A .SYSTEM DYNAMICS MODEL OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

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ABSTRACT

The majority of women report that they have been victims of sexual harassment (Safran, 1976, Tangri, Burt & Johnson, 1982). Sexual harassment has been linked, both theoretically and empirically, to psychological and physiological stress, often accompanied by somatic symptoms such as headaches, nausea, and loss of concentration, as well as decreases in job performance and increased absenteeism and turnover. In addition, estimated losses in the federal government alone were in excess of $189 million over a two year period. This paper is one of the first to unify the past research and empirically consider sexual harassment in terms of its underlying mechanisms. It is also one of the first to examine the dynamics of the harasser and the organization in which the harassment occurred. Interactions between the victim, harasser, and organization sector are explored. Results indicate that long-standing organizational traditions of sexual harassment may make it difficult to eliminate harassment in the near future without a comprehensive group of policies concerned with eradicating sexual harassment.

INTRODUCTION

Importance of Sexual Harassment

The majority of women report that they have been victims of sexual harassment (Safran, 1976, Tangri, Burt & Johnson, 1982). Sexual harassment has been linked, both theoretically and empirically, to psychological and physiological stress, often accompanied by somatic symptoms such as headaches, nausea, and loss of concentration, as well as decreases in job performance and increased absenteeism and turnover. In one study of federal employees, twenty-nine percent of the 20,083 randomly stratified respondents (see Tangri et al., 1982, for a description of this sample) reported that sexual harassment had negatively affected their psychological health (United States Merit Systems Protection Board, 1981). Aside from the undesirability of these problems from a humane standpoint, these variables carry attendant dollar costs.

Over a two year period, the United States Merit System Protection Board (USMSPB, 1981) estimated losses due to sexual harassment were in excess of $189 million in the federal government alone. This figure includes costs associated with turnover, medical insurance claims, absenteeism, and reduced productivity. In addition, increased awareness by women of grievance avenues has led to a rise in costs due to lawsuits and out-of-court settlements. As awareness of the costs and consequences of sexual harassment increases among victims and the judiciary, one might expect costs in the areas of grievances and lawsuits to rise.

Due to the nature of sexual harassment, traditional experimental research designs are inadequate.   A laboratory study of sexual harassment examining the effects of high levels of harassment on psychological health would certainly pose important ethical questions. Also, many organizations are reluctant to allow their workers to participate in a study of sexual harassment fearing an increase in harassment complaints and legal actions. A system dynamics approach to the problem of sexual harassment avoids some of these problems and allows for a theoretical conceptualization of the problem.

This paper is one of the first to unify the past research and empirically consider sexual harassment in terms of its underlying mechanisms. It is also one of the first to examine the dynamics of the harasser and the organization in which the harassment occurred. Research relevant to the harasser and organization sectors of the model are briefly reviewed. Interactions between the victim, harasser, and organization sector are explored. Finally, policy implications based on model behavior are discussed.

Review of the Literature

Theories of Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment has been defined as "Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors and other verbal and physical conduct of sexual nature" (Hoyman, 1980, p. 13). Attempts to explain sexual harassment have fallen into four main categories: the natural/biological, the organizational,

the socio-cultural (Tangri et al., 1982); and the spillover
approach (Gutek and Morasch, 1982).   These orientations have
been developed from research, court cases, and legal defenses
(Tangri et al., 1982).

The Natural/Biological Theory.   The natural/biological
approach is based on the assumption of natural attraction
between people.   One position holds that men have stronger sex
drives and express it in the workplace when women are around.
Another version posits that people in general have sexual needs
and will attempt to develop sexual relations with others in the
workplace.   Still another version the of natural/biological
approach holds that it is only a few "sickos" who are harassing
women.   Tangri et al. (1982) note that the natural/biological
explanation serves to minimize the importance of harassment as
a problem while simultaneously accepting harassment as a
natural phenomenon to be expected in organizations.

The Organizational Theory.   The organizational view of
sexual harassment holds that organizational variables such as
organizational structure, status differentials and
organizational climate promote sexual harassment.   Because of
promotion and termination power over their subordinates, bosses
may coerce subordinates into unwanted sexual relationships.
This is particularly a problem where the victim's position has
been classified as probationary.

