Factors Associated with Sexual Harassment in Academic Institutions of Higher Education:

A Technical Report to Inform Prevention Efforts

Internal Report for the PATH to Care Center

Interdisciplinary Center for Healthy Workplaces
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Introduction

Sexual harassment continues to be a pervasive problem in a variety of work organizations today, one that has deleterious consequences for both individuals and the organizations of which they are a part. The litany of damaging consequences include poorer physical and psychological health, increased work withdrawal, and decreased job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and work performance (e.g., Chan, Chow, Lam, & Cheung, 2008; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). There also are significant financial costs of sexual harassment in organizations: in 2017, 13,055 sex-based harassment allegations were filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, resulting in 56 million dollars of monetary payouts (EEOC, 2017).

Academia, which is typically a male-dominated environment in which hierarchies concentrate power in individuals, is particularly prone to sexual harassment. Although the occurrence of sexual harassment in organizations has proven difficult to accurately assess, relatively reliable estimates[1] suggest that 58 percent of female academic faculty experience sexually harassing behaviors at work (Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau, & Stibal, 2003). Compared to other workplaces, academia has the second highest rate after the military (69 percent). Students in higher education also frequently experience sexual harassment: One recent large-scale survey of two state university systems found that overall rates for female undergraduate and graduate students experiencing sexual harassment from faculty and staff range from 20 and 45 percent (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018).

Given the significant health, job-related, and financial consequences of harassment in and for organizations—both in and outside of academia—much effort has been put into understanding the causes of sexual harassment in order to identify ways of reducing its occurrence. Although well-intentioned, the effectiveness of commonly-used preventative efforts such as sexual harassment training has been repeatedly called into question because they focus on increasing *knowledge* about what organizations consider to be unacceptable behavior rather than on creating lasting behavioral and attitudinal changes (Feldblum & Lipnic, 2016). The prevailing conclusion from existing research is that more empirical research is needed to inform the development of effective prevention efforts. In particular, there has been a plea for more systemic changes to the broader culture in higher education in order to effectively prevent sexual harassment (so called “primary” prevention).

[1] A number of factors can influence prevalence estimates, including sample size and diversity of the sample, how sexual harassment is defined and measured, and the retrospective time-frame specified to participants. We chose to report the prevalence estimate provided by Ilies and colleagues (2003) because it is a meta-analytic estimate based on 86,000 participants and 55 probability estimates.

The Present Study

In an effort to address this gap, we conducted a study of a wide range of factors—including contextual ones—associated with the occurrence of sexual harassment within academic institutions of higher education, specifically. To this end, we collected descriptions of incidents University of California (UC), Berkeley faculty, staff, students, and postdoctoral scholars experienced, witnessed and/or heard about. These accounts included a detailed description of the observed behavior(s) of the harasser(s), what subsequently occurred, and the context or setting surrounding the incident. We then conducted a qualitative analysis of the data to identify relationships, environments, and situational factors associated with sexual harassment in academic environments. We also briefly describe observations we made about targets' behavior in incidents involving sexual harassment to emphasize concerns about individual risk-reduction approaches.

The overarching purpose of this study is to provide a foundation of knowledge about risk factors that could be targeted by future prevention efforts, including—as mentioned above—more holistic policies and practices for enhancing civility and respect. Specifically, we prepared this report for the PATH (Prevention, Advocacy, Training, Healing) to Care Center at UC Berkeley, who will be using the data to create a sexual harassment prevention "tool kit" for use in academic departments. In the report that follows, we describe our methodology, the results and offer some recommendations based on our findings.

Method

A Phenomenological Study

We chose to conduct a qualitative study because our research questions are primarily open-ended and exploratory in nature. In addition, qualitative data is well-suited for providing a relatively in-depth understanding of *how* and *why* sexual harassment occurs in academic institutions of higher education. In doing so, we surmised that qualitative data would lend itself well to generating suggestions for ways of improving prevention efforts as described above.

More specifically, we conducted a *phenomenological* qualitative study, meaning we asked many people to share their common, lived experiences with the same phenomenon—here, sexual harassment in institutions of higher education (Creswell, 2006). This approach to data collection is unique because it provides a deep understanding of the same phenomenon as experienced by many different people. It is especially appropriate for the study of sexual harassment because it emphasizes the importance of personal, subjective experiences, which can sometimes be difficult to ascertain from surveys or questionnaires alone. Arguably, an open-ended response is needed to understand the complexities of the issue at hand.

Data Collection Procedure

We collected the qualitative data from participants through confidential written descriptions (hereafter referred to as "incidents") of sexual harassment that people either experienced, observed, or heard about directly from the target (i.e., the person experiencing the harassment) in academic institutions of higher education.[2] We also encouraged participants to describe situations in this context that likely *may* have—but ultimately did not—result in sexual harassment to ascertain how incidents may be prevented from occurring. Moreover, in order to capture the full spectrum of experiences across the campus community, all students, staff, faculty, and postdoctoral scholars at UC Berkeley, were invited to participate. Given that our interest was in understanding sexual harassment occurring in higher education environments more generally, we also encouraged participants to describe incidents that occurred at other academic institutions—aside from UC Berkeley—that they have been a part of in the past.

All participants described incidents in writing using a confidential online form that contained the following five open-ended questions about the incident with prompts to provide specific details within each:

*1. What were the **events or circumstances** that preceded the incident?* Describe the setting and context:

- ➢ Where did the incident take place?
- ➢ What was happening (e.g., events, meetings, etc.) at the time of the incident?
- ➢ Without mentioning any specific names, who was present?
- ➢ Was there anything unusual or noticeable about the setting?

*2. What were the **behavior(s)** (verbal, nonverbal, or physical) of the person or persons who may have sexually harassed another individual?*

- ➢ Who was involved in the behavior and what did the person(s) do?
- ➢ Was this an isolated incident, or was this behavior a part of a pattern of behaviors that occurred over time?

*3. What was/were the target's/targets' **responses(s)** to the incident?*

- ➢ How did the person(s) to which the behavior was directed in the situation react?
- ➢ Describe this person's/these persons' response(s)/reaction(s) before, during, and after the incident.

4. Did you recognize the incident as sexual harassment at the time of the incident or some time after the incident?

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[2] We also invited people who believed they may have engaged in behavior constituting sexual harassment to participate, but did not receive any responses from these individuals.

5. How did the incident affect you?

- Did your attitudes toward the organization and/or the people you work/study with change as a result of this incident? How so?

Those who indicated that they *experienced* or *observed* sexual harassment in a given incident were also asked whether they felt the situation was appropriately resolved. Moreover, those who *observed* sexual harassment occurring were asked about their reaction to what they saw.

Of note, we largely modeled this form after the Critical Incident Technique (CIT; Flanagan, 1954). The CIT is a widely-used qualitative research method for investigative purposes, and we felt that this approach, which involves asking people to recount real-life events, was well-suited for exploring the conditions that facilitate sexual harassment incidents.

Prior to asking participants to fill out the form, we also thought it important to "calibrate" responses by sharing with participants with the definition of sexual harassment per UC policy.[3] This policy definition can be understood as a legal one.

