

Gender prototypicality shapes self-perceptions of and bystander responses to women's sexual
harassment

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Abstract

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Nonprototypical women (e.g., masculine, transgender, Black, etc.) are especially vulnerable to sexual harassment but face greater credibility discounts relative to prototypical women (e.g., feminine, cisgender, White, etc.). In three parts and across thirteen pre-registered studies (total $N = 4,922$), we examine the consequences of this prototype bias for women's self-perceptions (Part 1) of and bystander responses (Parts 2 and 3) to their sexual harassment. We advance the literature on the prototype bias by testing these novel outcomes and manipulating gender prototypicality in different ways within and across studies. In Part 1, six studies show that wearing more masculine vs. feminine clothing, but not possessing more masculine vs. feminine traits, leads women to perceive the same experiences as less sexually harassing. In Part 2, a meta-analysis across four experiments shows that bystanders intervene less readily for women who possess more stereotypically masculine vs. feminine traits and are transgender vs. cisgender. In Part 3, unexpectedly, Black vs. White women receive similar support from bystanders across

three experiments, suggesting the prototype bias may not extend to this form of between-group prototypicality. Taken together, this work highlights the pervasiveness and limits of the prototype bias in how women perceive their own sexual harassment and bystanders respond to women's sexual harassment.

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Gender prototypicality shapes self-perceptions of and bystander responses to women's sexual harassment

During a woman's job interview, the man interviewing her makes a series of comments, starting with "I like your outfit. That color looks great on you," and ending with "Can I have your number so I can follow up with you? Emails seem so formal sometimes." If you saw or experienced this interview, you might wonder whether the manager was just being friendly or, alternatively, if his behavior could be considered sexually harassing. Scholarship on prototypes and perceiving sexual harassment demonstrates that whether the interviewee conforms to or deviates from traditional notions of femininity shapes the extent to which this experience is recognized as sexual harassment (Goh et al., 2022; Kaiser et al., 2022). In this "prototype bias", perceivers judge women's sexual harassment as more credible and harmful when the women possess stereotypically feminine (prototypical) vs. masculine (nonprototypical) traits and/or features. In the current work, we use this prototype framework to investigate how women themselves (Part 1) and bystanders (Part 2 and 3) perpetuate the prototype bias in their self-perceptions of and interventions in sexual harassment respectively. These two novel outcomes offer insight into downstream and practical consequences of the prototype bias, and we advance the literature by examining multiple types and facets of gender prototypicality.

Sexual Harassment is Pervasive and Detrimental

Workplace sexual harassment remains pervasive nearly eight years after allegations of Harvey Weinstein's sexual misconduct sparked a resurgence of the #MeToo movement. Despite heightened awareness of sexual harassment, a nation-wide panel survey conducted in the U.S. in 2018 and again in 2024 shows no meaningful change in the rates at which women experience

sexual harassment (Raj et al., 2024). These rates are high; 82% of women reported experiencing sexual harassment or assault in their lifetimes, and 37% of these experiences occurred at work.

These high rates of sexual harassment are concerning given the serious psychological and economic consequences of experiencing this mistreatment. Women who experience sexual harassment face decreased mental and physical health (Sojo et al., 2016; Willness et al., 2007) as well as lower work performance and engagement (Chan et al., 2008; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2005). At an extreme, a state level analysis in the U.S. found that higher rates of women filing formal reports of sexual harassment and gender-career implicit biases, negatively predicted women's life expectancies (Cunningham & Wicker, 2024).

The Role of Gender Prototypes in Perceiving and Experiencing Sexual Harassment

Perceivers recognize an ambiguous event as discrimination by realizing the target's relevant social identity prompted the behavior (Major et al., 2002). Sexual harassment is a form of discrimination that can be difficult to detect and label because it is more often verbal (e.g., sexist comments) and relatively subtle rather than explicitly sexual (Leskinen et al., 2011; Raj et al., 2024). In addition, sexual harassment and the category "woman" are strongly associated because academia, the law, and policies historically define sexual harassment as a form of discrimination against women (Crenshaw, 1991; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; MacKinnon, 1979). As a result, perceivers will recognize sexual harassment more readily when they believe the target was mistreated because she is woman.

The social category "woman" is broad and encompasses individuals with varying traits and identities. However, prototypes, comprised of stereotypical traits and features (Rosch, 1973), often narrowly represent such broad social categories. The prototype of a woman is stereotypically feminine, possessing traits like sensitivity, warmth, and kindness (Prentice &

Carranza, 2002), and appearing attractive, thin, etc. (Helgeson, 1994). Nonprototypical women instead possess stereotypically masculine traits like assertiveness, ambition, and independence (Prentice & Carranza, 2002) and appear muscular, tall, etc. (Helgeson, 1994). These gender prototypes are pervasive and held by both men and women (Carlsson & Sinclair, 2018; Ellemers, 2018; Haines et al., 2016).

Importantly, gender prototypes shape the extent to which people recognize women as credible sexual harassment victims. Across multiple studies, perceivers rated nonprototypical/masculine women's sexual harassment as less credible and harmful compared to prototypical/feminine women's (Goh et al., 2022). In addition to within-group variation, women's intersecting social identities (*between-group* variation) determine their prototypicality and perceiver's subsequent sexual harassment judgements (Kaiser et al., 2022). Intersectionality theory posits that individuals with intersecting marginalized social identities (e.g., race, gender identity, sexuality, etc.) are seen as nonprototypical of their broader groups (Crenshaw, 1989; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). According to this theory and empirical evidence, Black women (Coles & Pasek, 2020) and transgender women (Gallagher & Bodenhausen, 2021) are considered nonprototypical of their gender. Consequently, both groups face greater credibility discounts than their White or cisgender counterparts when they experience sexual harassment (Bandt-Law et al., 2024; De Leon & Rosette, 2022).

Counter to these credibility judgements, nonprototypical women (by both within-group and between-group variation) experience especially high rates of sexual harassment compared to prototypical women. Women who possess stereotypically masculine traits report experiencing more frequent sexual harassment than women who have stereotypically feminine traits (Berdahl, 2007). Transgender women and Black women also experience higher rates of sexual harassment

than cisgender and White women respectively (Matsuzaka & Koch, 2019; Rossie et al., 2020; Schuyler et al., 2020). Hostile intentions to punish marginalized group members often drive sexual harassment (Cortina & Berdahl, 2008), so paradoxically, the same traits and identities that hinder judgements of their credibility put nonprototypical women at greater risk for harassment (Kaiser et al., 2022).

Considering Outcomes Relevant to Structural and Psychological Barriers

Below, I discuss the prototype bias in the context of workplace outcomes for women. I propose that understanding how the prototype bias drives women's self-perceptions and bystander behavior may offer especially practical insights into how women do and can work within common workplace procedures.

Limitations of Grievance Procedures

What are the real-world implications of the prototype bias? Foundational literature on prototypes and perceptions of sexual harassment offers an initial test of a downstream consequence, examining credibility judgments of women's sexual harassment claims (Goh et al., 2022). This outcome is important because filing a sexual harassment claim with their organization's human resources department is the long-standing, primary route for victims to address their sexual harassment (Nielsen et al., 2010; Nielsen & Nelson, 2005). However, focusing on perceptions of women's sexual harassment claims overlooks the reality that self-reporting sexual harassment is relatively uncommon. Few victims report their sexual harassment through these channels for valid fears of retaliation, backlash, and revictimization from their perpetrator and/or their employer (Bergman et al., 2002; Cortina & Magley, 2003; Dobbin & Kalev, 2020; Fitzgerald & Cortina, 2018). Understanding how the prototype bias shapes factors

associated with reporting (self-perceptions of sexual harassment) and alternatives to reporting (bystander intervention) will broaden our applied knowledge of the consequences of this bias.

Self-Perceptions of Sexual Harassment

Understanding the barriers women face in reporting their sexual harassment could offer insight into who is more or less likely to use these grievance procedures. In particular, women may vary in the extent to which they recognize their mistreatment as sexual harassment. This recognition process is subjective and various individual level factors (e.g., history of victimization, attitudes, personal resources), stimulus factors (e.g., frequency or intensity of the harassment), and contextual factors (e.g., organizational climate, gender ratio, policies) influence how women appraise their harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). These appraisals then shape reporting behavior, organizational responses, and various psychological and health outcomes (Bergman et al., 2002). Given that women display the prototype bias when judging others' sexual harassment (Goh et al., 2022), they may also apply this cognitive framework when appraising a potentially harassing scenario directed toward them. They may use their own proximity to the prototype of a woman to determine whether a personal experience constitutes sexual harassment. Examining how gender prototypes shape this recognition process can reveal who faces additional barriers to reporting their harassment.

Bystander Intervention as an Alternative to Reporting

Bystander intervention is a promising alternative to grievance procedures and bystander intervention training programs are growing popular amongst U.S. organizations (Joyce, 2022). Bystanders' intervention in sexual harassment supports victims of sexual harassment who often face backlash and retaliation for confronting or reporting their perpetrator (Bergman et al., 2002; Cortina & Magley, 2003; Dobbin & Kalev, 2020; Fitzgerald & Cortina, 2018). Their

interventions are often viewed more positively than victims' and may be more effective in changing the perpetrator's future discriminatory behavior (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Gulker et al., 2013). In addition to supporting individual victims of harassment, bystander intervention can enhance organizational outcomes (Dobbin & Kalev, 2019; Shea et al., 2023) and increase women's sense of identity safety when they witness bystander intervention (Dray & Sabat, 2022; Hildebrand et al., 2020). While bystander intervention is associated with positive outcomes overall, the prototype bias is pervasive and could shape bystander intervention. Bystanders may less readily recognize and intervene in nonprototypical vs. prototypical women's sexual harassment.

Furthermore, investigating bystander behavior vs. intentions will yield especially useful results. Attitudes provide insight into how people think and can help explain many social phenomena (Allport, 1935), but they do not reliably predict behavior (Ajzen et al., 2018). In the context of bystander intervention, people tend to overestimate their intervention behavior (Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Szekeres et al., 2023), yet much of the bystander intervention in sexual harassment literature measures bystander intentions to intervene or their past intervention behavior (e.g., Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2014; Brinkman et al., 2015; Hall & Dhanani, 2023; Katz et al., 2015; Swim & Hyers, 1999). Understanding whether bystanders perpetuate the prototype bias using a behavioral approach is critical in testing this possible downstream consequence of the prototype bias.

Multiple Manipulations of Gender Prototypicality

In addition to addressing relevant outcomes associated with workplace sexual harassment, manipulating gender prototypicality in multiple ways within and across studies will advance the literature on the prototype bias. By using a range of stimuli to represent prototypical

and nonprototypical women, we can broaden empirical tests of the prototype bias to additional identities and features associated with prototypicality.

Within-Group Prototypicality

One way to attend to stimuli in this area of work is by manipulating different aspects of within-group prototypicality. Goh and colleagues (2022) provide an initial demonstration that *within* the category “woman”, individual’s varied traits and features lead perceivers to discount more masculine women’s sexual harassment to a greater extent than more feminine women’s. They manipulated within-group gender prototypicality using 1) photos of women’s faces with more feminine vs. masculine features and 2) descriptions of women with more feminine vs. masculine traits, interests, and behaviors. These stimuli represent a couple of ways to manipulate within-group gender prototypicality, but many other possibilities exist. For example, components of gendered appearance like clothing, makeup, or hairstyle could also be used to broaden our understanding of gender prototypicality and how it relates to outcomes of women’s sexual harassment.

Between-Group Prototypicality

Expanding tests of between-group prototypicality, such as women’s race (Black vs. White), gender modality (transgender vs. cisgender), sexuality (Queer vs. straight), age (older vs. younger), etc, will also advance this area of work. Some researchers have already examined between-group prototypicality in the context of sexual harassment. For example, Ponce de Leon and Rosette (2022) show that Black (vs. White) women’s gender discrimination claims are believed less. However, work in this area would benefit from closely attending to stimulus and using stimulus sampling, in which researchers vary stimuli within each study condition, to promote external and construct validity (Wells & Windschitl, 1999). In this previous work, the

researchers manipulate race using stereotypical names or by labeling the target's race, noting in their discussion that future studies should use a more "diverse array of stimuli" (pg. 805). In the absence of information about the targets, participants may have imagined especially prototypical group members for either race (Locksley et al., 1982), meaning the effects may not extend to *all* racial group members. Researchers should aim to use stimulus sampling to vary their representations of a group and better understand the scope of the effect.

Furthermore, between-group prototypicality often overlaps with within-group prototypicality, so it is important to attend to stimuli to appropriately answer one's research question. For example, transgender women are perceived as more masculine than cisgender women and are often denied womanhood all together (Burns, 2019; Gallagher & Bodenhausen, 2021). Race is also closely tied to features of within-group prototypicality, such that Black women are perceived as more masculine than White women (Coles & Pasek, 2020; Goff et al., 2008). If researchers want to know whether these nonprototypical identities *alone* drive the prototype bias, they should control for within-group variation in their stimuli. Alternatively, these identities can be leveraged as extreme tests of how traits like masculinity vs. femininity may explain the relative neglect of nonprototypical women's sexual harassment.

Current Work

In this dissertation, I investigate self-perceptions and bystander intervention and manipulate gender prototypicality in multiple ways to advance our understanding of how gender prototypes shape perceptions of and responses to women's sexual harassment. Table 1, below, summarizes the outcomes and manipulation(s) of gender prototypicality used in each part of the dissertation.

Table 1. Summary of Outcomes and Manipulations in Dissertation

	Outcome		Gender Prototypicality	
	Self-perceptions	Bystander	Within-group	Between-group
Part 1	✓		✓	
Part 2		✓	✓	✓
Part 3		✓		✓

In Part 1 (Schachtman & Kaiser, in prep), we examine how women’s gender prototypicality shapes the extent to which they recognize sexual harassment directed toward them. Across six studies, we measure (via self-report) or manipulate women’s gender prototypicality before they imagine experiencing a sexually harassing job interview and report on their perceptions of the interview. We conceptualize gender prototypicality as proximity to the prototype of a woman (S1), possessing stereotypically feminine traits (S2), broadly possessing stereotypically feminine traits, behaviors or physical appearance (S3), and finally, dressing more femininely (S4-6). Women’s self-perceptions are key in understanding additional barriers they may face in recognizing and reporting their harassment, and Part 1 addresses the possibility that nonprototypical women may be less likely than prototypical women to recognize their experiences as sexual harassment.

In Part 2 (Schachtman, Gallegos, & Kaiser, 2023), we consider how bystander intervention, a promising solution to self-reporting requirements, may also perpetuate the prototype bias. We employ an online simulation that allows us to measure bystander behavior (vs. intentions). Participants first review a prototypical or nonprototypical woman’s resume and then watch an ostensibly live chat-based interview between her and a man manager. The

manager makes a series of increasingly harassing comments during the interview, and we measure the point at which participants intervene to stop the mistreatment. We manipulate within-group gender prototypicality broadly as stereotypically feminine traits, behaviors, and physical features (S1-3) and between-group prototypicality, comparing cisgender and transgender women (S4). Together, these studies test how women's within and between-group prototypicality shape bystander behavior.

In Part 3 (Schachtman & Kaiser, 2024), we replicate the bystander intervention scenario from Part 2 but examine between-group prototypicality, using women's race (Black vs. White) across three studies. We employ multiple stimuli to represent White vs. Black women, matching stimuli on dimensions of within-group prototypicality (attractiveness, femininity, and masculinity) to test whether race in particular impacts bystander behavior.

Across these three parts, we broaden tests of the prototype bias by:

1. Moving beyond examining the perceived credibility of women's sexual harassment claims to examining their own self-perceptions and bystander intervention, and
2. Manipulating gender prototypicality in multiple ways to test the range of identities and features that drive disparate outcomes.

**How women's gender prototypicality shapes their perceptions of personal sexual
harassment**

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Abstract

Recognizing a personal experience as sexual harassment is subjective and shaped by psychological factors. Perceivers display a prototype bias when judging women's sexual harassment; they perceive nonprototypical (stereotypically masculine) women's harassment as less likely and less harmful than prototypical (stereotypically feminine) women's. In six studies ($N = 2,165$), we test whether this cognitive bias also leads nonprototypical vs. prototypical women to perceive behavior directed toward them as less sexually harassing. In each study, cisgender women completed a measure or manipulation of gender prototypicality, read a vignette of a harassing job interview, and reported their perceptions of the interview. Neither women's self-reported gender prototypicality (S1-2) nor writing about a time they felt especially masculine or feminine (S3) predicted the extent to which they perceived the interview as sexually harassing. A mega-analysis across studies 4-6 revealed that participants who imagined wearing a masculine vs. feminine outfit perceived significantly less sexual harassment. Taken together, these results suggest that gender prototypes, conceptualized as gendered clothing, may lead nonprototypical women to underrecognize their experiences as sexual harassment relative to prototypical women.

How women's gender prototypicality shapes their perceptions of personal sexual harassment

Was it sexual harassment? Many sexual harassment victims grapple with this question when trying to make sense of what happened to them. The answer is an important prerequisite to coping with, reporting, and seeking retribution for sexual harassment. To arrive at an answer, people may rely on pervasive notions of sexual harassment including what a “typical” victim looks and acts like. People expect sexual harassment victims to conform to stereotypical femininity, thus the prototypical sexual harassment victim is perceived as traditionally feminine in appearance, traits, and behaviors (Goh et al., 2022). As a result, nonprototypical, or stereotypically masculine, women's harassment is seen as less credible and harmful than their prototypical/feminine counterparts' harassment. Given the prevalence of this prototype bias, we posit that women may use the same cognitive framework to interpret their own harassment experiences. We take a target-centric approach to explore whether gender prototypes shape women's self-perceptions of sexual harassment. Understanding how targets themselves may internalize and enact the prototype bias is key in understanding who may be especially likely to self-discount and stay silent about their harassment.

Benefits of Recognizing Sexual Harassment

Recognizing sexual harassment has both practical and psychological benefits. Practically, reports of harassment are the primary route for victims to seek remediation and perpetrators to face consequences for their actions (Nielsen et al., 2010; Nielsen & Nelson, 2005).

Psychologically, recognizing that an event is due to discrimination or a group-level disadvantage rather than personal deservingness, is linked to experiencing less self-blame and fewer depressed emotions (Major, Kaiser, et al., 2003; Major, Quinton, et al., 2003). Furthermore, recognizing

sexual harassment impacts how adaptively one copes and may buffer negative psychological and workplace outcomes of sexual harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1997).

Gender Prototypes Shape Other's Perceptions of Sexual Harassment

Although anyone can be sexually harassed, historical, legal, and academic definitions of sexual harassment define this mistreatment as a form of discrimination impacting “women” as a class (Crenshaw, 1991; MacKinnon, 1979). As a result, sexual harassment and the social category “woman” are strongly associated. Prototypes, which are amalgamations of traits, interests, and behaviors stereotypically associated with a group, represent social categories such as “woman” (Rosch, 1973). The prototype of a woman is stereotypically feminine in her traits and behaviors (e.g., compassionate, nurturing, gentle, etc.; Diekmann et al., 2011; Prentice & Carranza, 2002), interests (e.g., childcare; Glick & Fiske, 2001), and appearance (e.g., attractive, thin, etc.; Helgeson, 1994; Paganini et al., 2023). Conversely, nonprototypical women are perceived as stereotypically masculine in their traits and behaviors (e.g., ambitious, assertive, etc.; Prentice & Carranza, 2002), interests, and appearance (e.g., muscular, tall, etc., Helgeson, 1994).

As sexual harassment is a form of discrimination tied to womanhood, recognizing that a behavior occurred *because* the target is a woman facilitates recognition of sexual harassment (Kaiser et al., 2022; Major et al., 2002). As a result, perceivers display a prototype bias in which they less readily detect sexual harassment when the target deviates from vs. conforms to the prototype of a woman. They rate nonprototypical/masculine women's sexual harassment as less credible and psychologically harmful than prototypical/feminine women's harassment (Goh et al., 2022) and allow harassment of the former to escalate further before intervening (Schachtman et al., 2023). This prototype bias is widely held; both men and women consistently neglect

nonprototypical women's sexual harassment relative to prototypical women's. Furthermore, although nonprototypical women are more likely to have their sexual harassment discounted than their prototypical counterparts, paradoxically, nonprototypical women experience higher rates of sexual harassment (Berdahl, 2007). In the next section, we discuss how these gender prototypes may also shape the extent to which women perceive themselves and, in turn, how readily they recognize negative events as sexual harassment.

Prototypicality, In-Group Identification, and Self-Perceptions of Sexual Harassment

Our group-level identities are central to our self-concepts, or our mental representations of who we are (Cross & Madson, 1997; Tajfel, 1974). One way we can understand ourselves in relation to our in-group is by self-stereotyping, also known as self-categorization (Leach et al., 2008; Turner et al., 1994). Self-stereotyping occurs when individuals consider themselves as similar to their group's prototype. Given the stereotypically feminine prototype of a woman described above, women who look and act stereotypically feminine may be more likely to categorize or stereotype themselves as women than stereotypically masculine women (Cadinu & Galdi, 2012).

The extent to which women perceive themselves as prototypical vs. nonprototypical may then shape their perceptions of sexual harassment. Prototypicality is one dimension of ingroup identification (Leach et al., 2008), and empirical evidence suggests that in-group identification is linked with perceptions of discrimination. For example, the centrality of one's ingroup to their identity positively relates to recognizing personal discrimination (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Major, Kaiser, et al., 2003; Major, Quinton, et al., 2003; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Identity salience also facilitates recognizing discrimination; women who are made aware of their group-level identity as a woman vs. their own personal identity, make

greater attributions to discrimination (Wang & Dovidio, 2017). In addition, prototypical (vs. nonprototypical) group members tend to consider these groups central and important to their identities (Wilkins et al., 2010) and therefore may be especially likely to recognize discrimination. Related intersectional work suggests that Black women, who are nonprototypical of their gender group (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), may struggle more than White women to recognizing personal sexual harassment due to their multiple visible stigmatized identities (gender and race) (Remedios & Snyder, 2015). Taken together, nonprototypical women may be less likely to recognize sexual harassment than their prototypical counterparts.

Current Research

In the current work, we take an empirical and within-category approach to test how variation in the gender prototypicality of women's traits, behaviors, and appearances impacts their perceptions of sexual harassment directed toward them. This work offers several contributions to the literature on who is perceived as a sexual harassment target. First, we consider how targets themselves perceive their sexual harassment based on their proximity to the prototype of a woman (i.e., stereotypically feminine vs. masculine). To our knowledge, one previous study links gender prototypicality and perceptions of sexual harassment, finding stereotypically masculine and feminine women are similarly bothered by sexually harassing behaviors (Berdahl, 2007). We instead examine the extent to which prototypical vs. nonprototypical women perceive their experiences as sexual harassment. Based on the attributional ambiguity literature, personal attributes shape the especially subjective outcome of perceiving an event as discrimination (Major et al., 2002). In addition, we examine how multiple components of the prototype contribute to perceptions. Specifically, we examine how possessing

gendered traits, behaviors, and appearance may differentially impact the extent to which women perceive an event as sexually harassing.

