Efforts to prevent sexual harassment in academia

An international research review

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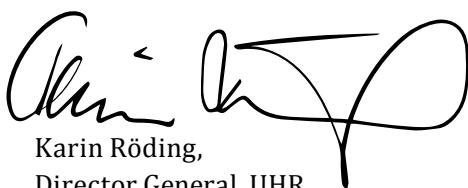An international research review

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Foreword

In the autumn of 2017, the #MeToo movement raised, or revived, the general public's awareness of issues related to gender equality, equal treatment and sexual harassment. There is a risk of sexual harassment in educational institutions, which by their very nature entail various forms of interdependencies between individuals, and whose activities are not entirely transparent. For these reasons, knowledge about mechanisms and methods to counter sexual harassment is needed because no student or employee of a Swedish higher education institution should need to be subjected to discrimination or harassment of any kind.

The assignment that the Swedish Council for Higher Education (UHR) received from the Swedish government – to report on the efforts of Sweden's higher education institutions to prevent sexual harassment, as well as what they do when they are made aware of suspected sexual harassment, and to present good examples of this work – is therefore particularly important for increasing and spreading knowledge about the underlying mechanisms of sexual harassment and effective ways of working to prevent the incidence of sexual harassment.

In order to permit a research-based analysis of the efforts of Sweden's higher education institutions in this regard, and to identify examples of best practice from other countries, within the terms of reference of its government assignment, UHR commissioned a research review of international and Swedish research on the prevention of sexual harassment in academia from the Swedish Secretariat for Gender Research at the University of Gothenburg. The research review was carried out by Maja Lundqvist, Analyst, and Fredrik Bondestam, Director of the Swedish Secretariat for Gender Research. The conclusions in this report are those of the authors.

UHR supports the work of higher education institutions to increase diversity, ensure equal rights and opportunities in higher education, and to prevent discrimination of all kinds. Preventing and dealing with sexual harassment is an important and difficult task for Swedish higher education institutions, and in this context, UHR has an opportunity to contribute by providing support based on the knowledge gained from its now completed investigation, in which this research review is an important component.

Karin Röding,
Director General, UHR

Summary

This research review has five chapters with slightly differing structures depending on the research presented. The first three chapters aim to describe the international research into the most common aspects of sexual harassment prevention efforts, i.e. policy, education and training, and complaint handling and support structures. The fourth chapter looks at the more recent area of bystanders, and the report ends with a chapter on organisations and leadership.

Policy: Research shows that for policy to be applied and serve a purpose, efforts need to take on the culture of academia, be based on lived experiences of harassment, place sexual harassment in a context, and be combined with knowledge, a mandate to act, resources and active case management, in accord with continuing education and training and communication initiatives. This research review gives a general picture that there is an established discourse concerning why a policy to prevent sexual harassment or something equivalent should exist, what it should contain, and how it should be implemented. At the same time, it appears that a bureaucratically legitimised policy process that implements the efforts that are expected by the legal frameworks do not have an impact on under-reporting, nor do they reduce the incidence of sexual harassment, or lead to a greater rate of reporting.

Education and training: Education and training also appears in the material as a common measure for preventing sexual harassment, while the gap between having knowledge of what sexual harassment is and acting in a different way (the knowing-doing gap) is significant. In the planning, design and content of training initiatives, the specific conditions for preventing sexual harassment that exist within the organisation ought to be taken into account, such as the organisation's active and passive resistance to change in general, and knowledge about violence and forms of harassment in the organisation more specifically. The support of senior management, a well-developed organisation for preventive efforts and their associated training efforts, and the active participation of other managers in preventive efforts have emerged as key to how well training initiatives work.

Complaint handling and support structures: Effective complaint handling and support structures are fundamental in victims of sexual harassment being able to access the help they need. However, there is a lack of research-based evaluations of actual procedures for dealing with complaints at universities and other higher education institutions. There is evidence in the research that only a minority of victims of sexual harassment report it, which raises the question of what type of support is needed and where such support should be provided in order to eliminate the negative psychological and physical consequences of sexual harassment. In recent research, a number of models point to the importance of the establishment of support structures for those who have suffered sexual harassment, in principle regardless

of whether actual procedures for complaint handling exist, and if so, regardless of whether they are functioning well or not.