The Socio-Cultural Theory.   The socio-cultural
interpretation of sexual harassment is based on the premise of
a male-dominated society further attempting to keep women from

attaining economic, political and social power. Men are in
positions of status and power and do not want to share them.
Supporters of this view maintain that forcing women to engage
in unwanted sexual attention increases the power of the
harasser. Sexual harassment maintains the status quo by
intimidation, discouragement, and the objectification of women
(Tangri et al., 1982).

The Spillover Theory. The spillover approach proposed by
Gutek and Morasch (1982) maintains that role expectations on
the job are a function of the sex-roles of the numerically
dominant sex. This means that the nontraditionally employed
woman is often viewed first as a woman, then as a worker. Her
sex-role and work-role are incongruent, which is a possible
explanation for the increased number of harassment incidents
reported by women in nontraditional jobs (Gutek & Morasch,
1982).

While reporting less harassment, women working in
traditional jobs are not immune to it (Gutek & Morasch, 1982).
By their nature, traditional jobs tend to be sex-segregated and
reinforce the expectations of sex-role behavior. The sex-role
and the work-role become equivalent. Women holding these kinds
of jobs are expected to act in stereotypical fashion. The
sexuality of women is one dimension that spills over from sex-
role to expected job behavior.

The Theories Examined. Tangri et al. (1982) examined
these three conceptualizations of harassment using data
obtained from the United States Merit Systems Protection Board

(1981). They found that none of the first three theories seemed to adequately represent the dynamics of sexual harassment. They were much too simple to account for the many interactions found in the system (Tangri et al., 1982).

For example, the natural/biological version would assert that because sexual harassment is a result of natural attraction, victims would be singled out by their attractiveness. In their analysis of the Merit System Protection Board data, Tangri et al. (1982) found that only a few people report being the sole object of their harasser's sexual attention. Additionally, this version would suggest that harassers would likely be the same age and social level as their victims. They found, however, that those who harassed women tended to be older than their victims, while those harassing males were younger, particularly in the case of women harassing men.

The organizational representation of sexual harassment can be faulted for several reasons. Most harassers are coworkers (Tangri et al., 1982), and not superiors as this theory would predict. The socio-cultural theory of sex harassment can be similarly faulted. It holds that harassment is a tool to "keep women in their place" both economically and in organizational status. Supporters of this perspective would then expect an organization to respond negatively to harassment complaints. In fact, only a very small percentage of sex harassment victims reported a hostile response. Formal action was often more effective at stopping the harassment than the victims had

expected (Tangri et al., 1982).

As for the spillover theory, Gutek and Morasch (1982) argue that awareness of sexual harassment arises from the knowledge that one is being treated differently than other workers. This would explain why women in nontraditional jobs report more harassment than traditionally employed women. Still, the sex-role spillover approach does not explain harassment for all women in all jobs. Nor does it explain the harassment of male workers.

Perceptions of Sexual Harassment

The relative status and power of the harasser plays a role in the categorization of behaviors. The greater the status differential between the initiator and the victim, the less likely the mild forms (e.g. sexual jokes, leering) of harassment would be classified as such (cf. Brewer, 1982). However, when the initiator of harassment is perceived to have social or organizational power over the individual, a sexual advance will more often be viewed as an abuse of power (Brewer, 1982). For example, in an academic setting where the power differential is very apparent, professors' advances are not well received (Schneider, 1982). But when considering the social-sexual behaviors of airline personnel, Littler-Bishop, Seidler-Feller, and Opaluch (1982) found less negative affect to supervisory harassment than coworker harassment. The status differential between harasser and victim was perceived to be smaller by the airline employees than by the students.

In the latter situation, Brewer hypothesized that any
positive affect gained because of the instructor's status and
resulting social exchange would be offset by the perceived
abuse of power. She believes the relationship between the size
of the status differential and the perception of sexual
advances as harassing behavior to be curvilinear. Overtures
from someone with slightly more status will be perceived
positively because of social exchange (i.e. "I look better when
I am with him or her"). Large status differences, on the other
hand, will also be perceived as large power differences
(Brewer, 1982), resulting in a perception of the overture as an
abuse of power.

Gutek (1983) concludes by stating that men and women tend
to agree about men's perceptions of sexual behavior at work.
They do not agree, however, on individual women's perceptions:
"...women do not like sexual advances at work" (Gutek, 1983, p.
13). While they perceive other women as being flattered by
propositions, most women report that they are not. Similar
findings are reported by Schneider (1982). In addition, women
often disagree as to what constitutes sexual harassment
(Collins & Blodgett, 1981).