Across six studies, we explore the role of gender prototypes in women's perceptions of their own sexual harassment in the context of a harassing job interview. In all studies, cisgender women who first complete a self-report measure (studies 1 and 2) or manipulation (studies 3-6) of gender prototypicality, take the perspective of a job candidate experiencing a sexually harassing job interview, and indicate whether they perceived the job interview as sexually harassing. We examine how gendered traits (studies 1 and 2), gendered traits, behaviors, and appearance (Study 3), and gendered clothing (studies 4-6) relate to or affect women's perceptions of sexual harassment within the job interview. We hypothesize that nonprototypical (vs. prototypical) women will perceive less sexual harassment, be less uncomfortable, and be more interested in the employment role. All studies were pre-registered ([osf link](#)).

Study 1

Study 1 offers an initial test of our hypotheses that compared to prototypical women, nonprototypical women will perceive a moderately harassing job interview as less sexually harassing and uncomfortable and be more interested in the role. In this correlational study, participants self-reported on their gender prototypicality and then imagined experiencing a sexually harassing job interview. Participants then reported on their perceptions of the interview and their interest in the role.

Participants

A power analysis for a linear multiple regression using G*Power (Faul et al., 2009), indicated that 101 participants were needed for a model with one predictor and 80% power, and we assumed a small effect size of $f^2 = .08$, $\alpha = .05$. We collected responses $N = 121$ participants

to account for missing or incomplete data, and $N = 114$ participants were included for analyses after exclusions (see Table 1). Participants were all cisgender women recruited on MTurk. See Table 2 for additional demographics.

Table 1*Study Exclusions*

Study	Rationale for exclusion							
	Initial <i>N</i>	Final <i>N</i>	Attention check ^a	Gender identity ^b	Time ^c	Unmatched data ^d	Age ^e	Manipulation ^f
Study 1	121	114	2	3	2	--	--	--
Study 2	160	142	10	2	5	1	--	--
Study 3	375	308	24	28	2	--	9	4
Study 4	635	541	22	56 ^g	9	--	7	--
Study 5	400	359	34	5	2	--	--	--
Study 6	795	701	32	12	10	--	5	35

^a Failed an attention check^b Reported a gender identity other than cisgender woman or did not respond to this question

^c Spent three standard deviations above the mean completion time taking the study, indicating they were distracted

^d Data from part 1 of the study could not be matched to part 2

^e Participants were older or younger than the specified range for the study or did not respond to this question

^f In Study 3- did not complete the priming task or stated that the task was done by AI. In Study 6- failed a manipulation check by incorrectly identifying whether they were interviewed in-person vs. over the phone.

^g Number was high due to a recruitment error. Instead of restricting participation in the study by recruiting participants based on their gender (i.e., women), we inadvertently recruited based on participants' sex (i.e., female).

Table 2*Participant Demographics*

Study	Recruitment Platform	Total <i>N</i>	<i>M</i> age (<i>SD</i>)	% White	% Black	% Asian	% Latinx	% Native	% Mid-Eastern	% Another
Study 1	MTurk	114	41.55 (11.94)	71.05	8.77	12.28	1.75	2.63	0.00	3.51
Study 2	Student	142	18.89 (0.96)	44.37	2.11	44.37	10.56	3.52	4.93	0.70
Study 3	Student + Connect	308	20.86 (1.89)	51.62	16.56	19.48	16.88	2.27	4.22	1.30
Study 4	Connect	541	25.12 (3.42)	63.22	15.53	18.48	12.94	0.55	1.85	0.18
Study 5	Student	359	19.36 (2.37)	44.29	3.62	51.25	11.98	3.06	2.23	0
Study 6	Connect	701	25.37 (3.40)	67.33	13.55	13.69	11.84	1.00	1.57	0.43

Note. All participants identified as cisgender women. Some percentages do not add up to 100% because participants could select multiple answers for their race/ethnicity and gender. In Study 4, one participant did not report her age.

Table 3*Study 1 Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3
1. Gender Prototypicality	5.02	0.96			
2. Perceptions of Sexual Harassment	2.10	1.30	-0.06		
3. Psychological Harm	1.95	1.04	-0.16	0.88**	
4. Interest in Role	5.30	1.36	0.28**	-0.60**	-.53**

Note. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$

Table 4*Study 2 Standard Deviations, and Correlations*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. Gender Prototypicality ^a	5.15	0.92					
2. Femininity	5.41	0.84	0.29**				
3. Masculinity	4.36	0.72	0.11	0.23**			
4. Perceptions of Sexual Harassment	3.69	1.65	0.13	-0.03	-0.00		
5. Discomfort	4.15	1.33	0.08	0.06	-0.00	0.73**	
6. Interest in Role	4.13	1.39	-0.11	-0.03	-0.03	-0.70**	-0.55**

Note. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$

^a Exploratory measure in this study

Method

Participants learned they would complete a brief personality assessment, read a scenario describing a job interview, and then answer some questions about the interview and themselves. In the personality assessment, participants responded to a number of items (see Measures section, below) assessing their self-perceived gender prototypicality, along with eight filler items.

Next, participants imagined they were the job candidate as they read a vignette about a job interview and the events leading up to it (see Appendix for full vignette). In the vignette, the job candidate interviews for a sales role at a large company with an interviewing manager named Tom. Tom begins the interview by asking standard questions such as why the candidate is interested in the role. Next, he makes three potentially harassing questions and comments. These questions and comments were pre-tested with 50 undergraduate women who rated them on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 = *not at all sexually harassing* to 7 = *very sexually harassing*. In pilot testing, Tom's statements were each perceived as moderately sexually harassing ($M = 3.16 - M = 4.03$). After reading the vignette, participants answered a series of questions about their perceptions of the interview and provided demographic data.

Measures

All measures were rated on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*).

Self-Perceived Gender Prototypicality

Participants responded to five items to measure perceptions of their own gender prototypicality. They reported to what extent they agree that they are feminine, masculine

(reverse-coded), similar to other women, resemble the typical woman, and have a lot in common with other women (measure from Goh et al., 2022; $\alpha = .79$).

Sexual Harassment

Participants responded to five items, rating the degree to which they would imagine feeling sexually harassed, sexually objectified, disrespected, treated in a sexist way, and treated inappropriately ($\alpha = .92$).

Psychological Harm

Participants responded to six items, rating the extent to which they would imagine feeling upset, distressed, traumatized, threatened, uncomfortable, and bothered in the interview ($\alpha = .88$).

Interest in Role

Participants responded to two items about the extent to which they would like to work for the interviewing manager and would accept the role they interviewed for if it was offered to them and relevant to their career goals ($\alpha = .90$). Although we pre-registered we would analyze these items separately, we analyze them together here to remain consistent with the later studies.

Results

We conducted three linear regressions to explore whether mean-centered gender prototypicality predicted each of the outcome variables. Gender prototypicality did not significantly predict perceptions of sexual harassment, $b = -0.09$, $p = .506$, 95% CI = [-0.34, 0.17] or discomfort, $b = -0.18$, $p = .082$, 95% CI = [-0.38, 0.02]. However, self-perceived gender prototypicality significantly and positively predicted interest in the role, $b = 0.40$, $p = .002$, 95% CI = [0.15, 0.66].

Discussion

Counter to our hypotheses, women's self-reported gender prototypicality did not predict their perceptions of sexual harassment or their anticipated discomfort. Although women's gender prototypicality predicted interest in the role, the relationship was opposite to our hypothesis that nonprototypical women would anticipate a less negative interview experience and thus be more interested in the role. These results suggest the opposite however, that the lower a woman's gender prototypicality, the *less* her interest in the role. However, the null relationship between gender prototypicality and women's anticipated feelings of sexual harassment and discomfort, may indicate a phenomenon specific to the job outcome. For example, women may have perceived the job as feminine and therefore a better fit for more gender prototypical women.

The lack of predicted effects may have stemmed from near floor effects on perceptions of sexual harassment and discomfort (see Table 3 for means). Additionally, as we measured gender prototypicality just prior to reading the vignette, we may have created study demand. We address these issues in Study 2. Specifically, in Study 2, participants completed a set of measures of gender prototypicality, waited 48-96 hours, and then read an interview vignette that contained additional sexually harassing comments, and reported their perceptions of the experience.

Study 2

Given the null results in Study 1, Study 2 seeks to re-test the phenomena with updated materials and measures. We adjust and pilot test the interview vignette to avoid the floor effects on perceptions of sexual harassment and discomfort in Study 1. We also measure self-perceived gender prototypicality using the Bem Sex Role inventory (Bem, 1981), where respondents rate the extent to which they possess certain stereotypically feminine and masculine traits.

Methods

Participants

A power analysis for a linear multiple regression using G*Power (Faul et al., 2009), indicated that 141 participants were needed for a model with three predictors (two main effects and an interaction) and 80% power, assuming a small effect size of $f^2 = .08$, $\alpha = .05$. We collected responses from 160 participants to account for any missing, incomplete, or non-matched data. After exclusions, $N = 142$ cisgender women recruited from a university's undergraduate subject pool, were included for analyses (see Table 1). See Table 2 for additional demographics.

Procedure

This online study contained two parts. In Part 1, participants completed a “personality assessment.” They responded to items measuring their self-perceived gender prototypicality as well as filler items. Forty-eight hours after completing Part 1, participants received a link to Part 2, which they had another 48 hours to complete and receive credit. In Part 2, participants read a similar vignette and followed the same procedures as in Study 1. In both parts, participants provided an anonymous code number, which was used to link their responses.

The updated vignette (see Appendix) built upon the vignette from Study 1 by increasing the range of sexually harassing questions and comments from $M = 3.16$ to $M = 4.79$ (from $M = 4.03$). In a pilot test with $N = 50$ undergraduate cisgender women, the vignette was rated as moderately sexually harassing ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.48$) and uncomfortable ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.33$), and both outcomes appeared normally distributed.

Measures

All measures were rated on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*).

Self-Perceived Gender Prototypicality

In this study, we use a short form of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI short form; Bem, 1981) to measure women's self-perceived gender prototypicality. Participant reported perceptions of their own femininity (understanding, sympathetic, eager to soothe hurt feelings, sensitive to needs of others, compassionate, loves children, affectionate, gentle, warm, and tender; $\alpha = .89$) and masculinity (assertive, leadership ability, dominant, strong personality, forceful, aggressive, willing to take a stand, independent, defends own beliefs, and willing to take risks; $\alpha = .77$). We account for femininity and masculinity by using the femininity scale as our predictor and the masculinity scale as a covariate.

Sexual Harassment

We altered the sexual harassment scale slightly in this study such that participants responded to seven, rather than five, items, rating the degree to which they would imagine feeling harassed, objectified, disrespected, treated in a sexist way, treated inappropriately, offended (new item), and like their boundaries were crossed (new item) ($\alpha = .96$). In addition to adding two, we removed the word "sexually" before harassed and objectified to soften the language and address potential unwillingness to label an event as sexual harassment (Ilies et al., 2003).

Discomfort

Rather than measuring psychological harm, this study utilizes a measure of discomfort that captures the relatively lower intensity feelings one may experience during workplace sexual harassment (Herovic et al., 2019). Participants responded to six items, rating the extent to which they would imagine feeling uncomfortable, awkward, embarrassed, and nervous in the interview ($\alpha = .84$).

Interest in Role

Participants responded to the same measure as in Study 1 ($\alpha = .71$).

Results

To examine the relationship between gender prototypicality and each outcome in this study, we regressed all outcomes on self-reported femininity, masculinity, and the interaction between the two. We treat masculinity as the covariate and focus on the femininity as a predictor and report models that do and do not include masculinity.

Sexual Harassment, Discomfort, and Interest in Role

Self-reported femininity did not significantly predict any of the outcome variables. In linear regression models with masculinity and the interaction as covariates self-reported femininity did not significantly predict perceptions of sexual harassment, $b = -0.07, p = .691$, 95% CI = [-0.41, 0.27], discomfort, $b = 0.12, p = .399$, 95% CI = [-0.16, 0.40], or interest in the role, $b = -0.06, p = .684$, 95% CI = [-0.35, 0.23]. These results held with no covariates too: $b_{sexual\ harassment} = -0.07, p = .691$, 95% CI = [-0.39, 0.26]; $b_{discomfort} = 0.10, p = .470$, 95% CI = [-0.17, 0.36]; $b_{interest} = -0.05, p = .713$, 95% CI = [-0.33, 0.22].

Gender Prototypicality (exploratory)

We exploratorily regressed all the dependent variables on the gender prototypicality measure used in Study 1. Results were consistent with the null effects above. Gender prototypicality did not significantly predict perceptions of sexual harassment, $b = 0.23, p = .150$, 95% CI = [-0.06, 0.53], discomfort, $b = 0.12, p = .316$, 95% CI = [-0.12, 0.36], or interest in the role, $b = -0.17, p = .181$, 95% CI = [-0.42, 0.08].

Discussion

As in Study 1, gender prototypicality as measured by the feminine sub-scale of the Bem Sex Role Inventory and (exploratorily) by the same measure as in Study 1, did not predict participants' perceptions of sexual harassment or discomfort in the imagined interview. In addition, we did not replicate the finding from Study 1 in which greater self-reported gender prototypicality predicted greater interest in the role.

These null results may be in part due to using self-reported gender prototypicality to predict perceptions. In both Study 1 and 2, women's gender prototypicality was relatively high ($M_s > 5.00$), suggesting the participants we recruited were, on average, prototypical. In Study 3, we prime women's gender prototypicality to better capture their perceptions based on prototypicality vs. nonprototypicality, and offer a stronger, causal test of our hypotheses.

Study 3

Instead of asking participants to report on their own gender prototypicality, Study 3 aimed to make women's gender prototypicality or nonprototypicality salient with a writing task manipulation.

Methods

Participants

A pre-registered power analysis conducted with G*Power (Faul et al., 2009) for a two-tailed independent samples t-test indicated 352 participants were needed for a small effect ($d = 0.30$, $\alpha = 0.05$) with 80% power. We recruited 375 participants to account for exclusions. Originally, we recruited undergraduates from a university subject pool ($N = 103$). However, due to slow recruitment, we submitted a new pre-registration and recruited the remaining sample from an online paid subject pool ($N = 272$), constraining the age to college-aged women (18-22 years old). After exclusions (see Table 1) $N = 308$ ($N = 75$ from undergraduate subject pool and

$N = 233$ from paid subject pool) cisgender women's responses were included for analyses. See Table 2 for additional participant demographics. A sensitivity analysis revealed this sample could detect an effect size of $d = 0.32$ at 80% power, $\alpha = 0.05$.

Procedure

Participants completed the study online. First, they were randomly assigned to write for five minutes about a time they felt traditionally feminine (e.g., understanding, sympathetic, gentle, etc.) or traditionally masculine (e.g., assertive, forceful, aggressive; see Appendix for full prompts) in terms of their interests, appearance, and/or behaviors. After writing for five minutes, participants read the same vignette as and answered the same measures as in Study 2.

Measures

Sexual harassment ($\alpha = .96$), Discomfort ($\alpha = .83$), and Interest in Role ($\alpha = .79$) were all measured as in Study 2.

Results

Participants who wrote about a time they felt masculine (vs. feminine), did not perceive less sexual harassment, $t(306) = -0.88, p = .377, d = 0.10, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.32, 0.12]$, feel less uncomfortable, $t(306) = 0.09, p = .927, d = 0.01, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.21, 0.23]$, or more interested in the role, $t(306) = -0.14, p = .889, d = 0.02, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.24, 0.21]$. See Table 5 for means and standard deviations. The direction and significance of all effects held when we analyzed the undergraduate subject pool and paid subject pool samples separately.

Table 5*Studies 3, 4, and 5: Means and Standard Deviations for all Dependent Variables by Condition*

	Study 3		Study 4		Study 5	
	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine
	(<i>N</i> = 160)	(<i>N</i> = 148)	(<i>N</i> = 275)	(<i>N</i> = 266)	(<i>N</i> = 184)	(<i>N</i> = 175)
Variable	<i>M (SD)</i>					
Clothing	--	--	6.31 (0.82)	2.70 (1.32)	6.09 (0.82)	3.25 (1.08)
Self-perceived femininity	--	--	5.39 (1.35)	3.71 (1.58)	5.39 (1.28)	4.20 (1.59)
Self-perceived masculinity	--	--	1.58 (0.93)	3.02 (1.71)	1.67 (0.09)	2.54 (1.36)
Sexual harassment	3.78 (1.67)	3.61 (1.75)	3.97 (1.65)	3.18 (1.70)	4.27 (1.56)	3.82 (1.75)
Discomfort	4.25 (1.40)	4.26 (1.45)	4.48 (1.46)	3.90 (1.63)	4.57 (1.30)	4.30 (1.43)
Interest in Role	4.07 (1.55)	4.04 (1.56)	3.53 (1.62)	4.14 (1.73)	3.87 (1.39)	3.60 (1.37)

Qualitative Results (exploratory)

Given the null results thus far, we exploratorily examined participants' short-answer responses to gain insight into how they were conceptualizing gender prototypicality. One of the authors and one research assistant read through each response to identify common themes participants wrote about when primed to write about a time they felt masculine or feminine. The four most common themes were: Appearance (resembling the same or other gender in physical traits, clothing or accessories), Behaviors (engaging in activities that would be typical of the same or other gender), Traits (displaying characteristics that are stereotypically associated with the same or other gender), and Social context (being surrounded by people of the same or other gender).

After identifying these four themes, the research assistant coded each participant's response 0/1 for the absence/presence of each theme. Due to the exploratory nature of these analyses, there was just a single coder, and one author checked the coding and addressed any questions or ambiguity. Next, the coded excerpts were submitted to a series of chi-square tests to examine whether there were differences by study condition in the proportion of themes present (i.e. if one condition wrote more about one theme or themes than the other). A significantly higher proportion of participants wrote about Appearance in the feminine vs. masculine condition, $\chi^2(1, N = 308) = 34.33, p < .001$ and about Behaviors in the masculine vs. feminine condition, $\chi^2(1, N = 308) = 9.51, p = .002$. The proportion of participants who wrote about Traits and Social Context did not vary by study condition, $\chi^2_{\text{Traits}}(1, N = 308) = 1.09, p = .295$; $\chi^2_{\text{Social Context}}(1, N = 308) = 2.10, p = .148$.

Discussion

Counter to hypotheses, writing about a time they felt particularly feminine or masculine did not impact women's perceptions of the interview. However, the exploratory qualitative results offered insight into what components of gender (traits, appearance, behaviors, etc.) made participants feel most stereotypically feminine vs. masculine. In particular, the results revealed that appearance may be an especially strong indicator of stereotypically femininity for women. In Study 4, we apply these insights to tighten and strengthen our manipulation to target gender prototypical appearance and test our hypotheses with a more highly powered sample.

Study 4

Study 3 revealed appearance is particularly salient for women when considering what makes them feel stereotypically feminine. Given this insight, Study 4 uses an appearance-based manipulation of gender prototypicality as potentially stronger manipulation.

Methods

Participants

We conducted a pre-registered power analysis for a two-tailed independent samples *t*-test with a small effect ($d = 0.23$, $\alpha = 0.05$) with 80% power using G*Power (Faul et al., 2009) to address the possibility that the null effect in Study 3 was due to smaller than anticipated effect size and thus an underpowered sample. The power analysis indicated 596 participants were needed to detect this effect, and we collected responses from $N = 635$ participants to account for exclusions (see Table 1). Due to an issue with demographic filters, our exclusion rate was high, and only $N = 541$ responses were included for analyses. The final sample were all cisgender women between 18 and 30 years of age (see Table 2 for full demographics). A sensitivity analysis revealed this sample could detect an effect size of $d = 0.30$ at 80% power, $\alpha = 0.05$.

Procedure

Participants completed the study online. They were asked to first imagine shopping for a new outfit to wear to an upcoming job interview. They were randomly assigned to shop for either stereotypically feminine clothing (prototypical condition) or stereotypically masculine clothing (nonprototypical condition). In the prototypical condition, they were asked to imagine trying on three different dresses (see Appendix for stimuli) and told that they bought one of them (counterbalanced) to wear to the interview. The nonprototypical condition followed the same procedure but with button-down shirts rather than dresses. Participants were then asked to imagine getting ready on the day of their interview and putting on their new dress/shirt. Next, they read the same vignette as in studies 2 and 3 and responded to a set of measures.

Measures

Perceptions of Interview

Sexual harassment ($\alpha = .97$), Discomfort ($\alpha = .88$), and Interest in Role ($\alpha = .85$) were all measured as in studies 2 and 3.

Manipulation Checks

Participants responded to two items assessing whether our stimuli effectively conveyed gender prototypicality vs. nonprototypicality and two items assessing whether it impacted participants' self-perceptions of their gender prototypicality. They rated the extent to which they agreed, on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*), that their interview outfits were feminine and masculine (reverse-coded) ($\alpha = .88$) and they felt feminine and masculine (reverse-coded) during the interview (self-perceptions) ($\alpha = .66$; items analyzed separately due to low alpha).

Results

Manipulation

Participants found the dress vs. shirt more feminine and less masculine, $t(536) = -34.29, p < .001, d = 2.96, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-3.20, -2.71]$. In addition, they felt more feminine, $t(538) = -13.35, p < .001, d = 1.15, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-1.33, -0.97]$, and less masculine, $t(538) = 12.19, p < .001, d = 1.05, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.87, 1.23]$ when wearing the feminine vs. masculine clothing.

Perceptions of Interview

Consistent with hypotheses, when participants imagined wearing the feminine (vs. masculine) clothing to the interview, they imagined they would feel more sexually harassed ($t(539) = -5.52, p < .001, d = 0.47, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.64, -0.30]$) and uncomfortable ($t(539) = -4.32, p < .001, d = -0.37, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.54, -0.20]$), and that they would be less interested in the role ($t(539) = 4.20, p < .001, d = 0.36, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.19, 0.53]$). See Table 5 for means and standard deviations.

Discussion

An appearance-based manipulation of gender prototypicality in which women imagined wearing a dress or a shirt to a job interview, significantly impacted their perceptions of the interview. When they imagined wearing feminine (vs. masculine) clothing, they imagined they would feel more sexually harassed and uncomfortable and be less interested in the role. These findings suggest that gender presentation, rather than gendered traits and behaviors, may be key in how women perceive potentially harassing situations. In Study 5, we replicate this method with undergraduate sample.

Study 5

Study 5 directly replicates Study 4 but uses a sample of undergraduates to assess whether the effect replicates.

Methods

Participants

We conducted a pre-registered power analysis for a two-tailed independent samples t -test with a medium effect ($d = 0.30$, $\alpha = 0.05$) based on Study 4's medium effect size with 80% power using G*Power (Faul et al., 2009). The power analysis indicated 352 participants were needed to detect this effect, and we collected responses from $N = 400^1$ participants to account for exclusions (see Table 1). After exclusions, $N = 359$ responses were included for analyses. The final sample were all college-aged cisgender women from a university's undergraduate student psychology subject pool (see Table 2 for full demographics). A sensitivity analysis revealed this sample could detect an effect size of $d = 0.32$ at 80% power, $\alpha = 0.05$.

Procedure

Study 5 replicated Study 4's procedures directly.

Measures

Sexual harassment ($\alpha = .96$), Discomfort ($\alpha = .85$), and Interest in Role ($\alpha = .72$) were all measured as in studies 2-4. The manipulation was also assessed as in Study 4, with two items to assess the stimuli ($\alpha = .81$) and two to assess self-perceived gender prototypicality during the interview ($\alpha = .58$; items analyzed separately due to low alpha).

Results

Manipulation

Participants found the dress vs. shirt more feminine and less masculine, $t(357) = -28.17$, $p < .001$, $d = 2.97$, 95% CI = [-3.27, -2.67]. In addition, they felt more feminine, $t(357) = -7.79$, p

¹ We pre-registered we would collect $N = 375$, but there was insufficient useable data after 375 responses due to pre-registered exclusions, thus we collected 25 additional responses and ended with a slightly higher total N .