Bystanders: Recently, knowledge about bystanders has emerged in this research field as a result of a number of large intervention studies pointing to positive results in relation to reducing the incidence of sexual harassment. The knowledge that, through inaction, the majority risk contributing to the normalisation of sexual harassment shows the importance of including bystanders in all aspects of preventive efforts, for example in policies and education and training. Systematic training of bystanders at a higher education institution, in line with the results from large impact studies, reduces the incidence of sexual harassment by up to 30 per cent.

Organisations and leadership: Research on organisations, leadership and sexual harassment shows that passive leadership increases the risk for both male and female employees of being subjected to sexual harassment, while clear, active leadership prevents sexual harassment. Organisations that provide good opportunities for combining family life and working life and secure forms of employment reduce the risk of sexual harassment. Thus, organisations and their leadership play a fundamental role in preventive efforts. Well-integrated, structurally egalitarian workplaces where women and men have an equal share in power and leadership also tend to prevent sexual harassment.

All in all, the review of the international research field gives a picture of efforts to prevent sexual harassment as primarily a bureaucratic and legal exercise, with little or no evidence of the significance of these efforts for individual victims of sexual harassment. Preventive efforts consist primarily of measures linked to policy, education and training, complaint handling and support structures. In the material, these measures come across as a 'package solution' despite the absence of research-based evidence that these measures have had any real impact on the incidence of harassment in academia in the close to 50 years that the research field has existed. In the research on prevention, the link to knowledge about violence and the prevention of violence is tenuous and the perspective of the perpetrator is conspicuous – as in much of this field in general – by its absence. The majority of the studies consist of small cross-sectional studies, while longitudinal comparative studies, evaluation research and follow-up studies are in the minority. Research on bystanders' stands out as a relatively new field, with interesting implications for preventive efforts. The need to include knowledge and research from adjacent fields such as organisation theory in research on efforts to prevent sexual harassment in academia emerges clearly from the studied material. For academia as a type of organisation, there are specific aspects that need to be addressed, including how various forms of governance (neoliberal and collegiate management) can interact in preventive efforts, and the ways in which competition for funding and positions, available career paths, qualifications systems and a hierarchical relationship between research, education and administration risks inadvertently facilitating harassment.

Introduction

Background

Gender-based harassment is the most common form of harassment in academia. Sexual harassment occurs within all disciplines and is reported by all groups (students, doctoral students and staff). In Swedish surveys, four to 26 per cent of women and two to six per cent of men state that they have experienced sexual harassment. In international studies, the figures reported are generally higher. Being subjected to sexual harassment has physical, psychological and professional consequences for individuals such as anxiety, depression, physical pain, diminished career opportunities, reduced motivation and breaking off studies or career abandonment. The majority of victims do not make formal complaints about these incidents.

Sexual harassment in academia has existed as an international research field since the 1970s.[1] The research has focused on the incidence and consequences of sexual harassment for victims, and over time changes can be discerned, for example, concerning the law, discrimination and the individual as well as how redress and conciliation are viewed. In Sweden, the incidence of sexual harassment in the workplace in general is relatively well documented, but knowledge about the situation in the higher education sector has been neglected. The research field in Sweden consists mainly of cross-sectional studies, foremost from the 1990s, and a few qualitative studies from the early 2000s. In general it can be said that, in the last decade, stagnation has been a feature of the research as well as policy and practice in this field in the Swedish higher education sector.[2]

The present report focuses on research on efforts to prevent sexual harassment in academia and what higher education institutions do when they are made aware of sexual harassment. This report also functions as a research-based complement to the task given to Swedish Council for Higher Education (UHR) by the Swedish government to shed light on efforts to prevent sexual harassment in Swedish higher education institutions.

About the task

In 2018, the Swedish government decided that Sweden's higher education institutions would be required to promote their efforts to prevent and combat sexual harassment. At the same time, it was decided that UHR would be tasked with compiling and reporting on the efforts of Sweden's higher education institutions to prevent sexual harassment and their work once they

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1. Safran (1976).
2. The text is based on Bondestam & Lundqvist (2018), which gives a more detailed account of the background to this research field in Sweden and abroad and its general tendencies and principal findings.

had become aware of suspected incidents of sexual harassment. This task also included identifying examples of good practice and spreading information about these.

