29, -0.47].

Additionally, the job candidate in Study 1 was highly competent and qualified (i.e., post-graduate qualifications from a top university, multiple awards; certifications, etc.). Thus, to generalize beyond this stimulus, we updated the candidate's educational history and awards to be more moderately competent (see supplement). Finally, we eliminated the writing task participants completed after reading the candidate's resume.

**Interview observation.** After participants viewed Mary's resume, they observed the same "live" and increasingly harassing interview as in Study 1. We adjusted the candidate's responses in the interview to reflect the updated resume. Finally, we asked participants to intervene if the interview became inappropriate rather than inappropriate *or* unprofessional. As in Study 1, participants could intervene after each of the manager's questions/statements. After they intervened or observed the entire interview, they answered additional questions.

### *Measures*

Duration to intervene (two measures again highly correlated:  $r = .95, p < .001$ ) and prototypicality ( $\alpha = .83$ ) were measured as in Study 1.

**Sexual harassment.** Participants indicated the extent to which they agreed that Mary *was* sexually harassed and sexually objectified (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *extremely*) ( $\alpha = .87$ ).

**Gender harassment.** Given the low means for sexual harassment in Study 1, we also asked participants to indicate the extent to which the candidate was disrespected, treated in a sexist way, and treated inappropriately during the interview (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *extremely*) ( $\alpha = .93$ ). These items capture non-sexual manifestations of sexual harassment to address possible reluctance to use the sexual harassment label (Ilies et al., 2003).

**Psychological harm.** The psychological harm items in Study 1 may have been too severe to describe the mistreatment; thus, we replaced "traumatized" with "uncomfortable" ( $\alpha = .92$ ).

**Consequences for manager.** Participants responded to three items (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*) about the extent to which the interviewing manager should be better trained on how to interview, should be reported, and should experience consequences ( $\alpha = .87$ ).

## Results

### *Manipulation check*

Participants perceived the prototypical candidate as significantly more prototypical ( $M = 5.21$ ,  $SD = 0.85$ ) than the nonprototypical candidate ( $M = 4.86$ ,  $SD = 0.95$ ),  $t(300) = 3.30$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $d = -0.38$ , 95% CI = [-0.61, -0.15].

### *Duration to intervene*

Most participants (96.36%) intervened; see Table 3 for intervention frequencies by interview question.

Counter to hypotheses and Study 1, participants did not intervene at a later question when the sexual harassment target was nonprototypical vs prototypical,  $t(300) = -0.17$ ,  $p = .865$ ,  $d = -0.21$ , 95% CI = [-0.02, 0.25], nor did the manipulation affect intervention in time in seconds,  $t(300) = -0.34$ ,  $p = .738$ ,  $d = 0.04$ , 95% CI = [-0.19, 0.26]). See Table 4 for descriptive statistics.

### *Self-report Measures*

Participants did not differ significantly between conditions in the extent to which the candidate experienced sexual harassment ( $t(300) = 0.82$ ,  $p = .415$ ,  $d = -0.09$ , 95% CI = [-.32, .13]), gender harassment ( $t(300) = 0.36$ ,  $p = .719$ ,  $d = -0.04$ , 95% CI = [-0.27, 0.18]), and psychological harm ( $t(300) = 0.36$ ,  $p = .716$ ,  $d = -0.04$ , 95% CI = [-0.27, 0.18]), and whether the manager should experience consequences ( $t(300) = 0.36$ ,  $p = .722$ ,  $d = -0.04$ , 95% CI = [-0.27, 0.18]). See Table 4.

## Discussion

Despite our attempts to strengthen the manipulation, Study 2 did not find that candidate prototypicality affected bystander intervention or the self-report measures. We thus ran a third study to further explore the inconsistent findings, and we ultimately present a meta-analysis of all three studies.

## Study 3

### Methods

#### *Participants*

Participants, exclusions, and demographics are described in Tables 1 and 2. See preregistration here: [https://osf.io/kvx76/?view\\_only=0543e73a6bdf4c17ab04098695ccc091](https://osf.io/kvx76/?view_only=0543e73a6bdf4c17ab04098695ccc091)

#### *Materials and Procedures*

**Resume manipulation.** In Study 3, we used the resume manipulation from Study 1 and included the morphed faces from Study 2.<sup>3</sup>

**Interview observation.** We modeled the Study 1 procedures, using the exact same interview and interview instructions.

#### *Measures*

Duration to intervene (two measures again highly correlated:  $r = .99, p < .001$ ) and prototypicality ( $\alpha = .84$ ) were measured as in Studies 1 and 2. Perceptions of sexual harassment ( $\alpha = .89$ ), gender harassment ( $\alpha = .86$ ), psychological harm ( $\alpha = .88$ ), and consequences for the manager ( $\alpha = .84$ ) were measured as in Study 2.