"Unwelcome sexual advances, unwelcome requests for sexual favors, and other unwelcome verbal, nonverbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature." The policy definition distinguishes two types of harassment, which are not mutually exclusive:

- *Quid Pro Quo* is when: "A person's submission to such unwelcome sexual conduct is implicitly or explicitly made the basis for employment decisions, academic evaluation, grades or advancement, or other decisions affecting participation in a University program."
- A *Hostile Environment* is created when: "Such unwelcome sexual conduct is sufficiently severe or pervasive that it unreasonably denies, adversely limits, or interferes with a person's participation in or benefit from the education, employment or other programs and services of the University and creates an environment that a reasonable person would find to be intimidating or offensive."

We then provided concrete examples of each form of harassment and also explained that the target and the harasser can be of any gender and, per the UC policy, includes incidents between *any* members of the University community, including faculty and other academic appointees, staff, student employees, students, coaches, residents, interns, and non-student or non-employee participants in University programs (e.g., vendors, contractors, visitors, and patients). Finally, we asked participants to refrain from providing incidents of sexual *violence*, as the purpose of this study is to inform prevention of sexual *harassment*, specifically.[4]

[3] We ceased collecting data on November 25, 2018, and therefore used the UC policy definition that was used at that time.
[4] However, as noted below, incidents involving combined sexual harassment and sexual violence were included.

Although we provided participants with the *policy* definition of sexual harassment, we also indicated that there may be other incidents that may not meet the strict policy definition. We then encouraged participants to mention an incident even if they were not sure whether an incident meets the definition of sexual harassment as defined by UC policy.

Participants provided their informed consent prior to providing data. Moreover, throughout the data collection process, we ensured they understood that their responses would be kept confidential, and that the data was being collected for research purposes, therefore relieving us of the "Responsible Employee" mandate for Title IX compliance. We also provided participants with informational resources and the contact information for the PATH to Care Center, as well as instructions for formally reporting incidents, should they wish to do so.

Analytic Approach

Step 1: Generating Initial Codes

After the data was collected, data analysis was performed in two main phases. First, we generated initial codes, which involved categorizing and labeling specific incidents according to pre-specified criteria. In doing so, we took a *target-centric* approach so that each target-harasser combination received its own set of codes. This approach ensured that, consistent with the goals of this study, incidents involving ongoing harassment of a target from the same person or set of persons were coded as one data point.

A consensus approach to coding was used where two researchers independently coded the following for the following information and subsequently discussed and resolved any discrepancies in how information was coded. Specifically, a consensus was reached on:

- **Type of harassment:** whether the harassment is best described as hostile work environment and/or quid pro quo and/or other unwelcome sexual behaviors (those not necessarily falling into either broad categories).
- **Specific location of incident:** whether the behaviors occurred on-campus, off-campus, and where, specifically.[5]
- **Time course:** whether the incident was isolated incident or represented ongoing harassment of the target.
- **Bystanders**: whether bystanders were present, and whether they came to aid.

In addition, the form also contained direct questions requesting the following information for each incident:

[5] As noted below, for specific location we coded for all *instances* involved in ongoing incidents.

- **Participant's relationship to incident**: whether the person providing the data was the target, observer, or someone who directly heard about the incident from the target.
- **Gender identity of the target and harasser:** female, male, non-binary, mixed group, missing.
- **Sexual orientation of the target and harasser:** heterosexual/straight, gay/lesbian, non-monosexual (e.g., pansexual, bisexual, polysexual), or unknown/missing.
- **University role of target and harasser**: Undergraduate student, graduate student or postdoctoral scholar, staff (subordinate, supervisor, or peer-in relation to harasser), and faculty (includes lecturers).
- **Broad location of incident:** occurring at UC Berkeley or at another higher education academic institution.

Regarding gender identity and sexual orientation, we asked participants to describe how the target(s) or harasser(s) would have described their gender identity and sexual orientation at the time of the incident. In this section, participants were given the option to indicate "don't know" if they were unsure of how the person/persons identifies/identify. Similarly, we requested that participants indicate the university roles of the target(s) and harasser(s) at the time of the incident, which may be different from their role when the study was conducted.

Step 2: Analyzing Themes

Subsequent analysis of the data involved generation of more complex themes and situations through multiple rounds of reading through each of the included incidents. This step represented an attempt to identify salient features of the data as the researchers gained greater familiarity with complexities of the data. We followed best-practices for qualitative analysis by performing analyses in an iterative fashion where conclusions were continually revised as we formed our interpretation and understanding of the data. Our findings are presented below.

Findings

Description of Incidents

We collected a total of 58 incidents from 34 study participants, with most participants describing one or two incidents. Of these 58 incidents, four involved sexual violence and 11 lacked sufficient detail[6] to discern information relevant to this report. Therefore we excluded these 15 incidents from the subsequent analysis. After this initial classification, researchers then coded each of these 43 incidents to capture more detailed information specified above in the Method section. The detailed numerical results of this coding analysis can (also) be found in tabular format in the Appendix. Below we offer a summary of this information:

[6] These are incidents where details surrounding the incident (i.e., location, relationship of involved) were too vague to draw meaningful conclusions for purposes of informing prevention.

Type of Harassment

Of the 43 remaining incidents, the majority (37 incidents) involved sexual harassment (only), three involved both sexual harassment *and* sexual violence, and three incidents represented other unwanted sexual behaviors[7]. By our judgment, these "other behaviors" did not meet the legal definition of sexual *harassment* as specified by UC policy, yet we included these three incidents anyway because they were experienced as harassment by the study participant. Most of the incidents involving sexual harassment alone were those contributing to a hostile work environment (34 of 43 incidents), with only two of the 43 incidents collected representing quid pro quo forms of sexual harassment alone. One additional incident involved both forms of sexual harassment (hostile work environment and quid pro quo). For the three incidents involving both sexual harassment and sexual violence, the type of sexual harassment in these incidents were all categorized as contributing to a hostile work environment (3 of 43 incidents).

Participant's Relationship to the Incident

Participants were those who either directly experienced the harassment (hereafter referred to as the "target") (20 incidents) or who had directly heard about it from the target (15 incidents). Relatively fewer incidents (8) were described by those who had observed the behavior(s). Of note, we did not receive any incidents from those alleging to engage in sexually harassing behaviors.

Target and Harasser's Gender Identity, Sexual Orientation, University Role

Our data revealed that the vast majority of incidents involved heterosexual female targets and heterosexual male harassers. In terms of their relationship to the academic institution, targets were mostly (female) subordinate staff, graduate students, or postdoctoral scholars, and harassers were mostly (male) faculty members. The details of these results can be found in the Appendix.

Location(s)

As mentioned in the method section above, we coded one incident per target. However, nearly half of the incidents collected described ongoing harassment instead of isolated instances. These ongoing incidents therefore contained multiple *instances*, some of which involved multiple locations. Accordingly, we found that 30 of 48 instances occurred on campus and 16 instances took place at various locations off-campus listed below. Two additional instances occurred via text messages and in email exchanges and therefore we did not classify them as

[7] These included an invasion of sexual privacy, unwelcome use of a sexual metaphor to describe a professional collaboration, and an unwelcome comment made about another non-present person's romantic attraction.

happening on or off campus. Harassment occurring on campus happened most often in a private office or other private meeting space (14 of 30 on-campus instances), and off-campus harassment occurred most frequently at conferences (5 of 16 off-campus instances). The rest of the instances[8] occurred in various other locations on and off campus, which are noted below. Of note, most of the incidents (32 of 43) occurred at and/or involved parties affiliated with UC Berkeley as opposed to other academic institutions.