UHR has commissioned the Swedish Secretariat for Gender Research at the University of Gothenburg to conduct a research review of Swedish and international research related to efforts to prevent sexual harassment in academia. The following focus and limitations for this research review were stipulated by UHR in dialogue with the Secretariat:

- How do higher education institutions in Sweden and abroad prevent sexual harassment?
  - Identify good examples from Sweden and abroad of preventive interventions that have been evaluated, which are likely to come primarily from international publications.
- How do higher education institutions in Sweden and abroad respond when they become aware of suspected cases of sexual harassment?
  - Identify good examples from Sweden and abroad of evaluated ways of responding when a higher education institution has become aware of suspected sexual harassment. Here too, these examples will likely come primarily from international publications.
- Working life
  - Identify good examples from Sweden and abroad of evaluated preventive interventions in organisations in working life in general.
  - Identify good examples from Sweden and abroad of evaluated ways of responding in working life in general when organisations become aware of suspected cases of sexual harassment.
  - This part of the survey is limited to activities of relevance (public sector activities heavily focused on professionals, government agencies, semi-academic organisations, etc.). This will largely be about identifying similarities in governance, organisation, composition and program logic in general to be applicable.
- This task is to cover:
  - Sexual harassment according to its definition in Sweden's *diskrimineringslagen* (Discrimination Act) and its legislative history.
  - To the extent relevant, this task is also to cover harassment according to its definition in the Discrimination Act, as well as evidence-based perspectives on the incidence of sexual harassment in academia, if directly relevant to prevention and interventions in established cases of sexual harassment.
- Intersectional dimensions ought to be taken into account.
- Specification of the types of publications to be included:
  - Peer reviewed scholarly articles.
  - Reports, monographs and anthologies that have been reviewed.
  - Relevant reports by government agencies or similar publications deemed to be of good quality.

This task has been carried out by Fredrik Bondestam, PhD in sociology and director, and Maja Lundqvist, MA in gender studies and analyst, both of the Swedish Secretariat for Gender Research at the University of Gothenburg.

Definitions and limitations

In view of the nature of this report – to provide an overview of what the research in the field says – the term sexual harassment in academia needs to accommodate a number of different definitions depending on how it is used in the research that forms the basis of this research review. The majority of the articles summarised in this report are based on the prevailing legal definitions of sexual harassment in each country, but a number also go beyond these definitions to include experiences of harassment that do not fit within the legal definitions.

The lack of a uniform definition of preventive efforts in the research field follows the same logic. The research field's understanding of what preventive efforts are and can be is of interest for the report's conclusions and may therefore guide its content, rather than its content being limited by a clear, predefined understanding. However, preventive efforts, as well as research about these efforts, often emanate from prevailing ideas about crime prevention and violence prevention, which is divided into primary, secondary and tertiary prevention.[3] In other words, the research field has a very broad focus on policy and education and training (primary), complaints procedures and complaint handling systems (secondary), and various forms of support structures for victims of sexual harassment (tertiary). In addition to this, we have chosen to include a particular focus on organisation and management as structural factors that are important for prevention.

The task description states that reports, monographs and anthologies that have been reviewed, and relevant government agency reports or the like which are deemed to be of good quality, are to be included. Two problems with this have been identified: it is difficult within the scope of the task to evaluate the quality of these texts; and it is often unclear to what extent parts of such material are research-based. In previous overviews of the research on sexual harassment in the workplace, it is not uncommon for there to be a direct mix-up between peer-reviewed publications and those that are not.[4] This is usually a consequence of wanting to be able to compile any relevant material at all, since texts about preventive efforts in the national context are few (particularly in Sweden and the other Nordic countries) and because sufficient pains have not been taken in the search processes applied to cover the whole of the current international research field. Thus, in the absence of relevant material, this type of mixed quality of publications occurs. For this research review, the authors have surveyed the international research field of sexual harassment in academia as a whole (for more information, see the next section).

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3. See for example Butchart (2004).
4. See for example DO (2012).