## Results

#### *Manipulation check*

---

<sup>3</sup> We eliminated the morphed face with the smallest prototypicality effect, thus participants in each condition saw the resume paired with one of four (vs five) faces.

Participants perceived the prototypical woman candidate as significantly more prototypical ( $M = 5.08$ ,  $SD = 0.89$ ) than the nonprototypical woman candidate ( $M = 4.80$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ),  $t(314) = 2.59$ ,  $p = .010$ ,  $d = -0.29$ , 95% CI = [-0.51, -0.07].

### ***Duration to intervene***

Most participants (96.84%) intervened; see Table 3 for intervention frequencies by question. Although the means were consistent with the hypothesis (see Table 4), this difference was not significant by question number,  $t(314) = -0.77$ ,  $p = .441$ ,  $d = -0.09$ , 95% CI = [-0.13, 0.31], or time in seconds,  $t(314) = -0.81$ ,  $p = .417$ ,  $d = 0.09$ , 95% CI = [-0.13, 0.31].

### ***Self-report Measures***

No additional dependent variables were significantly different by condition: sexual harassment ( $t(314) = -0.69$ ,  $p = .493$ ,  $d = 0.08$ , 95% CI = [-0.14, 0.30]), gender harassment ( $t(314) = 0.20$ ,  $p = .842$ ,  $d = -0.02$ , 95% CI = [-0.24, 0.20]), psychological harm ( $t(314) = -0.40$ ,  $p = .686$ ,  $d = 0.05$ , 95% CI = [-0.18, 0.27]), manager consequences ( $t(314) = -0.59$ ,  $p = .553$ ,  $d = 0.07$ , 95% CI = [-0.15, 0.29]). See Table 4 for means and standard deviations.

## **Meta-analysis**

### **Duration to intervene**

To address the discrepancies in findings across our studies, we conducted a meta-analysis across all three studies for duration to intervene ( $N = 931$ ). We used a fixed effects approach based on Goh and colleague's (2016) process and macro to test our hypothesis with greater power. The meta-analysis revealed that, consistent with our hypothesis, bystanders intervened later in the nonprototypical woman's interview compared to the prototypical woman's (by question number:  $d = 0.16$ ,  $SE = .07$ ,  $Z = 2.39$ , 95% CI = [0.03, 0.29],  $p = .017$ ; and by seconds:  $d = 0.16$ ,  $SE = .07$ ,  $Z = 2.48$ , 95% CI = [0.03, 0.29],  $p = .013$ ). As the effect size was smaller than

anticipated, the meta-analysis leverages the statistical power of multiple studies to draw conclusions about the overall reliability and replicability of the phenomena.

### **General Discussion**

Across three studies using ecologically valid experimental methods that held sexual harassment constant and used a behavioral measure to objectively assess intervention, we find that nonprototypical women are neglected by bystanders relative to prototypical women. Although a nonprototypical and prototypical woman candidate experienced identical sexual harassment in a job interview, bystanders were slower to stop the nonprototypical (vs. prototypical) woman's sexual harassment. The results varied by study; however, the meta-analysis produced an overall significant effect, that while small, is meaningful. On average, the nonprototypical (vs. prototypical) woman endured a sexually harassing interview for about 30 additional seconds before bystanders intervened. Given the repetitive nature of sexual harassment (Sojo et al., 2016), the negative effects of this bystander neglect will accumulate, leaving nonprototypical women exposed to greater harassment and more vulnerable to its harmful effects than their prototypical counterparts. Further, this neglect may condone future harassment by cueing to others, and sexually harassed women themselves, that their negative treatment is appropriate (Mallett et al., 2021).

Counter to our hypotheses, participants did not differ in the extent to which they believed the prototypical versus nonprototypical woman was harassed or psychologically harmed in the interview, and the extent to which her interviewer deserved consequences. However, our methods may have been insensitive with respect to testing this hypothesis as nonprototypical women in fact experienced more objective sexual harassment than prototypical women *because* participants intervened later in their interviews. Future tests better suited to continuously

assessing these self-reported outcomes are needed to more accurately examine our theoretical framework, in which bystanders should intervene later in nonprototypical women's sexual harassment because they perceive her mistreatment as less problematic (see supplement for mediation).

In each study, the prototypicality manipulation was weaker in the study proper compared to pilot testing. As women are perceived as more prototypically female when described as victims of sexual harassment rather than other negative behaviors (even when their physical appearance is held constant) (Goh et al., 2022), this raises the possibility that being harassed in the present studies may have enhanced perceptions of the candidate's prototypicality, potentially weakening the manipulation. Nonetheless, the manipulation was always significant and was thoroughly pilot tested, and the methods tightly controlled, suggesting that prototypes were effectively the cause of the bystander intervention effects, even if this manipulation slowly decayed across the studies as harassment increased.