Locations of Instances On Campus:

- Private office or other private meeting space (14 instances)
- Research labs and centers (5 instances)
- Classrooms (3 instances)
- Small group study session
- Student dormitory bathroom
- Academic building lobby
- Parking lot
- Campus walkways
- Dining hall
- Student organization meeting
- Office work space

Locations of Instances Off Campus:

- Conferences (5 total instances)
    - Coffee break
    - Private conference hotel room
    - Social hours/parties (3 instances)
- Department-sponsored social events and celebrations (3 instances)
- Private meal at nearby restaurant (2 instances)
- Harasser's personal home
- Harasser's personal car
- Fraternity house
- Happy hour at a nearby restaurant
- Temporary off-campus worksite
- Off-campus meeting

We expand on the nature and relevance of these various locations below in the section, "Environments and Situations Associated with Sexual Harassment." In summary, after private offices or other private meeting spaces, the data showed that the highest instances of sexual harassment on campus occur in research lab spaces or at research lab centers where

[8] Unless specified, each bulleted location represents one instance.

academic professionals and graduate students and postdoctoral scholars share space and are working together.[9] Off campus, academic conferences—particularly social hours and parties—are places where sexual harassment is more likely to occur based on this sample.

Bystanders

After an initial round of coding, we decided to code for the presence and actions of bystanders during the incident. We defined bystanders as non-targets who were in the vicinity when the behavior(s) was/were happening. The majority of incidents, 25 of 43, involved bystanders, and bystanders intervened during 5 of the 25 incidents. For 18 incidents, bystanders were present, saw the harassment, but did not intervene. Two incidents involved people who were present but who we reasoned could not see the behavior as it was occurring under a table out of sight (more on these incidents below). Fourteen of 43 incidents were those that took place in private—and therefore had no bystanders.[10] Four of the 43 incidents did not include sufficient detail to discern this information.

Analysis of Themes

After a deeper review of the data, we divided themes into two major categories: first, the types of relationships associated with sexual harassment and second, environments and situations associated with sexual harassment. We also briefly describe observations we made about targets' behavior in incidents involving sexual harassment to emphasize concerns about individual risk-reduction approaches.

Relationships Associated with Sexual Harassment

First, we examined all of the incidents to determine the major types of relationships in academic institutions that may be associated with sexual harassment. The nature of these relationships is varied and described in detail below.

Graduate students - faculty members. Many incidents (11 of 43) involved graduate students who were harassed by faculty members. In our sample, faculty harassers tended to be well-known, successful professors—those whom participants described as of high value to the University due to their achievements—and often from the target's department.

In two of these incidents, the female targets were pursued repeatedly by a male faculty member who was making unwelcome overtures over a period of time. Eventually, in one of the incidents,

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[9] We did not classify these as private meeting spaces because the lab spaces described were open-concept spaces where other people were usually in close proximity.
[10] An example of this is the incident involving a faculty member who was covertly touching female staff members when they were seated immediately next to him at a table during a fundraising reception.

the graduate student formally reported the behaviors, but in both cases, the harassment ultimately resulted in the graduate student transferring to another institution due to discomfort working in that department.

Another two incidents started as sexual harassment and then later turned into sexual assault. In one incident, a female graduate student was taunted by a male professor's "playful"—yet sexist—comments during a department-sponsored event. After the event, the professor invited the student to go out for a meal to celebrate an accomplishment. Instead, he brought her to his home and attempted assault (the student escaped). In the other incident, the male faculty member sat next to the female student at a conference event and whispered sexual thoughts into her ear. After this initial incident, at the same conference, the professor called the student into his conference hotel room. The student felt uncomfortable and asked the Department Chair what she should do. The Chair suggested that the faculty member was important and that she should go. Ultimately she followed the advice of her Chair, was harassed again, and then assaulted.

Undergraduate students - faculty members. We also observed that female *undergraduate* students were also harassed by male faculty members, although to a lesser degree in this sample as compared to graduate students (3 of 43 incidents). In one incident, a female undergraduate student was working one-on-one as research assistant with a male professor. One day the professor invited her to come sit on the couch in his office and proceeded to kiss her. The student was receptive to these advances and began to have a sexual relationship with the professor. The relationship started off consensual, but after some time, the student wanted to end it. However, the student felt unable to end the relationship or tell others about the relationship because she feared that people would assume that the mentor's letters of recommendation and mentorship support were "not based on merit, but rather a form of quid pro quo." Related, she did not formally report the incident to the University because, in the words of the participant (who heard about the incident), "a letter of recommendation written by someone in a compromised position would not be given weight." Eventually, the relationship ended, but only after the student had graduated. She later learned that the male professor had also been in inappropriate situations with a number of other female students.

In a separate incident, although we do not have many details about the specific context (e.g., where the incident occurred), another female undergraduate student was taking a class with a male professor who caressed her on the head and then asked the student to go out for a meal with him alone. The student said no, having heard that he had extramarital affairs and had behaved inappropriately with other female students.

In yet another incident, a male faculty member invited a female student who was taking his class to be the subject of a nude photography session he was planning to conduct in a remote location. The target was an international student, questioned the appropriateness of the invitation, and approached another faculty member for advice on how to respond. This second faculty member spoke to the harasser and told him that his invitation was inappropriate and

reported him to the Department Chair. He defended himself to the confronting faculty member saying that his invitation was “benign.” The student target ultimately did not oblige.

Subordinate staff members - faculty members. Several incidents also involved female staff members who were harassed by male faculty members in their department (6 of 43 incidents). In one incident, after being introduced to a new female staff member, a male faculty member held the staff member around the waist and declared that he “should marry her.” The target believed that he was making a statement about his attraction to her physical appearance. From that point on she avoided him.

In another incident, a female staff member was having a difficult conversation with a group that included a male faculty member. At one point in the conversation, the faculty member told her to “not take things personally” and that he liked her so much that he would like to “have a drink” with her. The target, taken aback, fell silent, surprised by this suggestion and not knowing how to respond.

A couple of other targets who were female staff members also described being repeatedly targeted by an individual male faculty member. For example, one female staff member received frequent, unwanted email messages and gifts from a male emeritus faculty member who followed her around. At one point he told her that he “would not have retired” if he had known she was joining the staff. Another female staff member reported that a male faculty member covertly touched her and other female staff members’ under the table when they were seated next to him at a fundraising reception.

Peer staff members. Several incidents (7 of 43) occurred between staff members who were of equal status in the organization (i.e., one staff member was not subordinate to the other). For example, a female staff member was frequently harassed by her male officemate who would approach her in her cubicle and ask her questions about her sexual partner preferences and suggest that they should get together outside of work. The target told him to stop on numerous occasions. She reported him to her manager, who spoke to his manager and the behaviors ceased.