About the search process

At an early stage of the search process – conducted by KvinnSam at the University of Gothenburg Library, and aiming for a total list of relevant international publications without limits on the publication year – a great many synonyms for the term "sexual harassment" were identified.[5] These were excluded as the number of hits was deemed not manageable for this task. Initially, research linked to forms of harassment other than just sexual harassment were also of interest, more specifically harassment linked to the grounds of discrimination listed in Sweden's Discrimination Act. These also had to be excluded for the same reason. However, many of these studies have an intersectional perspective or use an additive model in relation to grounds of discrimination, which means that such knowledge perspectives are in fact represented in the material. With the aid of various search techniques however, it was possible to design a search so that the term "sexual harassment" and for example harassment on the basis of sexual orientation were included by designing the search as follows: sexual* AND harass*.

In our sources, we have included both multidisciplinary databases and discipline-specific databases. Scopus and Web of Science (WoS) belong to the first category and are heavily weighted towards natural science subjects. Databases with more of a social sciences orientation, and which are assumed to be relevant to the topic, are Sociological abstracts and the Gender Studies Database. In some of the searches, education studies databases have been included, since they often contain publications about higher education, and this was deemed to be relevant for searches concerning sexual harassment within academia only. Search strings used

- *English*: (("sexual harass*" *OR* (harass* AND sex*)) *AND* (universit* OR college* *OR* academ* *OR* "higher education" *OR* work* *OR* organisation*)) *NOT* (child* *OR* school*)
- *Swedish*: (("sexuella trakass*" *OR* (trakass* AND sex*)) *AND* (universit* OR högskol* *OR* akadem* *OR* "högre utbild*" *OR* arbet* *OR* organisation*))

In the Swedish translation, the last part of the search string *NOT* (child* *OR* school*) was not included since these words in Swedish databases gave the same quantity of unwanted hits as in WoS and Scopus. The English version of the search string was used in all the specified databases. In Nordic databases, an additional search was conducted where the search string was translated into the relevant Nordic language. All in all, the searches resulted in a total of 5,561 unique records. A detailed description of the entire search process is set out in Annex 1.

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5. Examples of synonymous terms that were excluded are "sexual assault", "sexual abuse", "sexual violence", "rape" and the like.

Structure of the report

Firstly, the task, its definitions and limitations are described, along with the process used to search for scholarly publications for this research review. Then follows the analysis of five identified themes: policy, education and training, complaint handling and support structures, bystanders, and organisations and leadership. Each section contains a review of relevant research publications along with a brief summary and analysis.

Finally, the content of the report as a whole is summarised, followed by an in-depth analysis, list of references, and the annexes.

Thematic analysis

The purpose of the task – to compile a research review of the international research field on efforts to prevent sexual harassment in academia – sets the framework for this analysis. On reading and conducting searches in the material as a whole (N=5,561) a number of themes in the field emerged that recurred and framed the research questions and research objects well. These themes reflect an understanding of preventive efforts that is in line with a well-established understanding of the chain of prevention (primary, secondary and tertiary prevention), and consist of policy, education and training, complaint handling, and support structures. In addition to these themes, this chapter concludes with the headings *Bystanders* and *Organisations and leadership*, which highlight interesting paths for the future development of preventive efforts that emerged from the material.

Policy

Research on sexual harassment, academia and policy is relatively comprehensive. There were about 600 hits in this area in our total list for the research field, which consisted of 5,561 records (see *About the search process*). But the majority of these are not studies of policy *per se* but instead they are generally routine recommendations for the content of policy which, in the Swedish context, hardly add any new knowledge. Twenty-seven records had direct relevance to the research review, since in various ways these studies analysed the implications of policy and policy processes on sexual harassment in academia (including related organisations and in some cases research-based anthologies meant more as guidance, but still of good quality in the context). In addition, these studies span a number of disciplines, countries (even if the USA dominates), higher education institutions, and organisational levels, and also represent a relatively large spread concerning how the term is understood and perspectives on policy *per se*. Another aspect that is common to the 27 records is that they all have solid empirical material, clear purposes and findings. Another way to describe these records is that they can be divided into studies that (a) descriptively argue for policy as an effective instrument for prevention, (b) analyse concrete implementation processes, (c) study the relationship between the policy perspective and understandings of sex, class, and ethnicity, as well as (d) other more limited studies of specific policy-related issues.