$< .001$, $d = 0.82$, 95% CI = [-1.04, -0.61], and less masculine, $t(357) = 7.17$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.76$, 95% CI = [0.54, 0.97] in the feminine vs. masculine clothing.

Perceptions of Interview

When participants imagined wearing the feminine (vs. masculine) clothing to the interview, they imagined they would feel more sexually harassed ($t(357) = -2.58$, $p = .010$, $d = 0.27$, 95% CI = [-0.48, -0.06]). They imagined feeling only marginally more uncomfortable ($t(357) = -1.87$, $p = .062$, $d = 0.20$, 95% CI = [-0.40, < 0.01]) and less interested in the role ($t(357) = 1.86$, $p = .064$, $d = 0.20$, 95% CI = [-0.01, 0.40]). See Table 5 for means and standard deviations.

Discussion

In Study 5, we replicated the effect of gender prototypicality on perceptions of sexual harassment from Study 4. The results for discomfort and interest in the role aligned directionally with those in Study 4, but they did not reach significance with this smaller, student sample. In the next study, we test this effect again and investigate a potential mechanism for why gendered clothing impacts women's perceptions of sexual harassment.

Study 6

In Study 6, we aim to understand what drives the effect of gender prototypicality on women's perceptions of sexual harassment. We test two pathways: self-perceived and other-perceived gender prototypicality.

One possibility is that women's self-perceived gender prototypicality, as a function of their clothing, explains their differing perceptions of the interview. Our findings in studies 4 and 5 that clothing impacts how women see themselves (i.e., wearing the feminine clothing made

women feel more feminine and less masculine than wearing the masculine clothing) suggests self-perceptions may be important to the effect.

An alternative possibility is that women's sense of how the interviewer sees them drives the effect. Studies 3-5 revealed the importance of outward appearances to the prototype bias, suggesting that women's awareness of how others see them may also (or instead) shape the effect. When women are aware that their perpetrator can vs. cannot see them, they may be more likely to link the experience to their visible identity and display the prototype bias. Indeed, visibility can enhance attributions of discrimination such that individuals with visible stigmatized identities, detect discrimination more so when their perpetrator can vs. cannot see them (Crocker et al., 1991). Furthermore, women were visible to their interviewer in studies 4 and 5 where we found the effects of gendered clothing. Because beliefs about how others see us can also shape how we see ourselves (Felson, 1985), women's gender prototypicality might be particularly salient to them when their interviewer can see them, amplifying the prototype bias. Taken together, awareness of how the interviewer perceives them (other-perceptions), may amplify the effect of gendered clothing on women's perceptions of their sexual harassment.

In Study 6, we test this visibility mechanism by employing a 2(clothing: feminine vs. masculine) x 2(visibility: visible vs. not visible) design. If self-perceptions explain the effect, we should see the prototype bias regardless of whether the interviewer can see the target. If other-perceptions amplify the effect, the prototype bias should be more pronounced when the interviewer can vs. cannot see the target. Given the evidence from our studies and literature highlighting the importance of other-perceptions, we expected that being visible to the interviewer would strengthen the prototype bias. Thus, we hypothesized a significant interaction

between visibility and clothing such that there would be a stronger effect of clothing on women's perceptions of the interview when their interviewer could vs. could not see them.

Methods

Participants

We conducted a pre-registered power analysis based on the smallest significant main effect in Study 5, $d = 0.27$, which is equivalent to $f = .135$. Given we were interested in an interaction in this study, which may yield an especially small effect, we base this power analysis on $d = 0.205$ / $f = 0.103$. The power analysis for a two-way ANOVA using G*Power (Faul et al., 2009) indicated 742 participants were needed for 80% power and the aforementioned effect size. We recruited $N = 795$ participants to account for exclusions. After exclusions, the sample contained $N = 701$ responses (see Table 1), which sensitivity analysis revealed could detect an effect size of $f = 0.11$ at 80% power, $\alpha = 0.05$.

Procedure

Study 6 was a 2(clothing: feminine vs. masculine) x 2(visibility: visible vs. not visible). Participants were randomly assigned to imagine shopping for either a dress or shirt and wearing their purchase to a job interview, as in studies 4 and 5. In addition, they were randomly assigned to imagine their interview occurred either in-person or over the phone in the vignette. The vignette was similar to previous studies, but the receptionist, instead of the interviewer himself, leads the interviewee to a conference room for the interview. In the visible condition, the interviewer, Tom, awaits the interviewee in the room and the interview ensues in-person (as in studies 4 and 5). In the not visible condition, the interviewer is running late after a doctor's appointment, and conducts the interview over speakerphone, without video, as the interviewee sits alone in the conference room. Finally, in previous studies, Tom's first harassing comment

indicated the in-person nature of the interaction- “He also compliments your outfit, saying that the color looks great on you.” In this study, we replaced this comment with, “He also compliments your name saying he’s always loved that name. It’s so beautiful.”, which was rated as similarly sexual harassing in pre-testing ($M = 4.42$) and does not indicate the interviewee’s visibility.

Measures

Sexual harassment ($\alpha = .96$), Discomfort ($\alpha = .85$), and Interest in Role ($\alpha = .85$) were all measured as in studies 2-5.

The manipulation was also assessed as in Study 4, with two items to assess the extent to which participants found the clothing feminine and masculine (reverse-coded; $\alpha = .91$) and two to assess self-perceived gender prototypicality during the interview ($\alpha = .60$; items analyzed separately due to low alpha). In addition, participants rated the extent to which they thought the interviewer perceived them as feminine and masculine ($\alpha = .68$; items analyzed separately due to low alpha).

Results

Manipulation

A 2x2 ANOVA revealed the clothing manipulation worked as expected. First, participants perceived their interview outfit as more feminine and less masculine in the dress vs. shirt condition, $F(1, 697) = 1748.26, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .715, 90\% \text{ CI} = [.688, .737]$, but not in the in-person vs. over-the-phone condition, $F(1, 697) = 1.11, p = .334, \eta_p^2 = .001, 90\% \text{ CI} = [.000, 0.010]$. There was also no interaction effect. See Table 6 for means and Table 7 for ANOVA statistics.

To ensure participants understood the visibility manipulation, they indicated whether their interview was over the phone or in person and whether the interviewer saw what they looked like (Yes or No). We removed participants whose responses did not match their visibility condition for analyses ($N = 35$; see Table 1).

Table 6. *Study 6: Means and Standard Deviations for all Variables by Condition*

Variable	Visible		Not visible	
	Feminine ($N = 166$)	Masculine ($N = 200$)	Feminine ($N = 187$)	Masculine ($N = 148$)
	<i>M (SD)</i>			
Manipulation ^a	6.52 (0.64)	3.24 (1.39)	6.45 (0.68)	3.13 (1.20)
Self-perceived femininity ^a	6.39 (0.91)	5.87 (1.36)	6.21 (1.11)	5.87 (1.35)
Self-perceived masculinity ^a	1.30 (0.70)	1.72 (1.05)	1.32 (0.74)	1.57 (0.98)
Other-perceived femininity ^a	5.95 (1.07)	4.07 (1.62)	5.47 (1.30)	4.18 (1.51)
Other-perceived masculinity ^a	1.40 (0.82)	2.53 (1.52)	1.46 (0.85)	2.52 (1.48)
Sexual harassment	3.78 (1.76)	3.54 (1.78)	3.80 (1.64)	3.65 (1.75)
Discomfort	4.36 (1.51)	4.12 (1.49)	4.37 (1.35)	4.23 (1.47)
Interest in Role	3.76 (1.76)	3.96 (1.63)	3.81 (1.66)	3.73 (1.71)

Note. There were no main effects of visibility on any variables. Variables with main effects of clothing in the hypothesized direction and $p < .001$ are denoted with ^a Cells are unequal due to a random assignment error.

Table 7. *Study 6: Results for 2(clothing: feminine vs. masculine) x 2(visibility: visible vs. not visible) ANOVAs*

Measure	Factor(s)	$F(1, 697) =$	p	η_p^2	90% CI
Manipulation	clothing	1748.26	<.001	.715	[.069, .737]
	visibility	1.11	.292	.002	[.000, .010]
	visibility x clothing	0.06	.800	<.001	[.000, .004]
Self-perceived femininity	clothing	222.56	<.001	.242	[.198, .285]
	visibility	3.02	.083	.004	[.000, .016]
	visibility x clothing	8.08	.005	.011	[.002, .028]
Self-perceived masculinity	clothing	139.65	<.001	.167	[.127, .208]
	visibility	0.08	.780	<.001	[.000, .004]
	visibility x clothing	0.11	.741	<.001	[.000, .005]
Other-perceived femininity	clothing	22.51	<.001	0.03	[.013, .055]
	visibility	0.82	.365	.001	[.000, .009]
	visibility x clothing	0.96	.327	.001	[.000, .009]
Other-perceived masculinity	clothing	25.54	<.001	.035	[.016, .061]
	visibility	0.96	.328	.001	[.000, .010]
	visibility x clothing	1.42	.233	.002	[.000, .011]
Sexual harassment	clothing	2.20	.139	.003	[.000, .014]
	visibility	0.22	.639	<.001	[.000, .006]
	visibility x clothing	0.10	.751	<.001	[.000, .005]
Discomfort	clothing	2.95	.086	.004	[.000, .016]
	visibility	0.35	.552	.001	[.000, .007]
	visibility x clothing	0.19	.663	<.001	[.000, .006]
Interest in role	clothing	0.20	.656	<.001	[.000, .006]
	visibility	0.52	.469	.001	[.000, .008]
	visibility x clothing	1.16	.281	.002	[.000, .001]

Self-Perceived Gender Prototypicality.

Femininity. Women felt more feminine wearing the feminine vs. masculine outfit, $F(1, 697) = 222.56, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .242, 90\% \text{ CI} = [.198, .285]$. However, being visible vs. not visible to the interviewer did not impact women's self-perceived femininity (see Table 7). A significant interaction between clothing and visibility qualified these main effects, $F(1, 697) = 8.08, p = .005, \eta_p^2 = .011, 90\% \text{ CI} = [.002, .028]$. The effect of clothing on self-perceptions of femininity was stronger in the visible condition ($F(1, 697) = 165.46, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .192, 90\% \text{ CI} = [0.15, 0.23]$) vs. not visible condition ($F(1, 697) = 69.66, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .091, 90\% \text{ CI} = [.060, .126]$). When the interviewer could see them, women in the feminine vs. masculine outfit felt especially feminine. See Table 6 for means.

Masculinity. Women wearing the feminine vs. masculine outfit also felt less masculine, $F(1, 697) = 139.65, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .167, 90\% \text{ CI} = [.127, .208]$. As with self-perceived femininity, visibility did not impact women's self-perceived masculinity (see Table 7). Unlike self-perceived femininity, there was no significant interaction between clothing and visibility on self-perceived masculinity (see Table 7).

Robustness Tests. Upon visual inspection, the residuals for both self-perceptions of femininity and masculinity were heavily negatively and positively skewed respectively. Although we pre-registered that we would winsorize such data, these variables were too skewed for a transformation or winsorization to be appropriate. Thus, we conducted additional ordinal logistic regressions as robustness tests. Unlike the ANOVA, this test does not rely on the assumption that the residuals for outcomes are normally distributed (Harrell, 2015). The regressions provided the same statistical conclusions as the ANOVAs. See Supplement for full analyses.

Other-Perceived Gender Prototypicality.

Femininity. Only clothing impacted women's sense of how their interviewer perceived them. Participants who wore the feminine vs. masculine outfit thought the interviewer perceived them as more feminine during the interview, $F(1, 697) = 22.52, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .031, 90\% \text{ CI} = [.013, 0.06]$. Unexpectedly, whether the interviewer could vs. could not see them did not impact other-perceived femininity, $F(1, 697) = 0.82, p = .365, \eta_p^2 = .001, 90\% \text{ CI} = [.000, .009]$. Furthermore, there was no significant interaction between clothing and visibility on other-perceived femininity (see Table 7).

Masculinity. The results for other-perceived masculinity aligned with those for other-perceived femininity. Women wearing the feminine vs. masculine outfit thought the interviewer perceived them as less masculine, $F(1, 697) = 25.54, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .035, 90\% \text{ CI} = [.016, .061]$, and there was no main effect of visibility nor an interaction between clothing and visibility (see Table 7).

Robustness Tests. Similar to the self-perception variables, the residuals for other-perceptions of femininity and masculinity were heavily negatively and positively skewed respectively. We conducted ordinal logistic regressions as robustness tests, which provided the same statistical conclusions as the ANOVAs. See Supplement for full analyses.

Perceptions of interview

For each outcome of interest, we conducted a 2(clothing: feminine vs. masculine) x 2(visibility: visible vs. not visible) ANOVA to test for main effects and interactions. Unexpectedly, the ANOVAs revealed no significant results (See Figure 1).

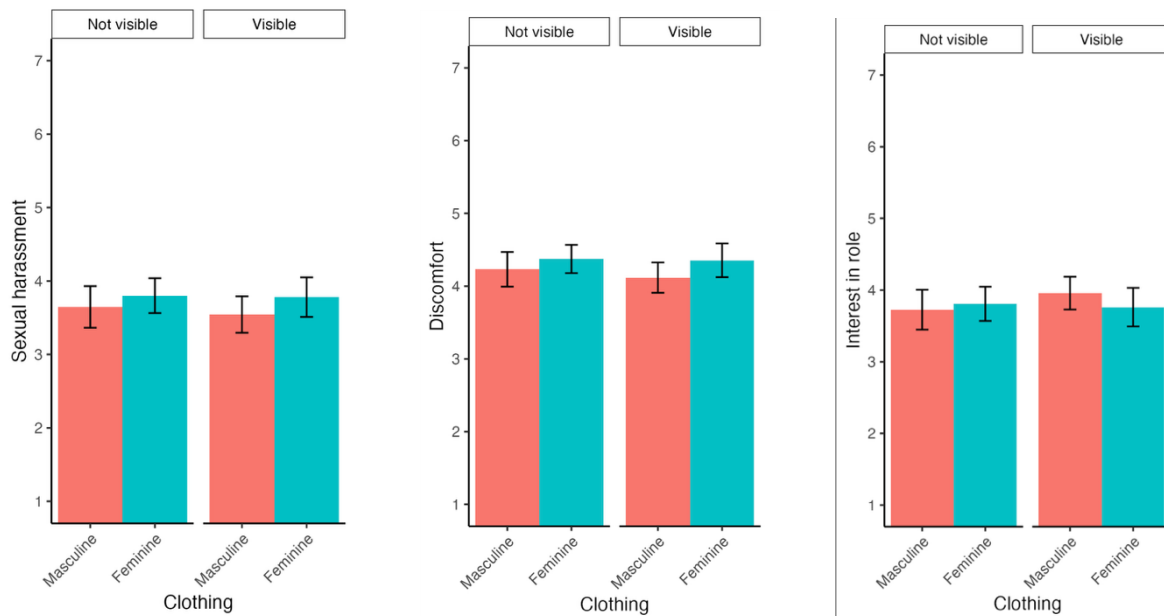
Contrary to our hypotheses, participants in the feminine vs. masculine outfit did not perceive the interview significantly differently. Women in both outfits reported feeling similarly

sexually harassed and uncomfortable (see Table 7). However, the means trended in the hypothesized direction such that women in the feminine vs. masculine outfit felt slightly more sexually harassed and uncomfortable (see Figure 1 and Table 6). Furthermore, women who wore the feminine vs. masculine outfit were similarly interested in the role (see Table 7).

Being visible vs. not visible to their interviewer did not impact women's perceptions of the interview. Regardless of whether their interviewer could see them, women felt similarly sexual harassed, and uncomfortable, and were similarly interested in the role (see Table 7).

Finally, there were no significant interactions between clothing and visibility on sexual harassment, discomfort, or interest in the role (see Table 7).

Figure 1. *Study 6: Results for Effect of Clothing and Visibility on Perceptions of Sexual Harassment, Discomfort, and Interest in Role*



Discussion

Unexpectedly, Study 6 yielded largely null results. We did not replicate the main effects of clothing on perceptions of sexual harassment from studies 4 and 5. We also did not find the hypothesized interactions between clothing and visibility on perceptions of the interview. Although we did not support our hypotheses, the means trended in the expected direction for the main effects of clothing on perceptions of sexual harassment and discomfort.

Of all our outcomes, visibility only amplified the effect of clothing on self-perceived femininity. When they were visible to the interviewer, women in the feminine vs. masculine outfit felt especially feminine, suggesting being seen may enhance women's sense of their own femininity. However, visibility did not matter for other-perceptions. Regardless of whether the interviewer could see them, women wearing the feminine vs. masculine outfit thought the interviewer perceived them as more feminine and less masculine. This result is at odds with literature suggesting that how others see us shapes how we see ourselves (Felson, 1985). Instead, these data point to the importance of self-perceptions in how women understand their own gender prototypicality and expect others to perceive them. We discuss these results in the context of our other findings in the General Discussion. Given the trending or significant results for perceptions of sexual harassment, and the inconsistent results for discomfort, and interest in the role in studies 4-6, we next mega-analyze these data.

Mega-analysis (Studies 4-6)

Although studies 1-3 yielded largely null effects, studies 4-6 all manipulated gendered clothing and showed either significant effects of gender prototypicality on perceptions of the interview or an effect that trended in hypothesized direction for perceptions of sexual harassment and discomfort. Given the inconsistent effects, we conducted a mega-analysis of studies 4-6, pooling the data together to test our hypotheses with greater power. The total sample size across

the three studies was $N = 1616$. To examine and control for any variance in the outcomes due to variation between studies (e.g., participant, design, etc.), we regressed each outcome variable on the clothing condition and the interaction between the clothing condition and study.

Taken together, the studies showed a significant effect of clothing on perceptions of sexual harassment such that imagining wearing feminine clothing was associated with greater perceptions of sexual harassment, $b = 0.45$, $p = .012$, 95% CI = [0.10, 0.80]. On average, women who wore feminine clothing reported perceiving about half a point more sexual harassment than those imagining they wore masculine clothing. However, gender prototypicality did not significantly affect discomfort, $b = 0.27$, $p = .068$, 95% CI = [-0.02, 0.57], and interest in the role, $b = -.27$, $p = .098$, 95% CI = [-0.59, 0.05], when controlling for the interaction between clothing condition and study. In sum, the mega-analysis revealed that gender prototypicality, operationalized through gendered clothing, significantly affected perceptions of sexual harassment but not discomfort or interest in the role.

General Discussion

Six studies tested how gender prototypes shape women's interpretations of their sexual harassment experiences. Gendered clothing (studies 4-6), but not gendered traits and behaviors (studies 1-3), impacted the extent to which women viewed a situation as sexually harassing. Women who wore masculine clothing to a job interview felt significantly less sexually harassed than those who wore feminine clothing. However, women in the masculine vs. feminine clothing felt similarly uncomfortable and interested in the role. Furthermore, being visible vs. not visible to their interviewer led women wearing feminine vs. masculine clothing to perceive themselves as more feminine, but they expected their interviewer to perceive them as similarly feminine and masculine. Taken together, these data suggest that 1) women who present more masculinely may

be especially likely to discount their own experiences of sexual harassment, and 2) being visible to their perpetrator may influence how women perceive themselves but not how they expect their perpetrator to perceive them.

Theoretical Contributions

This work demonstrates that prototypes of sexual harassment victims not only shape how others perceive sexual harassment, but also how women understand their own experiences. By investigating women's self-perceptions, we add an important target-centric perspective to the literature on the effect of prototypes on perceptions of discrimination, which focus largely on third-party perspectives (Goh et al., 2022; Inman et al., 1998; Spalding et al., 2024).

Multiple Manipulations of Gender Prototypicality

Past work that links prototypes and perceptions of discrimination uses traits and behaviors, or some combination of traits, behaviors, and appearance, to conceptualize prototypicality (Berdahl, 2007; Goh et al., 2022). We learned the importance of measuring and manipulating gender prototypes in different ways. Gendered traits measured by a scale from Goh and colleagues (2022) in Study 1, measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem 1981) in Study 2, and primed using a writing task in Study 3, were not related to women's perceptions of sexual harassment. The writing task in Study 3 however, revealed that women's appearances made them feel especially prototypical, as compared to traits, behaviors, and their social context. This insight then informed the appearance-based manipulation of gender prototypicality in studies 4-6, which yielded significant results.

Self-Perceptions vs. Other-Perceptions

We also investigated *why* women display the prototype bias in their self-perceptions of sexual harassment. In Study 4 and 5 where we found support for the self-displayed prototype

bias, women were visible to the interviewer. As awareness of how others see us can facilitate recognizing discrimination (Crocker et al., 1991) and shape how we perceive ourselves (Felson, 1985), we suspected that other vs. self-perceptions would exacerbate the effect. To test this hypothesis, we manipulated whether the interviewer could vs. could not see the candidate by conveying that their interview occurred in person or over the phone. We thought that being visible vs. not visible to one's perpetrator would amplify the prototype bias. However, regardless of whether they were visible to the interviewer, women in the feminine vs. masculine outfit felt similarly sexually harassed. These results suggest that women's awareness of how others see them does not explain the effect of gendered clothing on women's perceptions of sexual harassment.

Interestingly, visibility did not amplify the effect of clothing on other-perceptions. In both the visible and not visible condition, women wearing the feminine vs. masculine outfit thought the interviewer perceived them as more feminine and less masculine. Although we expected to reduce women's awareness of how the interviewer perceived them as a function of their clothing in the *not* visible condition, women thought the interviewer perceived their gender prototypicality according to their gendered clothing in both visibility conditions. These results suggest that gendered clothing may shape women's perceptions of their gender prototypicality beyond just their appearance. Perhaps when women imagined wearing the feminine vs. masculine outfit, they also imagined conveying their gender prototypicality through a behavior the interviewer could perceive over the phone (e.g., speaking in a higher vs. lower voice). Visibility may matter more, however, for the relationship between gendered clothing and women's self-perceived prototypicality. In particular, women felt especially feminine in the feminine vs. masculine outfit when the interviewer could vs. could not see them. These results

suggest that being seen wearing feminine vs. masculine clothing heightens women's own sense of their femininity. In sum, visibility does not seem to affect how women think others perceive their gender prototypicality but may impact how they perceive their own.

Practical Contributions

Our work gives insight into who may (or may not) readily identify their own experiences as sexual harassment and seek retribution. In three studies, dressing more masculinely vs. femininely, lessened the extent to which women found an experience sexually harassing. If wearing masculine clothing hinders women's recognition of their own sexual harassment, they may also be less likely to report their experiences (Bergman et al., 2002) and cope adaptively (Fitzgerald et al., 1997) and be more likely to experience self-blame and depressed emotions (Major, Kaiser, et al., 2003; Major, Quinton, et al., 2003). Despite their heightened vulnerability to sexual harassment (Berdahl, 2007), nonprototypical women may struggle more than prototypical women to identify their experiences as harassment.

Limitations and Future Directions

Variation in Effects

We found a significant effect of gendered clothing on perceptions of sexual harassment in the mega-analysis, but not in each of the individual studies. This is likely because the effect was smaller than we initially anticipated. In our studies, women imagine being targeted by sexually harassing comments. Although the harassment was subtle, women may have sensed that the experience was gendered, given interviewer comments like "it's great to see eager women getting involved in the business world.". If this was the case, their identities as women may have been especially accessible to them, making them feel more prototypical, and, in turn, making the gender prototypicality effect difficult to detect (Goh et al., 2022; Hogg & Turner, 1987).