In another incident reported, a female staff member was frequently subjected to explicit sexual conversations between two other staff members (a female and a male) discussing the details of their sex lives within clear earshot of the target’s workspace. In both of these incidents, the targets were physically unable to leave the space where the harassment was occurring.[11]

Undergraduate students. We also found that undergraduate students harassed other undergraduate students (4 of 43 incidents). In one case, a more senior undergraduate student

[11] See the section on “Environments and Situations Associated with Sexual Harassment” for more information on how harassers used space to their advantage in further detail in the subsequent section on “private spaces.”

harassed a less senior one. Specifically, a male freshman student was verbally harassed by a male senior student in the same student organization. At first the incident involved personal questions asked about the target's sexual preferences and relationship status. Later the harasser would try to touch the target under the table during student organization meetings, but make it seem like it was an accident. The target felt unable to verbally protest because this behavior was done in a group setting and because the harasser had a leadership position in the organization.

In another situation, which involved an invasion of sexual privacy, a male student temporarily positioned a mirror underneath a shower stall in a dormitory so that he could view a female student naked while she was showering. After seeing the mirror and the hand holding it, the female student screamed and the person went away. She reported it to her Resident Assistant but did not know which student had done it, so the case was unresolved.

Students and campus visitors/vendors. Our data suggest that students are also harassed by campus visitors and vendors (2 of 43 incidents). One female undergraduate student was, on several occasions, repeatedly harassed by two male visitors who appeared to be homeless and walking around campus as she made her way to classes. The harassers made sexual remarks about her and followed her around. Other people witnessed this behavior but did not say anything (we comment more on this situation below).

In another relatively private situation, a female graduate student who came to campus early during off-hours to receive participants for a research study was repeatedly harassed by the regular male parking lot attendant. These instances occurred when the student was waiting alone in her car for the study participants to arrive—sometimes they never did, or were running late, and this resulted in her spending much time waiting in the car for their arrival. Specifically, the lot attendant would approach her car uninvited, ask her to roll down her window, and begin a discussion that he would direct to sexual topics such as his previous sexual experiences. He would also ask the graduate student about her sex life.

Summary of relationships associated with sexual harassment. Many of these relationships involved a harasser who typically is seen as having greater power/status than the target within the academic system. In fact, as described above, approximately half of the incidents collected (20 of 43) involved faculty who were harassing students (both undergraduate and graduate) and University staff members—who, at least informally, may be seen as subservient to the faculty, particularly those with tenure. Students were typically harassed by faculty members with whom they had developed some degree of relationship (e.g., a student in their class or a graduate student under the mentorship of the faculty member). However, this was not always the case; some incidents occurred between people who had no previous interaction. Additionally, sometimes the behavior was part of a pattern of harassment involving multiple people, and at other times, the harasser appeared to have developed an interest in the target, specifically. Incidents were almost evenly split between those that involved single targets versus multiple targets associated with the same harasser.

Environments and Situations Associated with Sexual Harassment

After reviewing the incidents and the types of relationships involved, we further evaluated the various situations and environments in which sexual harassment occurred. These environments and situations can be categorized broadly as those occurring on or off-campus, and those occurring in private or in a group settings (i.e., when bystanders were present). We discuss examples of each and their implications below. As noted above, private offices or other meetings spaces were prone to harassment on campus, whereas conferences were prone to harassment off-campus. Also, reports of harassment on campus were more common than reports of harassment off-campus (30 and 16 instances, respectively).

Group settings. As mentioned above, the majority of incidents (25 out of 43) involved bystanders, most of whom observed the harassment but did not intervene while it was happening (18 out of 25). Places on campus where harassment occurred in the presence of others were: classrooms (when class was in session), shared office spaces, shared research lab spaces and research centers, a small group study session, a student organization meeting, an academic building lobby, campus walkways, and a dining hall. Group settings off-campus were: conferences (particularly, social hours/parties and a coffee break), department-sponsored social events and celebrations, happy hour at a nearby restaurants, a temporary off-campus worksite, and a fraternity house.

We noted a few aspects of these group settings that facilitated harassment. First, as with some of the private settings where harassment occurred, *the target was often physically prevented from leaving the situation*. For example, in one incident, the female target was harassed while she was in her office cubicle during the work day, and the male harasser typically positioned himself at the point of exit of her cubicle making it so that she could not leave. In another incident, the female staff member who was subjected to explicit sexual conversations between two other staff members was a receptionist who was not allowed to abandon her post as a function of her job, making her a "captive audience."

Second, another notable characteristic of these group settings was that, in several cases, *the harasser was intoxicated.*[12] In fact, this was often the case at off-campus group settings such as conference social hours and parties and department-sponsored social events and celebrations where alcohol was being served. For example, one incident involved an intoxicated male faculty member giving unsolicited back massages to female graduate students at a social event during a departmental retreat. Likewise, a male faculty member interacted inappropriately with a female graduate student while drinking on the dance floor at a conference social event.

[12] We do not mention this in order to "justify" the harasser's behavior. Instead, we point this out as a facilitating factor that, as discussed below, we hope can help inform organizational policies for preventing harassment.

Third, we reasoned that sometimes group settings somewhat ironically facilitated harassment because the *harasser may have felt that the target would not object to his behavior in a group setting*. For example, both the male student and male faculty member who each tried to touch their targets (male and female, respectively) under the table at a group event/meeting may have done so because they did not think the person would object or want to "make a scene" in the presence of others.

As noted above, the majority of the group settings involved *bystanders who ultimately did not intervene*, which may have facilitated or exacerbated the harassment. We further evaluated the data to try to understand what factors might explain this lack of action.[13] In a couple of incidents, the observers (bystanders) said that they mistakenly assumed that the target and harasser flirting with each other were in a (consensual) relationship, and therefore did not think they needed to respond. Similarly, a study participant who was an observer said that they did not intervene when a male faculty member gave unsolicited back massages to female graduate students during a departmental retreat because the "target was not saying anything or overtly indicating that they desired the activity to stop." In other words, this observer assumed that the target would have said something if they were not comfortable with the unsolicited massages.

From other incidents, we gleaned that bystanders may not have felt comfortable saying anything in response to the harasser's actions because it occurred in a group setting and they feared how the harasser would respond. For example, in one incident a male professor repeatedly made disparaging remarks about females in class but was not called out for his comments, in part, because people did not want to face any negative repercussions in front of the class. It is worth noting, however, that a couple of students did publicly object to his comments, but he quickly silenced them, making it less likely that any other students would speak up. In another incident, a female student was verbally harassed by two male homeless individuals on campus as others looked on. This student believed that people did not respond because they did not want to possibly put themselves in danger.

