

POSTPRINT

Berenike Waubert de Puiseau*

Institute for Experimental Psychology
Heinrich-Heine-University of Düsseldorf, Düsseldorf, Germany
Max Planck Institute for Research on Collective Goods
Bonn, Germany

Janin Roessel

Department of Social Psychology
University of Mannheim, Mannheim, Germany

Exploring sexual harassment and related attitudes in Beninese high schools: a field study

Abstract: Sexual harassment severely impacts the educational system in the West African country Benin and the progress of women in this society that is characterized by great gender inequality. Knowledge of the belief systems rooting in the sociocultural context is crucial to the understanding of sexual harassment. However, no study has yet investigated how sexual harassment is related to fundamental beliefs in Benin or West African countries. We conducted a field study on 265 female and male students from several high schools in Benin to investigate the link between sexual harassment and measures of ambivalent sexism, gender identity, and rape myth acceptance. Almost half of the sample reported having experienced sexual harassment personally or among peers. Levels of sexism and rape myth acceptance were very high compared to other studies. These attitudes appeared to converge in a sexist belief system that was linked to personal experiences, the perceived probability of experiencing and fear of sexual harassment. Results suggest that sexual harassment is a societal problem and that interventions need to address fundamental attitudes held in societies low in gender equality.

Keywords: sexual harassment - ambivalent sexism - gender identity - rape myth acceptance - Benin (West Africa)

Kate Puzey, a 24-year-old Peace Corps volunteer, was murdered in the West-African country of Benin in March 2009 following her attempt to bring about the dismissal of a local teacher, who had sexually harassed young girls.¹ Her murder drew international attention to a widespread societal problem – the sexual harassment of young girls in Beninese schools. Furthermore, the reaction of Kate Puzey, a US American citizen, to immediately report her observation, also reflects cultural differences regarding the perception and acceptance of sexual harassment. Therefore, to effectively combat the problem it is essential to understand the societal and attitudinal factors that facilitate sexual harassment.

Sexual harassment in Benin

Sexual harassment has to be understood in its sociocultural context (Swim & Hyers, 2010). However, few studies investigating its occurrence in countries characterized by

*Corresponding author. Email: bwdp@uni-duesseldorf.de

great gender inequality such as Benin exist. A recent study on the perception of sexual harassment among students in Cotonou, the largest city in Benin, found that of the 174 participants, 56% indicated sexual harassment to be very prevalent while only 5% perceived it as not being frequent at all (Schröter & Segbedji, 2009). Similar perceptions were obtained in investigations in rural South-West Benin (GRASID, 2009) and in a survey of over 700 high school students in the Ivory Coast region (Karamoko, Ettien, Bende N'Dasso, & Konan, 2007).

These studies further suggested that sexual harassment in the Beninese school system was perceived to be a major form of corruption by the majority of students. Corruption generally is a widespread problem in some West-African school systems (Transparency International, 2010). It heavily impacts young people's education where better grades in exams or other privileges are granted in exchange for money or other favors, in particular sexual ones (Karamoko et al., 2007; Schröter & Segbedji, 2009). Commonly, girls being sexually harassed by teachers are the victims of this kind of corruption. However, it also affects male students who act as intermediators (cf. Schröter & Segbedji, 2009). In this role, male students support or enable communication between the teacher and the sexually harassed female student and in turn receive academic favors. However, consequences of sexual harassment are extremely serious for female students as these experiences often force them to leave school (cf. Schröter & Segbedji, 2009).

Sexual harassment appears to be very prevalent even though the Beninese government in 2006 enacted a law to fight and prevent this problem (La loi N°2006-19 du 5 Septembre 2006²). In line with the legal definition and also according to the conceptualizations by Fitzgerald, Gelfand, and Drasgow (1995), we refer to sexual harassment throughout this paper as including gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion.

Women in Benin have generally been disadvantaged in terms of their educational opportunities, which is reflected by the proportion of girls enrolled in primary schools being lower than that of boys (Karamoko et al., 2007; UNESCO, 2000). Accordingly, fewer women are literate (23%) compared to men (48%).³ This poses a serious obstacle to the societal progress of women. Women's discrimination apparently reflects people's views of women as less valuable and less intelligent than men (Karamoko et al., 2007) and becomes manifested in gender inequality with Benin ranking 128th on the Gender Gap Index (GGI: Hausmann, Tyson, & Zahidi, 2010). It would be necessary for the progress of women to overcome their educational disadvantages (Lindsey, 2005; Williams & Best, 1990). However, those girls attending school may often face sexual harassment, which further consolidates their inferior position in society.

Sociocultural origins of sexual harassment

As mentioned previously, sexual harassment is a problem that has to be considered in its sociocultural context. Violence against women 'remains fundamentally a learned behavior that is shaped by sociocultural norms and role expectations that support female subordination and perpetuate male violence' (American Psychological Association [APA], 2012, para. 8). Such norms and perceptions may root in traditional gender roles of men as warriors or breadwinners and women as homemakers. In these traditional roles, men exercise power, be it in wars or industrialization, while women

are restricted to childbearing and staying at home (Wood & Eagly, 2002). The perception of men as being strong and dominant and women as being submissive and emotional may overgeneralize to stereotypic personality characteristics ascribed to the genders (Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Hoffman & Hurst, 1990). In the light of male dominance, sexual harassment may serve to maintain male control over women and grant men a sense of entitlement to the sexual availability of women (Baumeister, Catanese, & Wallace, 2002; Brownmiller, 1975).

Perceptions and expectations of men and women vary depending on differences in gender roles over time and across cultures, which highlights the importance of the sociocultural context (for an overview, see Wood & Eagly, 2010). For instance, Williams and Best (1990) observed greater perceived gender differentiations in countries with lower economic development or hindered access of females to education. The perception of men as being stronger, more active, dominant, and aggressive in contrast to women being perceived as more affectionate and needy was a lot more pronounced in Nigeria, a country neighboring Benin, than in Western countries. This male dominance combined with an ideology of toughness is characteristic for what Sanday (1981) considered as rape-prone cultures based on the investigation of over 150 societies. It is therefore important to understand the beliefs that foster gender differentiation and aggression toward women when investigating sexual harassment.⁴

A view on attitudes

Belief systems supporting sexual harassment are suggested to include sexism, traditional gender identities, and the acceptance of rape myths (Boakye, 2009; Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Glick & Fiske, 1997; cf. Wood & Eagly, 2010), which we, for the sake of simplicity, will refer to as attitudes. The constructs, their relation to sexual harassment, and the interrelations among the attitudes are explained in the following. Lastly, we discuss these aspects with respect to non-Western countries.

Ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997) captures negative and positive components of sexist views. Hostile sexism pertains to derogatory perceptions of and prejudices against women (e.g., ‘Women fail to appreciate all men do for them’, Glick & Fiske, 1996, p. 512). Benevolent sexism refers to seemingly positive attitudes, such as women deserving to be protected and having desirable traits like being romantic and sensitive (‘Women should be cherished and protected by men’, Glick & Fiske, 1996, p. 512). Despite the seemingly positive connotation, ambivalent sexism is yet inherently inequitable as it undermines women’s independence and fosters their submissiveness.

Glick et al. (2000) validated the factor structure of ambivalent sexism assessing over 15,000 men and women in 19 nations. Sexist beliefs are not inherent to men, but are commonly more endorsed by them than by women (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1997; Glick et al., 2000). However, women may endorse benevolent sexism more strongly than men in societies with pronounced hostile sexism. Viewing themselves as having traits desired by men may strengthen their self-esteem and lead them to believe that men intimately depend on them (cf. Glick et al., 2000). Accordingly, women also expressed higher levels of benevolent sexism after being confronted with hostile sexism by men in an experimental setting (Fischer, 2006).

In theory, the interplay of hostile and benevolent sexism may promote sexual harassment of women by men based on feelings of attraction toward the victim

(benevolent sexism), while deriving the right to harass from the belief to be in a superior position (hostile sexism) (cf. Fiske & Glick, 1995). Empirically, hostile sexism predicted greater tolerance of sexual harassment (Russell & Trigg, 2004) and rape proclivity (Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003), while benevolent sexism has been linked to increased victim blame (Viki & Abrams, 2002).

Sexist attitudes not only affect the perception of others, but women and men may also come to see themselves in terms of stereotypic expectations. The sense of belonging to the female versus male category and the centrality of the according characteristics constitute one's *gender identity* (Bem, 1974, 1981). Gender identity has been conceptualized in accordance with traditional gender roles embracing dominant male and submissive-emotional female characteristics. These findings may vary depending on cultural contexts (e.g., Zhang, Norvilitis, & Jin, 2001), however, we refer to the traditionally defined gender identities throughout this paper. Empirical findings suggest that women sextyped as masculine are more likely to report having experienced gender harassment. In contrast, women sextyped as feminine more often reported having experienced sexual coercion (Berdahl, 2007; O'Hare & Donohue, 1998).

Rape myths comprise 'attitudes and beliefs [...] that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women' (p. 134) and have also been linked to sexism (cf. Aosved & Long, 2006). Thus, the acceptance of rape myths, for example, claiming that the victim had asked for sexual intercourse, shifts the blame away from the perpetrator. As a consequence, rape experiences are not acknowledged as such. If rape myths serve to downplay rape, the denial and justification of sexual harassment seem even more likely. Accordingly, men's reported likelihood to rape and the likelihood to sexually harass are correlated (e.g., Bartling & Eisenman, 1993). Similarly, Malamuth (1984) acknowledged rape myths as one important factor underlying various forms of aggression against women.

Generally, men are more likely to accept rape myths than are women (e.g., Johnson, Kuck, & Schander, 1997). As such, empirical studies have shown that higher rape myth acceptance is linked to more tolerance toward sexual harassment and the acceptance of sexual aggression (Reilly, Lott, Caldwell, & DeLuca, 1992), a higher likelihood of sexual harassment (Begany & Milburn, 2002), and rape proclivity (Bohner, Siebler, & Schmelcher, 2006; Chiroro, Bohner, Viki, & Jarvis, 2004; for a review see Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994).

Sexist belief systems and sexual harassment in non-Western countries

Given the link between sexist belief systems and culture, findings based on Western samples cannot readily be generalized to other societies (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). However, hardly any research has been conducted on fundamental attitudes and sexual harassment in Africa. Notable exceptions include a recent study from Ghana (Boakye, 2009), which found the strongest endorsement of rape myths among men compared to women and among high school students. Another study found that hostile sexism predicted the likelihood of acquaintance rape in a sample of male Zimbabweans (Viki, Chiroro, & Abrams, 2006). Apparently, the previously introduced attitudes are of importance in the African context, but we found no study exploring the link of sexism, gender identity, and/or rape myth acceptance to sexual harassment in West African educational systems. However, with

derogatory views of women (Williams & Best, 1990; Schröter & Segbedji, 2009), the lack of education among women (Transparency International, 2010), high rape myth acceptance by adolescents (Boakye, 2009), and sexual harassment in Beninese schools (Schröter & Segbedji, 2009) an alarming picture emerges with respect to the role of young West African girls and women. Nonetheless, especially in non-English speaking West African countries, little is known about the applicability and importance of fundamental attitudes regarding their relationship to sexual harassment.

The present study

Understanding the attitudinal structure among Beninese high school students and its relation to sexual harassment is important in designing interventions to heighten students' awareness of and to protect them from sexual harassment. A first success in sensitizing the students to the topic was recently achieved by a local intervention in a Beninese village (GRASID, 2009) that informed students and teachers about sexual harassment via flyers and radio shows. The present study aims to assist such interventions by investigating students' perceptions of sexual harassment and its underlying mechanisms that are thought to root in derogatory belief systems. Therefore, we aimed at exploring students' sexism, gender identity, and rape myth acceptance and investigated how these attitudes relate to the perception of sexual harassment in Beninese schools in a broad sample from all major geographical regions in Benin.

Method

Sample

A total of 265 students from seven high schools⁵ participated in the study. Due to a large number of missing responses or because they debated their responses, 16 participants were excluded from the analyses resulting in 249 individual cases for analysis.⁶ As fixed time slots were arranged, some students were unable to complete all scales. Therefore, sample size varied in the current analyses. Implications of this problem are discussed in the limitations section.

The majority of participants were male (71%). The proportion of males to females reflects the differences in school enrolment and literacy rates among Beninenses as described previously. The age of respondents ranged from 13 to 26 years ($M=18.62$, $SD=2.55$).⁷ Nearly half of the participants (40%) were in their final year, just over a quarter (27%) were in their second last year, and the remaining students (28%) were in either their third, fourth, or fifth last year (in Beninese high schools, school years are counted backward; information missing for 12 students, 5%).

To increase the diversity of the convenience sample, data were collected in all major areas of Benin. Half of the participants were from Central (47%), just over two-thirds from the North (38%), and just under one-fifth from the South (16%) of Benin. Four schools were situated in rural areas and three in urban areas of rather small cities.