Antecedents and Consequences of Sexual Harassment

Antecedents. Harassers, for the most part, are men.
Other than this fact, the profile of the typical harasser is
sketchy. As Brewer (1982) observed, most of the research to
date has tended to concentrate on victims and their
descriptions of harassers. Coworkers are reportedly the most

common perpetrators of sexual harassment (65% for women, 76% for men), although supervisors are much more likely to harass women. Subordinate harassers are less of a problem for women (4%) than for men (16%). Even though supervisors account for only about one third of harassment of women, social and cultural power differentials may still be important (Tangri et al., 1982). For example, the woman may work as part of a team and rely on the assistance of her coworkers. Also, there may be an "old boy" network to which the harassing coworker may belong (H. P. Curran, Director of The Office of Women and Work, Michigan Department of Labor, personal communication, January 11, 1984). The use of power in these situations is subtle and most closely approximates that described in the socio-cultural model (Tangri et al., 1982). In addition, unchecked coworker harassment may leave the impression that the organization condones and even encourages harassing behaviors.

Organizational factors may have a part in determining levels of sexual harassment at work (Gutek & Morasch, 1982). Hoyman (1980) found that those holding jobs at either end of the status spectrum experienced more harassment. This would support Gutek and Morasch's (1982) hypothesis about sex-role spillover. Blue collar jobs tend to be male dominated, as do white collar jobs. By virtue of the nontraditional sex-roles held by women in these jobs, one could expect that more harassment would be reported. It is difficult to discern if there is in fact more harassment or if these women simply perceive more behaviors as sexual harassment (Hoyman, 1980).

Consequences of Sexual Harassment. A great deal more research has been conducted on the aftereffects of sexual harassment than on its origins. These tend to be most severe for the victim, but secondary consequences are passed on to all members of society in terms of higher insurance rates, unemployment, and lost productivity (Tangri et al., 1982).

The stress resulting from sexual harassment can have devastating physical and psychological effects. Over ninety percent of those who had experienced sexual harassment reported increased stress levels (Crull, 1978; Curran, 1979). Twenty-nine percent of the victims reported that sexual harassment has negatively affected their psychological well-being (Curran, 1979). Similar results were reported by Tangri et al. (1982), with women reporting more negative effects (33%) than men (21%). Somatic complaints such as headaches, nervousness and nausea are common (Jensen & Gutek, 1982). Sleeplessness, dramatic weight gains and reductions, hypertension, and depression are also routinely reported.

The result is that many victims adopt work-avoidance behaviors (Curran, 1979). This is manifested as high distractibility (Jensen & Gutek, 1982), decreased motivation to work (Jensen & Gutek, 1982), tardiness (Curran, 1979, Hoyman, 1980), absenteeism (Curran, 1979, 1984; Hoyman, 1980) and decreased productivity (e.g. Curran, 1979; Tangri et al., 1982).

Some victims do protest about sexual harassment. Livingston (1982) found that fifty-four percent of her sample

reported that their strongest response improved the situation. Positive results were more likely to occur when the harasser was a coworker (663%) than when he was a supervisor (48%). Livingston also noted that women were more likely to formally report harassment when the harasser was in a supervisory position.

Most victims do not use formal grievance procedures, however. Because of ignorance about their legal rights (Livingston, 1982), length of time required to resolve the issue (Hanley, 1980), legal expenses (Livingston, 1982), and lack of support from family, friends, coworkers, and community (H. P. Curran, personal communication, January 11, 1984), most victims chose not to formally complain. For those that do file formal complaints, the price can be high. Fifty-three percent were either transferred to another job or discharged. Poor evaluations, denied promotions, or "voluntary" terminations were experienced by nearly twenty-five percent of those who complained about harassment, while ten percent were either demoted or simply not hired. Only eighteen percent reported no consequence of complaining about sexual harassment (Curran, 1979). Livingston's (1982) analysis of the USMSPB data found similar results.