A somewhat different picture emerges when dividing these studies into themes purely from the research perspective, which means reading the field

based on the researchers' choices of epistemology, methodological approach and empirical material, and this is the picture reported on below.[6]

The leading studies are referenced within the following themes:

- *Comparative studies* (which compare policy between different countries)
- *National studies* (which analyse the implementation of policy nationally)
- *Descriptive studies* (which only describe the format, content, and relevance of policy)
- *Theory-driven studies* (which expressly use specific theoretical approaches to policy)
- *Cross-sectional studies* (which analyse policy and the implementation of policy in a particular situation in a particular organisation)
- *Bottom-up perspectives* (which analyse either the implementation process, taking the activity itself as their starting point, or base the analysis on the policy user's understandings of the policy)
- *Insider perspectives* (are an aspect of the previous heading, but deal more particularly with the perspectives of practitioners working in the sexual harassment field who produce research on the policy processes they themselves have been responsible for).

Initially, the ambition was to summarise the main findings and recommendations from *the entire* research field, but in view of its size, variation and contextuality, this cannot be done without doing too great violence to relevant nuances. Instead, for each theme we have selected a main article and written down the most important lessons learned from that study and/or similar studies. For each theme, this provides an analytical commentary on how the main findings and conclusions can be interpreted and applied.

This section therefore describes one main text per theme, with references to a number of other similar texts where relevant, for the purpose of orienting the reader in the key references. The section that follows summarises the main findings, followed by an analytical commentary on research into policy implementation.

Comparative studies

Zippel, K. 2003. Practices of implementation of sexual harassment policies: Individual versus collective strategies. *Review of Policy Research, 20*: 175-197.

The aim of this study was to make a comparative analysis of cross-national variation in policy profiles, that is, to shed light on how contextual conditions shape policy and its implementation through a comparison between two countries. The study draws on theories in Feminist Policy Studies (FPS) and

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6. In this analysed material there are approximately 20 "manuals" (based on research to varying degrees) of good quality from the first decade of the twenty-first century, all from the USA, which have thus not been referenced further. These are primarily manuals for managers and case managers on policy, complaints, etc. See for example Paludi (2016), which is a research-based, very practical anthology on the implementation of policy to prevent sexual harassment in academia among other things. A similar manual of good quality for other public sector organisations is for example Reese (1999).

is based on a document analysis (of legislation, and policies at national and organisational level), a literature analysis (previous research), a case study of two public sector organisations in each country, and interviews with equality officers.[7] Sexual harassment is defined primarily in legal terms, but with the analytical focus on how different meanings are attributed to the concept depending on the cultural context. This is one of the most frequently cited texts in the research field itself, which is apparent from reviewing the lists of references in our selected publications. Zippel's text also constitutes a good overview of the aspects of the research field that deal with policy and sexual harassment in public sector organisations (which includes studies of academia), with a particular focus on comparisons between Germany and the USA. This publication is essentially based on aspects of comparative analysis theory on the one hand, and on the other a political science understanding of the political and ideological similarities and dividing lines between different welfare state regimes.

Zippel establishes two different models for the implementation of policy on sexual harassment: one that is individual-based, and one that is group-based and collectivist. The *individual-based model* (Model 1) is characteristic of the USA and is founded on individual-centred legislation, while the group-based model is characteristic of Germany and is embedded instead in labour law. In the USA, policies have a clear emphasis on individual cases, complaints and lawsuits. The legal rights of the individual consistently go before support to victims. The focus is primarily on sexual harassment as it pertains to the individual and not on its consequences for the work environment and organisation. The *group-based model* (Model 2) in Germany has led to policies driven by political will rather than compliance with the law and therefore, according to Zippel, the implementation of policy has been weak and superficial except in those sectors and organisations where unions and equality officers and similar functions have pursued the issue. The group-based model has a strong focus on collective justice, which has resulted in a gender-neutral understanding of harassment. The text includes an important section in which the author argues the deficiencies of both models and ultimately advocates a third path in the form of a combined model (Model 3). Model 3 aims to protect the rights of women to sexual self-determination and non-discrimination and its stated aim is to change gender-coded workplace cultures. In this model, the emphasis is on processes and measures at both the individual and group level.