Why did we see an overall prototype effect for women's perceptions of sexual harassment but not for discomfort and interest in the role? First, the effects for discomfort and interest in the role trended in the hypothesized direction, so it is possible they are even smaller than the effect for sexual harassment and require a larger sample size to detect. However, the null overall effect for discomfort aligns with past work showing feminine vs. masculine women are similarly bothered by their experiences of sexual harassment (Berdahl, 2007). This null result is meaningful because it suggests that while nonprototypical and prototypical women had similarly negative experiences, nonprototypical women are less likely to recognize discrimination occurred. In terms of the job outcome, it is possible that participants perceived the job as especially feminine or masculine, dampening the effect of gender prototypicality. Furthermore, women may have weighed their feelings of discomfort, which were consistent across condition, more so than their perceptions of sexual harassment when considering their interest in the role.

Using Vignettes

Our studies use vignettes and ask women to imagine experiencing an interview scenario. While vignettes can limit external validity, they may be well-suited to studying this phenomenon. Even low levels of sexual harassment can negatively impact women's health and wellbeing over time (Sojo et al., 2016), and using vignettes avoids adding to these cumulative effects. However, we acknowledge that because these results are based on hypothetical vignettes, effects based upon women's actual experiences may be greater or smaller than those in our studies.

Participant Demographics

Finally, in our studies we recruited only cisgender women to participate and restricted their age in studies 2-6 to control for other dimensions of gender prototypicality. However,

transgender women and older women are subject to sexual harassment too, and their experiences and perceptions should be studied in future work. Indeed, these varied identities are sources of prototypicality and have consequences for women's experiences with sexual harassment. For example, bystanders are slower to intervene in trans vs. cis women's sexual harassment (Schachtman et al., 2023). Future work should empirically test how different dimensions of between group prototypicality (e.g., age, gender identity, race, sexuality, disability status, etc.) shape women's self-perceptions of sexual harassment.

Conclusion

The gender prototypicality of women's clothing shapes the extent to which they perceive a scenario as sexually harassing. Women who wore a masculine vs. feminine outfit to a job interview thought the interview was less sexually harassing. Although women who display more masculine traits are especially likely to be sexually harassed (Berdahl, 2007), our work suggests that outward displays of masculinity vs. femininity may hinder women's identification of their own experiences as discrimination. Our work demonstrates the consequences of gender prototypes that shape not just how others perceive women's experiences of sexual harassment, but how they make sense of their own experiences.

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Appendix (Part 1)**Study 1 Vignette**

Your interview today is for a sales role at a large company.

You arrive at the office ten minutes early. After you've checked in at the front desk, you wait in the lobby until your interviewer is ready. The interviewing manager, Tom, arrives right on time.

The two of you take the elevator up to the company's office. Tom leads you to a conference room where you sit across from each other for the interview.

He begins the interview by asking you why you are interested in the sales role. You respond by detailing your previous experience in sales.

You then answer some basic interview questions about your strengths and weaknesses as an employee.

Tom asks if you enjoy social outings with coworkers because they are an important part of the office culture. You reply that you do.

Next, you share various professional development experiences that are relevant to the role. He

seems impressed, commenting that it's great to see eager women getting involved in the business world.

As the interview comes to an end, Tom mentions that your phone number was not included in the application materials. He asks if you can give him your number so he can follow up via phone rather than email, which he thinks can feel too formal.

You say you will email your number to him after the interview.

Tom says he will be in touch within a week regarding the outcome. You thank him, and the interview ends.

Study 2-6 Vignette

Imagine you have a job interview for a sales role at a large company today.

[*Studies 4-6 only*: You wake up and get ready, putting on your new shirt/dress.]

You arrive at the office ten minutes early. After you've checked in at the front desk, you wait in the lobby until your interviewer is ready. The interviewing manager, Tom, arrives right on time. The two of you take the elevator up to the company's office. Tom leads you to a conference room where you sit across from each other for the interview.

Tom begins the interview with some small talk. He asks about where you grew up and what you like to do for fun. He also compliments your outfit, saying that the color looks great on you.

Next, he asks you why you are interested in the sales role. You respond and then answer some interview questions about how your colleagues would describe your strengths and weaknesses as an employee. Tom also asks if they would say your personality is attractive, and you reply.

You ask about the company culture, which Tom describes as "tight-knit". He asks if you enjoy social outings with coworkers because they are an important part of the office culture, and you reply to that question.

Next, you share various professional development experiences that are relevant to the role. He seems impressed, commenting that it's great to see eager women getting involved in the business world.

As the interview comes to an end, Tom mentions that your phone number was not included in the application materials. He smiles and asks if you can send him your phone number so he can follow up via phone rather than email, which he thinks can feel too formal.

Tom says he will be in touch within a week regarding the outcome. You thank him, and the interview ends.

Study 6 Vignette

Today is your job interview for the sales role at a large company.

You wake up and get ready, putting on your new shirt/dress.

You arrive at the office ten minutes early. After you've checked in at the front desk, you wait in the lobby until your interviewer is ready.

Visibility manipulation:*In-person condition:*

The receptionist lets you know that the interviewing manager, Tom, is ready.

You and the receptionist take the elevator up to the company's office. She leads you to a conference room where you sit across from Tom and introduce yourself to him.

Phone condition:

The receptionist lets you know that the interviewing manager, Tom, was offsite at a doctor's appointment that ran late, and he will have to interview you over the phone instead of in-person.

You and the receptionist take the elevator up to the company's office. She leads you to a conference room where you sit alone and introduce yourself to Tom over speakerphone, without video.

Tom begins the interview with some small talk. He asks about where you grew up and what you like to do for fun. He also compliments your name saying he's always loved that name. It's so beautiful.

Next, he asks you why you are interested in the sales role. You respond and then answer some interview questions about how your colleagues would describe your strengths and weaknesses as an employee. Tom also asks if they would say your personality is attractive, and you reply.

You ask about the company culture, which Tom describes as "tight-knit". He asks if you enjoy social outings with coworkers because they are an important part of the office culture, and you reply to that question.

Next, you share various professional development experiences that are relevant to the role. He seems impressed, commenting that it's great to see eager women getting involved in the business world.

As the interview comes to an end, Tom mentions that your phone number was not included in the application materials. He casually asks if you can send him your phone number so he can follow up via phone rather than email, which he thinks can feel too formal.

Tom says he will be in touch within a week regarding the outcome. You thank him, and the interview ends.

Study 3 Prime

Feminine prime

Please take time to carefully think about **a time or experience when you felt traditionally feminine in terms of your interests, appearance, behaviors**. This could include a time when you felt especially understanding, sympathetic, feminine appearing in clothing or appearance, sensitive to needs of others, compassionate, affectionate, warm, and/or tender.

Please think carefully about this experience and imagine it in your mind's eye. Then, describe this experience in as much detail and as vividly as you can. Please write the description such that someone reading it can picture it clearly. Please be as thorough as possible in your description.

Please do not write about anything that you did not wish to share or re-experience. If such an event comes to mind, please think of a different event, or move onto the next exercise.

At the end of your description, list **3 feminine** qualities or attributes that you most embodied in the experience you wrote about.

Please write your essay below.

You will have **5 minutes** to write. After 5 minutes expires, you will automatically progress to the next page. If you finish early, please use your extra time to review your essay.

Masculine prime

Please take time to carefully think about **a time or experience when you felt traditionally masculine in terms of your interests, appearance, and behavior**. This could include a time when you felt especially assertive, dominant, masculine appearing in clothing or appearance, aggressive, independent, willing to take risks, like a capable leader, and/or like you had a strong personality.

Please think carefully about this experience and imagine it in your mind's eye. Then, describe this experience in as much detail and as vividly as you can. Please write the description such that someone reading it can picture it clearly. Please be as thorough as possible in your description.

Please do not write about anything that you did not wish to share or re-experience. If such an event comes to mind, please think of a different event, or move onto the next exercise.

At the end of your description, list **3 masculine** qualities or attributes that you most embodied in the experience you wrote about.

Please write your essay below.

You will have **5 minutes** to write. After 5 minutes expires, you will automatically progress to the next page. If you finish early, please use your extra time to review your essay.

Study 4-6 Manipulation

Imagine you are at the mall, shopping for clothes for an upcoming job interview for a sales role at a large company.

[PROTOTYPICAL/FEMININE CONDITION]

You walk into a store and browse through a few racks of clothing before deciding to try on each of the following dresses.



[NONPROTOTYPICAL/MASCULINE CONDITION]

You walk into a store and browse through a few shelves of shirts before trying on each of the following three.



You decide to buy this [dress/shirt] to wear to your interview [IMAGE OF ONE OF THE THREE DRESSES/SHIRTS]

Today is your job interview for the sales role at a large company.

You wake up and get ready, putting on your new [dress/shirt].

Gender prototypes hinder bystander intervention in women's sexual harassment

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Abstract

Bystander intervention is a powerful response to sexual harassment that reduces victims' burden to respond. However, gender prototypes depicting sexual harassment victims as prototypical women (i.e., stereotypically feminine) may hinder intervention when harassment targets women who deviate from this prototype. Across four preregistered experiments ($N = 1270$ Americans), we test whether bystanders intervene less readily in nonprototypical (vs. prototypical) women's sexual harassment. Participants observed a man manager ask a series of increasingly sexually harassing job interview questions towards either a gender prototypical or nonprototypical woman by traits (studies 1-3) or gender identity (Study 4). Participants were instructed to intervene to stop the interview if/when they judged the questions as inappropriate. A meta-analysis revealed participants had a greater threshold for intervention when 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***ing knew." (cited in Gajanan, 2017, para. 3). These types of open secrets are common across industries (Fitzgerald, 2017), leaving sexual harassment unchecked and creating norms that sexual harassment is acceptable (Mallett et al., 2021). Although Weinstein primarily abused women behind closed doors, sexual harassment is often more public, but similarly goes unchecked by bystanders who directly witness the mistreatment (O'Leary-Kelly et al., 2000). 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). Drawing 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) we 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 suffering 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, like in Weinstein's case) or not

(i.e., sexist comments). Historically, sexual harassment is narrowly defined by laws, policies, and scholarship as a form of discrimination toward women based on their gender (MacKinnon, 1979; Crenshaw, 1991). As a result, sexual harassment is strongly associated with women, and we focus on their experiences in this paper. We note this potential limitation and discuss avenues to expand the scope in our General Discussion.

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 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 psychological 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 an important tool in curbing sexual harassment (Lee, Hanson, & Cheung, 2019). Indeed, when women experience sexual harassment in the form of sexist comments, confrontations by bystanders are viewed more favorably than confrontations by the targets, 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 who interrupts sexist comments (Hildebrand et al., 2020). Furthermore, when men bystanders confront sexist comments, women perceive less workplace hostility and isolation and are more likely to report the perpetrator (Moser & Branscombe, 2021; Cihangir et al., 2014). In sum, bystander intervention in sexual harassment supports women and can help prevent the insidious effects of harassment.

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). Kaiser and colleagues (2022) proposed a prototype model of sexual harassment perceptions positing that this linking process is facilitated when a victim resembles the prototype of the gender category "woman," which includes possessing stereotypically feminine personality traits (e.g., caring, sympathetic, nurturing; Diekmann & Eagly, 2000; Prentice & Carranza, 2002), interests related to traditional gender roles (e.g., caretaking; Glick & Fiske, 2001), or physical features (e.g., delicate, attractive, lower hip-to-waist ratio, etc.; Helgeson, 1994; Paganini et al., 2023), or belonging to groups of women that are viewed as more traditionally feminine (e.g., White, straight, cisgender women). Across multiple studies, when compared to prototypical women, nonprototypical women (those who violate this narrow prototype by possessing stereotypically masculine

psychological and/or physical 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, and bystander intervention relies on recognition of sexual harassment, we hypothesize that bystanders will be less likely to intervene when sexual harassment targets women who deviate from (versus conform to) the narrow prototype of women.

Theoretical Contributions

This research advances scholarship on prototypes and sexual harassment in several important ways. First, we test Kaiser et al.'s (2022) prototype model of sexual harassment perceptions in the context of bystander intervention, a key behavior in mitigating sexual harassment. Second, extant tests of the prototype model have focused exclusively on within-group variation in prototypicality (i.e., the extent to which a woman possesses stereotypically feminine and masculine traits). We explore these within-group features in studies 1-3 of the present research. In Study 4, however, we expand prior tests of the model to examine prototype variability stemming from intersectional group identities. This intersectional approach to prototypes, derived from legal scholarship (Crenshaw, 1991), examines how individuals who possess multiple devalued identities come to be seen as nonprototypical of both their constituent group categories (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). In Study 4, we examine whether women

who are nonprototypical via their intersectional identities (specifically transgender women) are neglected by bystanders when they experience sexual harassment.

Third, the present studies theoretically advance scholarship on bystander intervention. Bystander intervention scholarship focuses primarily on how bystanders' motivation shapes their decision to interrupt bias. These motivational factors include bystanders' relative power to the perpetrator, expected costs of intervening, organizational culture, and relationship orientation (McDonald et al., 2016; Gervais et al., 2010). Instead, we integrate social cognitive perspectives to test how a *target's characteristics* (within categorical features and intersectional identities), affect bystanders' decisions to intervene. By attending to the target's attributes and identities, we can better understand when intervention occurs and how to encourage it.

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 from the United States observed an ostensibly live interview of a woman who was randomly assigned to possess either gender prototypical or nonprototypical attributes (studies 1-3) or identities (Study 4). 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 intervention behavior, this research uses experimental methods that hold exposure to sexual harassment constant and objectively measures intervention. These advances are important as people might biasedly recall more intervention behavior than they actually enacted or be overconfident that they would intervene in reality when presented hypothetical

scenarios (Shelton & Stewart, 2004). Additionally, those who report intervening 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 intervene later (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. Outlying scores exceeding an absolute value of three standardized residuals were winsorized to three. Participant gender moderated the effect of prototypicality on dependent variables only once across all studies; this is described in the online supplemental analyses. We report all manipulations, measures, exclusions, and pre-registered analyses across this text and the online supplement.

Study 1

Methods

Participants

The *R* package “pwr” (Champely et al., 2017) indicated that 276 participants were needed to detect a small to medium effect ($d = 0.30$, $\alpha = .05$) with 80% power in an independent samples t-test. We collected responses from 350 participants (via MTurk) to account for missing or

incomplete data and pre-registered exclusions.² Table 1 describes participants and exclusions; participant demographics are in Table 2. See pre-registration here:

https://osf.io/4cvd3/?view_only=0867fc231810464785960dbe6b6b4940

Table 1

Study Exclusions

Rationale for exclusion	Study 1		Study 2		Study 3		Study 4 ^a	
	Proto	Nonproto	Proto	Nonproto	Proto	Nonproto	Proto	Nonproto
Initial <i>N</i>	173	177	177	173	173	177	191	198
Final <i>N</i>	154	159	153	149	157	159	170	169
Attention check ^b	11	13	2	3	7	7	7	8
Early intervention ^c	5	3	17	14	4	8	13	12
Completion time ^d	1	1	3	6	4	2	5	4
Boredom ^e	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Manipulation check	-- ^f	-- ^f	-- ^f	-- ^f	-- ^f	-- ^f	0	4

Note. Proto = Prototypical condition; Nonproto = Nonprototypical condition

^a Although we recruited 400 participants, 11 people did not complete the study, thus the total initial *N* = 389 instead of 400.

^b Failed an attention check

² We discovered an error in our pre-registered power analyses for studies 1-3. These studies were inadvertently powered for a $d = .30$ with 1-tailed rather than 2-tailed t-tests. However, because we oversampled to account for potential exclusions, we nonetheless had sufficient final sample sizes to detect an effect size of $d = 0.32$, $\alpha = 0.05$ using 2-tailed t-tests in these studies.

^c 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

^d Spent three standard deviations above the mean completion time taking the study, indicating they were distracted

^e Indicated in an open-ended response that they intervened because they were bored of the study (not pre-registered)

^f Not collected

Table 2*Participant Demographics*

Study	Total <i>N</i>	<i>M</i> age (<i>SD</i>)	% Women	% Men	% Non- binary, Agender, or Genderfluid/ queer	% Trans- gender	% White	% Black	% Asian	% Latinx	% Native	% Mid- Eastern	% Another
Study 1	313	39.32 (11.07)	39.97	58.79	0.64	0.64	71.57	9.27	9.27	6.39	0	0.64	2.24
Study 2	302	41.56 (11.63)	50.00	48.68	2.32	1.32	78.81	11.26	8.94	6.95	1.65	0.33	1.32
Study 3	316	42.89 (13.60)	58.54	40.82	0.63	0.95	84.18	6.33	7.28	6.96	2.53	0.32	0
Study 4	339	41.48 (12.30)	49.56	49.56	1.18	1.47	77.88	8.85	10.03	7.08	1.18	0.59	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 report their demographics. Participants could only participate in one of the three studies.

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.

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 [osf](#) for interview scripts).

Resume Manipulation. Participants were randomly assigned to view the resume of a prototypical or relatively nonprototypical job candidate named Mary (See Appendix). 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 (Diekmann & Eagly, 2000). Presumed heterosexual orientation was held constant across conditions by mentioning the candidate's husband in both resumes.

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 relative 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%).

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 chat-based interview, which they were told was live³, in which the man interviewer, Tom, made increasingly sexist remarks (see [osf](#)). Participants observed a maximum of 19 online text exchanges on a professional messaging platform between Tom and the candidate with the same structure: first a message from Tom appeared, followed by a screen indicating the candidate was typing, followed by the candidate's message in response. The candidate's responses to each question or comment were modeled on those provided by actual targets of sexually harassing interview questions in prior experiments by Woodzicka and LaFrance (2005). These responses 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, stopping, then restarting), or repeated words. Therefore,

³ We asked participants if they thought anything about their study experience was odd in studies 2-4. Thirty-three, 35, and 37 participants respectively indicated they did not believe the interview was live. These rates did not vary across study condition in either case ($\chi^2_{s2}(1, N = 302) = 0.20$, $p = .653$; $\chi^2_{s3}(1, N = 316) = 1.94$, $p = .163$; $\chi^2_{s4}(1, N = 339) = 1$, $p = 1$). Additionally, no individual study or meta-analytic results changed when we removed these participants.

participants received similar subtle cues from targets regarding their distress level that bystanders of sexual harassment may receive in reality.

After each message from Tom, participants were asked if they would like to intervene (*yes* or *no*). As bystander *inaction* is common (Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Swim & Hyers, 1999), we encouraged intervention to create sufficient variation in the primary outcome (threshold for intervention). Participants were told that intervention would be anonymous and would stop the interview. They were also 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. These reminders and encouragement to intervene reflect increasingly common workplace environments that attempt to change cultures and promote bystander intervention in sexual harassment (Joyce, 2022). Importantly, the messages from Tom grew increasingly harassing in nature during the interview, allowing us to measure participants' *thresholds* for intervention. As in Milgram's classic study of obedience (1963) we were interested in participants' points of interruption in an escalating situation. In other words, to what extent did participants allow the harassment to escalate before intervening? When participants either intervened or finished observing the full interview if they failed to intervene, they completed dependent measures.

Measures

Threshold for Intervention. As the interview questions were designed to become increasingly harassing, we used interview question number (1-19) as a dependent variable to measure participants' thresholds for intervention. Higher numbers reflect later interventions, representing a higher threshold for intervention. If participants did not intervene, we coded their question number as 20. We also 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). 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 Likert scale (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *extremely*) participants responded to two items assessing the 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 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, $t(311) = -3.29, p = .001, d = -0.37, 95\% CI = [-0.60, -0.15]$.

Threshold for Intervention

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 had a greater threshold for intervention 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, on average, persisted for one minute (and one question) longer when the candidate was nonprototypical versus prototypical (see Table 4 for means). When the candidate was prototypical, on average, participants saw two sexually harassing questions rated as moderately sexually harassing in pre-testing ($M = 3.17$ and $M = 3.53$) before intervening, whereas when the candidate was nonprototypical participants intervened after seeing these questions plus another question rated above the midpoint for sexual harassment ($M = 4.04$).

Table 3*Intervention Frequencies by Question*

Question/statement	Sexual harassment rating	Frequencies of intervention by study			
	Pilot-testing	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3	Study 4
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>n (%)</i>			
1. First, what made you apply for this position? ^a	1.57 (1.08)	3 (-- ^b)	15 (-- ^b)	4 (-- ^b)	13 (-- ^b)
2. What strengths do you have as an employee? ^a	1.43 (0.97)	5 (-- ^b)	16 (-- ^b)	7 (-- ^b)	9 (-- ^b)
3. Are you up for social outings with coworkers? They're an important part of our office culture. ^c	3.17 (1.48)	117 (37.38)	56 (18.54)	148 (46.84)	35 (10.32)
4. Have you sought out any professional development	-- ^d	4 (1.28)	14 (4.64)	5 (1.58)	3 (0.88)

opportunities in your
career thus far? ^a

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)	67 (19.76)
-------------	------------	------------	---------------	------------

6. If you had to describe
yourself as an employee
with one word, what
would it be? ^a

1.58 (0.95)	2 (0.64)	2 (0.66)	2 (0.63)	2 (0.59)
-------------	----------	----------	----------	----------

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)	93 (27.44)
-------------	------------	------------	---------------	------------

8. What do you think
would be the hardest
thing in this job for you?
^a

1.66 (1.06)	1 (0.32)	2 (0.66)	1 (0.32)	2 (0.59)
-------------	----------	----------	----------	----------

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)	38 (11.21)
-------------	------------	------------	-----------	------------

10. Do you have any
questions for me? ^a

1.25 (0.76)	2 (0.64)	1 (0.33)	0 (0)	1 (0.29)
-------------	----------	----------	-------	----------

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)	42 (12.39)
-------------	-----------	-----------	-----------	------------

12. At WorldWide, we
often have to put in long
hours, but the work is
very rewarding. ^a

1.57 (1.11)	3 (0.96)	0 (0)	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)	18 (5.31)
14. That employee was promoted actually. So, still at WorldWide, just in a different position. ^a	-- ^d	0 (0)	1 (0.33)	0 (0)	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)	12 (3.54)
16. Any other questions? ^a	-- ^d	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.29)
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)	8 (2.36)
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)	2 (0.59)
19. Thanks for interviewing with me today, Mary. We'll be in touch soon. ^a	-- ^d	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.32)	0 (0)
Did not intervene	--	10 (3.19)	11 (3.64)	10 (3.16)	15 (4.42)
Total		313 (100)	302 (100)	316 (100)	389 (100)

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

^a Neutral question/statement

^b Eliminated for intervening too early and were not included in calculations

^c In Study 2 and 4, this question was “At this company, we really value customer satisfaction. Do you consider yourself a people pleaser?” ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 1.62$).

^d Not pre-tested because added later as a filler item to improve interview realism and flow

Self-Report Measures

Independent samples t-tests revealed that the prototypicality manipulation did not affect perceptions that the candidate was sexually harassed ($t(311) = -1.05$, $p = .306$, $d = -0.12$, 95% CI = $[-0.34, 0.10]$), psychologically harmed ($t(311) = -0.58$, $p = .561$, $d = -0.07$, 95% CI = $[-0.29, 0.16]$), or that the manager needed follow-up training ($t(311) = 0.31$, $p = .759$, $d = 0.03$, 95% CI = $[-0.19, 0.26]$). See Table 4.