Procedure

The study was part of a larger one, the results of which are summarized in an unpublished research report (Waubert de Puiseau, 2010).⁸ The data collection was initiated and hosted by a large Beninese nongovernmental organization (NGO) and the German governmental developmental organization. Upon completion of the questionnaire development, partner NGOs in North, Central, and South Benin who had previously run projects involving local high schools were contacted. These local NGOs then approached the principals of the high schools to get approval for the data collection for the study on sexual harassment. All schools contacted agreed to participate⁹ and an individual date for the data collection was scheduled. In each school, either one class was picked based on availability to participate or students from several classes were asked to fill in the survey. In either case, participation in the study was voluntary, however, very few students refused to participate. The study was administered in a classroom of each school by the first author and local Benineses, who were members of the collaborating NGOs. Participants first read and signed a consent form, which stated that their participation was completely voluntary and that their data would be used only for scientific purposes. Furthermore, we guaranteed anonymity. To ensure that we obtained informed consent, the form was also read out by one of the study administrators.

After all forms had been signed and collected, the questionnaires¹⁰ were distributed and students were asked to remain silent while answering the questions. In cases where students debated their answers, their questionnaires were marked and excluded from the data analyses. Participants took between 1.5 and two hours to complete the questionnaire. Data were collected in April and May 2010.

Measures

Participants answered three questions about sexual harassment (in the questionnaires the French term *harcèlement sexuel* was used). The first question addressed whether participants had experienced sexual harassment at school (personal; among my peers only; no; don't know). Second, participants were asked to indicate their self-perceived probability of experiencing sexual harassment at school on a scale ranging from 0 (not likely at all) to 10 (very likely). The final question referred to whether participants feared experiencing sexual harassment at school (3 much fear; 2 some fear; 1 little fear; 0 no fear). Following these questions, participants completed four scales assessing students' attitudes.¹¹

To assess hostile and benevolent sexism, participants completed the 22-item *Ambivalent Sexism Inventory* (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996), translated by Dardenne, Delacoelette, Grégoire, and Lecocq (2006). Although the factor structure in the present sample indicated a third factor,¹² we kept the established two-factorial solution and computed a hostile and a benevolent sexism scale given that the ASI has been validated in several languages in 19 countries including Nigeria (Glick et al., 2000).

The French translation (Fontayne, Sarrazin, & Famose, 2000) of the short version of the *Bem Sex Role Inventory* (Bem, 1974) consisting of 18 items was administered to measure gender identity. The BSRI assesses the degree to which people describe themselves in feminine (e.g., compassionate, children loving) versus

masculine (e.g., dominant, leadership abilities) terms. As internal consistencies of the BSRI subscales were low,¹³ we only computed an overall masculinity and an overall femininity scale.

Rape myth acceptance was measured using the *Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale* (IRMAS; Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). As no French translation was available, a local employee of the NGO hosting the study translated the items. Upon translation, a local student who indicated her understanding of the individual questions answered them. Four items, of which three were filler items, were dropped, because they did not apply to Beninese circumstances resulting in a total of 41 items.¹⁴ Items were aggregated to an overall scale reflecting general rape myth acceptance.¹⁵

Finally, participants were given eight items that measured *socially desirable responding*.¹⁶ The items were adapted from the Marlowe-Crowne scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960).

Analytic strategy

We first inspect descriptive results regarding experience, perception, and fear of sexual harassment. Second, we present analyses of the attitudinal scales and compare the results to figures from existing research. Finally, we investigate the relation between sexual harassment and attitudes with correlation and regression analyses. To present more robust findings, we used non-parametric analyses and bootstrapping methods.

Results

Experiences, fear, and perceived probability of sexual harassment

Close to half of the sample (41%) reported having experienced sexual harassment at school. Proportions were similar among female and male students (Table 1). Specifically, about one-fifth of all students reported personal experiences and about another fifth reported having experienced sexual harassment only among their peers. Almost five percent of the students chose ‘Don’t know’ or did not answer the question and the remaining 55% of the students reported no experiences with sexual harassment. Of the 14 female students who reported having personally experienced sexual harassment, six reported that the act had involved sexual intercourse.

Overall, students perceived some probability of becoming a victim of sexual harassment (11-point scale), $M = 4.00$ ($SD = 3.83$). For female as well as for male students, responses ranged from 0 (not at all likely) to 10 (very likely). More female (40%) than male (29%) students indicated that experiencing sexual harassment was absolutely unlikely. However, on average, female students perceived a higher probability ($M = 4.08$, $SD = 3.79$) than male students did ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 3.97$).

Fear of experiencing sexual harassment was assessed on a 4-point scale from *no fear* to *much fear*. Female students considerably more often indicated having much fear (73%) compared to male students (57%). Few students indicated having no or little fear of experiencing sexual harassment (females: 11%; males: 16%) while the remaining students scored in between (three female participants failed to answer the question).

Table 1. Experiences with sexual harassment at school by gender (*n*, percent) and mean age by gender.

	Female students		Male students	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Personal experience	14	19.18	35	19.89
Among peers only	16	21.92	37	21.02
No experiences	40	54.79	98	55.68
Missing/don't know	3	4.11	6	3.41
Total <i>n</i>	73		176	
Mean age (<i>SD</i>)	18.30 (2.87)		18.75 (2.40)	

Sexism, gender identity, and rape myth acceptance

Mean values on the attitudinal scales¹⁷ and internal consistencies are displayed in Table 2. To investigate gender differences for each scale, we computed Mann–Whitney *U* test (Bonferroni-adjusted significance level: $\alpha/6 = 0.008$). Female students revealed higher levels of benevolent sexism compared to male students ($U = 2731.50, p = 0.005$). In contrast, male students were more likely to accept rape myths ($U = 2084.00, p < 0.001$). Moreover, males had a marginal tendency for higher masculinity ($U = 2716.50, p = 0.014$) and more socially desirable responding ($U = 2954.50, p = 0.016$). No significant gender differences were found for hostile sexism and the femininity subscale. Strikingly, students in this sample endorsed fairly high levels of sexism and rape myth acceptance compared to samples from other countries (cf. Table 2).

Table 2. Mean values on the attitudinal measures by gender of students (*SD* in parentheses, Cronbach's α , *n*).

	ASI		BSRI			
	Hostile	Benevolent	Femininity	Masculinity	IRMAS	Social desirability
Female	4.99 (1.04)	5.65 (0.98)	5.39 (1.29)	4.55 (1.24)	4.30 (0.93)	4.30 (1.14)
Male	5.11 (0.97)	5.42 (0.70)	5.30 (1.11)	5.06 (0.94)	4.80 (0.74)	4.75 (1.00)
α	0.730	0.594	0.786	0.631	0.868	0.612
<i>n</i>	177		176		165	181
<i>Transformed ASI means to 6-point scale for comparison with Glick et al. (2000)^a</i>						
Female	4.14	4.80				
Male	4.26	4.57				
<i>Comparison to US samples (Begany & Milburn, 2002; Payne et al., 1999)^b</i>						
Female					2.1	
Male	3.83	4.10			2.7	
<i>N</i>	104				604	

Note: BSRI, Bem sex role inventory; ASI, ambivalent sexism inventory; IRMAS, Illinois rape myth acceptance scale.