Neither the USA nor Germany have had a gender power based model, which would more clearly place the issue of sexual harassment squarely within a gender politics context of questions of men's violence against women, writes Zippel. In Sweden, we have borrowed features of both Model 1 and Model 2, that is, a strong (and growing over time) focus on the rights of the individual as a consequence among other things of Sweden's accommodation of EU legislation, bureaucratisation and neoliberal governance in academia (Model 1),

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7. The same study is described in Zippel (2001). Zippel's doctoral thesis (2006) was based on the same empirical material and its analyses come to more or less similar conclusions.

as well as a (blind) faith in the social partners and their ability to deal with conflicts in the workplace, along with work environment legislation in which there is no duty of care requiring trenchant interventions (Model 2). Model 3, as Zippel argues it, is Sweden in a nutshell, but over time clear elements of Model 1 have crept in. These models are so interesting in fact – especially since they can form the starting point for how policy should be addressed and implemented more generally in academia – that they are included in their entirety in Annex 2.

Some other comparative studies in the research field that deal with policy more peripherally, identify differences between the USA and Sweden. This applies in particular to the importance of legislation for how sexual harassment is understood. Sweden's relatively late legislation (1991) is seen as complacency in the face of a considerable problem in comparison with the USA (1964).[8] Another way to interpret this is that the legal framework for the Swedish higher education sector is comparatively weak, which instead allows for other ways of taking on prevention, for example, not necessarily basing action on a narrow legal understanding of sexual harassment and thus avoiding the well-known problem of juridification – in research, in policy and in practice.[9]

National studies

Thomas, A.M. 2004. Politics, policies and practice: assessing the impact of sexual harassment policies in UK universities. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 25*: 143-160.

The aim here was to investigate the incidence and content of, and responsibility for, policies at 78 of 98 universities in the United Kingdom (including Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales) who responded to a survey sent out to them. The number of complaints under the existing policy structures and employee satisfaction with the policy was also focused on in this study. The study is thus based on a broad survey and only descriptive analyses. Sexual harassment is not defined in detail but instead only the participating universities' own definitions in their policies were used. This was the only national study of policy and its implementation that could be found in the international research field within the searches we used.

The following questions were asked in the survey:
1. The year in which the harassment policy was established.
2. Those responsible for developing the policy.
3. The definition of 'sexual harassment' employed in the policy.
4. The complaints procedure.
5. Those staff member(s) responsible for managing harassment complaints.
6. Data on the numbers of cases handled in the first year of the policy and in the past academic year; and a breakdown of complainants and respondents by status (student/academic staff/other staff, etc.) and gender.

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8. Elman (1996).
9. Bondestam & Lundqvist (2018).

7. The respondent's satisfaction with policy effectiveness.[10]

Seventy-eight per cent of the respondents had a specific sexual harassment policy in place. Generally speaking, one of two different implementation processes was used: a consultative approach that was knowledge-based, and a top-down strategy issued by support functions on behalf of management. Three different types of definitions of sexual harassment were in use and in roughly equal proportions: legislation at the national level, EU legislation, and as formulated by the university itself. All the universities had established some form of procedure for dealing with complaints. Two thirds had trained harassment advisors with particular skills, and very few of the universities had handled actual complaints. Half of the universities that had a policy had access to statistics on the number of complaints. Under-reporting was the most common criticism levelled at their own policy's (lack of) impact. An overall conclusion from this study is that the implementation process in general is weak and slow. It therefore recommends proactive strategies rather than reactive strategies because they are deemed to have a better chance of having an impact.[11]

In some senses, this study is a blueprint for UHR's task to map preventive strategies and complaint handling, but is substantially smaller in scope in terms of its content and level of ambition in many ways. Nevertheless, it can be seen as a good overall starting point for comparing analyses of the findings from UHR's survey and for similar analyses in the future. The material in the study was in fact comparative in nature, because the analyses were carried out by all Canadian higher education institutions with the same survey at the same time, but for some reason these results are not reported in this article. It has not either been possible to find any other study based on the Canadian results, probably due to the fact that it has not been published in a scholarly journal and/or thus been registered in the databases in which we conducted our searches.