In other incidents, observers indicated that they were shocked by a harasser's behavior and did not know how to respond—at least in the short-term. For example, a male manager yelled at, cursed at, and talked over, other female managers in a meeting, and eventually refused to work with them. In another incident, a male faculty member took a video of himself pretending to "hump" a colleague's wife at a department holiday party. Startled observers did not intervene in-the-moment, but later reported the behavior anonymously. In another situation, a male faculty member told an inappropriate joke to a male colleague during a break between sessions at an academic conference. Although other people heard the joke, including the study participant,

[13] Because we did not hear from the bystanders directly or ask participants who were targets about bystanders' responses specifically, we cannot say conclusively reasons for bystanders' inaction. It is also possible that we received more descriptions of incidents where no bystander intervened (and therefore, sexual harassment occurred) as opposed to incidents from participants who almost experienced harassment but did not due to bystander intervention. Nonetheless, we hope that this information remains helpful for informing prevention efforts, particularly bystander training.

who was one of the people standing in a circle drinking coffee when this happened, the participant describing this incident (who was one of the observers) reportedly felt "horrified" and "had no idea what was happening" but said nothing in the moment. Later, the observers checked in with the target about what happened. On the basis of these incidents, we question whether observers were startled in these situations because the harassers' behavior was unexpected, especially in a professional setting.

Lastly, at least one incident involved an *unbalanced gender ratio* that may have, in part, facilitated the harassment. In this incident, a group of female staff members temporarily relocated to an off-campus work site that had only men working there. For the duration of their stay at the site (about a week), they were subjected to sexually explicit photographs that were on display, including in the unisex bathroom they used. The male staff also played radio shows loudly such as "Howard Stern" that the female staff considered sexist and offensive. The female staff felt that the men had not considered that these actions would make them uncomfortable, or if they had noticed, they did not care enough to take corrective action.

Private settings. Relatively fewer of the incidents we collected (14 of 43) took place in private, meaning there were no bystanders who could come to the aid of the target or witness the behavior(s). Private settings on campus included personal offices and other meeting spaces, as well as a dormitory bathroom and parking lot (when no one else was present). Private settings off-campus included the harasser's conference hotel room, home, and personal car.

Certain physical aspects of the private on-campus environments appeared to have facilitated the harassment. First, office spaces were sometimes arranged to facilitate harassment. For example, one participant in the study suggested that the male faculty member who harassed a female student intentionally kept a couch in his office so that he could become physically close to the students he planned to harass. In other situations, harassment occurred in a private meeting space where passersby could not see inside the room or hear the dialogue. The dormitory bathroom in which a female student's privacy was invaded had shower stalls with a wide gap (reported as 8 inches or so), between the floor and the stall's bottom. Also in terms of private settings on campus, the parking lot where a female graduate student was harassed by the male parking lot attendant was small and not frequented, especially in the evenings when most people in the building had left for the day. As a result, the target in that situation had nowhere else to go to get away from the attendant. She was—quite literally—stuck. Below we describe how this was also the case for some incidents that occurred in group—rather than private—settings. Private off-campus settings (harasser's home, car, and hotel room) are remarkable because all of these were highly personal spaces (a car, a home, and a hotel room), spaces the harasser has complete control over and which may be difficult for the target to leave.

Summary of environments and situations associated with sexual harassment. Harassment occurred in a variety of settings on and off-campus. We made a distinction between private and group settings, and noted that most of the incidents took place in group settings when others were present but did not intervene. We offered possible reasons for this inaction. In

addition, we noted that group settings where harassment occurred were those where the harasser was intoxicated and/or the harasser may have been *using the presence of others* to prevent the target from objecting. Harassment also occurred in situations where there was a lack of gender diversity in the workspace. In both private and group settings, harassment also occurred in places where the harasser could prevent the target from physically exiting the situation.

Individual Behaviors

This study was focused primarily on informing more systemic, organizational culture changes, also known as “primary” prevention approaches. However, we discuss briefly some observations we made about target behavior in sexual harassment incidents. To be clear, our purpose in doing so is not to “blame the victim”, but rather to underscore existing concerns about individual-level “risk reduction” approaches to sexual harassment and violence prevention, which our data do not explicitly address. Examples of risk reduction include in-the-moment strategies for addressing sexual harassment and violence as it is happens such as resistance training, the “buddy system,” and rape whistles. Although risk reduction strategies can be useful, ones that can empower individuals to navigate their daily lives, these reactionary strategies have a limited effect on the prevalence of sexual harassment compared to primary prevention approaches, which focus on reducing the occurrence of sexual harassment perpetration in the first place. In addition, risk reduction strategies place the burden for preventing sexual harassment on potential targets rather than on the harassers, and potentially increase the likelihood of shame and self-blame when these strategies are used but ineffective. Therefore, in this section, we demonstrate how individual responses to harassment only go so far in addressing the issue, thereby highlighting the need for a paradigm change, one that promotes the importance of primary prevention strategies for achieving sustainable decreases in the prevalence of harassing behaviors first and foremost. The following are examples of largely ineffective risk-reduction strategies reported by study participants.

Avoidance. Once experiencing initial harassment, some targets responded by trying to avoid the harasser. The incidents showed that this was effective for some, but not others. Even if this response appears to be effective for reducing exposure to the harasser behavior, avoidance as a tactic has other personal consequences: the target must be hyper-vigilant to avoid contact, anxiously scanning their environment and social settings in which contact may occur. There may be negative health and well-being implications for this tactic, producing heightened stress and anxiety on the job. Ultimately, this tactic does not address the problem. Moreover, in some cases, complete avoidance is simply not possible.

Reporting. Our data also speak to how the act of formally reporting behaviors affects the probability of future harassment. Although reporting is an attempt to stop the harassment directly, our data corroborate media and other reports that reporting can be ineffective. For example, in one incident, a group of female students came forward to report a male faculty member who was harassing them and other women in class. The students were invited to

discuss the incidents with the Department Chair, who acknowledged the situation but did not appear to take any disciplinary action. Similarly, one male undergraduate formally reported an incident to the Office for the Prevention of Harassment and Discrimination (OPHD) but felt that the University became increasingly distant in their communications with him. He felt that the University purposely drew out the investigation process in order to deter him. Ultimately, the male undergraduate harasser was found innocent on 2 of 3 charges against him due to "insufficient evidence" and guilty on 1 of the charges. He was subsequently assigned a one-page disciplinary essay. Apparently, the harasser is now in a position of authority on campus. Quite a few other study participants stated that they made a conscious decision *not* to report the incident because they did not think the harassment would be appropriately resolved. Moreover, they believed reporting would result in a lack of support and social and professional retaliation.

Denial. We learned that observers and those who heard about sexual harassment incidents did recognize the behaviors as harassment at the time of the incident more often than did the targets.[14] Specifically, 3 of 20 targets who described an incident were unsure as to whether the incident "counts" as harassment, whereas all of the observers or people who heard about sexual harassment incidents interpreted these incidents as harassment. Other researchers have have presented similar findings (e.g,. Ilies et al., 2003) Taken together these data speak to the weight of social and professional forces that contribute to psychological coping strategies such as minimization and self-blame among sexual harassment targets. To elaborate, we know from social science research that people sometimes cope with sexual harassment and violence by telling themselves that "It wasn't a big deal and/or by assuming that they themselves are somehow responsible for what happened (Cortina & Wasti, 2005). Self-blame, in particular, is a root cause of the shame that many targets experience in response to sexual harassment and violence, and cultural assumptions that targets are somehow complicit in these experiences exacerbate these feelings of shame.