^aThe present ASI means were transformed to be comparable to the 6-point scale employed by Glick et al. (2000): $(\text{Mean} - 1)/7 \times 6$; in their study ($N > 15,000$), means ranged ca. between 1.5 and 4.

^bASI means derived from Begany & Milburn (2002); IRMAS means derived from Payne et al. (1999).

Attitudinal measures and sexual harassment

To explore the relationship between the attitudes and sexual harassment (experiences, perceived probability, and fear) and the control variables age and social desirability, we first computed Spearman's ρ pair-wise correlations between all variables split up by gender (cf. Table 3). Personal experience with sexual harassment was captured in a binary variable comparing personal experiences to all other responses except for 'Don't know' answers (0 = no personal experiences, 1 = personal experiences). Second, to explore unique contributions of the attitude and control variables, they were entered in separate regression analyses predicting the three sexual harassment variables.

Among male students, having personally experienced sexual harassment was related to higher perceived probability of sexual harassment and older age. Furthermore, the perceived probability of experiencing sexual harassment was higher among boys indicating more rape myth acceptance and less fear of experiencing sexual harassment. Fear, in turn, was positively related to boys' level of femininity and age. Among female students, having personally experienced sexual harassment did not relate to any of the variables. However, the perceived probability of experiencing sexual harassment was higher for girls with lower levels of fear of sexual harassment, less masculinity, and older age.

Moreover, for both genders, more rape myth acceptance was related to higher scores on hostile and benevolent sexism with the latter two also being correlated. For female students, higher benevolent sexism related to higher femininity scores. For male students, femininity, masculinity, and hostile and benevolent sexism were positively related.

Also, for male and female students, socially desirable responding was related to higher scores on femininity, masculinity, and benevolent sexism; for male students it further correlated with rape myth acceptance. Only hostile sexism was not linked to social desirability.

To assess the unique variance of each attitudinal scale, age, and gender in predicting the three sexual harassment variables, we conducted a multiple regression analysis for each criterion (Table 4). The attitude scales were centered to compute their interaction with gender.¹⁸

First, a robust logistic regression on *personal experiences* was conducted ($n = 140$). Age and rape myth acceptance were positively related to having personally experienced sexual harassment. However, hostile sexism was negatively related to experiences of sexual harassment. Moreover, benevolent sexism interacted with gender in predicting personal experiences. A median-split of benevolent sexism revealed, as indicated by the bivariate correlations presented above, that the effect of benevolent sexism was mainly driven by male students. Of those low in benevolent sexism, 29% reported personal experiences with sexual harassment, whereas only 16% of those high in benevolent sexism did so. The difference between female students high and those low in benevolent sexism was considerably smaller (27% vs. 21%). Second, to explore *perceived probability of experiencing* sexual harassment, we conducted a regression analysis ($n = 136$) with non-parametric bootstrapping. Age and rape myth acceptance were positively related to the perceived probability of experiencing sexual harassment. Finally, a regression analysis with non-parametric bootstrapping was conducted predicting *fear of sexual*

Table 3. Correlation coefficients (by gender) for sexual harassment and attitude measures (Spearman's ρ , n).

	Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male	
	Personal experiences	Probability	Fear	BSRI Femininity	BSRI Masculinity	ASI Hostile sexism	ASI Benevolent sexism	IRMAS	Social desirability	Age	Personal experiences	Probability
Personal experiences												
		0.061 66	0.082 67	-0.005 59	0.049 59	-0.048 62	0.010 62	0.160 57	0.214 62	0.080 90		
Probability	0.163 161		-0.246 66	-0.001 56	-0.301 56	-0.121 60	0.028 60	-0.012 57	0.021 60	0.319 68		
Fear	0.036 170	-0.192 165		0.013 58	0.231 58	-0.020 62	-0.007 62	0.139 57	0.104 62	-0.156 70		
BSRI femininity	-0.045 111	-0.032 105	0.184 115		0.241 61	0.121 60	0.387 60	0.096 55	0.630 60	-0.156 70		
BSRI masculinity	-0.057 111	-0.039 105	0.000 115	0.613 115		0.236 60	0.196 60	-0.021 55	0.389 60	-0.144 61		
ASI hostile sexism	-0.150 108	-0.107 102	-0.005 112	0.298 106	0.256 106		0.522 65	0.442 59	0.176 63	-0.207 65		
ASI benevolent sexism	-0.169 108	-0.003 102	0.161 112	0.308 106	0.283 106	0.526 112		0.510 59	0.382 63	-0.197 65		
IRMAS	0.143 101	0.304 96	-0.038 105	-0.010 99	0.067 99	0.217 101	0.265 101		0.208 57	-0.230 60		
Social desirability	0.046 111	0.089 106	0.053 116	0.330 111	0.386 111	0.182 106	0.310 106	0.299 100		-0.011 65		
Age	0.190 168	0.026 164	0.187 174	-0.030 113	-0.073 113	-0.080 110	-0.166 110	-0.007 103	0.065 114			

Note: Intercorrelations for female participants are presented above the diagonal, and intercorrelations for male participants are presented below the diagonal. Boldface indicates a significant correlation, $p < 0.05$.

Table 4. Regression models predicting personally experienced sexual harassment (robust logistic regression), perceived probability to experience sexual harassment, and fear of experiencing sexual harassment (both multiple linear regression with bootstrapped estimates, bootstrap samples = 5000) (Odd's ratios, SE_{OR} , B , SE_B).

Criterion	Logistic regression		Multiple linear regression (bootstrapped)			
	Personally experienced sexual harassment		Perception of probability to experience sexual harassment		Fear of experiencing sexual harassment	
Predictor variables	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Age	1.408***	0.119	0.244*	0.119	-0.009	0.029
Gender ^a	2.310	1.314	-0.664	0.717	0.482*	0.156
Impression management	1.487	0.450	0.050	0.380	-0.018	0.108
× Gender	1.228	0.814	-0.398	0.770	0.271	0.223
BSRI Female	0.951	0.250	-0.069	0.370	0.102	0.096
× Gender	0.622	0.339	0.735	0.705	-0.219	0.178
BSRI Male	1.047	0.335	-0.143	0.416	-0.068	0.103
× Gender	1.272	0.812	-0.874	0.763	0.253	0.193
ASI hostile sexism	0.570†	0.175	-0.670	0.447	-0.182	0.111
× Gender	0.889	0.604	-0.200	0.904	0.148	0.244
ASI benevolent sexism	0.648	0.231	0.228	0.527	0.149	0.129
× Gender	3.533†	2.435	0.604	1.027	-0.544*	0.260
IRMAS	2.154*	0.815	1.057*	0.410	0.076	0.106
× Gender	1.090	0.812	-0.212	0.840	0.310	0.215
Constant	0.0005***	0.0007	-0.824	2.167	-0.386	0.527
Adjusted R^2	0.194		0.041		0.048	
<i>n</i>	140		136		142	

Note: Boldface indicates a significant correlation.