Finally, we found a small effect of prototypicality on bystander intervention in our meta-analysis, but we did not reliably find the effect in each of the individual studies.<sup>4</sup> Given the varied results, we wondered whether a moderator variable might be responsible, and tested both participant gender and benevolent sexism, but neither moderated the prototypicality effect (see supplement). The inconsistent results may have occurred because we assumed a small to

---

<sup>4</sup> We ran an additional study with an undergraduate sample that we do not report due to methodological problems. Resumes were paired with one of two reverse correlation composite images from Goh and colleagues (2022) representing mental images of a sexual harassment victim or an anti-sexual harassment victim. The manipulation significantly affected only the single manipulation check item assessing masculinity (reverse-coded), and this item was poorly correlated with the rest of the manipulation check items ( $r_s = -.07$  to  $-.10$ ), overall manipulation effect:  $t(276) = 2.19$ ,  $p = .029$ ,  $d = -0.26$ , 95% CI = [-0.50, -0.03]. Further, this study was run during a period of hybrid covid learning, and recruitment in this online study was unusually slow (ten months) and attrition was great (28%), and we neglected to screen out international students who had very little exposure to US culture and norms surrounding sexual harassment and were often residing in their home countries during this period and many had never made it to the US. For these reasons, our faith in the integrity of the manipulation, sampling, and resulting data showing null effects is low, and we retain only those studies with robust methods.

moderate effect ( $d = 0.30$ ), but our meta-analysis suggests the effect may be smaller ( $d = 0.16$  and  $0.17$ ) and require a larger sample to detect. Thus, the meta-analysis provides a more sensitive analysis than any of the studies alone.

### **Practical Implications**

These findings offer insight into how organizations can best facilitate bystander intervention to reduce unequal outcomes in who receives protection from bystanders. These studies suggest that bystander intervention trainings should challenge the false assumption that sexually harassment is directed primarily at women who embody the traditional prototype of womanhood. Specifically, trainings should emphasize that anyone can be sexually harassed and highlight those most vulnerable (Danna et al., 2020). Whereas we focused on variation along the masculinity and femininity dimensions, this expanded focus can include women who belong to social categories that are often neglected from who is considered a sexual harassment victim, such as Black women (Crenshaw, 2019). Broadening representations of who is considered a sexual harassment victim may encourage advocacy on behalf of nonprototypical women when they experience sexual harassment.

Additionally, organizations can encourage bystander intervention by reducing social costs that typically discourage intervention (Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Kaiser & Major, 2006). In our studies, nearly all participants intervened eventually (about 96%), perhaps because we made bystander intervention normative and helpful. We asked participants to notice and interrupt inappropriate or unprofessional behavior and assured them that their intervention would be anonymous and not harmful to the job candidate. Organizations can apply these learnings by emphasizing that intervening in bias is helpful, necessary, and a bystander's responsibility

(Dobbin & Kalev, 2016), and they can create procedures where reporting and remediation is treated with confidentiality.

### **Conclusion**

A meta-analysis of three experiments revealed that bystanders took longer to interrupt sexual harassment when it targeted nonprototypical women relative to prototypical women, leaving the former enduring more sexual harassment than the latter. Although bystanders are powerful allies for women (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Gulker et al., 2013), they may neglect women who deviate from the stereotypically feminine prototype of a sexual harassment victim. Workplace trainings, especially on bystander intervention, should educate employees about the reality of sexual harassment- those most vulnerable are the least recognized and protected (Kaiser et al., 2022; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008) - to prevent this neglect. By interrupting sexual harassment when it targets *all* women rather than a narrow subset, bystanders can help create safer workplaces for women.

## References

- Ashburn-Nardo, L., Morris, K. A., & Goodwin, S. A. (2008). The confronting prejudiced responses (CPR) model: Applying CPR in organizations. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 7(3), 332-342.
- Berdahl, J. L. (2007). The sexual harassment of uppity women. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(2), 425–437.
- Bergman, M. E., Langhout, R. D., Palmieri, P. A., Cortina, L. M., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (2002). The (un) reasonableness of reporting: Antecedents and consequences of reporting sexual harassment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87(2), 230-242.
- Champely, S., Ekstrom, C., Dalgaard, P., Gill, J., Weibelzahl, S., Anandkumar, A., Ford, C., Volcic, R., & De Rosario, H., (2017). pwr: Basic functions for power analysis. Software <https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/pwr/>
- Chan, D. K., Chow, S. Y., Lam, C. B., & Cheung, S. F. (2008). Examining the job-related, psychological, and physical outcomes of workplace sexual harassment: A meta-analytic review. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 32(4), 362-376.
- Cihangir, S., Barreto, M., & Ellemers, N. (2014). Men as allies against sexism: The positive effects of a suggestion of sexism by male (vs. female) sources. *Sage Open*, 4(2), 2158244014539168.
- Cortina, L. M., & Magley, V. J. (2003). Raising voice, risking retaliation: Events following interpersonal mistreatment in the workplace. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 8(4), 247-265.
- Crenshaw, K. (2019). We still have not learned from Anita Hill's testimony. *UCLA Women's Law Journal*, 26(1), 17-20.