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

Dependent variable	Study 1		Study 2		Study 3		Study 4	
	Proto (<i>n</i> = 154)	Nonproto (<i>n</i> = 159)	Proto (<i>n</i> = 153)	Nonproto (<i>n</i> = 149)	Proto (<i>n</i> = 157)	Nonproto (<i>n</i> = 159)	Proto (<i>n</i> = 169)	Nonproto (<i>n</i> = 170)
<i>M (SD)</i>								
Threshold for intervention (Q#)	6.00 (3.99) ^a	7.62 (4.83) ^b	6.94 (4.11)	7.02 (3.97)	6.02 (4.11)	6.40 (4.71)	7.85 (4.36) ^a	8.95 (4.08) ^b
Threshold for intervention (seconds)	289.82 (169.68) ^a	356.81 (201.96) ^b	306.05 (165.82)	312.52 (169.45)	291.22 (175.39)	308.64 (204.58)	366.23 (176.60) ^a	420.67 (175.40) ^b
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)	2.13 (1.21)	2.10 (1.31)
Gender harassment	—	—	3.40 (1.80)	3.32 (1.78)	2.97 (1.48)	2.94 (1.66)	3.22 (1.52)	3.17 (1.53)
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)	2.28 (1.22)	2.36 (1.32)
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)	—	—

Note. Proto = Prototypical condition; Nonproto = Nonprototypical condition

Means that were significantly different in the hypothesized direction are identified with a and b subscripts.

Dashed lines indicate that a measure was not assessed.

Exploratory Analyses: Mediation

We conducted mediational analyses to explore if the extent to which participants perceived sexual harassment, gender harassment, or psychological harm, as well as the extent to which they believed the manager should experience consequences for his conduct explained the effect of gender prototypicality manipulation on threshold for intervention. Using the “mediate()” function in the *R* package ‘mediation’ (Causal Mediation Analysis; Tingley et al., 2019) to estimate the indirect effects with 10,000 bootstrapped samples, none were significant mediators (sexual harassment: $b = -0.04$, $p = .346$, 95% CI = [-0.20, 0.03]; psychological harm: $b = -0.01$, $p = .789$, 95% CI = [-0.09, 0.04]; consequences for manager: $b = -0.01$, $p = .778$, 95% CI = [-0.16, 0.09]).

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 and none of these variables mediated the effect of prototypicality on threshold for intervention. Study 2 replicates these methods and explores the generalizability. Given that the prototype of a woman is a combination of traits, interests, *and* physical features, Study 2 strengthens the manipulation by adding professional headshots of the candidates, subtly morphed to convey masculinity or femininity, to their resumes.

Study 2**Methods*****Participants***

Following the same power analysis as in Study 1, we collected data from 350 participants via MTurk. Table 1 describes participants in exclusions; demographics are in Table 2. See preregistration here: 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, $t(98) = -4.41, p < .001, d = -0.88, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-1.29, -0.47]$.

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 [osf](#)). 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

Threshold for intervention (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].

Threshold for Intervention

Most participants (96.36%) intervened; see Table 3. Counter to hypotheses and Study 1, participants did not intervene at a later question when the sexual harassment target was nonprototypical vs. prototypical, $t(300) = 0.17$, $p = .865$, $d = 0.02$, 95% CI = [-0.2, 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.

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 = [-0.32, 0.13]), 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.

Exploratory Analyses: Perceptions of Manager's Intentions

We conducted exploratory analyses on participants' perceptions of the manager's intentions. Participants rated the extent to which they thought the manager was advancing romantic interest (was advancing romantic interest; was sexually attracted to the candidate; $\alpha = .87$), was asserting his masculinity (was asserting his masculinity; felt his masculinity was threatened; $\alpha = .67$), was asserting his power (wanted to control the job candidate; was displaying his power/status; $\alpha = .81$), and was punishing the candidate (was punishing the job

candidate; wanted to humiliate the candidate; $\alpha = .84$). We first examined the effect of prototypicality on each measure with independent-samples t-tests (reported below).

Participants perceived no significant differences between conditions in the manager's romantic interest ($t(300) = 0.63, p = .532, d = -0.07, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.30, 0.15]$), the extent to which he was asserting his masculinity ($t(300) = 0.48, p = .629, d = -0.06, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.28, 0.17]$) or power ($t(300) = 1.05, p = .294, d = -0.12, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.35, 0.11]$), or the extent to which he was punishing the candidate ($t(300) = -0.51, p = .609, d = 0.06, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.17, 0.28]$). As no measures differed significantly by condition, we did not conduct the pre-registered exploratory mediation analyses.

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.

Study 3

Methods

Participants

Following the same power analysis as in studies 1 and 2, we collected data from 350 participants via MTurk. Participants, exclusions, and demographics are described in Tables 1 and 2. See preregistration here:

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. 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.

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

Measures

Threshold for intervention (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

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

Threshold for Intervention

Most participants (96.84%) intervened; see Table 3. 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]), or 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.

Exploratory Moderator: Benevolent Sexism

We explored whether the extent to which participants' endorsement of benevolent sexism moderated the effect of study condition on duration to intervene. Benevolent sexism could drive differential support afforded to prototypical women vs. nonprototypical because this ideology rewards women who adhere to traditional notions of femininity and punishes those who deviate from it (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Thus, we expected benevolent sexism to moderate the effects of prototypicality on the dependent measures such that the effects were most pronounced among strong endorsers of benevolent sexism.

To test these hypotheses, we used the "lm()" function in the *R* package 'stats' (R Core Team, 2013) to regress duration to intervene upon condition (dummy coded: 0 = *nonprototypical*; 1 = *prototypical*), participant endorsement of benevolent sexism (mean centered), and the interaction between these two predictors. Counter to the prediction, participant endorsement of benevolent sexism did not moderate the effect of study condition on duration to intervene by question number ($b = 0.02$, $p = .953$, 95% CI = [-0.75, 0.80]) or time in seconds ($b = -2.83$, $p = .868$, 95% CI = [-36.28, 30.62]), nor did it moderate the effect of study condition on perceptions of sexual harassment ($b = -0.13$, $p = .328$, 95% CI = [-0.39, 0.13]), gender harassment ($b = -0.13$, $p = .378$, 95% CI = [-0.41, 0.15]), psychological harm ($b = -0.12$, $p = .337$, 95% CI = [-0.37, 0.13]), or consequences for the manager ($b = -0.05$, $p = .722$, 95% CI = [-0.32, 0.22]).

Discussion

Using the same resume from Study 1 with the morphed faces from Study 2, we again found no effect of prototypicality on bystanders' thresholds for intervention. Furthermore, participants' endorsement of benevolent sexism did not clarify the inconsistent effects across studies. Next, we address the possibility that the prototypicality effect is smaller than anticipated by testing our hypotheses again with a stronger manipulation, and ultimately presenting meta-analyses of all four studies.

Study 4

In Study 4, we aimed to increase statistical power by strengthening the gender prototypicality manipulation and examining the phenomena with an intersectional lens. To do so, we manipulated the candidate's gender identity such that the woman job candidate was presented as either a cisgender woman (assigned female at birth and identifies as a woman) or a transgender woman (assigned male at birth and identifies as a woman). Transgender women are frequently denied womanhood (Burns, 2019), and perceivers express less gendered cognition when evaluating transgender people relative to cisgender people (Gallagher & Bodenhausen, 2021). Furthermore, traits participants generate when describing transgender women are rated as markedly less feminine ($d = 1.03$) than those generated when describing cisgender women (Gallagher & Bodenhausen, 2021). We thus posited that transgender women would be viewed as particularly nonprototypical of the category woman, creating an especially strong prototypicality manipulation.

Methods

A power analysis for a two-tailed independent samples t-test using the *R* package "pwr" (Champely et al., 2017), indicated that 352 participants were needed for 80% power, assuming a small effect size of $d = 0.30$, $\alpha = 0.05$. We collected responses from 400 participants to account

for missing or incomplete data. See pre-registration here:

https://osf.io/52cez/?view_only=f8aa3f1b41e9466c9e2b76913986d755

Participants

Materials and Procedures

Resume Manipulation. Instead of using a resume to manipulate the target's identity, we used a fictitious employee personnel file (see Appendix). Participants were randomly assigned to view either a transgender or cisgender woman candidate's file which provided demographic (e.g., race, gender, gender identity, etc.) and job (e.g., title, department, start date, and affinity groups) data about the candidate. The files in both conditions described the candidate as Mary, a 30-year-old, White, able-bodied woman who had worked at the company for about three and a half years. In the transgender condition, the candidate was identified as transgender and belonged to an affinity group called "Trans@WorldWide", whereas in the cisgender condition, the candidate was identified as not transgender and did not belong to the transgender affinity group. Only four participants failed the manipulation check, and their data were removed for analyses (See Table 2).

Interview Observation. Participants were told that the company was piloting the online-chat interview format for *internal* hiring and that they would review the personnel file of an internal candidate. As in studies 2 and 3, participants were told their role was to intervene if they believed any question was inappropriate, and they had the opportunity to do so after each question or statement from the manager. The interview script replicated the script from Study 2 apart from some minor wording changes to reflect the internal (vs. external) hiring procedure (see [osf](#)).

Measures

Threshold for intervention (two measures again highly correlated: $r = .98, p < .001$) was measured as in studies 1-3. Perceptions of sexual harassment ($\alpha = .86$), gender harassment ($\alpha = .90$) and psychological harm ($\alpha = .92$) were measured as in studies 2 and 3. While we pre-registered that we would analyze the sexual and gender harassment items together ($\alpha = .90$) in this study, we analyze them separately for consistency with studies 2 and 3. We did not collect consequences of the manager in this study.

Results

Threshold for Intervention

Consistent with the previous studies, most participants intervened during the interview (95.59%); see Table 3. An independent samples t-test revealed that, consistent with hypotheses, bystanders had a greater threshold for intervention in the transgender (vs. cisgender) woman's interview by question number, $t(337) = 2.40, p = .017, d = 0.26, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.05, 0.47]$, and by time in seconds, $t(337) = 2.85, p = .005, d = 0.31, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.09, 0.52]$. Participants waited about one question and one minute longer before deciding to intervene in the transgender woman's harassing interview.

Self-Report Measures

The candidate's gender identity did not affect the extent to which participants perceived the candidate was sexually harassed, $t(337) = -0.25, p = .805, d = -0.03, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.24, 0.19]$, gender harassed, $t(337) = -0.26, p = .796, d = -0.03, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.24, 0.18]$, or psychologically harmed, $t(337) = 0.57, p = .566, d = 0.06, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.15, 0.28]$.

Exploratory Analyses: Perceptions of Manager's Intentions

As in Study 2, we explored whether participants' beliefs about the interviewer's intentions explain the effect of prototypicality on threshold for intervention. We modified the items to

mirror previous work on perceptions of sexual harassment of transgender vs. cisgender women (Brassel et al., 2019). Participants responded to four items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all likely*; 7 = *extremely likely*) about the extent to which they believe the interviewer was trying to be dominant or powerful (power), thought the candidate was not behaving like a woman should (gender policing), was prejudiced toward the candidate (prejudice), and was attracted to the candidate (attraction).

Participants did not perceive the manager as significantly more motivated by power ($t(338) = -0.58, p = .562, d = -0.06, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.28, 0.15]$), gender policing ($t(338) = -1.03, p = .305, d = -0.11, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.32, 0.10]$), or prejudice ($t(338) = -1.66, p = .098, d = -0.18, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.3, 0.03]$) in either condition. However, participants did perceive the manager as significantly more attracted to the cisgender vs. transgender woman candidate ($t(338) = -3.25, p = .001, d = -0.35, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.57, -0.14]$).

We conducted a mediation analysis to explore if the extent to which participants perceived the manager as attracted to the candidate mediated the effect of gender identity on threshold for intervention using the same method as in Study 1. Perceptions of attraction significantly mediated the effect, $b = 0.23, p = .004, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.05, 0.48]$. However, the mediation was inconsistent (MacKinnon et al., 2007) such that the indirect effect was positive, while the direct effect was negative ($b = -1.10, p = .005, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-2.25, -0.40]$). While bystanders perceived the manager was more attracted to the cisgender vs. transgender candidate, the nature of the study design meant that bystanders who intervened later observed the sexual harassment escalate and thus perceived the manager as more attracted to the candidate, confounding the model.

Discussion

With a stronger manipulation of gender prototypicality (see Gallagher & Bodenhausen, 2021), the effect of prototypicality on bystanders' threshold for intervention emerged. As in Study 1, bystanders intervened later when sexual harassment targeted a nonprototypical (transgender) woman relative to a prototypical (cisgender) woman. As in all the studies, however, there were no significant prototypicality effects on the self-report measures.

Mini Meta-Analyses

To address the discrepancies in findings across our studies, we conducted a series of mini meta-analyses for each outcome across all studies in which it was measured. We used a fixed effects approach to test our hypotheses with greater power with the 'metafor' *R* package (Viechtbauer, 2010). See Table 5 for a summary of the results. We report tests for heterogeneity for each meta-analysis (Q statistics in text and I^2 values in Table 5); however, due to the small number of studies, heterogeneity is difficult to assess and both measures have substantial uncertainty (Higgins et al., 2022).

Within Categorical Manipulation Check

Across the three studies using a within categorical manipulation of prototypicality ($N = 931$), a meta-analysis revealed we effectively manipulated prototypicality with a moderate effect size, $d = -0.35$, $SE = 0.07$, $Z = -5.34$, $p < .001$, 95% CI = $[-0.48, -0.22]$. Heterogeneity was not significantly greater than anticipated from sampling variation, $Q(df = 2) = 0.34$, $p = .842$.

Threshold for Intervention

A meta-analysis across all four studies ($N = 1270$) revealed that, consistent with hypotheses, bystanders had a greater threshold for intervention in the nonprototypical woman's interview compared to the prototypical woman's by question number, $d = 0.19$, $SE = .06$, $Z = 3.32$, $p < .001$, 95% CI = $[0.08, 0.30]$, and by seconds, $d = 0.20$, $SE = .06$, $Z = 3.59$, $p < .001$,

95% CI = [0.09, 0.31]). Neither variable had significant heterogeneity ($Q_{Q\#}(df = 3) = 5.87, p = .118$; $Q_{seconds}(df = 3) = 5.87, p = .118$). A sensitivity analysis revealed this sample could detect an effect size of $d = 0.16$ at 80% power, $\alpha = 0.05$. The meta-analytic approach leverages the statistical power of multiple studies to detect small but consistent effects.

Self-Report Measures

Meta-analyses of the self-report measures revealed no significant effects of the candidate's gender prototypicality (and no heterogeneity greater than anticipated from sampling variation). Across all four studies ($N = 1270$), there was no significant prototypicality effect on perceptions of sexual harassment ($d = -0.02, SE = .06, Z = -0.34, p = .733, 95\% CI = [-0.13, 0.09]$; $Q(df = 3) = 1.23, p = .746$) or perceptions of psychological harm ($d = -0.003, SE = .06, Z = -0.06, p = .955, 95\% CI = [-0.11, 0.11]$; $Q(df = 3) = 1.00, p = .801$). A sensitivity analysis revealed this sample could detect an effect size of $d = 0.16$ at 80% power and $\alpha = 0.05$.

Across three studies ($N_{gender\ harassment} = 957; N_{consequences} = 931$), there was also no significant prototypicality effect on perceptions of gender harassment ($d = -0.03, SE = .06, Z = -0.46, p = .644, 95\% CI = [-0.16, 0.10]$; $Q(df = 2) = 0.02, p = .992$) or consequences for the manager ($d = 0.02, SE = .07, Z = 0.37, p = .712, 95\% CI = [-0.10, 0.15]$; $Q(df = 2) = 0.50, p = .780$). Again, the heterogeneity in effect sizes was not greater than expected from normal sampling variation. Both samples could detect an effect size of $d = 0.18$ at 80% power, $\alpha = 0.05$.

Table 5*Meta-Analysis of Experiments 1 Through 4*

	<i>N</i> studies	Effect size (<i>d</i>)	<i>p</i>	95% CI	<i>I</i> ²
Within categorial manipulation check	3	-0.35	< .001	[-0.48, -0.22]	0.00%
Threshold for intervention (Q#)	4	0.19	< .001	[0.08, 0.30]	48.92%
Threshold for intervention (seconds)	4	0.20	< .001	[0.09, 0.31]	48.89%
Sexual harassment	4	-0.02	.733	[-0.13, 0.09]	0.00%
Gender harassment	3	-0.03	.644	[-0.16, 0.10]	0.00%
Psychological harm	4	-0.003	.955	[-0.11, 0.11]	0.00%
Consequences for manager	3	0.02	.712	[-0.10, 0.15]	0.00%

Note. *I*² represents the percentage of variability due to heterogeneity.

General Discussion

Across four studies using strong experimental methods that held sexual harassment constant, a behavioral measure to objectively assess intervention, and two unique conceptualizations of prototypicality, 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). These findings are consistent with both Kaiser et al.'s (2022) prototype model of sexual harassment and 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).

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. 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. On average, participants intervened for prototypical candidates after the manager's second harassing question, "I'm glad you applied to this position. It's great to see young, eager women getting involved in the business world." For nonprototypical candidates, participants waited until after the manager's third harassing question, "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." Despite the latter being evaluated in pretesting as more sexually harassing ($M = 4.04$, $SD = 1.84$ vs. $M = 3.53$, $SD = 1.66$), participants reported that the prototypical and nonprototypical candidates did not experience differential harassment or harm. Future tests better suited to continuously assessing these self-reported outcomes are needed to examine our theoretical framework more sensitively,

in which bystanders should intervene later in nonprototypical women's sexual harassment because they perceive her mistreatment as less problematic.

In the first three studies, the prototypicality manipulation was weaker in the study proper compared to pilot testing. As women are perceived as more prototypically feminine 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. Additionally, although nonprototypical women in studies 1-3 were still rated above the midpoint for prototypicality, the nonprototypical woman was *relatively* less prototypical. This relative difference is critical, and it is possible that participants may not rate prototypicality below the scale midpoint as they associate that part of the scale with men, a group to which the target did not belong. Nonetheless, the manipulation was always significant and was thoroughly pilot tested, and the methods were tightly controlled. Taken together, the data show 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-analyses, but we did not reliably find the effect in the individual studies. Given the varied results, we wondered whether a moderator variable might be responsible. However, neither participant endorsement of benevolent sexism nor participant gender moderated the prototypicality effect. The inconsistent results may have occurred because we assumed a small to moderate effect ($d = 0.30$), but our meta-analyses suggest the effect may be smaller ($d = 0.19$ and 0.20). In Study 4, we addressed the issue of statistical power by using a manipulation known to produce a very

large prototypicality effect. However, the meta-analysis ultimately provides a more sensitive analysis than any of the studies alone and is properly powered to detect this small effect.

Also, with respect to generalization, we focused primarily on ambiguous manifestations of sexual harassment, and indeed, a vast majority of the bystander action occurred in this ambiguous zone. This design feature was intentional as manipulations have the most impact on discrimination attributions and downstream consequences in this type of ambiguous context (Major et al., 2002). Indeed, when discrimination is unambiguously absent or present, people largely see it or do not and discrimination perceptions are largely unmoderated (Major et al., 2002). Given that a vast majority of sexual harassment and other forms of discrimination fall into this ambiguous zone (Leskinen et al., 2011; Major et al., 2002), this methods choice increases the external validity of the research as well.

These studies advance the literature in several key ways. First, we extend Kaiser et al.'s (2022) prototype model of perceptions of sexual harassment to bystander intervention, a critical behavior in preventing and mitigating sexual harassment. Additionally, we provide the first test of this model in the context of intersectional approaches to prototypicality (in Study 4), demonstrating that bystanders also neglect transgender women, who are viewed as especially nonprototypical, relative to cisgender women. Finally, unlike much of the bystander intervention literature that takes a motivational approach focused on the bystanders, we examine the phenomena using a social cognitive framework, highlighting the importance of considering target characteristics in understanding bystander intervention.

Practical Implications

Although our data suggest bystanders afford more protection to prototypical 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). Similarly, transgender women and adolescents, who are stereotyped as more masculine and less feminine than cisgender women (Gallagher & Bodenhausen, 2021) and are often denied womanhood (Burns, 2019), experience more sexual violence and harassment than their cisgender counterparts (Callander et al., 2019; Kaltiala & Ellonen, 2022). Paradoxically, those most vulnerable to harassment are least likely to be recognized as experiencing harassment and being harmed by it (Kaiser et al., 2022).

In light of this paradox, our work offers important insight into how organizations can best facilitate bystander intervention to avoid reinforcing the relative neglect of nonprototypical women. These studies suggest that bystander intervention trainings should challenge the false assumption that sexual harassment is directed primarily at women who embody the traditional prototype of womanhood. Specifically, trainings could emphasize that anyone can be sexually harassed and highlight those most vulnerable (Danna et al., 2020). Whereas we focused on within group variation in masculinity and femininity and between group variation in gender identity, this expanded focus can include women who belong to other social categories that are often neglected from who is considered a sexual harassment victim, such as Black, Queer, and older women (Crenshaw, 2019; Clarke, 2013; Cassino, 2018). 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 in order to achieve sufficient variation in the outcome for analysis. 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. Bystanders may increasingly experience contexts like this where they are encouraged to intervene as bystander intervention trainings gain popularity and cities mandate companies to provide such trainings to their employees (Joyce, 2022). Thus, while our study context does not reflect all bystander intervention scenarios, it reflects an increasingly common environment in which employees are exposed to regular explicit reminders to intervene when they witness harassment. Organizations should continue adopting bystander intervention training programs, emphasizing that intervening in sexual harassment 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 four experiments revealed that bystanders had a greater threshold for interrupting 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 by within group traits or intersectional identities. 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.

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Appendix (Part 2)

Study 1 Stimuli

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"

Systems Plus, July, 2015

- 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

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

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 AWARDSProfessional 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 Stimuli

Prototypical

Note: Resume was paired with one of five faces (not shown due to copyright)

Headshot
here

Mary W [REDACTED]

Sales and Strategy Specialist

Email: [REDACTED]@gmail.com

LinkedIn: linkedin.com/in/[REDACTED]

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

Note: Resume was paired with one of five faces (not shown due to copyright)

Headshot here	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 Stimuli

Prototypical

Note. Resume was paired with one of four faces (not shown due to copyright)

Mary W

Sales and Strategy Specialist
Email: @gmail.com
LinkedIn: linkedin.com/in/

Headshot
here

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

Note: Resume was paired with one of four faces (not shown due to copyright)



A



B



C



D

Mary W

Sales and Strategy Specialist

Email: [REDACTED]@gmail.com

LinkedIn: linkedin.com/in/[REDACTED]

Headshot
here

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

Study 4 Stimuli

Prototypical

Employee Information Sheet

Required demographic data:

Mary XXXXXX

Email: XXXX@worldwide.com
 Personnel ID #: XXXXXXXX

Social Security #: XXX-XX-XXXX
 Birthdate: 06/17/1992

Voluntary demographic data:

Race:	White	Disability:	NO
Gender:	Woman	Veteran Status:	Non-Veteran
Transgender:	NO	Nationality:	United States

Job Information:

Title: Sales Account Specialist
 Department: Sales
 Start Date: 10/01/2019
 Affinity groups: Women in Sales; Health & Well-Being

Nonprototypical

Employee Information Sheet

Required demographic data:

Mary XXXXXX

Email: XXXX@worldwide.com
 Personnel ID #: XXXXXXXX

Social Security #: XXX-XX-XXXX
 Birthdate: 06/17/1992

Voluntary demographic data:

Race:	White	Disability:	NO
Gender Identity:	Transgender woman (assigned male at birth and identifies as a woman)	Veteran Status:	Non-Veteran
		Nationality:	United States

Job Information:

Title: Sales Account Specialist
 Department: Sales
 Start Date: 10/01/2019
 Affinity groups: Trans@WorldWide; Women in Sales; Health & Well-Being

Bystanders' thresholds for intervention in Black vs. White women's sexual harassment

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Abstract

Black women's sexual harassment is often overlooked and dismissed relative to White women's harassment. In three pre-registered experiments, we test whether this neglect extends to bystander intervention in sexual harassment. Participants observed an ostensibly live job interview between a man manager and a Black or White woman job candidate. The manager's questions were pre-programmed to grow increasingly harassing, and participants were asked to intervene if/when they found the interview inappropriate. A meta-analysis of the three studies ($N = 1487$), revealed that bystanders did not differ in their threshold for intervention when sexual harassment targeted the Black vs. White woman. Despite evidence for the relative neglect of Black women in responses to sexual harassment, these data suggest that bystanders may respond similarly for Black and White women.