Some Recommendations for Improving Prevention

The purpose of this study was to gather information about risk factors that could be addressed by future sexual harassment prevention efforts in academic institutions of higher education. Below we offer some recommendations for prevention strategies based on the data collected as a part of this study. These recommendations provided here are loosely defined as *organization*-directed, meaning these strategies focus on changing organizational and/or departmental policies and practices. Following this section, we briefly discuss bystander training, a type of *person*-directed approach that focuses on changing the behaviors of bystanders from passive onlookers into active allies. We do not discuss harasser-focused sexual harassment training given this report's focus on contextual factors. In addition, we refrain

[14] A higher proportion of observers and those who heard about the incident (5 out of 8 and 6 out of 15) indicated that they recognized the behavior(s) as harassment at the time of the incident compared to targets (6 of 20).

from discussing personal safety strategies because the focus of this study is on informing primary prevention efforts rather than risk reduction. Also, as noted above, in many cases, these personal strategies were ineffective and/or can be seen as placing blame on the target, especially if suggested to the exclusion of other strategies.

Organizationally-Directed Prevention Strategies

Below we offer several suggestions for organizational policies and practices that may help prevent sexual harassment from occurring. It is our hope that these policies and practices will ultimately instill organizational values that cultivate a culture of respect and civility. That said, we recognize that some of these practices could be difficult to implement given limited resources and other structural, social, and political barriers in academic departments[15] and the campus community more broadly. We also acknowledge that some of these policies may not be effective or feasible in certain situations. Nevertheless, we hope that these suggestions can at least provide a starting point for discussion of these issues. Of note, we would like to emphasize that policies are more likely to be observed—and effective—when written and posted (on web sites, bulletin boards, etc.) and when communicated widely and frequently (via emails, department meetings, in classes, etc.).

1. **Increase the transparency of one-on-one meetings.** Many of the sexual harassment incidents on campus occurred or started in private settings such as faculty office spaces. We suggest making some structural changes to these spaces to increase transparency. For example, an "open-door-meeting" policy could require a door to be open while a meeting is conducted. Similarly, the policy could require that meetings be held in rooms with hallway-facing windows or transparent glass. Removal of couches from faculty offices might also be included in the policy.

2. **Avoid or limit serving alcohol at department events.** Alcohol was also a factor in several incidents, particularly at department-sponsored social events, celebrations, and conferences. We do not mean to imply that everyone who drinks alcohol is more likely to harass someone. However, the connection between intoxication and aggressive behavior such as sexual harassment in general is well-established (Bushman & Cooper, 1990). In the workplace, alcohol consumption may predispose individuals to be more aggressive in their relations with coworkers (Ames, Grube, & Moore, 1997; Mangione et al., 1999), as a link has been established between employee drinking and sexual harassment as a particular form of workplace aggression (Bacharach, Bamberger, & McKinney, 2007).[16] In addition, research suggests that perpetrators may use alcohol consumption as an excuse for sexually inappropriate behavior (Abbey, Ross, McDuffie,

[15] Academic departments can refer to specific departments (such as Department of Psychology), schools, colleges, and research units whose members include faculty, staff, and students and/or post-docs.
[16] We do not imply that knowing alcohol's contribution to sexual violence and harassment diminishes the perpetrator's responsibility. Rather, we suggest that people are responsible for the assaults and harassment they commit, regardless of whether or not they were under the influence of alcohol.

& McAuslan, 1996; Kanin, 1984). That is, some people may purposely get drunk when they want to act sexually aggressive.

One obvious option therefore is to avoid serving alcohol at most or all department-sponsored events. We assume this would be an unpopular option, and it would only address intoxication on campus. If it is unreasonable to completely eliminate alcohol at events, another approach is to limit alcohol intake such as using a drink ticket-system where people are afforded no more than a specified number of drinks. Similarly, alcoholic beverage offerings could be those limited to low alcohol content.

3. **Implement a policy for shaping the faculty-students interactions in off-campus settings.** In this study, harassment that occurred in private off-campus settings happened in places such as the harasser's home or hotel rooms. These personal, unsupervised spaces present unique structural challenges relative to other types of settings. We therefore suggest implementing a policy that deals with off-campus settings—especially privates ones—such as making department-specific gatherings in private homes or hotels publicly-known to remove the secrecy of such invitations, and clarifying the hosts' responsibilities for maintaining a safe and harassment-free environment in off-campus settings. Departments could also make it a policy to provide students with secure, alternative transportation to or from department-sponsored events, faculty-sponsored events, or conferences where students may need a ride but do not want to accept it from a faculty member.[17] The department could also offer funding where students can apply for money to pay for hotel rooms for school- or academic-related travel (conferences, school clubs, club sports tournaments, etc.).

4. **Talk about street harassment and cultural norms during new student orientation.** If not already included, it might be helpful to heighten awareness of the potential for street harassment in campus settings. This information could be a useful initiative to increase awareness for new students coming to campus from a non-urban environment or foreign country. In addition, there was at least one incident where an international student (the target) was questioning the appropriateness of a faculty member's behavior (the harasser). In this particular incident, the student was able to check with a faculty member who confirmed that his behavior was inappropriate; however, not everyone may be able to do so. We therefore suggest that, in an effort to protect students, new student orientation (or similar educational awareness initiatives) set expectations for what types of exchanges are normative and appropriate in U.S. culture and which ones are not—particularly concerning faculty-student relationships, which our data revealed are relatively prone to harassment.

[17] A model for alternative transportation is the Alameda guaranteed ride home program found here: http://grh.alamedactc.org/

5. **Train a staff member in each department (e.g., Architecture) or group of related departments (e.g., College of Environmental Design) to serve as a local model, educator, and personal resource.** We know from our data that targets were frequently harassed by faculty in their own department and by staff to a lesser extent. To supplement the sexual harassment training required on campus, we suggest that each department consider training a person who could serve as a knowledgeable, local model, educator, and advisor on matters related to respectful conduct for individuals in each department. This local expert would take on this role in addition to regular professional duties (within reason) to ensure the consistency with which poor conduct is understood and prevent it.

   First, as a model and educator, this person would be trained on ways of embodying positive, non-harassing social interactions to be emulated by others in that school or college, including deep knowledge of effective bystander intervention. As an example, the peer, going about their everyday business, may see an opportunity to teach a colleague about non-harassing communication as part of the effort to create a more inclusive and respectful environment. As such, this person would be trained to be more vocal with peers about how their actions and language are impacting people around them, including modeling effective bystander intervention (see section below). This person could also proactively provide individuals in that department with access to educational and training materials. For example, the peer may make an announcement in their all-hands meetings about a new resource or training people could attend. This person could also make individuals aware of the PATH to Care Center and Center and its various resources and support mechanisms, including the availability of confidential advocates.

   Second, as a local advisor, this person would be trained on how to provide advice and direct people to the right resources for help (e.g., the PATH to Care Center). Unlike the PATH to Care Center advocates, this person would not serve the role as confidential counsel, but would assist people with understanding their experiences prior to behavior escalating. Having a more informal advisor available locally may more effectively prevent incidents of sexual harassment by assessing the situation if needed in a timely fashion before they are referred to the PATH to Care Center. Also, this person could advise the department on how to be compliant with policy and providing managers with tools for addressing sexual harassment risks in their environment (see below).