^aDummy-coded: 0 = male; 1 = female.

† <0.10; * <0.05; *** <0.001.

harassment ($n=140$). Gender was related to the fear of experiencing sexual harassment with females reporting more fear. Moreover, the interaction of benevolent sexism and gender was significant. This interaction derived from a tendency of benevolent sexism being positively associated with fear of sexual harassment for male students while for females no such relationship existed (cf. Table 3).

Discussion

We presented the first study exploring sexual harassment and its relation to fundamental attitudes, namely, ambivalent sexism, gender identity, and rape myth acceptance, in a broad sample of high school students in Benin, a West African country characterized by great gender inequality. An alarming picture emerged from the students' reports of sexual harassment. Furthermore, high levels of sexist attitudes and rape myth acceptance characterized their sexist belief system, which was linked in distinct ways to personal experiences, perceived probability to experience and fear of sexual harassment. Understanding the students' attitudes is therefore important to understand the potential antecedents of sexual harassment and their roots in a society that discriminates against and devalues women.

Perception of sexual harassment

About 40% of the students reported having experienced sexual harassment, half of which reported having personally experienced sexual harassment while the other half reported experiences among their peers only. The absence of gender differences points to the concomitance of sexual harassment in affecting both female and male students, with the latter serving as intermediators. Most students perceived some probability of experiencing sexual harassment and their fear was of considerable extent. Even though 40% of female students indicated no probability of personal experiences, most females reported high fear of sexual harassment. Accordingly, fear correlated negatively with the reported probability of sexual harassment (regardless of gender). This may reflect two tendencies – on the one hand, more fear leading to the denial of personal vulnerability for girls or the avoidance of getting involved as intermediators for boys, and on the other hand, less fear leading to a greater willingness to succumb to sexual harassment, presumably as a means of corruption (for both genders).

The sexist belief system and sexual harassment

Sexism

Beninese students endorsed high levels of sexism. Although the comparison with samples from other studies is tentative, it is striking that Beninese students, compared with US samples, expressed higher levels of hostile and in particular benevolent sexism (Begany & Milburn, 2002; Glick et al., 2000). Moreover, the endorsement of hostile and benevolent sexism appears to be higher than in the countries investigated by Glick et al. (2000). But we also replicated Glick et al.'s finding that in societies scoring relatively high on hostile sexism, women have higher

levels of benevolent sexism than men. The authors suggested that benevolent sexism might serve to protect women's self-esteem by implying men's dependence on them. Seemingly in line with this contention, benevolent sexism was positively related to self-ascribed femininity among Beninese girls. Women should expect men to desire such feminine traits (cf. benevolent sexism), which may explain the strong link between femininity and social desirability for girls. These female students may have been in particular need of benevolent beliefs as their levels of hostile sexism were almost as high as those of the male students. In contrast, Glick et al. found women's hostile sexism to be lower the higher male's hostile sexism in a country was, which they interpreted as women refusing to adopt the derogatory views toward them. For male students, benevolent sexism was related to more fear of personally experiencing sexual harassment (which for boys usually implies serving as an intermediary between teacher and harassed girl) and to fewer reported personal experiences. Thus, boys perceiving females as needy and in a romantic way presumably did not want to endanger them and at the same time may have avoided the involvement as an intermediary. Interestingly, hostile sexism was related to fewer reported personal experiences of sexual harassment. Maybe with hostile attitudes sexual harassment is more acceptable and hence less recognized as such. This is in line with previous research findings linking hostile sexism to a higher tolerance of sexual harassment (implying less perception of it, e.g., Russell & Trigg, 2004).

Gender identity

Female as well as male students endorsed high levels of masculinity and femininity. This is in line with findings that reported gender differences are less pronounced in countries with a greater gender differentiation, where people are less inclined to evaluate themselves in comparison to the other sex (Guimond, 2008). Therefore, only relative differences within each gender may be interpreted. In the present sample, female students with higher self-ascribed masculinity perceived a lower probability of experiencing sexual harassment. This appears to contrast findings of more sexual harassment being directed at women with more pronounced masculine self-descriptions (e.g., Berdahl, 2007). However, for Beninese girls, masculinity may have reflected heightened self-confidence, which is one aspect of masculinity. For Beninese boys, masculinity and femininity were correlated and almost equally related to social desirability, hostile, and benevolent sexism. A tentative explanation of this pattern lies in boys' presumably paternalistic role. Accordingly, being masculine may imply being able to care for others (femininity), especially for the women that one desires (benevolent sexism). This paternal view can further be maintained by controlling and dominating women (hostile sexism) who allegedly abuse their female allures (cf. Glick & Fiske, 1997). Such a paternalistic tendency may further account for the positive relation between femininity and fear of experiencing sexual harassment.

Rape myth acceptance

Beninese students' endorsement of rape myths was very pronounced with the average scores on rape myth acceptance being almost twice those of the US sample investigated when constructing the IRMAS (Payne et al., 1999). However, this US

sample consisted of Psychology undergraduates. Also, Boakye (2009) found lower levels of rape myth acceptance in Ghana for Psychology undergraduates and higher levels for high school students. These findings point to the importance of age and education (cf. Boakye, 2009; Foulis & McCabe, 1997; Malamuth & Check, 1984) with both highlighting the susceptibility of high school students for rape myths.

Not only was the endorsement of rape myth acceptance high in the present sample, it also emerged as a unique predictor of reported personal experiences and the perceived probability of experiencing sexual harassment. Although no significant interaction with gender emerged, different mechanisms may be at work. In contrast to males, for female students, rape myth acceptance was only related to reported personal experiences of sexual harassment, but not to the perceived probability of experiencing sexual harassment. Having experienced sexual harassment may increase the need for rape myths for girls because blaming the victim makes the incidences of rape or sexual harassment appear controllable (Burt, 1980; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). In contrast, rape myths may rectify the facilitation of sexual harassment for boys in the role as an intermediary because blaming the victims of sexual harassment should make these boys feel less guilty. Thus, rape myth acceptance was related to both personal experiences and the perceived probability of experiences. Similarly, empirical studies have linked rape myth acceptance to the likelihood to sexually harass and to rape among men (Bartling & Eisenman, 1993). Finally, for both genders, rape myth acceptance was related to benevolent and hostile sexism. These sexist views may complement each other to fuel or maintain students' rape myth acceptance with the beliefs that vulnerable women should be protected while girls who allegedly abuse their sexual desirability are denigrated with hostility (cf. Glick & Fiske, 1997).