A woman who speaks out risks being labeled as an agitator and a "complainer" (Renick, 1980) and will often lose the support of other workers (Jensen & Gutek, 1982). Many women, particularly those with traditional sex-role beliefs, attribute the harassment received by other women to sexy dress or

behavior (Jensen & Gutek, 1982). As as result of all of the feelings outlined above, the woman may begin to believe that performance previously judged as being good was based on her looks or sexual qualities, rather than on her ability as a worker (Benson & Thompson, 1982). Her feelings of competence about her ability to perform the job may then suffer (Benson & Thompson, 1982). Self-esteem may also plummet because of self-blame, perceived incompetency, and lack of support from other workers (Curran, 1979).

The consequences of reported harassment are much less severe for the harasser than for the victim (Curran, 1979). Livingston's analysis (1982) of the USMSPB (1981) data revealed that action was taken against forty-four percent of the sexual harassers. Curran (1979) found that no action of consequence was taken against seventy-eight percent of the harassers. These figures are all the more discouraging in light of Livingston's (1982) observation that formal channels are usually used only in cases involving severe cases of harassment by a superior of a person in a lower status position.

The Sexual Harassment Model

The system dynamics model of sexual harassment builds on the previous descriptive models (Tangri, et al., 1981, Gutek & Morasch, 1982) to include the harasser and the organization in which the harassment occurs. In particular, the effects on the victim's job performance, and the harasser's anger at being rebuffed by the noncomplying victim are presented. The dynamics of the organizational response to sexual harassment

complaints are also examined:

Sexual harassment is hypothesized to be a function of harasser, victim, and organizational variables. Central to the model are two characteristics of the victim, his or her use of coping skills to stop most harassment before it becomes serious, and the ability to activate other means to reduce harassment. The effects of the harasser's anger, perception of threat, retribution, and attitudes about gender work roles on sexually harassing behavior are explored. Finally, organizational variables including sexual harassment tradition, harassment tolerance, and response to harassment complaints are considered.

Hypothesized variable linkages were derived from interviews with the Director of the Office of Women and Women and Work, Michigan Department of Labor; and the Departmental Counselor and the Director of Minority and Women's Programs, both of the Division of Human Relations at Michigan State University. Other sources of information included reviews of victim case studies, and work done by other modelers (e.g. Goluke, 1980; Levine, Van Sell, & Rubin, 1986).

Victim Job Performance

Job performance is hypothesized to be a function of the victim's baseline performance and the effects of the ratio between the stress experienced by the victim and the amount of stress at which the victim functions best. Curran (personal communication, January 11, 1984) and Powell, Benzinger, Bruno, Gibson, Pfeiffer, & Santopietro, (1981) noted that many victims

claimed their performance increased after the onset of
harassment.   The dynamics of this phenomenon can be explained
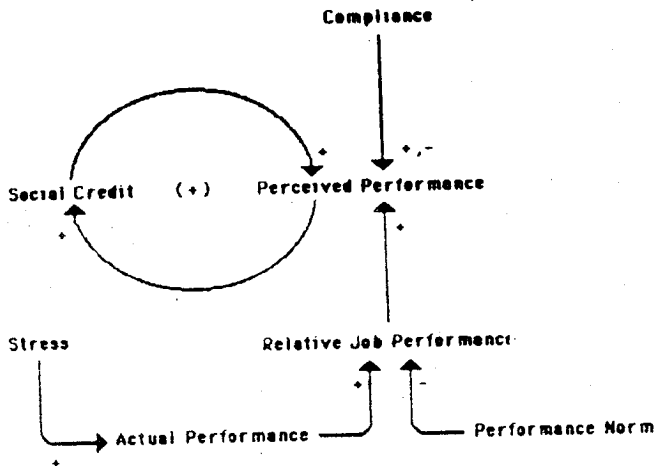by the model (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Causal loop diagram of victim's performance and
perceived performance.

As the inflow of stimulation is increased by sexual
harassment, stress and the stress ratio also increase.   This
increase in stress has a nonlinear effect on job performance.
The inverted "J" relationship between stress and job performance
has been well documented (e.g. Scott, 1966).   As stress reaches
its optimal value, the victim's job performance peaks.   the
harassed victims have increased stress levels that allow them
to perform better.   If the harassment stops, job performance
eventually returns to normal.   If the harassment continues, or

if the victim is faced with other stressors, stress will
increase beyond the optimal level leading to a decrement in
performance.