- Czopp, A. M., & Monteith, M. J. (2003). Confronting prejudice (literally): Reactions to confrontations of racial and gender bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29(4), 532-544.
- Danna, G. C., Hernandez, J., Mahabir, B., Nandigama, D., & Cheung, H. K. (2020). Who else besides (White) women? The need for representation in harassment training. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 13(2), 208-212.
- Diekmann, A. B., & Eagly, A. H. (2000). Stereotypes as dynamic constructs: Women and men of the past, present, and future. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26(10), 1171-1188.
- Dobbin, F., & Kalev, A. (2016). Why diversity programs fail. *Harvard Business Review*, 94(7), 1-10.
- Dobbin, F., & Kalev, A. (2019). The promise and peril of sexual harassment programs. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116(25), 12255-12260.
- Dobbin, F., & Kalev, A. (2020). Making discrimination and harassment complaint systems better. In D. Pedulla (Ed.), *What works? Evidence-based ideas to increase diversity, equity, and inclusion in the workplace* (pp. 24-29). Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.
- Drury, B. J., & Kaiser, C. R. (2014). Allies against sexism: The role of men in confronting sexism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 70(4), 637-652.
- Edelman, L. B., & Cabrera, J. (2020). Sex-based harassment and symbolic compliance. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 16(1), 361-383.
- Estevan-Reina, L., de Lemus, S., & Megías, J. L. (2020). Feminist or paternalistic: Understanding men's motivations to confront sexism. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10, 2988.

- Fitzgerald, L. F., & Cortina, L. M. (2018). Sexual harassment in work organizations: A view from the 21st century. In C. B. Travis, J. W. White, A. Rutherford, W. S. Williams, S. L. Cook, & K. F. Wyche (Eds.), *APA handbook of the psychology of women: Perspectives on women's private and public lives* (pp. 215–234). American Psychological Association.
- Fitzgerald, L. F. (2017). Still the last great open secret: Sexual harassment as systemic trauma. *Journal of Trauma & Dissociation*, 18(4), 483-489.
- Gajanan, M. (2017, October 17). 'Everybody f--king knew.' Screenwriter Scott Rosenberg unleashes on Harvey Weinstein. Time. <https://time.com/4985551/scott-rosenberg-facebook-harvey-weinstein/>
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist*, 56(2), 109-118.
- Goh, J. X., Bandt-Law, B., Cheek, N. N., Sinclair, S., & Kaiser, C. R. (2022). Narrow prototypes and neglected victims: Understanding perceptions of sexual harassment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 122(5), 873–893.
- Goh, J. X., Hall, J. A., & Rosenthal, R. (2016). Mini meta-analysis of your own studies: Some arguments on why and a primer on how. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 10(10), 535-549.
- Good, J. J., Moss-Racusin, C. A., & Sanchez, D. T. (2012). When do we confront? Perceptions of costs and benefits predict confronting discrimination on behalf of the self and others. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 36(2), 210-226.
- Gulker, J. E., Mark, A. Y., & Monteith, M. J. (2013). Confronting prejudice: The who, what, and why of confrontation effectiveness. *Social Influence*, 8(4), 280-293.

- Hildebrand, L. K., Jusuf, C. C., & Monteith, M. J. (2020). Ally confrontations as identity-safety cues for marginalized individuals. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 50*(6), 1318-1333.
- Ilies, R., Hauserman, N., Schwochau, S., & Stibal, J. (2003). Reported incidence rates of work-related sexual harassment in the United States: Using meta-analysis to explain reported rate disparities. *Personnel Psychology, 56*(3), 607-631.
- Kaiser, C. R., & Major, B. (2006). A social psychological perspective on perceiving and reporting discrimination. *Law & Social Inquiry, 31*(4), 801-830.
- Kaiser, C. R., Bandt-Law, B., Cheek, N. N., & Schachtman, R. (2022). Gender prototypes shape perceptions of and responses to sexual harassment. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 31*(3), 254-261.
- Latane, B., & Darley, J. M. (1970). *The unresponsive bystander: Why doesn't he help*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Lee, S. Y., Hanson, M. D., & Cheung, H. K. (2019). Incorporating bystander intervention into sexual harassment training. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology, 12*(1), 52-57.
- Leskinen, E. A., Rabelo, V. C., & Cortina, L. M. (2015). Gender stereotyping and harassment: A “catch-22” for women in the workplace. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law, 21*(2), 192-204.
- Major, B., Quinton, W. J., & McCoy, S. K. (2002). Antecedents and consequences of attributions to discrimination: Theoretical and empirical advances. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, Vol. 34, pp. 251–330). Academic Press.
- Mallett, R. K., Ford, T. E., & Woodzicka, J. A. (2021). Ignoring sexism increases women's tolerance of sexual harassment. *Self and Identity, 20*(7), 913-929.