Socially desirable belief system?

Social desirability was positively related to most scales. However, no significant relation emerged with hostile sexism and (among females) rape myth acceptance. As not all attitude scales were interrelated with each other and with social desirability, we assume that findings cannot solely be explained by response tendencies (cf. explanations above). Rather, it appears that hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, and rape myth acceptance converge in a belief system that may justify females' inferior status and males' sexual harassment. The positive link between social desirability and, for male students, rape myth acceptance is troubling as it may, albeit tentatively, imply the social acceptance and desirability of according denigrating views. In this light, Beninese students' attitudes need to be addressed to alleviate discrimination.

Limitations

A number of limitations apply that impact the interpretability of the findings and should inform further research. First to mention is the absence of a definition of sexual harassment in the questionnaire. Students instead had to base their answers on personal definitions that may vary with their attitudes. In fact, sexism (cf. negative link to hostile sexism above) and rape myth acceptance have been linked to the interpretation of situations as rape or sexual harassment (e.g., Reilly et al., 1992; Russell & Trigg, 2004). In this regard, it is interesting that students in Lalo were more

likely than students in other areas of Benin to report experiences with sexual harassment. Those students may have applied more stringent definitions of sexual harassment, and may have been more attentive to incidents, because shortly before the present data collection a program to sensitize students to the issue of sexual harassment was realized in the same school (GRASID, 2009). The absent definition of sexual harassment further precludes us from drawing conclusions about the roles of victims and perpetrators.

In any case, the present convenience sample would not allow for prevalence estimates. However, the study's strength lies in capturing students' perceptions of sexual harassment and their relation to attitudes, which interventions should address to sensitize students. Nevertheless, it would be desirable for further studies to assess students' conceptions of sexual harassment and obtain diary reports of students' experiences in school to better capture the scope of sexual approaches in school.

Another limitation is the applicability of the present scales in the Beninese context. Even though internal consistencies were acceptable, presumably important culture-specific facets may have been neglected (Forbes, 2010). Furthermore, the observed underlying factor structures of the attitude scales deviated from those originally suggested. Nonetheless, we computed scale scores congruent with those suggested in the literature to enable comparisons across studies (cf. Glick et al., 2000). Despite the goal of cross-national comparability, it would be advisable to (particularly) assess context-specific control variables. Therefore, the findings regarding social desirability should be interpreted with caution (cf. Verardi et al., 2010).

Another important, yet in field research almost inevitable, limitation is the bias imposed on the sample due to selection and attrition. All participating schools had previously cooperated with NGOs and may thus have been more liberal than schools unwilling to participate in developmental aid projects. This precludes us from making a general statement about all schools in Benin. Furthermore, due to time restrictions, not all students finished the questionnaire. Therefore, students taking more time to answer the questions are underrepresented on the attitudinal scales, which were completed after answering questions regarding sexual harassment. This may impact the present results on relations between attitudes and sexual harassment. From our data, we cannot draw conclusions about the size or the direction of this potential bias.

Finally, given the correlational design of the study, we cannot make causal statements regarding the impact of attitudes on sexual harassment in Beninese schools. Neither can we fully rule out that some correlations are attributable to chance within multiple testing or to spurious variables such as response tendency.

Conclusion

This study is an important first step toward understanding the perceptions of sexual harassment and their link to fundamental attitudes among Beninese high school students. Despite a number of limitations, the study provides insights into the belief system of a society with great gender inequality, which is fostered in the educational system. However, more research is needed to address issues surrounding the definition of sexual harassment, the assessment of its prevalence and social

acceptance, the embedding of established attitude constructs into the Beninese context, and the causal direction of the attitude–sexual harassment link.

Given the high levels of sexism and rape myth acceptance found in our sample, there is still a long way to go to effectively combat sexual harassment. Interventions in schools should address fundamental attitudes in the Beninese society. To assess the effectiveness of such interventions, longitudinal evaluation studies are necessary. The present study may serve as a starting point for future research and draw attention to the issue of sexual harassment and supporting attitudes in Benin and other countries suffering from great gender inequality.

Acknowledgments

The authors are grateful to the Society for International Cooperation (formerly known as German Developmental Service) and Centre Afrika Obota. In particular, we thank Kora Gouré-Bi, Urbain Amegbedji, Elisabeth Kowalla, Guy-Fabien Djibode, Arnaud Breitenstein, Sergius Sodokpa, and Erich Stather for their organizational support. Furthermore, we thank all participating NGOs, schools, and students, without whom this study would not have been possible. Last, but not least, we are very grateful to two anonymous reviewers for their thorough and thoughtful feedback that very much improved this manuscript.

Notes

1. <http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/parents-slain-volunteer-peace-corps-error-led-murder/story?id=12607274#.TyVHICO6UrW>
2. http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADH539.pdf
3. Cf. CIA World Factbook (2012).: Retrieved July 12, 2012, from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bn.html>
4. Please note that rape can be seen as an extreme form of sexual aggression toward women in extension to sexual harassment (Begany & Milburn, 2002; Check & Malamuth, 1985), suggesting that different forms of (sexual) aggression against women may share similar causes (Brownmiller, 1975; Malamuth, 1984).
5. Twelve students were from different high schools in Cotonou and were not assessed at school. Their information on schools is missing.
6. The 16 excluded participants did not differ from the main sample on age, gender, or year of school.
7. Students of age 20 and older are not uncommon in Beninese high schools.
8. Exploratory investigations based on Schröter and Segbedji (2009) served as a starting point for conceiving the presented study. The first author conducted discussions on sexual harassment in the school environment (a) with female and male students from a high school in Cotonou who had previously worked with NGOs in fighting corruption and sexual harassment at school, and (b) with a Beninese woman who serves as the gender expert to the German Society of International Cooperation in Benin. Discussions confirmed that sexual harassment is a widespread and persistent problem (not only) in the educational system that is perceived inherent to the school system. It was established that not only female students and male teachers (there are few female teachers in Benin) were involved in acts of sexual harassment, but that (predominantly male) students served as intermediators. Intermediators may either be coerced into their role of facilitating communication between teacher and female student or voluntarily lend themselves to it. Female students are usually coerced by teachers into sexual harassment. However, the discussants unanimously stated that female students sometimes initiate the sexual contacts themselves. The discussants also stated that teachers use grades or passing a school year as pressurizing medium, though. In some cases, sexual harassment leads to undesired pregnancies that force female students to leave school. Also, the fear of sexually