All things being equal, the organization's perception of a
victim's job performance usually correlated with his or her
actual performance on the job relative to other works.   But
other factors like halo and the effects of harasser retribution
can increase the discrepancy between reality and perception.
Compliance can also affect perceived performance. Submitting to
a higher status harasser's demands may gain the victim a
promotion or raise.   The harasser would justify these action as
as being deserved by a competent, valued employee.   However,
these positive effects of compliance are probably short-lived.
On the other hand, complying with a harasser of equal or less
social credit may be viewed negatively by the organization and
coworkers.   The victim may be seen as promiscuous and
unprofessional.

Social Credit

Social credit, adapted from Goluke's alcoholism model
(1980), is comparable to a financial credit rating. A good
rating allows one to take out larger loans at the bank.
Similarly, a person with high social credit can borrow against
that credit.   Although similar to organizational status, social
credit is more encompassing, including socio-cultural variables
not typically identified in the organizational structure.   For
example, although two people may hold comparable positions
within the organization and receive the same pay, one of them

may be liked more than the other.   Given undesirable behavior,
an organization may treat the high and low social credit person
differently.   The liked individual may be told to do better
next time, while the unpopular person may be less gently
treated.

In terms of the model, social credit becomes important
when considering the validity accorded harassment complaints
and tolerance of the victim's reduced job performance that may
result from harassment.   Social credit of the victim, harasser,
and a victim/harasser social credit ratio are considered as key
variables.

If the organization perceives a performance drop, social
credit will also soon decrease.   But the time over which the
organization evaluates performance is influenced by the
victim's social credit.   Several days of poor work for the low
social credit victim may provide the organization a sufficient
excuse for disciplinary action.   The person with a high social
credit rating may perform poorly for several years before
action is initiated.

Other factors that may work to decrease the victim's
social credit include harasser retribution and the pursual of
grievance or legal proceedings.   The harasser may seek revenge
for noncompliance with sexual demands or refusal to participate
in nonphysical sexual behaviors (e.g. leering).   Retribution
may take the form of rumors about the "wanton" nature of the
victim or attempts to impugn his or her motives for initiation
of informal or formal action. The organization tolerant of

sexual harassment is also likely to respond negatively to
formal grievance or legal action. The victim becomes a painful
annoyance and embarrassment. In this instance, the "squeaky
wheel" often gets the axe. This is particularly true of a low
social credit victim with high levels of external coping
skills.

Harasser's Anger and Retribution

Faced with a noncompliant victim, the harasser may grow
angry because of embarrassment, fear of being caught and
punished, actual punishment, and ego deflation. Additionally,
high levels of anger can feed on itself, stimulating ever-
increasing levels of anger. Of course, anger does not climb
indefinitely. The model specifies two means for decreasing the
anger level: leakage and venting (see Figure 2).

Leakage is one process by which the level of anger can be
reduced. Leakage, a dissipative process, is more passive than
the explosiveness of venting. The venting of anger occurs
after anger reaches a threshold beyond which the harasser
cannot contain the pressure. The vented anger can be directed
at coworkers or family, released through physical activity, or
aimed at the noncompliant victim. The harasser may also focus
the anger inward, blaming himself for inappropriate behavior.
A distinction is made between anger directed at the victim and
retribution against the victim. While both may be stressful
for the victim, once the former is completed things return to
normal. Retribution is a more insidious, planned process that
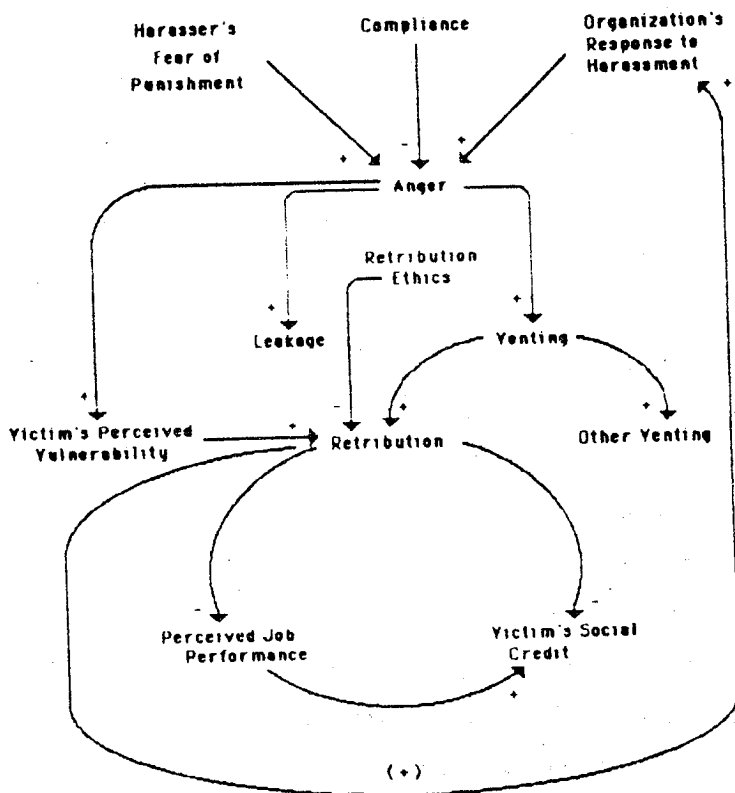occurs over a longer period of time.