- Moser, C. E., & Branscombe, N. R. (2021). Male allies at work: Gender-equality supportive men reduce negative underrepresentation effects among women. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506211033748>.
- Prentice, D. A., & Carranza, E. (2002). What women and men should be, shouldn't be, are allowed to be, and don't have to be: The contents of prescriptive gender stereotypes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *26*(4), 269-281.
- Purdie-Vaughns, V., & Eibach, R. P. (2008). Intersectional invisibility: The distinctive advantages and disadvantages of multiple subordinate-group identities. *Sex Roles*, *59*(5), 377-391.
- Shelton, J. N., & Stewart, R. E. (2004). Confronting perpetrators of prejudice: The inhibitory effects of social costs. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *28*(3), 215-223.
- Sojo, V. E., Wood, R. E., & Genat, A. E. (2016). Harmful workplace experiences and women's occupational well-being: A meta-analysis. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *40*(1), 10-40.
- U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (n.d.). Sexual harassment.  
<https://www.eeoc.gov/sexual-harassment>
- Wells, G. L., & Windschitl, P. D. (1999). Stimulus sampling and social psychological experimentation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *25*(9), 1115-1125.
- Willness, C. R., Steel, P., & Lee, K. (2007). A meta-analysis of the antecedents and consequences of workplace sexual harassment. *Personnel Psychology*, *60*(1), 127-162.
- Woodzicka, J. A., & LaFrance, M. (2001). Real versus imagined gender harassment. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(1), 15-30.
- Woodzicka, J. A., & LaFrance, M. (2005). The effects of subtle sexual harassment on women's performance in a job interview. *Sex Roles*, *53*(1), 67-77.

Zidenberg, A. M., Sparks, B., Harkins, L., & Lidstone, S. K. (2019). Tipping the scales: Effects of gender, rape myth acceptance, and anti-fat attitudes on judgments of sexual coercion scenarios. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 0886260519872978.

## Appendix

### Study 1 Resumes

#### *Prototypical*

Mary W.

#### SUMMARY

I am a rigorously trained Business and Sales Manager who is excited to be considered for the position of Director of Sales at WorldWide Inc. Interdependence and teamwork are key values that I incorporate in my professional endeavors. In my interactions with co-workers and customers, in particular, I focus on having sensitive and friendly exchanges, to ensure positive outcomes. When working within and across teams, I focus on cooperation to ensure that objectives are reached, and projects progress in a timely fashion.

I am motivated by a work environment that values flexibility, celebrates successes and embraces growth from failures, and offers a caring environment where co-workers are encouraged to be collaborative. I'm looking for a position through which I can have a real impact on the company's performance and culture.

#### EXPERIENCE

##### Sales and Strategy Specialist

*August 2019-Present*

Indigo Inc.

- Improved sales 20% company-wide by creating a culture of interdependence in the organization
- Reviewed and coordinated thoughtful strategies to improve employee performance
- Developed tools that promote teamwork in the workplace to reach sales quotas

##### Sales Associate

*June 2018-August 2019*

Systems Plus

- Trained and led a sales team of twelve on building cooperative negotiation techniques
- Increased team productivity by encouraging team members to be collaborative and solve issues together
- Cultivated a team culture where the personal impacts of the high-stress environment of sales was openly discussed

##### Sales Representative

*July 2014-September 2016*

Systems Plus

- Built strong relationships with new and existing clients through interpersonal connections
- Utilized an understanding approach when managing and responding to customer questions and concerns
- Encouraged fellow team members' success by celebrating those with displayed patience for daily cold-calls

#### CERTIFICATIONS AND AWARDS

##### Professional development

##### Emotional Leadership Certificate

- Two-day training and certification course on leading with emotional openness

##### *Flexible but Effective Negotiations seminar*

- One-time seminar demonstrating techniques to be understanding in negotiations

##### Awards

##### "10 Young Couples in Business to Watch (2017)"

- Along with husband, named one of ten young couples in business to watch by local publication

##### *"Most Collaborative First-Year Sales Representative"*

- Awarded based on performance and display of cooperation as a first-year sales representative

#### OTHER INTERESTS AND EXPERIENCE

##### University of Michigan Cheerleading

- *Member*, 2010-2014 | *Captain*, 2013-2014

##### Future Business Leaders, University of Michigan chapter

- *Co-chair*, 2012-2014 | Co-founded chapter with now-husband in 2011

##### Cooking Club

- *Member*, 2010-2014 | *President*, 2013-2014

#### EDUCATION

##### MBA in Marketing Management

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor | Ross School of Business

*September 2016-June 2018*

##### BA in Business Administration

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

*September 2010-June 2014*

*Software Skills: Salesforce, HubSpot, Pardot & SalesLoft, LinkedIn & Sales Navigator, Drift, Microsoft & G Suite, WordPress*

*Nonprototypical*

Mary W.