Bystanders' thresholds for intervention in Black vs. White women's sexual harassment

The Black women and girl survivors of singer R. Kelly's sexual abuse did not receive mass public support until nearly two years after an initial news story was published (Leung & Williams, 2019). Activist Tarana Burke contrasted this delayed response with the swift response to White women survivors of producer Harvey Weinstein's sexual harassment, saying "...we are socialized to respond to the vulnerability of white women. ...[There's a] stark difference in what it takes to get attention around Black women and girls." (Mosley, n.d.). The differential response to these two sexual assault scandals is consistent with scholarship showing that African American women who experience gender-based violence face greater disregard and victim-blame relative to White women from police officers, medical professionals, and other sources of support (Coker et al., 2015; Jacques-Tiura et al., 2010). This relative lack of support leaves Black women more exposed to sexual harassment and its negative psychological consequences, and unable to benefit from the buffering effects of supportive responses (Jacques-Tiura et al., 2010; Willness et al., 2007). In this work, we use an intersectional lens and experimental methods to investigate whether Black women are neglected relative to White women in one of the most immediate responses to sexual harassment- bystander intervention.

Bystander Intervention is an Important Response to Sexual Harassment

Bystanders play an important role in curbing sexual harassment, and bystanders reduce the burden on targets of harassment to respond themselves (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008). Women who confront or report their perpetrators face harmful interpersonal consequences such as being disliked or perceived as complainers (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Kaiser & Miller, 2001), and job-related consequences such as retaliation and backlash (Cortina & Magley, 2003). In light of these penalties, women do not often confront their harasser or file a report against them (Bergman et

al., 2002). Although bystanders can experience retaliation from perpetrators if they intervene (Vidu et al., 2021), they often face fewer consequences for confronting sexual harassment in the form of sexist comments. Relative to individuals who confront bias on their own behalf, bystanders who confront bias are perceived more positively (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Drury & Kaiser, 2014) and are more effective at changing perpetrators' future behavior (Gulker et al., 2013; Mallett & Wagner, 2011). In addition to effectively stopping harassment, bystander confrontations decrease women's perceptions of workplace hostility and isolation and increase their identity safety and likelihood to report sexism (Cihangir et al., 2014; Hildebrand et al., 2020; Moser & Branscombe, 2022). At the organizational level, bystander intervention training programs for managers are associated with increases in women managers (Dobbin & Kalev, 2019).

Prototypes Shape Relative Neglect in Bystander Intervention

For a bystander to determine that a woman's treatment is sexually harassing and worthy of intervention, they must first link the target's identity to the category "woman" (Major et al., 2002). Sexual harassment is strongly associated with women due to its historical legal and academic conceptualization as a form of discrimination toward women based on their gender (Crenshaw, 1991; MacKinnon & MacKinnon, 1979). Indeed, the prototype of a sexual harassment victim largely overlaps with the prototype of a woman (Goh et al., 2021). The category "woman" is represented by a prototype (i.e., set of features that define a category (Rosch, 1973)); recognition of sexual harassment is facilitated when the target closely matches this prototype (i.e., is prototypical) and hindered when she deviates from it (i.e., is nonprototypical) (Goh et al., 2021). There are two approaches to prototype fit: within-group prototypicality, which refers to variation within a group on traits, interests, and behaviors that are

prototypical of that group, and between-group prototypicality, which refers to variation between intersectional groups who possess two or more subordinate social identities. More specifically, a prototypical woman is stereotypically feminine rather than masculine in her traits, interests, and behaviors (within-group prototypicality), and White rather than Black, in her intersectional identities (between-group prototypicality) (Kaiser et al., 2022). In a meta-analysis of four studies, a sexual harassment target's within-group prototypicality significantly impacted bystander intervention where bystanders had a greater threshold for intervention in a stereotypically masculine (nonprototypical) vs feminine (prototypical) woman's harassment (Schachtman et al., 2023). In the present work, we apply an intersectional lens to test if a target's between-group prototypicality, whether the target is a Black or White woman, impacts bystander intervention in her sexual harassment.

The Costs of Nonprototypicality for Black Women

Black women who are sexually harassed may be neglected relative to White women because they are perceived as nonprototypical of the category "woman". Due to their multiple subordinate identities, Black women are considered nonprototypical of both their gender and racial groups, and consequently face "intersectional invisibility" whereby their experiences are overlooked (Coles & Pasek, 2020; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). For example, sexual harassment is often framed as discrimination based on gender alone, neglecting Black women's unique experiences with sexual harassment based on their race *and* gender (Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002; Crenshaw, 1991). Indeed, stereotypical attributes of the category "victim of gender discrimination", overlap more so with stereotypical attributes of White vs Black women, and Black women are perceived as less likely targets of sexual harassment than White women (Bandt-Law et al., 2021; De Leon & Rosette, 2022; Kaiser et al., 2022).

Black Women are Disproportionately Impacted by Sexual Harassment

Although Black women are considered nonprototypical sexual harassment victims, they experience sexual harassment at higher rates of sexual harassment than White women. From 2012-2016, Black women filed three times the sexual harassment charges with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission per 100,000 women workers as White, non-Hispanic women (Rossie et al., 2020). Additionally, progress in the last 20 years favors White women relative to Black women with reports of sexual harassment remaining unchanged for Black women but declining for White women (Cassino & Besen-Cassino, 2019). Importantly, this disparity is not because Black women are more likely to file charges than White women. Black women face greater barriers to reporting than White women and are actually *less* likely than their White counterparts to label their experiences as sexual harassment (Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002). Furthermore, Black women suffer greater psychological distress compared to White women after experiencing sexual harassment or assault (Buchanan & Fitzgerald, 2008; Sigurvinsdottir & Ullman, 2016). Despite the relative neglect of Black women in responses to sexual harassment, they are particularly common victims and are especially negatively impacted by the mistreatment.

Bystander Intervention in Black Women's Sexual Harassment

The relative neglect of Black women as legitimate targets of sexual harassment negatively impacts how people respond to their harassment. Indeed, empirical evidence shows that Black women are perceived as less likely gender discrimination victims (vs. White women) and, in turn, their claims are discounted to a greater extent (De Leon & Rosette, 2022). This discounting has legal and monetary implications for Black women; an analysis of gender discrimination charges filed with the EEOC between 2011 and 2016 revealed Black (vs. White)

women's charges were more likely to receive a "no reasonable cause" determination and were awarded less money (De Leon & Rosette, 2022). In addition to shaping responses to reports of harassment, the neglect of Black women as sexual harassment targets may impact immediate responses, like bystander intervention. In imagined sexual assault scenarios, White college women reported less intent to intervene in a Black (vs. White) woman's assault (Katz et al., 2017). Although bystander intervention is a promising mechanism to interrupt sexual harassment, Black women may be neglected in this response relative to White women.

Present Research

In three pre-registered experiments, we test whether bystanders have a greater threshold for intervention in a Black relative to a White woman's sexual harassment. We manipulated a woman job candidate's race (Black vs White) and measured participants' points of intervention in an increasingly sexually harassing job interview between her and a man interviewer.

This work utilizes a behavioral outcome and experimental methods to examine bystander intervention. Previous research on bystander intervention often relies on self-reports of expected intervention in hypothetical scenarios. However, because people overestimate their likelihood of confronting bias (Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001), our work uses an objective behavioral measure of bystander intervention. Additionally, in retrospective reports of bystander intervention, people may remember the most severe instance of sexual harassment in which they intervened. However, sexual harassment is most often ambiguous in nature, and by employing experimental methods, we can hold the nature of sexual harassment constant across conditions and reflective of the ways in which it manifests.

We hypothesized that bystanders would have a greater threshold for intervention in the Black relative to the White woman's sexual harassment. We also expected participants to

perceive the Black woman was sexually harassed and psychologically harmed to a lesser extent than the White woman. Finally, we hypothesized that the manager who harassed the Black (vs. White) woman would be seen as less deserving of consequences for his actions. The pre-registrations, materials, data, and code for all studies are available here: <https://osf.io/pmvf8/>. Scores exceeding an absolute value of three standardized residuals were winsorized to three. We found an unexpected moderation by participant gender in Study 2, so we report this exploratory analysis across all three studies for consistency. Additional exploratory analyses are presented in S1 File. All studies were approved by the University of Washington Institutional Review Board, and all participants provided written consent. The authors did not have access to identifying information during or after data collection.

Study 1

Methods

Participants

A pre-registered power analysis for a one-tailed independent samples t-test indicated 278 participants were needed for a small effect ($d = 0.30$, $\alpha = 0.05$) with 80% power. To account for exclusions, we collected 350 responses in April 2022. See Table 1 for self-reported participant demographics and Table 2 for exclusions. See full pre-registration here: <https://osf.io/q4pc9>

Table 1*Study Exclusions*

Study	Rationale for exclusion							
	Initial <i>N</i>	Final <i>N</i>	Attention check ^a	Intervention ^b	Time ^c	Manipulation check ^d	Boredom ^f	Duplicate ^g
Study 1	350	297	18	4	1	30	0	0
Study 2	650	602	13	21	11	118 ^e	3	0
Study 3	650	588	16	28	14	59 ^e	1	3

^a Failed an attention check

^b 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.

^c Spent three standard deviations above the mean completion time taking the study, indicating they were distracted

^d Incorrectly identified the candidate's race

^e Participants were included in analyses

^f Indicated in an open-ended response that they intervened because they were bored of the study (not pre-registered)

^g Duplicate ID, indicating participant took study more than once

Table 2*Participant Demographics*

Study	Total <i>N</i>	<i>M</i> age (<i>SD</i>)	% Women	% Men	% Non- binary, Agender, or Genderfluid/ queer	% Trans- gender	% White	% Black	% Asian	% Latinx	% Native	% Mid- Eastern	% Another
Study 1	297	40.82 (11.99)	46.46	52.19	1.01	0.34	76.77	10.44	10.10	6.06	0.34	1.01	0.67
Study 2	602	40.13 (13.03)	48.84	48.84	3.49	2.16	78.57	12.13	7.97	7.81	1.83	0.66	0.33
Study 3	588	43.97 (12.67)	57.47	40.65	0.51	0.85	82.31	8.84	6.80	5.10	1.36	0.68	0.85

Note. Some percentages do not add up to 100% because participants could select multiple answers for their race/ethnicity and gender.

In Study 1, 0.34% of participants did not report their gender. In Study 3, 0.17% of participants used another term for their gender.

Participants could only participate in one of the three studies.

Procedure

Following the procedure from Schachtman and colleagues (Schachtman et al., 2023), participants were informed that the researchers were gathering feedback for a company training their managers in a new online chat-based interviewing format. Their role was to observe a live interview and intervene if it became inappropriate. The “live” interview was, in reality, a series of ten pre-programmed increasingly harassing questions and comments from the interviewing manager directed to the job candidate with nine neutral items interspersed. See Table 3 for questions, means, and intervention frequencies.

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? ^a	1.57 (1.08)	2 (-- ^b)	11 (-- ^b)	11 (-- ^b)	
2. What strengths do you have as an employee? ^a	1.43 (0.97)	2 (-- ^b)	10 (-- ^b)	17 (-- ^b)	
3. At this company, we really value customer satisfaction. Do you consider yourself a people pleaser? ^c	3.00 (1.62)	88 (29.63)	71 (11.79)	89 (15.14)	
4. Have you sought out any professional development opportunities in your career thus far? ^a	-- ^d	4 (1.35)	9 (1.50)	17 (2.89)	
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)	60 (20.20)	175 (29.07)	173 (29.42)	

6. If you had to describe yourself as an employee with one word, what would it be? ^a	1.58 (0.95)	0 (0)	4 (0.66)	4 (0.68)
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)	51 (17.17)	135 (22.43)	109 (18.54)
8. What do you think would be the hardest thing in this job for you? ^a	1.66 (1.06)	2 (0.67)	1 (0.17)	0 (0)
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)	38 (12.79)	74 (12.29)	70 (11.90)
10. Do you have any questions for me? ^a	1.25 (0.76)	1 (0.34)	1 (0.17)	2 (0.34)
11. We work pretty late nights here. Hope your husband likes to cook!	4.74 (1.68)	18 (6.06)	38 (6.31)	49 (8.33)
12. At WorldWide, we often have to put in long hours, but the work is very rewarding. ^a	1.57 (1.11)	1 (0.34)	0 (0)	1 (0.17)
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)	12 (4.04)	36 (5.98)	33 (5.61)
14. That employee was promoted actually. So, still at WorldWide, just in a different position. ^a	-- ^d	1 (0.34)	1 (0.17)	0 (0)
15. And regarding office norms, will you be fine with wearing skirts and dresses to the office?	5.21 (1.69)	8 (2.69)	17 (2.82)	14 (2.38)
16. Any other questions? ^a	-- ^d	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.17)

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)	3 (1.01)	13 (2.16)	4 (0.68)
18. You know, Mary is a really nice name. Same name as my ex-wife.	5.32 (1.65)	1 (0.34)	8 (1.33)	3 (0.51)
19. Thanks for interviewing with me today, Mary. We'll be in touch soon. ^a	-- ^d	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Did not intervene	--	9 (3.03)	19 (3.16)	19 (3.23)
Total		297 (100)	602 (100)	588 (100)

Note. The pilot-testing data are the same as those reported in Schachtman and colleagues (in press). This table includes each question or statement made by the interviewer with extraneous phrasing (i.e., "Ok great,") removed.

^a Neutral question/statement.

^b Eliminated for intervening too early and were not included in calculations.

^c In Study 1, this question was "Are you up for social outings with coworkers? They're an important part of our office culture." ($M = 3.17$, $SD = 1.48$).

^d Not pre-tested because added later as a filler item to improve interview realism and flow.

Race Manipulation. After learning this cover story, all participants were assigned to observe an interview between Tom, the interviewing manager, and Mary, the job candidate. Participants were randomly assigned to a condition in which Mary was either a Black woman ($n = 150$) or White woman ($n = 147$). Mary's race was conveyed via a professional headshot on her resume, created by adding professional attire and backgrounds to faces from the Chicago Face

Database (Ma et al., 2015) using photo editing software. Within each condition (Black vs White), participants saw one of ten faces (cell sizes between $n = 11-19$) which were pre-matched on age, attractiveness, femininity, and masculinity. The resume content (i.e., experience, education, etc.) was identical in both conditions. Participants had to spend at least 90 seconds reviewing the resume.

Interview Observation. Next, participants observed the “live” chat-based interview. Participants observed 19 pre-programmed exchanges between Tom and Mary via a professional messaging platform. In each exchange, Tom’s message appeared first, followed by a screen indicating Mary was typing. Next, Mary’s message appeared, followed by a screen indicating Tom was typing, and so on. Mary’s responses to Tom’s increasingly harassing comments and questions reflect those given by targets of similarly harassing interview questions in previous experimental work (Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2005). She used diluted language (i.e., unnecessary, or extra words and phrases), false starts (i.e., stopping mid-speech and then restarting), or repeated words to indicate slight discomfort.

Participants could intervene by indicating *Yes* or *No* after each message from Tom. They were told that intervention was anonymous, and if they intervened, the interview would stop, and the candidate would be reassigned to complete her interview with a different manager. By giving participants explicit opportunities to intervene and assuring their anonymity, we reduced common social costs that inhibit bystander intervention. We implemented this design feature to ensure sufficient variation in intervention for statistical analysis, given bystanders often fail to intervene (Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Swim & Hyers, 1999). Additionally, as bystander intervention training programs gain popularity, this design reflects an increasingly prevalent

workplace context in which potential bystanders receive frequent encouragement and opportunities to intervene (Joyce, 2022).

Tom's questions and comments became increasingly harassing as the interview progressed, which allowed us to measure participants' thresholds for intervention (i.e., the extent to which participants allowed the harassment to escalate before intervening). Once participants intervened or watched the entire interview if they did not intervene, they responded to some self-report measures, an attention check, and a manipulation check.

In each study, we asked participants whether they found anything about their experience in the study odd. Only a small portion of participants indicated they did not believe they observed a live interview ($N = 24$ or 8.08% in Study 1, $N = 38$ or 6.31% in Study 2, and $N = 19$ or 3.24% in Study 3). These numbers did not vary by study condition ($\chi^2_{s1}(1, N = 296) = 1.03, p = .311$; $\chi^2_{s2}(1, N = 601) = 1.14, p = .256$; $\chi^2_{s3}(1, N = 587) = 0.23, p = .634$).

Measures

Threshold for Intervention. To assess the extent to which participants allowed the harassment to escalate before intervening to stop it, we recorded the number of seconds between the beginning of the interview and when they intervened or observed the full interview using the time recording function in Qualtrics. We also used question number (1-19; non-intervention coded as 20) to measure duration to intervene. The two measures were highly correlated, $r = 0.96, p < .001$.

Self-report Measures.

Perceptions of Sexual Harassment. Participants responded to five items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *extremely*) rating the degree to which the candidate was sexually

harassed, sexually objectified, disrespected, treated in a sexist way, and treated inappropriately during the interview, $\alpha = .91$.

Perceptions of Psychological Harm. Participants completed five items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *extremely*) on the extent to which the candidate was upset, distressed, uncomfortable, traumatized, and threatened during the interview, $\alpha = .89$.

Consequences for Manager. Participants rated the extent to which the interviewing manager should be better trained on how to conduct professional interviews, should be reported, and should experience consequences on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*), $\alpha = .85$.

Results

See Table 4 for all dependent variables' means and standard deviations.

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

Dependent variable	Study 1		Study 2		Study 3	
	Black (<i>N</i> = 150)	White (<i>N</i> = 147)	Black (<i>N</i> = 296)	White (<i>N</i> = 306)	Black (<i>N</i> = 296)	White (<i>N</i> = 292)
	<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>)
Threshold for intervention (Q#)	7.04 (4.12)	6.79 (4.18)	7.40 (3.84)	8.13 (4.42)	7.37 (3.78)	7.35 (4.04)
Threshold for intervention (seconds)	338.65 (175.24)	329.79 (175.88)	332.76 (163.37)	357.82 (183.15)	297.18 (145.73)	297.65 (152.92)
Sexual harassment	2.46 (1.32)	2.45 (1.33)	2.62 (1.32)	2.77 (1.29)	2.97 (1.46)	3.06 (1.46)
Psychological harm	2.13 (0.97)	2.10 (1.03)	2.39 (1.22)	2.52 (1.27)	2.59 (1.46)	2.71 (1.38)
Consequences for manager	4.06 (1.63)	3.97 (1.60)	4.03 (1.65) ^a	4.17 (1.55)	-- ^b	-- ^b

^a One missing response; *N* = 295^b Not collected

Threshold for Intervention

Most participants intervened at some point during the interview (96.97%). See Table 4 for intervention frequencies by question number. Counter to our hypothesis, a one-tailed independent samples t-test revealed participants did *not* have significantly greater threshold for intervention in the Black vs White candidate's interview by question number, $t(295) = 0.52, p = .698, d = 0.06, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.17, 0.29]$ or time in seconds, $t(295) = 0.43, p = .668, d = 0.05, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.18, 0.28]$.

Gender Moderation. A pre-registered exploratory 2 (candidate race: Black vs White) x 2 (participant gender: man vs woman) ANOVA revealed participant gender did not moderate the effect by question number ($F(1, 289) = 0.04, p = .843, \eta_p^2 < 0.001, 90\% \text{ CI} = [0, 0.01]$) or by time in seconds ($F(1, 289) = 0.002, p = .961, \eta_p^2 < 0.001, 90\% \text{ CI} = [0, 1]$).

Self-Report Measures

Also counter to our hypotheses, the Black candidate was not perceived as less sexually harassed ($t(295) = 0.09, p = .535, d = 0.01, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.22, 0.24]$) or psychologically harmed ($t(295) = 0.25, p = .597, d = 0.03, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.20, 0.26]$) relative to the White candidate, and participants did not recommend fewer consequences for the Black vs White woman's manager ($t(295) = 0.49, p = .688, d = 0.06, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.17, 0.28]$).

Discussion

Study 1 provided no support for our hypotheses. Instead of displaying a greater threshold for intervention in Black vs White women's sexual harassment, participants intervened around the same time for both candidates. Similarly, participants showed no significant differences by candidate race on the self-report measures. One potential explanation for the null effects is that the large quantity of individuating information on each candidate's resumes washed out any effect of

race (Locksley et al., 1982). In Study 2, we address this methodological limitation, increase the sample size, and use a sample from a different recruitment platform.

Study 2

Methods

Participants

To address the possibility of a smaller effect than originally predicted, a pre-registered power analysis for a one-tailed independent samples t-test with a small effect ($d = 0.20$, $\alpha = 0.05$) and 80% power, indicated 620 participants were needed (pre-registration: <https://osf.io/2grw6>). To account for exclusions, we recruited 650 participants in November 2022. We recruited participants from Prolific rather than MTurk for a higher quality sample (Peer et al., 2021). See Table 1 for exclusions and Table 2 for participant self-reported demographics.

Of note, and counter to Study 1, there was an unexpectedly high number of participants who failed to correctly identify the job candidate's race. We suspect that the high failure rate was because participants mistakenly reported their own race rather than their perception of Mary's race. Many participants miscategorized Mary as White in the Black condition, but as a variety of races in the White condition, and participants who miscategorized Mary as White in the Black condition, were White themselves. If our suspicions were founded, we would expect more failures in the Black vs White condition because the sample was majority White. Indeed, the exclusions varied significantly by study condition, $\chi^2(1, N = 118) = 12.45, p < .001$, where more participants failed in the Black ($n = 76$) vs White ($n = 42$) condition. Given the unequal attrition, we include these 118 people who failed the manipulation check in our analyses. These exclusions do not impact the direction of our findings, and we note where they impact the significance.

Procedure

Race Manipulation. As in Study 1, participants were randomly assigned to a condition in which Mary was either a Black woman ($n = 296$) or a White woman ($n = 306$). Instead of viewing the candidate's entire resume, participants saw only Mary's professional headshot, name, current job title, email address, and phone number. Participants in each condition saw one of five faces matched on age, attractiveness, masculinity, and femininity. Participants had to stay on the page for at least 18 seconds to ensure they viewed the manipulation.

Interview Observation. Next, participants observed the same interview as in Study 1.