Figure 2.   Causal loop diagram of harasser anger and retribution.

Some people have ethics prohibiting retribution and vent
their anger in other, more acceptable ways. Others may find
retribution a perfectly acceptable venting process. Such a
harasser, identified by an ethical system allowing for
retribution, will only consider the possibility of getting
caught before retaliating. But a very angry harasser may be
too impassioned to consider the consequences of harassment
behavior or want to get even in spite of the potential
punishment. Once a very high anger threshold is reached, the
crazed individual pushes ethics and fear of punishment aside,
setting the course for reprisal. The threshold is, of course,
an individual parameter.

Retribution may take many forms. Increased harassment and
threats of physical harm are fairly obvious examples of
retribution. Retribution is usually more subtle, though. When
the harasser is a superior retribution may appear as deflated
performance reviews. These evaluations may be difficult to
dispute, particularly in jobs where evaluation criteria are
abstract. Sabotage or exclusion from teamwork are retribution
avenues open to the coworker harasser.

Organizational Harassment Tradition and
Tolerance of Sexual Harassment

Organizational tolerance of sexual harassment is a
function of the long-standing harassment tradition. Although
related, there is an important distinction between the
harassment tradition and the organization's tolerance of sexual
harassment. Due to changes in the legal or ethical climate,

the organization's harassment tradition may not equal the
organizational tolerance of sexual harassment. The harassment
tradition is a phenomenon that evolves over a long period of
time. If the tolerance changes quickly, the discrepancy
between the tolerance and the tradition may cause confusion.
The result is that the harassers within a organization may not
believe the organization is now intolerant of sexual
harassment. Victims may also be slow to trust the organization
and take a wait-and-see attitude before beginning to use
grievance resources.

Organizational Response to Sexual Harassment

       An organization's response to sexual harassment is
determined by its tolerance level, victim, and harasser social
credit, the social credit ratio, and the victim's effectively
available external coping skills (see Figure 3). . Before the
organization can respond, the victim must use coping skills to
alert the organization that harassment is a problem. The
effectiveness of the victim's coping skills on organizational
response is probably a function of several organizational and
individual variables. The size of the organization, its
attitudes about people filing complaints, and beliefs about
gender work-roles are examples of organizational factors that
would moderate the victim's ability to force the organization
to respond. Individual variables might include social support
from friends, family and coworkers, and legal support from
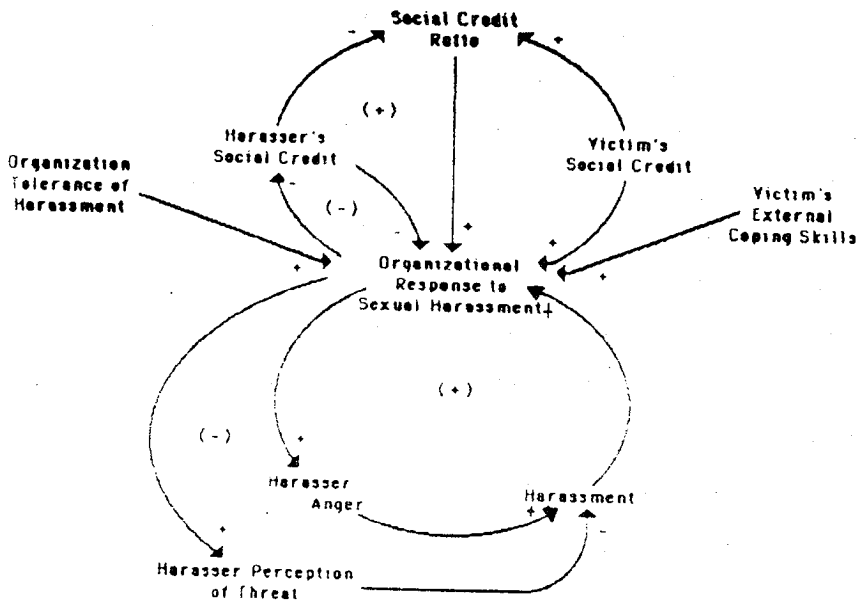government agencies or civil rights groups.