**SUMMARY**

I am a rigorously trained Business and Sales Manager who is excited to be considered for the position of Director of Sales at WorldWide Inc. Independence and leadership are key values that I incorporate in my professional endeavors. In my interactions with co-workers and customers, in particular, I focus on having rational and firm exchanges to ensure positive outcomes. When working within and across teams, I focus on risk-taking to ensure that objectives are reached, and projects progress in a timely fashion.

I am motivated by a work environment that values tenacity, celebrates successes and embraces growth from failures, and offers a demanding environment where co-workers are encouraged to be self-reliant. I am looking for a position through which I can have a real impact on the company's performance and culture.

**EXPERIENCE****Sales and Strategy Specialist***August 2019-Present*

Indigo Inc.

- Improved sales 20% company-wide by creating a culture of independence in the organization
- Reviewed and coordinated aggressive strategies to improve employee performance
- Developed tools that promote autonomy in the workplace to reach sales quotas

**Sales Associate***June 2018-August 2019*

Systems Plus

- Trained and led a sales team of twelve on building tenacious negotiation techniques
- Increased team productivity by encouraging team members to be self-sufficient and solve issues independently
- Cultivated a team culture where the high-stress environment of sales was happily embraced

**Sales Representative***July 2014-September 2016*

Systems Plus

- Built strong relationships with new and existing clients through logistics planning
- Utilized a rational approach when managing and responding to customer questions and concerns
- Encouraged fellow team members' productivity by celebrating those with who displayed stamina for daily cold-calls

**CERTIFICATIONS AND AWARDS**Professional development**Rational Leadership Certificate**

- Two-day training and certification course on leading with emotional control

***Tough but Effective Negotiations seminar***

- One-time seminar demonstrating techniques to be steadfast in negotiations

Awards**"10 Young Couples in Business to Watch (2017)"**

- Along with husband, named one of ten young couples in business to watch in local publication

**"Most Self-Reliant First-Year Sales Representative"***Systems Plus, July, 2015*

- Awarded based on performance and display of independence as a first year sales representative

**OTHER INTERESTS AND EXPERIENCE****University of Michigan Women's Ice Hockey**

- *Member, 2010-2014 | Captain, 2013-2014*

**Future Business Leaders, University of Michigan chapter**

- *Co-chair, 2012-2014 | Co-founded club with now-husband in 2011*

**Gaming Club**

- *Member, 2010-2014 | President, 2013-2014*

**EDUCATION****MBA in Marketing Management***September 2016-June 2018*

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor | Ross School of Business

**BA in Business Administration***September 2010-June 2014*

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

**Software Skills:** *Salesforce, HubSpot, Pardot & SalesLoft, LinkedIn & Sales Navigator, Drift, Microsoft & G Suite, WordPress*

## Study 2 Resumes

### *Prototypical*

Resume was paired with one of five faces:



A



B



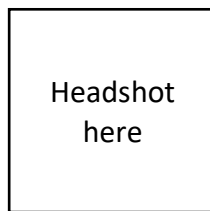
C



D



E



### Mary W

Sales and Strategy Specialist

Email: @gmail.com

LinkedIn: linkedin.com/in/

I am a rigorously trained Sales and Strategy Specialist who uses interdependence and teamwork in my professional endeavors. I focus on cooperation to ensure that objectives are reached, and projects progress efficiently. I am seeking a role where I can have an impact on the company's performance and culture.

#### EDUCATION

**BA in Business Administration**

Marquette University | September 2010-June 2014

#### SOFTWARE SKILLS

Salesforce | HubSpot | Pardot & SalesLoft | LinkedIn  
& Sales Navigator | Microsoft & G Suite | Drift

#### WORK EXPERIENCE

##### Sales and Strategy Specialist

Indigo Inc. | August 2019-Present

- Improved sales 20% company-wide by creating a culture of interdependence in the organization
- Coordinate thoughtful strategies to improve employee performance
- Developed tools that promote employee teamwork to reach sales quotas

##### Sales Associate

Systems Plus | June 2016-August 2019

- Trained a sales team of twelve on cooperative negotiation techniques
- Increased productivity by encouraging collaboration and communal problem-solving
- Cultivated a team culture where the high-stress environment of sales was openly discussed