Measures

Threshold for intervention (by question number and by time in seconds were highly correlated, $r = 0.97$, $p < .001$), perceptions of sexual harassment ($\alpha = .91$), and consequences for the manager ($\alpha = .85$) were measured as in Study 1.

Perceptions of Psychological Harm. Participants completed three items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *extremely*) on the extent to which the candidate was upset, distressed, and uncomfortable during the interview, $\alpha = .89$.

Results

See Table 3 for all dependent variables' means and standard deviations.

Threshold for Intervention

Most participants intervened during the interview (96.84%). Counter to our hypothesis, a one-tailed independent samples t-test revealed bystanders did not have a significantly greater threshold for intervention in the Black vs. White candidate's interview by question number, $t(600) = -2.16$, $p = .984$, $d = -0.18$, 95% CI = [-0.34; -0.02], or time in seconds $t(600) = -1.77$, p

= .961, $d = -0.14$, 95% CI = [-0.30; 0.02]. Surprisingly, the direction of the effect indicated participants had a greater threshold for intervention in the White vs. Black candidate's interview.

Due to the direction of the effect size, we conducted an un-preregistered two-tailed t-test, which revealed an effect in the opposite direction to our hypothesis; participants had a greater threshold for intervention in the White vs Black candidate's interview by question number, $t(600) = -2.16$, $p = .031$, $d = -0.18$, 95% CI = [-0.34, -0.02]. The effect was only marginally significant by time in seconds, $t(600) = -1.77$, $p = .077$, $d = -0.14$, 95% CI = [-0.30; 0.02].

Gender Moderation. A pre-registered exploratory 2 (candidate race: Black vs White) x 2 (participant gender: man vs woman) ANOVA revealed a main effect by question number opposite to what we hypothesized ($F(1, 581) = 4.56$, $p = .033$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.01$, 90% CI = [0.0003, 0.0239]); bystanders had a greater threshold for intervention in the White ($M = 8.13$, $SD = 4.42$) relative to the Black woman's interview ($M = 7.40$, $SD = 3.84$). The main effect was qualified by a significant interaction, $F(1, 581) = 4.04$, $p = .045$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.01$, 90% CI = [0.0001, 0.0224]. Simple effects revealed that men participants drove the main effect with a greater threshold for intervention in the White ($M = 9.25$, $SD = 4.87$) vs Black ($M = 7.86$, $SD = 4.11$) woman's interview, $F(1, 581) = 8.50$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.02$, 90% CI = [0.003, 0.035]. Women did not differ significantly in their threshold for intervention when the candidate was White ($M = 7.01$, $SD = 3.68$) vs Black ($M = 6.97$, $SD = 3.40$), $F(1, 581) = 0.01$, $p = .930$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$, 90% CI = [0, 0.001]. When participants who failed the manipulation check were excluded, this interaction was not significant, $F(1, 465) = 2.61$, $p = .107$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.01$, 90% CI = [0, 0.02]. However, the omnibus main effect held, $F(1, 465) = 5.24$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.01$, 90% CI = [0.001, 0.032].

Self-Report Measures

As in Study 1, the Black candidate was not perceived as significantly more sexually harassed ($t(600) = -1.45, p = .927, d = -0.12, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.28, 0.04]$) or psychologically harmed ($t(600) = -1.26, p = .896, d = -0.10, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.26, 0.06]$) than the White candidate, and her manager was not recommended to experience greater consequences ($t(599) = -1.06, p = .855, d = -0.09, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.25, 0.07]$).

Discussion

As in Study 1, we did not support our hypothesis that bystanders would have a greater threshold of intervention in the Black relative to the White woman's sexual harassment. In an exploratory analysis, we found a surprising main effect in the opposite direction to our hypotheses and an interaction with participant gender where only men participants showed the effect. However, when those who failed a manipulation check were excluded from the data, this gender moderation was not significant, and the main effect of candidate race held. Given the data quality issues and the unanticipated interaction that depended on manipulation check accuracy, we conducted a third study to further test the hypotheses. This study also strengthened the framing on the candidate race manipulation check item.

Study 3

Methods

Participants

A pre-registered power analysis for a two-tailed independent samples t-test with a small effect ($d = 0.23, \alpha = 0.05$) with 80% power indicated 596 participants were needed. To account for exclusions, we collected 650 responses in December 2022. Participants were recruited from MTurk. See Table 1 for exclusions and Table 2 for participant demographics. See pre-registration here: <https://osf.io/ehpu3>

Procedure

Study 3 replicated Study 2's procedure. The manipulation check contained fewer options for the candidate's race and reminded the participants twice that the question was about the candidate, and *not* themselves.

Measures

Threshold for intervention (by question number and by time in seconds were highly correlated, $r = 0.96, p < .001$), perceptions of sexual harassment ($\alpha = .91$), and psychological harm ($\alpha = .91$) were measured as in Study 1. We did not collect consequences for the manager.

Results

Threshold for Intervention

Most participants intervened at some point during the interview (96.77%). Consistent with Study 1 and 2, bystanders did not have a significantly greater threshold for intervention in the Black vs. White woman's sexual harassment by question number ($t(586) = 0.07, p = .473, d < 0.01, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.16, 0.17]$), or by time in seconds ($t(586) = -0.04, p = .515, d < 0.01, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.16, 0.16]$). About half as many participants failed the manipulation check ($N = 59$) compared to Study 2, and the exclusions did not vary by study condition, $X^2(1, N = 59) = 0.05, p = 0.816$. For consistency with Study 2 analyses, we included participants who failed in these analyses (although we pre-registered that we would exclude them). Excluding these participants ($N = 59$), produced the same direction and significance for each effect.

Gender Moderation. As in Study 1, participant gender did not moderate the effect by question number ($F(1, 574) = 0.80, p = .372, \eta_p^2 = 0.001, 90\% \text{ CI} = [0, 0.01]$) or by time in seconds ($F(1, 574) = 0.89, p = .347, \eta_p^2 = 0.002, 90\% \text{ CI} = [0, 0.01]$).

Self-Report Measures

Again, the Black candidate was not perceived as less sexually harassed ($t(586) = -0.74, p = .771, d = -0.06, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.22, 0.10]$) or psychologically harmed ($t(586) = -1.09, p = .861, d = -0.09, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.25, 0.07]$) relative to the White candidate.

Discussion

Similar to Study 1 and 2, Study 3 found bystanders responses to (threshold for intervention) and perceptions of (extent to which candidate was sexually harassed and psychologically harmed) sexual harassment did not neglect the Black candidate relative to the White candidate. As in Study 1, participant gender did not moderate the effect of race on threshold for intervention.

Meta-Analysis

Threshold for Intervention

We conducted a meta-analysis across the three studies ($N = 1487$) using a fixed effects approach based on Goh and colleague's process and macro to address the discrepancies in findings for threshold for intervention. The meta-analysis revealed that, bystanders did *not* have a greater threshold for intervention in the Black vs White woman's sexual harassment (by question number: $d = -0.06, SE = .05, Z = -1.19, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.16, 0.04], p = .236$; and by seconds: $d = -0.05, SE = .05, Z = -0.95, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.15, 0.05], p = .342$). Leveraging the statistical power of multiple studies, we found no significant effect of race on bystander intervention in sexual harassment.

Self-Report Measures

The self-report measures also revealed no significant effects by candidate race in meta-analyses performed using the same method described above (sexual harassment: $d = -0.07, SE = .05, Z = -1.34, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.17, 0.03], p = .180$; psychological harm: $d = -0.07, SE = .05, Z = -$

1.34, 95% CI = [-0.17, 0.03], $p = .180$; consequences for manager (only collected in studies 1 and 2): $d = -0.04$, $SE = .07$, $Z = -0.60$, 95% CI = [-0.17, 0.09], $p = .594$).

General Discussion

Across three experiments, we did not find evidence for the hypotheses that bystanders neglect Black relative to White women who are sexually harassed. Instead, bystanders had similar thresholds for intervention when sexual harassment targeted a Black and a White woman. The only exception to the null findings was in Study 2, where we found, opposite to our hypotheses, that bystanders had a greater threshold for intervention in the White vs. Black candidate's interview. This pattern held only for men participants when we included all responses and for all participants when we excluded those who failed the manipulation check; however, these effects did not replicate, and the conclusions are limited by data quality. Overall, a mini-meta-analysis of the three studies found no effect of race on bystanders' thresholds for intervention nor on any of the self-report measures (sexual harassment, psychological harm, and consequences for the manager).

Unexpectedly, these findings run counter to research showing the neglect of Black women in responses to sexual harassment. The results from Study 2 (although they did not replicate in the other studies or meta-analytically) even suggest bystanders could be more rather than less attuned to the sexual harassment of Black relative to White women. However, most prior work focuses on subsequent rather than immediate responses. For example, Black (vs. White) women's charges with the EEOC are more likely to receive a "no reasonable cause" determination and be awarded less money (De Leon & Rosette, 2022). Additionally, Black women receive less interpersonal support and care (e.g., more victim-blaming) from lay people, police, judges, and juries when they report or disclose their sexual assault (Coker et al., 2015;

Epstein, 2020). Perhaps directly witnessing sexual harassing behaviors as a bystander, rather than assessing a victim's subsequent claim or disclosure, lessens the racial bias in how these experiences are interpreted and treated. Despite ample evidence for the neglect of Black women in responses to gender-based mistreatment, these effects did not extend to the immediate response of bystander intervention, at least as how assessed in these studies.

Another possibility is that the null results reflect aspects of our study design. Bystanders often fail to intervene, thus we attempted to create meaningful variation on this key variable by reducing the obstacles to confrontation (e.g., by allowing confrontation to be anonymous) (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Cantor et al., 2015). However, in doing so, we asked participants if they would like to intervene after each question or comment from the manager, which may have been too obtrusive, decreasing opportunities to observe discrimination (Crosby et al., 1980). This methodological decision follows directly from prior research with these same methods, which has indeed demonstrated that women's gender prototypicality affects bystander intervention in sexual harassment (Schachtman et al., 2023). Thus, it is unlikely that the methods alone were responsible for the null effects. Nonetheless, this design choice means we cannot generalize our findings to many situations in which bystanders face social costs for intervening. Bystanders, especially women, are less likely to intervene when the potential social costs are high vs. low (Good et al., 2012). As our study design removed this barrier, we may have artificially increased participants' intervention behavior. Despite this constraint on generalizability, many organizations are in fact motivated to reduce barriers to confronting discrimination and adopt training programs that aim to create workplaces cultures that champion bystander intervention (Joyce, 2022). Further, with shifts toward remote work environments

(e.g., Zoom, Microsoft Teams), bystander intervention can occur virtually as it did in these studies, for example through the chat function in these meetings.

Finally, despite our efforts to create a realistic online interview context, it is possible participants did not believe they were observing a real interview, which could have lowered potential social costs and inflated intervention behavior. When participants were probed to indicate whether anything about the study seemed unusual or odd, less than 10% of participants in each study indicated they knew the interview was fake. Because we did not ask them directly whether or not they believed the interview was real, it is possible that more may have been suspicious. However, we are optimistic that the question we asked, “Did you find anything about the study odd?”, encouraged disclosure of any deception awareness. This question is a modified version of a funnel debriefing procedure, which is recommended to detect awareness of deception in social psychological studies (Aronson et al., 1989). Furthermore, participants are more likely to admit their suspicions in a computer-based vs. lab-based study with an experimenter present (Blackhart et al., 2012).

The stimuli in our studies could also explain the null effects, as we tightly controlled for masculinity, femininity, and attractiveness of the face stimuli. In studies where these traits were not controlled, Black women are stereotyped as more masculine than White women, and this perceived masculinity leads to greater mistakes in categorizing Black women as women relative to White women (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013; Goff et al., 2008). Additionally, Black women’s greater perceived masculinity is linked with rating them as less attractive than White women (Goff et al., 2008). These stereotyped perceptions of Black women as more masculine and less attractive than White women may drive neglect of their sexual harassment because prototypical victims are expected to be feminine and attractive, but not masculine (Kaiser et al., 2022; Madera

et al., 2007). Without variation in masculinity, femininity, and attractiveness, bystanders may have perceived the Black and White women as equally likely victims, eliminating the effect of race on their thresholds for intervention.

Finally, given the large portion of White participants in each study, our results largely describe how White bystanders respond. Black bystanders may have been more sensitive to the Black vs. White woman's sexual harassment due to a shared social identity. We did not have sufficient power to explore this question, but it is possible that possessing a shared social identity with the victim might shape bystander action. The fact that we did not observe participant gender moderation in these studies suggests that not all shared social identities will shape bystander action. However, future research can explore this question, as well as the intersection of social identities such as gender and race on bystander action.

Conclusion

When holding the targets' attractiveness, femininity, masculinity, and sexual harassment constant, bystanders did not have a greater threshold for intervention in the Black vs. White woman's sexual harassment. One interpretation of this null effect is that counter to evidence that Black women are neglected in responses to sexual harassment, and ultimately, in laws, policies, and broader feminist movements like #MeToo (Crenshaw, 1991; MacKinnon & MacKinnon, 1979; Onwuachi-Willig, 2018), the prototype bias may not shape bystander intervention. However, unlike previous research that finds race effects when features of the prototype naturally covary or are left to the perceivers' imagination as no face stimuli are presented, our tightly controlled stimuli may have inadvertently mitigated the prototype bias. Therefore, another interpretation of the null results is that addressing the stereotypes about attractiveness, femininity, and masculinity that drive racial bias may reduce the relative neglect of Black

women's sexual harassment. Black women are particularly vulnerable to and impacted by sexual harassment, and these results offer a future direction for attenuating harmful biased responses to their harassment.

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Appendix (Part 3)

Note: Photos used for stimuli not shown due to copyright.

Study 1 Stimuli

Resume

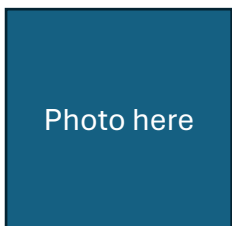


Photo here

Mary W [REDACTED]
Sales and Strategy Specialist

Email: [REDACTED]@gmail.com
Phone number: [REDACTED]
Linkedin: linkedin.com/in/[REDACTED]

WORK EXPERIENCE

Sales and Strategy Specialist

Indigo Inc.
August 2019-Present

- Lead projects from data analysis to strategy design and project implementation
- Improved sales 20% company-wide by developing and implementing innovative practices

Sales Associate

Systems Plus
June 2017-August 2019

- Trained and led a sales team of twelve with the company's highest average daily cold-call rate
- Organized company-wide training seminars on various pricing strategies

Sales Representative

Systems Plus
July 2016-September 2017

- Managed and responded to customer questions and concerns

EDUCATION

BA in Business Administration

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
September 2012-June 2016

OTHER INTERESTS AND EXPERIENCE

National Association of Sales Professionals

- *Member*, 2016-Present
- *Vice-President*, 2019-2020

Future Business Leaders, University of Michigan

- *Member*, 2012-2016
- *Co-chair*, 2013-2015

CERTIFICATIONS

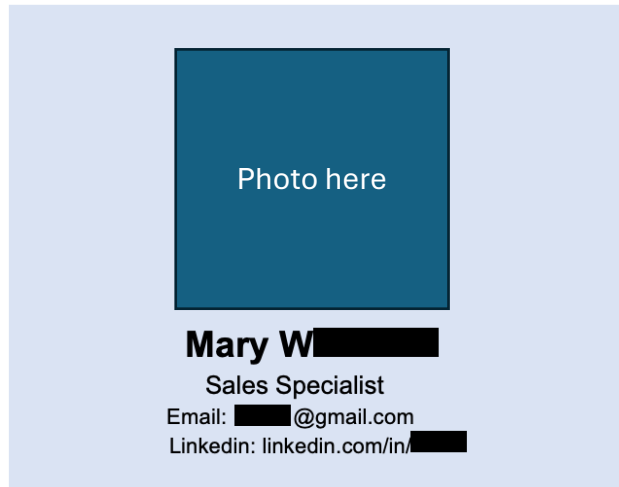
Leadership Certificate

November 2018

- Two-day training and certification course on effective leadership strategies

SOFTWARE SKILLS

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

Study 2 and 3 Stimuli***Candidate Information***

General Discussion

Across three parts, this dissertation investigated how gender prototypes shape women's perceptions of their own sexual harassment and bystander's intervention behavior. In Part 1, we found that women's gender prototypicality, manipulated via gendered clothing (S4-6) but not via gendered traits or behaviors (S1-3), leads women to display the prototype bias in judging their own harassment experiences. In a mega-analysis of three studies, women who wore a masculine outfit during an interview felt less sexually harassed than those who wore a feminine outfit. In Parts 2 and 3, we examined how gender prototypes impact bystander intervention. Part 2 revealed that bystanders neglect nonprototypical (masculine or transgender) relative to prototypical (feminine or cisgender) women such that they allowed their harassment to escalate more and continue for longer before intervening. Part 3 replicated Part 2's methods but examined race as a source of prototypicality, comparing bystander intervention in Black vs. White women's sexual harassment. Unexpectedly, bystanders did not display the prototype bias and intervened at similar points during Black/nonprototypical and White/prototypical women's interviews. These results suggest victims' race may not shape bystander behavior; however, our manipulation, which tightly controlled for targets' masculinity and femininity, may have washed out race effects. In sum, we show that narrow gender prototypes lead women who dress more masculinely vs. femininely to minimize their own experiences of sexual harassment and bystanders to neglect more masculine vs. feminine women, but not Black vs. White women, in their responses to sexual harassment.

Overall, this work builds upon foundational literature by examining the prototype bias in women's self-perceptions of and bystanders' responses to sexual harassment. Our data provide insight into ways the prototype bias may be inadvertently perpetuated and maintained by victims

and bystanders. In addition, we broadly test gender prototypicality in the context of these outcomes by manipulating and measuring it in multiple ways (e.g., within-group, between-group, traits, appearance, etc.).

Theoretical and Methodological Contributions

Our work advances the literature by examining multiple types and components of gender prototypicality. In Part 1, we manipulated or measured women's gendered traits, behaviors, and/or appearances. We used a range of approaches and stimuli including self-reports, a writing prime, and images of clothing. While we did not find an effect using the first two approaches, women who imagined wearing a masculine vs. feminine outfit perceived their experiences as less sexually harassing. In Part 2, we manipulated women's within-group traits, interests, and behaviors in three studies by including stereotypically feminine vs. masculine experiences and traits in their job resumes. In two of the three studies, we also included headshots of women with the resumes, subtly morphed to look more feminine or masculine. These three studies yielded significant or trending results, suggesting that bystanders have a greater threshold for intervention when sexual harassment targets women who look and act more masculinely vs. femininely. In the fourth study of this package, we strengthened our manipulation by testing whether transgender women, who are perceived as relatively more masculine, experience greater neglect from bystanders than cisgender women. This manipulation yielded a significant effect in the expected direction. Finally, in Part 3, we manipulated women's race, using five to ten professional headshots of different Black or White women, depending on study condition. Unlike most prior work on Black women's nonprototypicality, we controlled for within-group prototypicality (femininity and masculinity) across the stimulus to isolate the effect of race on

bystander intervention. When controlling for these factors, we found no effect of target race on bystanders' thresholds for intervention.

Taken together, this work broadens tests of the prototype bias and adds nuance to the model. In the context of self-perceptions (Part 1), how women look, and specifically wearing masculine vs. feminine clothing, seems to drive the effect. Women who imagined wearing a masculine vs. feminine outfit perceived the same scenario as less sexually harassing. In the context of bystander intervention, dimensions of masculinity and femininity, whether conveyed via traits, interests, behaviors, (Part 2; studies 1-3) or group membership (Part 2; Study 4), seem especially consequential. When we did not control for masculinity and femininity in our stimuli of transgender vs. cisgender women, we found, as expected, that bystanders neglect transgender relative to cisgender women. When we controlled for masculinity and femininity in stimuli of Black and White women (Part 3) however, we found no effect of race on bystander intervention. Between-group prototypicality may shape bystander intervention as a function of the extent to which these groups are perceived as masculine vs. feminine. Our work advances the prototype bias literature by investigating different components of gender prototypes that shape different outcomes of sexual harassment.

Practical Contributions and Recommendations

Building upon foundational literature that establishes the prototype bias in perceptions of women's sexual harassment (Goh et al., 2022; Kaiser et al., 2022), we took a target-centered approach in selecting two practical outcomes of this bias to investigate. Although self-reports of sexual harassment is the primary route for victims to seek retribution, women often do not report their sexual harassment for fear of retaliation and backlash (Bergman et al., 2002). Thus, instead of focusing on how women's claims of sexual harassment are perceived, we focused on how

women perceive their own harassment (Part 1) and how bystanders, who can reduce the burden on victims to self-report, intervene (Parts 2 and 3). Across three parts, we largely found that women themselves and bystanders perpetuate the prototype bias. Below, I summarize these findings, what they mean in practice, and how they point to potential interventions.

Reporting Procedures

Part 1 revealed that wearing stereotypically masculine vs. feminine clothing makes women feel less sexually harassed in a harassing job interview. As recognizing an event as sexual harassment is a prerequisite to reporting (Fitzgerald et al., 1997), this finding suggests that women who are asked to dress more masculinely vs. femininely may be especially unlikely to report their sexual harassment. Women face many barriers to reporting sexual harassment and we reveal how cognitive biases, like gender prototypes, may also be a barrier, underscoring the limitations of reporting procedures to sufficiently support victims.

If organizations continue using reporting procedures, they should carefully consider the accompanying language. When employees are introduced to these procedures, they should be framed broadly and perhaps note the possibility of self-discounting based on one's appearance. For example, explaining what behaviors constitute sexual harassment and that these behaviors can happen to anyone, *regardless* of appearance, traits, and behaviors, may help women identify their own experiences as sexual harassment. Our studies also showed that simply imagining wearing certain clothing shaped women's perceptions of their sexual harassment. If a woman is on the fence about labeling or reporting her harassment, perhaps encouraging her to imagine she appeared highly feminine during the interaction would facilitate recognizing sexual harassment.

Bystander Intervention Trainings

Another path to mitigating the consequences of the prototype bias in women's self-perceptions is for organizations to replace reporting procedures with alternative approaches to address sexual harassment. Bystander intervention trainings support women and sexual harassment victims, but in Part 2, we found that bystanders are also susceptible to the prototype bias. These results suggest that bystander trainings must contend with the prototype bias so that bystanders are equipped to support *all* victims, rather than just prototypical ones. Organizations could consider integrating broader representations of victims into trainings and educating employees on how a victim's identity may impede even well-intentioned bystanders (Danna et al., 2020). In Part 3, we may have inadvertently found an intervention to the prototype bias in bystander intervention. When we controlled for femininity and masculinity across stimuli of Black and White women, bystanders did not display the prototype bias in their interventions. Thus, emphasizing that sexual harassment targets include both feminine and masculine women may help mitigate the prototype bias amongst bystanders.

As organizations continue to implement bystander intervention trainings to combat workplace sexual harassment, organizations and academics should collaborate to combat the research-to-practice gap in sexual harassment interventions (Perry et al., 2009). Encouragingly, some mandated trainings already integrate information about prototypicality. For example, the city of Chicago, who mandated bystander intervention training for all employees in Chicago-based organizations in 2022, notes in their training: "A person can be the victim of sexual harassment regardless of the victim's gender identity or the perpetrator's gender identity... [and] regardless of the victim's sexual orientation or the perpetrator's sexual orientation." (City of Chicago, 2022). Existing practices such as these could provide important opportunities to test interventions in practice and understand the best ways to promote equitable intervention.