Figure 3. Causal loop diagram of organizational response to sexual harassment.

Both the actual levels of victim and harasser social credit, as well as their relative value, are considered in the organization's response to sexual harassment. High status harassers and victims will likely evoke a less vigorous response that those with low social credit. This is due to the organization's desire to keep their high social credit people. The social credit ratio, on the other hand, considers the relative social credit discrepancy between the harasser and victim. Punishment of a sexual harasser is a function of the strength of the organization's response.

Results and Discussion

, Several simulation runs were conducted. Figure 4 shows
the effect of harassment on the victim's job performance. The
organization has a harassment tradition that is moderately
tolerant of sexual harassment. Current organizational
tolerance deviates little from established tradition. The
simulated harasser has a fairly negative view of women at work.
The simulation begins at the onset of moderate amounts of
sexual harassment. Over the next two weeks, job performance
climbs dramatically before it begins to decrease. By the eighth
week performance has returned to its normal level.
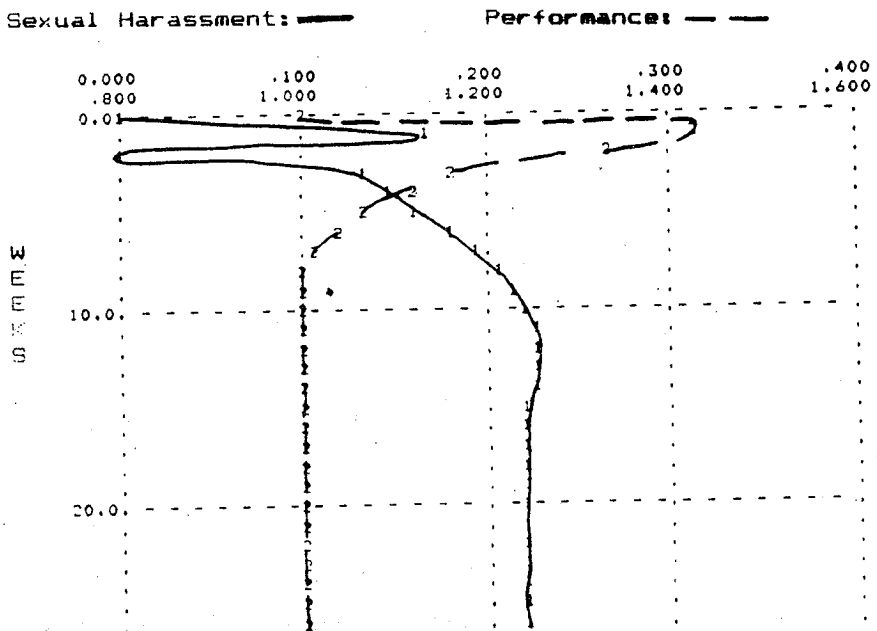
Sexual Harassment: ━━   Performance: ─ ─

Figure 4. Performance increase as a result of sexual
harassment.

In this instance the victim possessed sufficient coping skills to reduce the sexual harassment. Had this particular victim been under severe stress from more serious sexual harassment or other stressors, job performance would have dropped below its original value. Low levels of social credit, self esteem, or coping skills would also make it likely that performance would drop below the original level.

Figure 5 shows the effect of decreased organizational tolerance on the system. Simulated over a two year period, the organization's tolerance of sexual harassment is abruptly changed after the first year. The organization was initially parameterized as being very tolerant of sexual harassment. After one year the tolerance was reduced to one-tenth of its original value. This could have been the result of new management or a change in the legal climate.

As can be seen, although sexual harassment sharply decreases, it soon climbs back towards its initial value. This is because the harassment tradition has yet to change, and the harasser does not believe the organization is sincere about its intolerance of harassment. Within several weeks, however, the harasser comes to realize the organization will not tolerate sexual harassment, and harassment behavior is decreased.