##### Sales Representative

Systems Plus | July 2014-June 2016

- Built strong relationships with new and existing clients through interpersonal connections
- Utilized an understanding approach when managing customer questions and concerns
- Encouraged colleagues' productivity by celebrating those displaying patience for daily cold-calls

#### CERTIFICATIONS & AWARDS

##### Emotional Leadership Certificate

Two-day certification course on leading with emotional openness

##### Flexible but Effective Negotiations seminar

One-time seminar on techniques to be understanding in negotiations

##### "10 Young Couples in Business to Watch (2017)"

Along with husband, named one of ten young couples in business to watch in local publication

#### OTHER INTERESTS & EXPERIENCE

##### Marquette University Cheerleading

Member, 2010-2014

##### Future Business Leaders

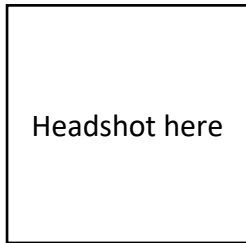
Co-chair, 2012-2014 | Co-founded club with now-husband in 2011

##### Cooking Club

Member, 2010-2014

*Nonprototypical*

Resume was paired with one of five faces:



**Mary W**

Sales and Strategy Specialist

Email: @gmail.com

LinkedIn: linkedin.com/in/

I am a rigorously trained Sales and Strategy Specialist who uses independence and leadership in my professional endeavors. I focus on risk-taking to ensure that objectives are reached, and projects progress efficiently. I am seeking a role where I can have an impact on the company's performance and culture.

**EDUCATION**

**BA in Business Administration**

Marquette University | *September 2010-June 2014*

**SOFTWARE SKILLS**

*Salesforce | HubSpot | Pardot & SalesLoft | LinkedIn & Sales Navigator | Microsoft & G Suite | Drift*

**WORK EXPERIENCE**

**Sales and Strategy Specialist**

Indigo Inc. | *August 2019-Present*

- Improved sales 20% company-wide by creating a culture of independence in the organization
- Coordinate aggressive strategies to improve employee performance
- Developed tools that promote employee autonomy to reach sales quotas

**Sales Associate**

Systems Plus | *June 2016-August 2019*

- Trained a sales team of twelve on tenacious negotiation techniques
- Increased productivity by encouraging self-sufficiency and independent problem-solving
- Cultivated a team culture where the high-stress environment of sales was happily embraced

**Sales Representative**

Systems Plus | *July 2014-June 2016*

- Built strong relationships with new and existing clients through logistics planning
- Utilized a rational approach when managing customer questions and concerns
- Encouraged colleagues' productivity by celebrating those displaying stamina for daily cold-calls

**CERTIFICATIONS & AWARDS**

**Rational Leadership Certificate**

Two-day certification course on leading with emotional control

***Tough but Effective Negotiations seminar***

One-time seminar on techniques to be steadfast in negotiations

**"10 Young Couples in Business to Watch (2017)"**

Along with husband, named one of ten young couples in business to watch in local publication

**OTHER INTERESTS & EXPERIENCE**

**Marquette University Women's Ice Hockey**

*Member, 2010-2014*

**Future Business Leaders**

*Co-chair, 2012-2014 | Co-founded club with now-husband in 2011*

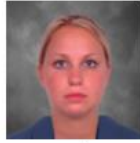
**Gaming Club**

*Member, 2010-2014*

## Study 3 Resumes

### Prototypical

Resume was paired with one of four faces:



A



B



C



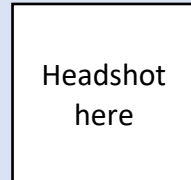
D

### Mary W

Sales and Strategy Specialist

Email: [REDACTED]@gmail.com

LinkedIn: linkedin.com/in/[REDACTED]



I am a rigorously trained Business and Sales Manager who is excited to be considered for the position of Director of Sales at WorldWide Inc. Interdependence and teamwork are key values that I incorporate in my professional endeavors. In my interactions with co-workers and customers, in particular, I focus on having sensitive and friendly exchanges, to ensure positive outcomes. When working within and across teams, I focus on cooperation to ensure that objectives are reached, and projects progress in a timely fashion.

I am motivated by a work environment that values flexibility, celebrates successes and embraces growth from failures, and offers a caring environment where co-workers are encouraged to be collaborative. I'm looking for a position through which I can have a real impact on the company's performance and culture.