6. **Administer a departmental assessment:** Similar to ergonomic and occupational health and safety checklists, we also suggest that departments periodically assess their sexual harassment risk and prevention factors. This assessment could list some of the factors identified in this report as well as any other factors deemed relevant through other efforts. For example, departments could assess whether spaces are structured to increase transparency, whether they have a direct link to reporting and other resources on their web sites, and whether limits are placed on alcohol consumption at

department-sponsored events. The assessment would ideally be administered by a trained professional (see the above recommendation) and then the specific results shared with the department along with an explanation of the importance of making any necessary adjustments. Doing so would help leadership to understand the current status of risk and prevention efforts, including areas for improvement.

Bystander Training

We observed that, in the majority of incidents involving bystanders, they did not act. Thus, we believe there may be great potential for improvements to bystander training in higher education environments. In a previous section, we explored several reasons for why people did not act. In a few situations, bystanders stated being unsure of whether they should intervene based on their understanding of the behavior involved in the incident. We also surmised that, in other incidents, such as those involving street harassment, bystanders may have questioned how they could intervene and de-escalate the situation without causing harm to themselves.

We also observed that in a couple of incidents some observers mistakenly assumed that the behaviors (e.g., a back massage) were wanted. Related, at least one observer stated that they did not realize the person was uncomfortable because the person did not say anything to the harasser. Bystander training might address these issues by providing verbal prompts and scripts for those situations where they are unsure of whether and how to approach the situation. Bystanders could also be taught how to intervene safely (e.g., by approaching potentially dangerous harassers in a group rather than alone or by alerting appropriate authorities).

We also observed that some harassment occurred in professional settings (e.g., departmental holiday parties, conference social events). People were startled or shocked by the harasser's inappropriate behavior, and this led to inaction from bystanders. Accordingly, bystander training might also teach people to expect and label harassment in *any* setting, including social-professional ones. Doing so may reduce the tendency of onlookers to "freeze" when observing a colleague who is being harassed because they did not necessarily expect the behavior to occur. Relatedly, it is also possible that these non-interventions represented instances of the *bystander effect*, a well-researched social psychological principle that says the presence of others discourages bystanders from intervening (Darley & Latane, 1968). This phenomenon can occur for a number of reasons, including so-called diffusion of responsibility (i.e., people assume someone else will intervene, so no one does) and due to the power of social influence (i.e., people look to others around them for clues on how to (not) act in a situation).

Ultimately, more effective bystander intervention is an important antecedent to—and also product of—the kind of culture change needed in higher education in order to effectively prevent sexual harassment through primary prevention. Bystander training has increasingly been a topic of research, and we suggest drawing from this growing body of research to learn more about why people do not intervene in order to deliver more effective bystander training. Below we

provide links and references to key articles, both lay and academic, that summarize organizational psychology and management research on this topic:

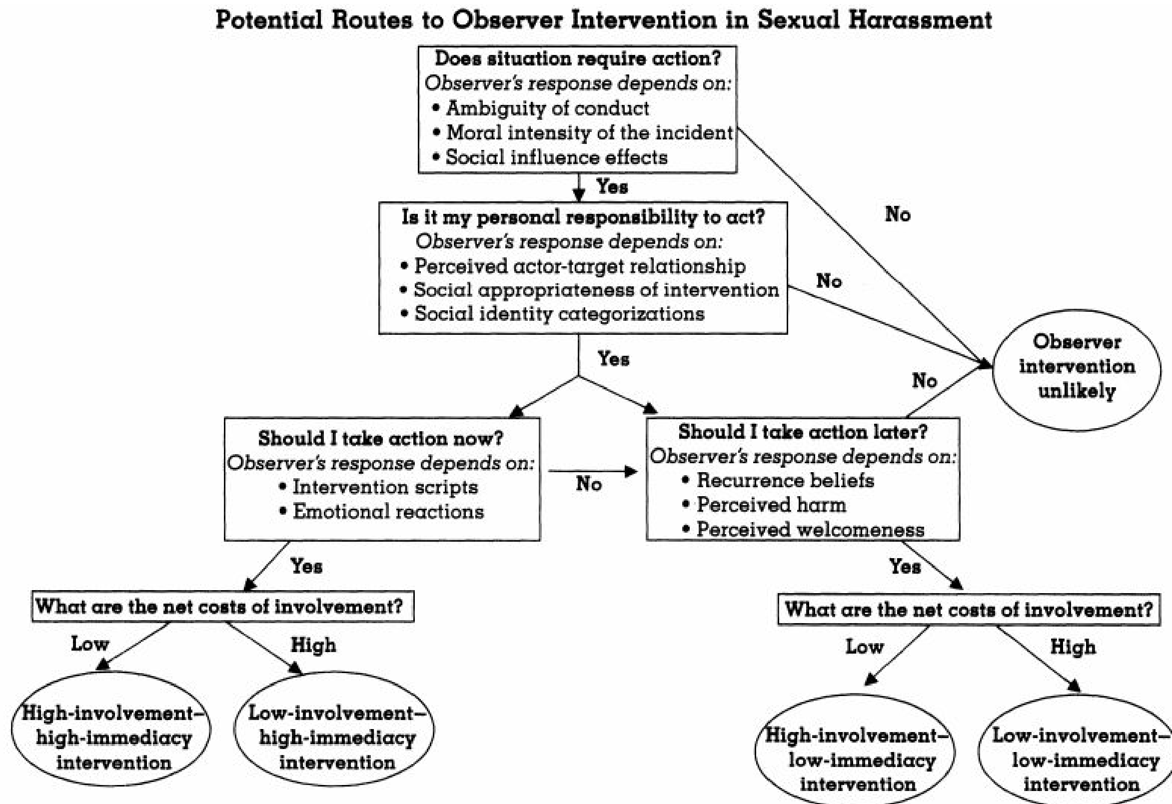
2018 *Harvard Business Review* article, To Combat Harassment, More Companies Should Try Bystander Training:"
https://hbr.org/2018/10/to-combat-harassment-more-companies-should-try-bystander-training

2017 *New York Times* article, "Sexual Harassment Training Doesn't Work, but Some Things Do:"
https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/11/upshot/sexual-harassment-workplace-prevention-effective.html

Bowes-Sperry, L., & O'Leary-Kelly, A. M. (2005). To act or not to act: The dilemma faced by sexual harassment observers. *Academy of Management Review*, *30*(2), 288-306.

- Authors summarize the literature on sexual harassment bystander intervention and, in doing so, offer a typology of observer intervention behaviors based on immediacy of the intervention and observers' level of involvement. In addition, the authors illustrate a decision tree (see below[18]) that depicts the sequence of decisions observers make when observing harassment and considering intervention.

[18] Please do not distribute these images, which are copyrighted by the journals in which they were published.



Ashburn-Nardo, L., Morris, K. A., & Goodwin, S. A. (2008). The confronting prejudiced responses (CPR) model: Applying CPR in organizations. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, *7*(3), 332-342.