Although this exaggerated a tolerance change is unlikely to occur in a real system, Figure 5 does demonstrate the applicability of the systems approach to the problem of sexual harassment. Clearly, a change in tolerance is not enough to stop the harassment. But perhaps combined with training

Sexual Harassment: ⎯ ⎯
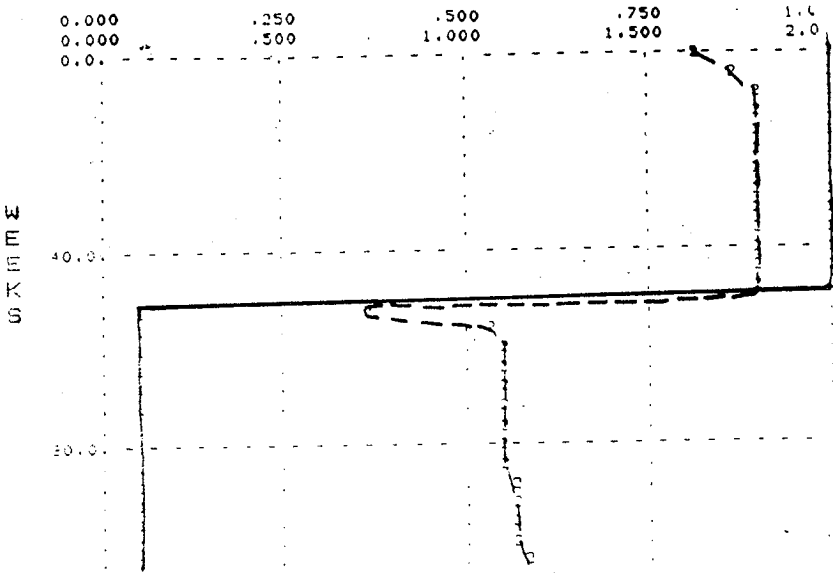
Organizational Tolerance: ⎯

Figure 5. Shift in organizational tolerance of sexual harassment.

programs, behavioral evidence of intolerance of harassment, and other acts of good faith, the victims and harassers may come to see that the organization is sincere in its new intolerance. Over a period of several years, a time frame outside the dynamics of this model, one would expect that the harassment tradition would begin to reflect the organizational tolerance.

Conclusion

The biological, organizational, and socio-cultural harassment models (Tangri, et al., 1981); and the spillover approach (Gutek & Morasch, 1982) were integrated in the dynamic

model of sexual harassment. The biological approach assumes that harassment is a function of natural attraction between people. The harasser simply does not realize the effect of the harassment on the victim. This harasser will stop making sexual overtures when the victim indicates they are not appreciated. A relatively low level of coping skills is needed to stop the harassment stemming from natural attraction.

The use of the harassment tradition and organizational tolerance, as well as victim and harasser social credit and the social credit ratio, in the dynamic model represents the organizational approach. Organizations with strong traditions of sexual harassment often condone or encourage it. The victim's and harasser's social credit and ratio, in part, determine how strongly the organization responds to sexual harassment complaints. The harasser with very high social credit will elicit a milder response than a mailroom clerk. This is particularly true if the victim has much less social credit than the harasser.

The socio-cultural approach is represented in the dynamic model by the harasser's attitudes about gender work roles and the harassment tradition. The organization's sexual harassment tradition is attributable to locally prevailing social norms. The spillover approach is also represented by the harasser's attitudes about gender work roles. The victim's work-role and sex-role are incongruent.

Depending on the parameterization of the individual, harasser, and organization, the mechanisms representing one or more of the above approaches will dominate the model's behavior. For example, the mechanisms representing the organizational approach will dominate in the organization that tolerates sexual harassment.

Simulation of the model suggests that no one policy will be effective over the long run in reducing and eliminating sexual harassment. Continued assurance to victims and harassers of the organization's stance must form the foundation of any harassment policy. Sexual harassment is a phenomenon based on long established socio-cultural values that are reflected by the organization and its members.

For changes in the organization's sexual harassment climate to be possible, a concerted effort must be made to convince both harassers and victims that the organization is sincere in its desire to stop sexual harassment. The expected time horizon is probably a function of the discrepancy between the harassment tradition and organizational tolerance of sexual harassment, victim coping skills, and environmental (e.g. legal) pressure.

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