Furthermore, at a policy level, in addition to mandating bystander intervention trainings, policy makers could consider providing support and incentives for organizations to evaluate the efficacy of these new programs.

Limitations and Future Directions

Demographics of Samples

In our studies, we recruited participants using online subject pools, which are not necessarily representative samples. In particular, participants were primarily White, which means many of the effects should be considered in the context of this narrow sample. Future research should include more racially diverse samples to test the prototype bias across perceivers' social identities. In addition, we recruited our samples from the United States because understandings of sexual harassment are culturally specific. Future work could examine whether the same prototype bias exists in different cultures and if its implications are similar or different to those revealed in these studies.

Applicability to Real-World Context

Although our outcomes are applied, our conclusions are based upon experimental evidence in tightly controlled settings. In the context of bystander intervention, we advance this literature by employing a behavioral outcome, yet there is still room to enhance the work's external validity. In Parts 2 and 3, participants imagined observing an online chat-based interview, which may be an uncommon interview format. Future work could expand tests by studying how bystanders respond during different interview formats, such as in-person or over Zoom, and during different types of interactions, like meetings or social events. To examine women's self-perceptions of sexual harassment, we used vignettes, which have limited ability to capture reality. Instead of immersing participants, vignettes ask them to imagine how they would

feel *if* they experienced a hypothetical scenario. Given this limitation, future work could attempt to replicate our results in Part 3 by bringing participants into the lab, recreating a similar scenario, and measuring their responses in a more realistic context. Overall, creating more realistic settings, when possible, will expand our applied knowledge of the prototype bias.

Continuing to Test Other Relevant Outcomes and Manipulations

Our work advances the literature on the prototype bias, but future work should continue to broaden tests of this model. While Part 1 suggested that nonprototypical women may face negative downstream consequences when they are sexually harassed, we only measure self-perceptions and do not directly test other outcomes. An important next step to linking self-perceptions to consequences of experiencing sexual harassment is to test outcomes such as women's reporting intentions, reporting behavior, coping strategies, job satisfaction, wellbeing, etc. Tests of bystander intervention can also be expanded. In our bystander intervention studies (Parts 2 and 3), we tested immediate and direct bystander intervention, but bystanders often support victims in other ways. Understanding how the prototype bias shapes less immediate or direct actions including reporting the behavior to management or helping the target leave the harassing situation (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005), can expand our knowledge of the prototype bias in practice. Finally, future work could also consider gender prototypicality as an outcome rather than a predictor. We found that gendered clothing shapes women's perceptions of sexual harassment, but could women's clothing choices also be a product of sexual harassment? For example, if women learn an organization has a culture of sexual harassment, do they choose to dress more masculinely vs. femininely? In sum, the prototype bias can be tested using many additional outcomes of sexual harassment.

Future tests of the prototype bias should also consider additional ways to manipulate gender prototypicality. Understanding if and how additional between-group identities like sexuality, age, disability status, etc. drive the prototype bias will further refine the model. In addition, considering identities that are or are not associated with femininity vs. masculinity can help us understand the bounds of the model. Future work can also manipulate and test other aspects of within-group prototypicality such as gendered careers and/or other aspects of appearance including makeup and hairstyles. Furthermore, although we tested many gender prototypicality manipulations, we never directly compared them. Empirically testing whether certain components of the prototype (e.g., appearance vs. traits) drive disparate outcomes can reveal what components of the prototype most shape the prototype bias.

Conclusion

This dissertation tests two novel outcomes of the prototype bias - women's self-perceptions of and bystander intervention in women's sexual harassment – using multiple manipulations of gender prototypicality to better understand how this bias drives the relative neglect of nonprototypical women. Taken together, we demonstrate that narrow gender prototypes lead nonprototypical (vs. prototypical) women to underrecognize their sexual harassment and bystanders to neglect stereotypically masculine (vs. feminine) but not Black (vs. White) women. Our work advances knowledge of how the prototype bias functions in practice and highlights the importance of broadly conceptualizing gender prototypicality.

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**How women's gender prototypicality shapes their perceptions of personal sexual
harassment**

(Supplemental Analyses)

Exploratory Analyses

Predictors

Participant Age

In Study 1, we regressed age on each dependent variable. Age did not predict women's perceptions of sexual harassment ($p = .783$), discomfort ($p = .088$), or interest in the role ($p = .128$).

Warmth and Competence

In Study 1, we regressed warmth ($\alpha = .85$), competence ($\alpha = .74$), and the interaction between the two on each dependent variable. Neither warmth nor competence nor the interaction between the two predicted women's perceptions of sexual harassment ($ps > .804$) or discomfort ($ps > .317$). Warmth significantly and positively predicted women's interest in the role, $b = 0.31$, $p = .035$, 95% CI = [0.02, 0.59]. However, neither competence nor the interaction between warmth and competence predicted women's interest in the role ($ps > .409$).

Bem Sex Role Inventory

In Study 2, to mirror previous work that examined the relationship between gender prototypicality and sexual harassment (Berdahl, 2007), we used a short form of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI short form; Bem, 1981) to gather participants' perceptions of their own femininity and masculinity. Participants were asked to what extent the following items apply to them on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*): feminine items – understanding, sympathetic, eager to soothe hurt feelings, sensitive to needs of others, compassionate, loves children, affectionate, gentle, warm, and tender; masculine items – assertive, leadership ability, dominant, strong personality, forceful, aggressive, willing to take a stand, independent, defends own beliefs, and willing to take risks.

We then classified participants into four different “sex-role” categories based on the median-split procedure for scoring the BSRI and tested whether these groups differed from each other on any outcome. Each participant was assigned a category based on their masculinity and femininity score: feminine (masculine score is equal to or lower than median, feminine score is greater than median, $N = 23$), masculine (masculine score exceeds median, feminine score is equal to or lower than median, $N = 33$), androgynous (masculine and feminine scores greater than both medians, $N = 38$), or undifferentiated (masculine and feminine scores lower than or equal to both medians, $N = 48$).

Finally, we conducted a one-way ANOVA on each dependent variable to test the differences between the four groups. The ANOVAs revealed no significant differences in any of the outcomes by “sex-role” category ($ps > .584$).

Gender Prototypicality Measure (Goh et al., 2021)

In Study 2, as an alternative measure of gender prototypicality, participants responded to five items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*) asking the extent to which they have a lot in common with other women, are similar to other women, are feminine, are masculine (reverse-coded), and look like a typical woman ($\alpha = .81$). We regressed this alternative measure of gender prototypicality on each dependent variable. This measure of gender prototypicality did not predict women’s perceptions of sexual harassment ($p = .123$), discomfort ($p = .316$), or interest in the role ($p = .181$).

Outcomes

Labeled vs. Subtle Sexual Harassment

In Studies 2-5, we split the sexual harassment dependent measure into two separate measures, one involving labelling the event as harassment (harassed, objectified, treated in a

sexist way) and a second involving subtler framing about harassment (disrespected, offended, treated inappropriately, and like their boundaries were crossed).

Study 2. We regressed participants' self-reported femininity with and without participants' self-reported masculinity as a covariate on labeled sexual harassment. Femininity and masculinity were measured using the short form of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI short form; Bem, 1981). Participants' self-reported femininity with and without participants' self-reported masculinity as a covariate did not predict women's perceptions of labeled sexual harassment ($\alpha = .91, ps > .687$). We also regressed participants' self-reported femininity with participants' self-reported masculinity as a covariate and without participants' self-reported masculinity as a covariate on subtle sexual harassment. Participants' self-reported femininity with and without participants' self-reported masculinity as a covariate did not predict women's perceptions of subtle sexual harassment ($\alpha = .94, ps > .687$).

Study 3. A series of independent samples t-tests revealed that participants who wrote about a time they felt feminine (vs. masculine), did not perceive labeled sexual harassment ($\alpha = .90$), $t(310) = -1.28, p = .202, d = -0.14, 95\% CI = [-0.37, 0.08]$, nor subtle sexual harassment ($\alpha = .94$), $t(310) = -0.78, p = .437, d = -0.09, 95\% CI = [-0.31, 0.13]$ to a different extent.

Study 4. A series of independent samples t-tests revealed that when participants imagined wearing the feminine vs. masculine to the interview, they imagined they would experience more labeled sexual harassment ($\alpha = .92$), $t(173) = -2.06, p = .041, d = -0.31, 95\% CI = [-0.61, -0.01]$. However, clothing did not affect participants' perceptions of subtle sexual harassment ($\alpha = .95$), $t(173) = -1.60, p = .110, d = -0.24, 95\% CI = [-0.54, 0.06]$.

Study 5. A series of independent samples t-tests revealed that when participants imagined wearing the feminine vs. masculine outfit to the interview, they imagined they would

experience more labeled sexual harassment ($\alpha = .91$), $t(359) = -2.78$, $p = .006$, $d = -0.29$, 95% CI = [-0.50, -0.08] and more subtle sexual harassment ($\alpha = .93$), $t(359) = -2.35$, $p = .019$, $d = -0.25$, 95% CI = [-0.45, -0.04].

Study 6. A series of 2(clothing: feminine vs. masculine) x 2(visibility: visible vs. not visible) ANOVAs revealed no significant main effects or interactions of clothing and visibility on perceptions of labeled ($\alpha = .91$, $ps > .235$) or subtle ($\alpha = .94$, $ps > .098$) sexual harassment.

Anticipated Credibility

In studies 4 and 5, we explored the possibility that gender prototypicality (feminine vs. masculine clothing) may impact women's anticipated credibility. Participants responded to two items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*): 'If I reported what happened in the job interview as sexual harassment, people would believe me.' and 'If I reported what happened in the job interview as sexual harassment, I would be taken seriously'" ($\alpha_{s4} = .82$; $\alpha_{s5} = .79$). Gender prototypicality did not impact women's anticipated credibility in Study 4, $t(173) = 0.85$, $p = .396$, $d = 0.13$, 95% CI = [-0.17, 0.42], or in Study 5, $t(359) = -1.00$, $p = .316$, $d = -0.11$, 95% CI = [-0.31, 0.10].

Moderators

Platform of Survey

In Study 3, we recruited participants on multiple platforms. To address the possibility that the platform impacted the results, we ran a series of linear regressions controlling for platform (online paid subject pool vs. undergraduate subject pool). Consistent with the main analyses, study condition did not significantly predict women's perceptions of discomfort ($ps > .125$) or interest in the role ($ps > .657$), but it did significantly and positively predicted women's

perceptions of sexual harassment, $b = 0.73$, $p = .001$, 95% CI = [0.30, 1.17] such that undergraduates perceived more sexual harassment than online subjects.

Robustness Tests

In Study 6, our data for self-perceived and other-perceived femininity and masculinity were very skewed. We pre-registered we would winsorize such data, but the skew was too severe for this type of transformation, and other transformations were also insufficient (e.g., log and square-root transformations). Instead, we conducted ordinal logistic regressions for each outcome variable, which are robust to the normality assumption. All results aligned with the ANOVA results reported in the main document.

Self-Perceived Femininity

As in the ANOVA, gendered clothing significantly predicted self-perceived femininity, such that women wearing the feminine vs. masculine outfit perceived themselves as more feminine, $b = 1.62$, $p < .001$, 95% CI = [1.22, 2.02], OR = 5.03. Visibility did not predict self-perceived femininity, $b = -0.10$, $p = .614$, 95% CI = [-0.48, 0.28], OR = 0.91. A significant interaction between clothing and visibility qualified these main effects, $b = 0.77$, $p = .005$, 95% CI = [0.24, 1.31], OR = 2.16.

Self-Perceived Masculinity

Gendered clothing significantly predicted self-perceived masculinity, such that women wearing the feminine vs. masculine outfit perceived themselves as less masculine, $b = -1.66$, $p < .001$, 95% CI = [-2.10, -1.24], OR = 0.19. Neither visibility, nor the interaction between clothing and visibility, predicted self-perceived masculinity (visibility: $b = -0.02$, $p = .918$, 95% CI = [-0.40, 0.36], OR = 0.98; interaction: $b = -0.17$, $p = .588$, 95% CI = [-0.77, 0.43], OR = 0.85).

Other-Perceived Femininity

Gendered clothing significantly predicted other-perceived femininity, such that women wearing the feminine vs. masculine outfit thought the interviewer perceived them as more feminine, $b = 0.51$, $p = .012$, 95% CI = [0.11, 0.91], OR = 1.66. Neither visibility, nor the interaction between clothing and visibility, predicted self-perceived masculinity (visibility: $b = 0.02$, $p = .925$, 95% CI = [-0.37, 0.41], OR = 1.02; interaction: $b = 0.27$, $p = .340$, 95% CI = [-0.29, 0.84], OR = 1.32).

Other-Perceived Masculinity

Gendered clothing significantly predicted other-perceived masculinity, such that women wearing the feminine vs. masculine outfit thought the interviewer perceived them as less masculine, $b = -0.69$, $p = .004$, 95% CI = [-1.16, -0.22], OR = 0.50. Neither visibility, nor the interaction between clothing and visibility, predicted self-perceived masculinity (visibility: $b = 0.31$, $p = .156$, 95% CI = [-0.12, 0.73], OR = 1.36; interaction: $b = -0.45$, $p = .185$, 95% CI = [-1.11, 0.21], OR = 0.64).

Gender prototypes hinder bystander intervention in women's sexual harassment

(Supplemental Analyses)

Exploratory Analyses

Gender Moderation

In each of the four studies we explored whether participant gender moderated any of the outcomes using a 2 (condition: prototypical vs. nonprototypical) x 2 (participant gender: man vs. woman) ANOVA. We included only respondents who identified as a “man” or “woman” in these analyses because we did not have enough data to examine additional gender identities.

Duration to Intervene

Participant gender did not moderate the effect of condition on duration to intervene in any of the three studies by question number ($ps > .380$) or by time in seconds ($ps > .133$).

Sexual Harassment

Participant gender did not moderate effects of condition on sexual harassment perceptions in studies 1, 2, or 4 ($ps > .107$). In Study 3, the ANOVA revealed a significant interaction between study condition and participant gender, $F(1, 309) = 4.56, p = .034, \eta_p^2 = 0.01, 90\% \text{ CI} = [0.001, 0.04]$. A simple effects test showed that men participants perceived similar levels of sexual harassment in both conditions (prototypical: $M = 2.49, SD = 1.33$; nonprototypical: $M = 2.17, SD = 1.51$), $F(1, 309) = 1.58, p = .210, \eta_p^2 = 0.01, 90\% \text{ CI} = [0.00, 0.03]$, while women participants perceived marginally less sexual harassment in the prototypical condition ($M = 1.88, SD = 1.31$) than the nonprototypical condition ($M = 2.27, SD = 1.59$), $F(1, 309) = 3.35, p = .068, \eta_p^2 = 0.01, 90\% \text{ CI} = [0.00, 0.04]$. Neither the main effect of condition nor participant gender were significant ($ps > .118$).

Gender Harassment

Participant gender did not significantly moderate the effect of condition on gender harassment in studies 1, 2, or 4 (not collected in Study 3) ($ps > .254$).

Psychological Harm

Participant gender did not moderate the effect of condition on psychological harm in any of the three studies ($ps > .102$).

Consequences for Manager

Participant gender did not moderate the effect of condition on consequences for the manager in studies 1-3 (not collected in Study 4) ($ps > .427$).

Additional Measures

In Study 2, participant gender did not moderate the effect of condition on any of the exploratory mediators (romantic interest, asserting masculinity, asserting power, and punishing the candidate) ($ps > .358$). In Study 3, participant gender also did not moderate condition effects on exploratory mediators (power, gender policing, attraction, and prejudice) ($ps > .330$).

Political Orientation Moderation

In Study 4, we explored participant political orientation as a moderator of the effect of gender identity condition on bystander threshold for intervention. However, the candidate's gender identity unexpectedly predicted participant political orientation ($b = 0.37, p = .0496, 95\% CI = [0.001, 0.744]$), thus we did not conduct the exploratory moderation.

External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice (EMS) Moderation

In Study 4, we also explored participants' external motivation to respond without prejudice as a moderator of the effect of candidate gender identity condition on bystander threshold for intervention. Participants responded to Plant & Devine's 1998 External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice (EMS) scale, modified to measure prejudice toward transgender people (vs. prejudice toward Black people). They responded to five items on a 7-point Likert scale: 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*: "Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards, I

try to appear nonprejudiced toward transgender people.”; “I try to hide any negative thoughts about transgender people in order to avoid negative reactions from others.”; “If I acted prejudiced toward transgender people, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.”; “I attempt to appear nonprejudiced toward transgender people in order to avoid disapproval from others.”; “I try to act nonprejudiced toward transgender people because of pressure from others.” ($\alpha = .93$). Participant EMS did not moderate the effect of condition on intervention, $b = -0.05$, $p = 0.835$, 95% CI = [-0.57, 0.46].

Controlling for Point of Intervention

We conducted exploratory analyses controlling for question number of intervention because we expected some of our effects would be difficult to attain due to differing interview lengths; the later participants intervened, the more harm and harassment they would witness. In each study, we used the “lm()” function in the *R* package ‘stats’ (R Core Team, 2013) to regress each outcome of interest upon study condition and question number of intervention. These analyses were pre-registered for studies 2, 3, and 4 only, but we report them for all four studies here.

Self-Report Measures

In all four studies, when controlling for question number of intervention, the regression revealed no significant relationship between study condition and perceptions of sexual harassment ($ps > .107$), gender harassment (measured in studies 2, 3, and 4 only; $ps > .253$), psychological harm ($ps > .508$), or consequences for the manager (measured in studies 1, 2, and 3 only; $ps > .360$).

Additional Measures

In Study 2, when controlling for question number of intervention, regression analyses revealed no significant relationships between study condition and any of the exploratory mediators (romantic interest, asserting masculinity, asserting power, and punishing the candidate) ($ps > .257$).

Two-Item Prototypicality Measure

In Study 3, we explored the strength of our prototypicality manipulation using just two of the five scale items. We expected that the two items measuring traditional femininity (i.e., the extent to which participants thought the candidate was feminine and masculine [reverse-coded]) would produce a stronger manipulation effect than the full scale. Confirming this hypothesis, an independent-samples t-test revealed that participants perceived the prototypical woman as significantly more feminine ($M = 5.31$, $SD = 0.99$) than the nonprototypical woman ($M = 4.81$, $SD = 1.14$), $t(314) = 4.17$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.47$, 95% CI = [-0.70, -0.24], and that this effect was larger than that of the entire scale. However, the reliability for this two-item scale was low ($\alpha = .60$).

References (Part 2 Supplement)

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Bystander intervention in Black vs. White women's sexual harassment

(Supplemental Analyses)

Exploratory Analyses

Gender Moderation

In all three studies, we explored whether participant gender moderated the self-report outcomes using a 2 (candidate race: Black vs. White) x 2 (participant gender: man vs. woman) ANOVA. We included only respondents who identified as a “man” or “woman” in these analyses because we did not have enough data to examine additional gender identities. We report participant gender moderation on threshold for intervention for all three studies in the main manuscript.

Sexual Harassment

Participant gender did not moderate effects on intervention on sexual harassment perceptions in any of the studies ($ps > .275$).

Psychological Harm

Participant gender did not moderate the effect of psychological harm by condition in any of the three studies ($ps > .107$).

Consequences for Manager

Participant gender did not moderate the effect of consequences for the manager by condition in Study 1 and 2 (not collected in Study 3; $ps > .218$).

External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice (EMS) Moderation

In Study 2, we explored the possibility that participants' high in external motivations to respond without prejudice may respond earlier to the Black vs White woman's sexual harassment. At the end of the study, participants responded to Plant & Devine's 1998 External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice (EMS) scale. They rated the five items on a 7-point Likert scale: 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*: Because of today's PC (politically

correct) standards, I try to appear nonprejudiced toward Black people.; I try to hide any negative thoughts about Black people in order to avoid negative reactions from others.”; “If I acted prejudiced toward Black people, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.”; “I attempt to appear nonprejudiced toward Black people in order to avoid disapproval from others.”; “I try to act nonprejudiced toward Black people because of pressure from others.” We predicted a significant two-way interaction between study condition and participant EMS such that participants high in EMS will intervene sooner for the Black vs White candidate, but intervention by those low in EMS will not differ significantly between conditions. The interaction was not significant ($p = .886$), suggesting that participant EMS did not moderate the effect of candidate race on threshold for intervention.

Controlling for Point of Intervention

In all three studies, we conducted exploratory analyses controlling for question number of intervention to address the possibility that some effects would be difficult to attain due to differing interview lengths (i.e., the later participants intervened, the more harm and harassment they would witness). We used the `lm()` function in the *R* package ‘stats’ (R Core Team, 2013) to regress each outcome of interest upon study condition and question number of intervention.

Self-Report Measures

The regression revealed no significant relationship between study condition and perceptions of sexual harassment ($ps > .326$), psychological harm ($ps > .197$), or consequences for the manager (only collected in studies 1 and 2; $ps > .496$) when controlling for question number of intervention.

Additional Measures

In Study 1, we explored whether participants perceived either candidate as more gender

prototypical, competent, and warm. On a 7-point Likert scale from 1 = strongly agree to 7 = strongly disagree, participants rated the extent to which they believed the candidate was prototypical of her gender (feminine, masculine [reverse-coded], similar to other women, resembles the typical woman, and has a lot in common with other women, $\alpha = .80$), warm (tolerant, warm, sincere, and friendly, $\alpha = .82$), and competent (competent, confident, independent, and intelligent, $\alpha = .90$). Each measure is analyzed using a two-tailed independent-samples t-test.

Candidate Gender Prototypicality

There was no significant difference in perceptions of the candidate's gender prototypicality when she was Black ($M = 5.13$, $SD = 0.84$) compared to White ($M = 5.00$, $SD = 0.95$), $t(295) = 1.26$, $p = .209$, $d = 0.15$, 95% CI = [-0.08; 0.37].

Candidate Warmth

There was no significant difference on perceptions of the Black ($M = 5.44$, $SD = 0.87$) vs. White candidate's warmth compared to White ($M = 5.38$, $SD = 0.89$), $t(295) = 0.61$, $p = .543$, $d = 0.07$, 95% CI = [-0.16; 0.30].

Candidate Competence

The Black candidate was perceived as marginally more competent ($M = 6.00$, $SD = 0.80$) compared to the White candidate ($M = 5.81$, $SD = 0.87$), $t(295) = 1.94$, $p = .053$, $d = 0.23$, 95% CI = [< 0.01, 0.45].

Mediation Analyses

In the absence of the predicted main effect in all three studies, we did not conduct any of the pre-registered mediation analyses.

Framing of Sexual Harassment

To address the possibility that people were reluctant to label sexual harassment as such, we split the sexual harassment variable into two measures in Study 2: labeled sexual harassment (the extent to which the candidate was harassed, objectified, and treated in a sexist way; $\alpha = .90$), and 2) subtle sexual harassment (the extent to which she was disrespected, offended, treated inappropriately, and treated like her boundaries were crossed; $\alpha = .90$). In both studies, two-tailed independent samples t-tests revealed no significant differences in perceptions of labeled ($t(600) = -1.63, p = .104, d = -0.13, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.29; 0.03]$) or subtle ($t(600) = -1.12, p = .265, d = -0.09, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.25; 0.07]$) sexual harassment.

References (Part 3 Supplement)

R Core Team (2013). R: A language and environment for statistical computing. R Foundation for Statistical Computing, Vienna. <http://www.R-project.org/>