- Authors explain some of the social and psychological reasons people often do not intervene when faced with discriminatory behaviors at work, and provide practical suggestions for increasing the likelihood of intervention by taking these factors into account (e.g., by making confronting harassment a part of a person's work role as suggested in the recommendations above and by providing people with opportunities to practice confrontation, therefore increasing perceptions of efficacy and behavioral intentions to confront).

O'Reilly, J., & Aquino, K. (2011). A model of third parties' morally motivated responses to mistreatment in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, *36*(3), 526-543.

- Authors offer an integrative explanation of why and how some employees decide to intervene when witnessing organizational injustices (which includes harassment). Specifically, the authors draw from theory and research to suggest that individuals' moral identity and perceptions of personal power can reinforce or alternatively, detract from helping behaviors. As the authors explain, these ideas have implications for how

bystander training can increase helping behaviors by making people more sensitive to moral violations and to their own personal power.

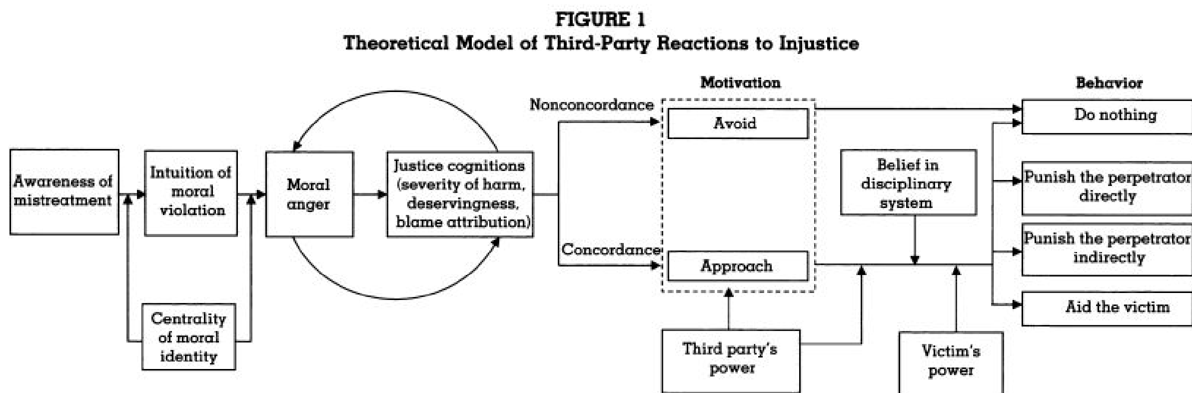


FIGURE 1
Theoretical Model of Third-Party Reactions to Injustice

Study Limitations and Future Directions

This study has several limitations that could be addressed by future studies. First, our results are limited to the information provided by the 43 incidents we were able to collect from the campus community. Although qualitative studies can involve smaller sample sizes and still produce reliable results, this can be seen as a limitation of this study because we were interested in splitting the data into subgroups based on shared characteristics. Specifically, we initially sought to stratify the sample by University role, level within role (associate professor, assistant professor, full professor, emeriti professor, adjunct professor, or lecturer for the faculty group, supervisory or non-supervisory for the staff group, and undergraduates graduates for the student group), gender identity, and sexual orientation to identify possible patterns within and across subgroups. However, with zero or only a small number of individuals representing many of the subgroups, conducting such analyses could have produced misleading, spurious results such as false positives. For example, we were interested in understanding the experiences of LGBTIQ+ targets, as some research indicates that sexual orientation and gender identity minorities are more likely to experience sexual harassment compared to their heterosexual and cis-gender peers (Hill & Silva, 2005; Kearl, 2018). However, only three of the incidents collected involved LGBTIQ+ targets. Therefore, we were unable to make meaningful comparisons across subgroups based on the data collected.

Second, we cannot conclude causation from the data collected, as threats to internal validity (i.e., claims of cause and effect) are best addressed by more rigorous experimental study designs. Instead, the current, qualitative study can be seen as a guide to theory and an initial precursor to future causal research studies attempting to isolate specific, cause and effect relationships.

Third, we based our interpretations on the perceptions of a single individual involved in the incident. Although participants were exposed to the same series of questions, people may have read the same question/question set differently, leading some participants to describe information that others may not have included. Therefore, we may not have received all of the contextual details, which could have influenced our interpretation of factors facilitating harassment. Ideally we would have received full responses from participants and collected information from all of the individuals involved in a single incident (i.e., all observers, targets, and harassers). These challenges are, of course, inherent to social science research, and future research should aim to triangulate these findings using multiple data collection methods.

Despite these limitations, we believe this study represents a relatively in-depth initial attempt to build a foundation of knowledge surrounding how and—to some extent—why sexual harassment occurs in academic institutions of higher education. Further, we used this data collection method at this stage in the research process because personal stories can lend itself well to generating suggestions for improving prevention efforts as described above.

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Appendix

Description of Incidents

Type of Harassment	
SH	37
HWE	*34*
QPQ	*2*
HWE & QPQ	*1*
SH & SV	3
HWE	*3*
QPQ	*0*
Other*	3
	43

Participant's Relationship to Incident	
Target	20
Heard from target	15
Observer	8
Harasser	0
	43

Target's Gender	
Female	39
Male	3
Non-binary	0
Mixed group	1
Missing	0
	43

Harasser's Gender	
Female	2
Male	41
Non-binary	0
Mixed group	0
Missing	0
	43

Target's Sexual Orientation	
Unknown/Missing	11
Heterosexual	28
Gay/Lesbian	1
Non-Monosexual	2
	43

Harasser's Sexual Orientation	
Unknown/Missing	12
Heterosexual	29
Gay/Lesbian	2
Non-Monosexual	0
	43

Target's University Role		
Undergraduate student		10
Graduate student/postdoc		15
Staff		14
*Subordinate/Peer^*	*13*	
Supervisor	*1*	
Faculty		0
Other		3
Missing/Unknown		2
		44**

Harasser's University Role		
Undergraduate student		4
Graduate student/postdoc		6
Staff		8
*Subordinate/Peer^*	*8*	
Supervisor	*0*	
Faculty		22
Other		1
Missing/Unknown		2
		43

Time Course	
Isolated	23
Ongoing	20
	43

Broad Location (incident)	
UC Berkeley	32
Other Institution	11
	43

Specific Location (instances)+		
On Campus		30
Classroom	*3*	
Office/Private space	*14*	
Lab	*5*	
Other	*8*	
Off-Campus		16
Conferences	*5*	
Dept Social Events	*3*	
Restaurant	*2*	
Other	*6*	
Virtual		2
		48

Bystanders		
Bystanders Present		25
Aware, Intervened	*5*	
Aware, Did not intervene	*18*	
Not aware	*2*	
Bystanders Not Present		14
Unclear		4
		43

Note. SH = Sexual Harassment; SV = Sexual Violence; QPQ = Quid Pro Quo forms of harassment; HWE = hostile work environment.

*These included an invasion of sexual privacy, unwelcome use of a sexual metaphor to describe a professional collaboration, and an unwelcome comment made about another non-present person's romantic attraction.
**For one incident the targets were both staff and a graduate student.
^This refers to incidents where the target and harasser were peer staff members (i.e., one was not subordinate to the other).
+Nearly half of the incidents collected described ongoing harassment instead of isolated instances.