#### WORK EXPERIENCE

##### Sales and Strategy Specialist

Indigo Inc. | August 2019-Present

- Improved sales 20% company-wide by creating a culture of interdependence in the organization
- Reviewed and coordinated thoughtful strategies to improve employee performance
- Developed tools that promote teamwork in the workplace to reach sales quotas

##### Sales Associate

Systems Plus | June 2016-August 2019

- Trained and led a sales team of twelve on building cooperative negotiation techniques
- Increased team productivity by encouraging team members to be collaborative and solve issues together
- Cultivated a team culture where the personal impacts of the high-stress environment of sales was openly discussed

##### Sales Representative

Systems Plus | July 2014-June 2016

- Built strong relationships with new and existing clients through interpersonal connections
- Utilized an understanding approach when managing and responding to customer questions and concerns
- Encouraged fellow team members' success by celebrating those with displayed patience for daily cold-calls

#### EDUCATION

##### MBA in Marketing Management

September 2016-June 2018

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor | Ross School of Business

##### BA in Business Administration

September 2010-June 2014

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

#### CERTIFICATIONS & AWARDS

##### Professional development

- Emotional Leadership Certificate**  
Two-day certification course on leading with emotional openness
- Flexible but Effective Negotiations seminar**  
One-time seminar on techniques to be understanding in negotiations

##### Awards

- "10 Young Couples in Business to Watch (2017)"**  
Along with husband, named one of ten young couples in business to watch in local publication
- "Most Collaborative First-Year Sales Representative"** | Systems Plus | July, 2015  
Awarded based on performance and display of cooperation as a first-year sales representative

#### OTHER INTERESTS & EXPERIENCE

##### University of Michigan Cheerleading

Member, 2010-2014 | Captain, 2013-2014

##### Future Business Leaders, University of Michigan chapter

Co-chair, 2012-2014 | Co-founded club with now-husband in 2011

##### Cooking Club

Member, 2010-2014 | President, 2013-2014

#### SOFTWARE SKILLS

Salesforce, HubSpot, Pardot & SalesLoft, LinkedIn & Sales Navigator, Drift, Microsoft & G Suite, WordPress

*Nonprototypical*

Resume was paired with one of four faces:



A



B



C



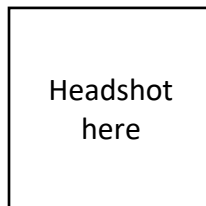
D

**Mary W**

Sales and Strategy Specialist

Email: @gmail.com

LinkedIn: linkedin.com/in/



I am a rigorously trained Business and Sales Manager who is excited to be considered for the position of Director of Sales at WorldWide Inc. Independence and leadership are key values that I incorporate in my professional endeavors. In my interactions with co-workers and customers, in particular, I focus on having rational and firm exchanges to ensure positive outcomes. When working within and across teams, I focus on risk-taking to ensure that objectives are reached, and projects progress in a timely fashion.

I am motivated by a work environment that values tenacity, celebrates successes and embraces growth from failures, and offers a demanding environment where co-workers are encouraged to be self-reliant. I am looking for a position through which I can have a real impact on the company's performance and culture.

**WORK EXPERIENCE****Sales and Strategy Specialist**

Indigo Inc. | August 2019-Present

- Improved sales 20% company-wide by creating a culture of independence in the organization
- Reviewed and coordinated aggressive strategies to improve employee performance
- Developed tools that promote autonomy in the workplace to reach sales quotas

**Sales Associate**

Systems Plus | June 2016-August 2019

- Trained and led a sales team of twelve on building tenacious negotiation techniques
- Increased team productivity by encouraging team members to be self-sufficient and solve issues independently
- Cultivated a team culture where the high-stress environment of sales was happily embraced

**Sales Representative**

Systems Plus | July 2014-June 2016

- Built strong relationships with new and existing clients through logistics planning
- Utilized a rational approach when managing and responding to customer questions and concerns
- Encouraged fellow team members' productivity by celebrating those with who displayed stamina for daily cold-calls

**EDUCATION****MBA in Marketing Management**

September 2016-June 2018

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor | Ross School of Business

**BA in Business Administration**

September 2010-June 2014

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

**CERTIFICATIONS & AWARDS****Professional development**

- **Rational Leadership Certificate**  
Two-day certification course on leading with emotional control
- **Tough but Effective Negotiations seminar**  
One-time seminar on techniques to be steadfast in negotiations

**Awards**

- **"10 Young Couples in Business to Watch (2017)"**  
Along with husband, named one of ten young couples in business to watch in local publication
- **"Most Self-Reliant First-Year Sales Representative"** | *Systems Plus*, July, 2015  
Awarded based on performance and display of independence as a first-year sales representative

**OTHER INTERESTS & EXPERIENCE**

**University of Michigan Women's Ice Hockey**  
*Member*, 2010-2014 | *Captain*, 2013-2014

**Future Business Leaders, University of Michigan chapter**

*Co-chair*, 2012-2014 | Co-founded club with now-husband in 2011

**Gaming Club**

*Member*, 2010-2014 | *President*, 2013-2014

**SOFTWARE SKILLS**

*Salesforce, HubSpot, Pardot & SalesLoft, LinkedIn & Sales Navigator, Drift, Microsoft & G Suite, WordPress*