- transmitted diseases is high. This background knowledge is very crucial to understanding sexual harassment in Benin.
9. Participation rate was presumably high as these high schools had previously participated in other studies of the local NGOs. Moreover, the murder of Kate Puzey has heightened the awareness of sexual harassment being a problem in Beninese high schools.
 10. The consent form and all questions were in French.
 11. To facilitate responding for the students who were mostly unfamiliar with such studies, and hence to reduce error variance, we employed a 7-point Likert-type-scale indicating the degree of agreement (1 = strong disagreement, 7 = strong agreement) for all scales. Only the ASI scaling was adjusted (original scaling 6-point scale: 0 = disagree strongly – 5 = agree strongly). However, Begany and Milburn (2002) also employed a 7-point Likert-type-scale with the ASI in their study.
 12. A factor analysis with varimax rotation produced a three-factorial solution explaining 36% of the variance. While one factor clearly reflected hostile sexism and one pertained to benevolent sexism, a third represented a mixed factor of both kinds of sexism, which could be interpreted as paternalism.
 13. We assessed the factor structure of the BSRI conducting a factor analysis with varimax rotation. We obtained a five-factorial solution according to the Kaiser-criterion, which explained 58% of the variance. The resulting factors were similar to the five factors (sensitivity toward others, athletic, leadership, determination, self-assurance) suggested in Fontayne et al. (2000). The major difference was that the self-confidence items loaded on the same factor as items regarding love for children, gentile character, and fighting spirit.
 14. IRMAS item dropped from the 'Not Rape' subscale: If the rapist doesn't have a weapon, you really can't call it a rape.
 15. The remaining 41 items were submitted to a factor analysis with varimax rotation. The scree-test suggested a two-factorial solution, which explained 26% of the variance. All items from the subscales 'He didn't mean it' and 'She lied' loaded on the first factor. All items of subscales 'Rape is trivial' and 'It was not really rape' loaded on the second factor. Items from the remaining scales that mainly referred to blaming the victim loaded on both factors. This suggests that the first factor represented exculpating the perpetrator, whereas the second factor represented trivialization and denial of rape. This factor structure deviates from the one suggested by Payne et al. (1999).
 16. The eight items assessing socially desirable responding were presented in random order with the Bem Sex Role Inventory. The items' English translation is as follows: (1) I am never worried. (2) I always do what one has to do. (3) I always do what people tell me to do. (4) I always do my work as good as I can. (5) I like everybody that I know. (6) Nobody ever blames me. (7) I am never frightened. (8) I always tell the truth.
 17. Not all participants finished all questionnaires. If number of missing values did not exceed 10%, we imputed the mean of the item across participants. The BSRI was not completed by 61 male and 12 female participants; the ASI score was missing for 64 male and eight female participants; the IRMAS scale was not completed by 71 male and 13 female students and finally, no impression management score was computed for 60 male and eight female participants.
 18. Centering was based on the participants included in the regression.

References

- Abrams, D., Viki, G. T., Masser, B., & Bohner, G. (2003). Perceptions of stranger and acquaintance rape: The role of benevolent and hostile sexism in victim blame and rape proclivity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *84*(1), 111–125. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.84.1.111
- American Psychological Association (2012). *Resolution on male violence against women*. Retrieved from <http://www.apa.org/about/policy/male-violence.aspx>
- Aosved, A. C., & Long, P. J. (2006). Co-occurrence of rape myth acceptance, sexism, racism, homophobia, ageism, classism, and religious intolerance. *Sex Roles*, *55*(7–8), 481–492. doi:10.1007/s11199-006-9101-4

- Bartling, C. A., & Eisenman, R. (1993). Sexual harassment proclivities in men and women. *Bulletin of the Psychonomic Society*, 31(3), 189–192.
- Baumeister, R. F., Catanese, K. R., & Wallace, H. M. (2002). Conquest by force: A narcissistic reactance theory of rape and sexual coercion. *Review of General Psychology*, 6(1), 92–135. doi:10.1037/1089-2680.6.1.92
- Begany, J. J., & Milburn, M. A. (2002). Psychological predictors of sexual harassment: Authoritarianism, hostile sexism, and rape myths. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 3(2), 119–126. doi:10.1037/1524-9220.3.2.119
- Bem, S. L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 42(2), 155–162. doi:10.1037/h0036215
- Bem, S. L. (1981). Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. *Psychological Review*, 88(4), 354–364. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.88.4.354
- Berdahl, J. L. (2007). The sexual harassment of uppity women. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(2), 425–437. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.92.2.425
- Boakye, K. E. (2009). Attitudes toward rape and victims of rape. A test of feminist theory in Ghana. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 24(10), 1633–1651. doi:10.1177/0886260509331493
- Bohner, G., Siebler, F., & Schmelcher, J. (2006). Social norms and the likelihood of raping: Perceived rape myth acceptance of others affects men's rape proclivity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(3), 286–297. doi:10.1177/0146167205280912
- Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against our will: Men, women, and rape*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38(2), 217–230. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.38.2.217
- Check, J., & Malamuth, N. (1985). An empirical assessment of some feminist hypotheses about rape. *International Journal of Women's Studies*, 8, 414–423. Retrieved from http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/comm/malamuth/pdf/85ijws8_414.pdf
- Chiroro, P., Bohner, G., Viki, G. T., & Jarvis, C. I. (2004). Rape myth acceptance and rape proclivity: Expected dominance versus expected arousal as mediators in acquaintance-rape situations. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 19(4), 427–442. doi:10.1177/0886260503262081
- Crowne, D. P., & Marlowe, D. (1960). A new scale of social desirability independent of psychopathology. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 24(4), 349–354. doi:10.1037/h0047358
- Dardenne, B., Delacourte, N., Grégoire, C., & Lecocq, D. (2006). Structure latente et validation de la version française de l'Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: l'échelle de sexisme ambivalent [Latent structure and validation of the French version of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: L'échelle de sexisme ambivalent]. *L'année Psychologique*, 106, 235–264. doi:10.4074/S0003503306002041
- Eagly, A. H., & Steffen, V. J. (1984). Gender stereotypes stem from the different distribution of women and men into social roles. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46(4), 735–754. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.46.4.735
- Fischer, A. R. (2006). Women's benevolent sexism as reaction to hostility. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30(4), 410–416. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.2006.00316.x
- Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (1995). Ambivalence and stereotypes cause sexual harassment: A theory with implications for organizational change. *Journal of Social Issues*, 51(1), 97–115. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.1995.tb01311.x
- Fitzgerald, L. F., Gelfand, M. J., & Drasgow, F. (1995). Measuring sexual harassment: Theoretical and psychometric advances. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 17(4), 425–445. doi:10.1207/s15324834basps1704_2
- Fontayne, P., Sarrazin, P., & Famose, J.-P. (2000). The Bem sex-role inventory: validation of a short version for French teenagers. *European Review of Applied Psychology*, 50, 405–416. Retrieved from <http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-00387229/>
- Forbes, G. B. (2010). Cross-cultural research methods and the study of gender. In J. C. Chrisler & D. R. McCreary (Eds.), *Handbook of gender research in psychology: Gender research in general and experimental psychology* (Vol. 1, pp. 159–177). New York, NY: Springer.
- Foulis, D., & McCabe, M. P. (1997). Sexual harassment: Factors affecting attitudes and perceptions. *Sex Roles*, 37(9–10), 773–798. doi:10.1007/BF02936339

- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70(3), 491–512. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.70.3.491
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1997). Hostile and benevolent sexism. Measuring ambivalent sexist attitudes toward women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 21(1), 119–135. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00104.x
- Glick, F., Fiske, S. T., Mladinic, A., Saiz, J. L., Abrams, D., Masser, B., . . . López López, W. (2000). Beyond prejudice as simple antipathy: Hostile and benevolent sexism across cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79(5), 763–775. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.79.5.763
- GRASID (2009). Project de lutte contre la corruption en milieu scolaire dans les colleges de la commune de Lalo [Project to fight corruption in the school system in the high schools of the municipality of Lalo]. Unpublished manuscript.
- Guimond, S. (2008). Psychological similarities and differences between women and men across cultures. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 2(1), 494–510. doi:10.1111/j.1751-9004.2007.00036.x
- Hausmann, R., Tyson, L. D., & Zahidi, S. (2010). *The global gender gap report*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Economic Forum. Retrieved from http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2010.pdf
- Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 33(2–3), 61–83. doi:10.1017/S0140525X0999152X
- Hoffman, C., & Hurst, N. (1990). Gender stereotypes: Perception or rationalization?. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58(2), 197–208. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.58.2.197
- Johnson, B. E., Kuck, D. L., & Schander, P. R. (1997). Rape myth acceptance and sociodemographic characteristics: A multidimensional analysis. *Sex Roles*, 36(11/12), 693–707. doi:10.1023/A:1025671021697
- Karamoko, A., Ettien, A. A.-M., Bende N'Dasso, F., & Konan, K. A. (2007). *Corruption en milieu scolaire et education des filles* [Corruption in the school system and the education of girls]. Réseau Ouest et Centre Africain de Recherche en Education (ROCARE). Unpublished manuscript. Retrieved from <http://www.rocare.org/smgt2006-ci-genre.pdf>
- Lindsey, L. L. (2005). Education and gender role change. In *Gender roles. A sociological perspective* (4th ed., pp. 293–317). New Jersey, NJ: Pearson.
- Lonsway, K. A., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1994). Rape myths: In review. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 18(2), 133–164. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.1994.tb00448.x
- Malamuth, N. (1984). Aggression against women: Cultural and individual causes. In N. Malamuth & E. Donnerstein (Eds.), *Pornography and sexual aggression* (pp. 19–52). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. P. (1984). Debriefing effectiveness following exposure to pornographic rape depictions. *Journal of Sex Research*, 20(1), 1–13. doi:10.1080/00224498409551203
- O'Hare, E. A., & Donohue, W. (1998). Sexual harassment: Identifying risk factors. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 27(6), 561–580. doi:10.1023/A:1018769016832
- Payne, D. L., Lonsway, K. A., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1999). Rape myth acceptance: Exploration of its structure and its measurement using the Illinois rape myth acceptance scale. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 33(1), 27–68. doi:10.1006/jrpe.1998.2238
- Reilly, M. E., Lott, B., Caldwell, D., & DeLuca, L. (1992). Tolerance for sexual harassment related to self-reported sexual victimization. *Gender and Society*, 6(1), 122–138. doi:10.1177/089124392006001008
- Russell, B. L., & Trigg, K. Y. (2004). Tolerance of sexual harassment: An examination of gender differences, ambivalent sexism, social dominance, and gender roles. *Sex Roles*, 50(7/8), 565–573. doi:10.1023/B:SERS.0000023075.32252.fd
- Sanday, P. R. (1981). *Female power and male dominance. On the origins of sexual inequality*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Schröter, H., & Segbedji, V. (2009). *La corruption en milieu scolaire* [Corruption in the school system]. Unpublished manuscript.
- Swim, J. K., & Hyers, L. L. (2010). Sexism. In J. F. Dovidio (Ed.), *The Sage handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 407–430). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

- Transparency International (2010). *Africa education watch*. Retrieved from http://www.transparency.org/content/download/50164/802844/Africa_Education_Watch_eng.pdf
- UNESCO. (2000). *L'évaluation de l'éducation pour tous à l'an 2000* [Education for all assessment]. Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/education/wef/countryreports/benin/contents.html>
- Verardi, S., Dahourou, D., Ah-Kion, J., Bhowon, U., Tseung, C. N., Amoussou-Yeye, D., . . . Rossier, J. (2010). Psychometric properties of the Marlowe–Crowne social desirability scale in eight African countries and Switzerland. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 41*(1), 19–34. doi:10.1177/0022022109348918
- Viki, G. T., & Abrams, D. (2002). But she was unfaithful: Benevolent sexism and reactions to rape victims who violate traditional gender role expectations. *Sex Roles, 47*(5/6), 289–293. doi:10.1023/A:1021342912248
- Viki, G. T., Chiroro, P., & Abrams, D. (2006). Hostile sexism, type of rape, and self-reported proclivity within a male sample of Zimbabwean males. *Violence Against Women, 12*(8), 789–800. doi:10.1177/1077801206291663
- Waubert de Puiseau, B. (2010). *Le harcèlement sexuel de filles comme forme de corruption en milieu scolaire* [Sexual harassment of girls as a form of corruption at school]. Unpublished manuscript.
- Williams, J. E., & Best, D. L. (1990). *Measuring sex stereotypes: A multination study*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Wood, W., & Eagly, A. H. (2002). A cross-cultural analysis of the behavior of women and men: Implications for the origins of sex differences. *Psychological Bulletin, 128*(5), 699–727. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.128.5.699
- Wood, W., & Eagly, A. H. (2010). Gender. In S. T. Fiske, D. T. Gilbert, & G. Lindzey (Eds.) *Handbook of social psychology* (5th ed., Vol. 1, pp. 629–667). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Zhang, J., Norvilitis, J. M., & Jin, S. (2001). Measuring gender orientation with the Bem sex role inventory in Chinese culture. *Sex Roles, 44*(3/4), 237–251. doi:10.1023/A:1010911305338