Descriptive studies

Bagley, C.E., Natarajan, P., Vayzman, L., Wexler, L. & McCarthy, S. 2012. Implementing Yale's Sexual Misconduct Policy: The Process of Institutional Change. *Change, 44*: 7-15.

The aim of this study is to describe in detail how a policy against sexual misconduct can be implemented. The study is based on a survey at Yale University in the USA about how the implementation process was working. The questions were based primarily on a self-assessment instrument with no comparative control group, and no clear evaluation criteria or other estab-

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10. Thomas (2004), p. 146.

11. See also Scalia & Jiang (1994), which is an early thesis that takes a broad general look (albeit at too abstract a level to have any relevant bearing on our current knowledge of policy implementation per se) at the implementation of policy in a number of higher education institutions in the USA. It comes to similar conclusions to Thomas (2004), but is based on analyses over a period of time when policy was the only instrument used, and was not accompanied by any other activities that in more recent research have been shown in various ways to be essential for policy to have an impact.

lished instruments for validation. The focus of the study was the sexual misconduct policy during 2008–2009 and some comparisons are made with other anonymized universities. The implementation process was conducted internally through a broadly representative working group with student members, which held internal dialogues with the heads of department, the equivalent of equal opportunity representatives, etc. Sexual misconduct was defined broadly and covered all forms of sexual harassment, but was also linked to the broader 'study environment' (in the form of date rape violence and sexual assault: both of these terms are central to the North American discourse on sexual harassment on campus). Additionally, the study also includes some results from interviews with staff that handle complaints and other unspecified actors outside the university.

The results show quite clearly that policy implemented from the inside/bottom up, through participation and dialogue within the organisation (rather than just 'borrowing' its structure and content from outside the organisation by referencing external requirements, or just simply being forced on the organisation from the top down) leads to the policy actually being put into practice in the everyday functioning of the organisation. The main requirements for the implementation process are summarized as follows:

1. An articulation of the policy and procedures.
2. The establishment of appropriate reporting mechanisms.
3. The creation of fair informal and formal resolution mechanisms.
4. Widespread communication of the policy and procedures.
5. The provision of adequate training.
6. The adoption of an institutional crisis-management protocol to deal with incidents of sexual misconduct and the aftermath thereof.
7. An ongoing collection of data, a monitoring of results and an assessment of the protocol's effectiveness.[12]

This is an article that is typical in the research field on policy and essentially repeats well known findings and conclusions concerning the organisation and implementation of policy. In addition, when compared with the Swedish context, the similarities are striking, both in terms of the organisation of these efforts and the policy content, and the steps suggested/carried out in the implementation of the policy.

An early study in the field of gender and academia globally comes to similar conclusions but also points out the lack of policy instruments that clearly address the issue of men's actions and behaviours.[13] This issue is also raised regularly in the conclusions and recommendations from studies in other research fields that deal with policy, but without being addressed from a solution point of view, or providing concrete suggestions on how policy might be designed and implemented in a way that would fill this gap.

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12. Bagley, Natarajan, Vayzman et al. (2012), p. 10.
13. Bacchi (1992).

Theory-driven studies

Marshall, C. Dalyot, K. & Galloway, S. 2014. Sexual harassment in higher education: Re-framing the puzzle of its persistence. *Journal of Policy Practice, 13*: 276-299.

One of the four objectives of this study were to investigate how women in academia experience and relate to policy and other interventions intended to prevent and sanction sexual harassment. The study is based on in-depth interviews with 19 women in the USA who are employees of several different universities representing a good spread of large and small higher education institutions emphasising either research or teaching. In addition, the selection of interviewees provided a good spread in terms of race, age, gender, sexuality, and gender identity. The authors had a clear theoretical framing for their research in what is otherwise a predominantly descriptive research field. The importance of using a feminist critical policy analysis (FCPA) comes through in particular in the text. In this study too, a more fundamentally theoretical understanding that stems from critical theory, post-structuralist feminism and various theories about fluid identities is apparent. The analysis arrives at the conclusion that policy at the studied higher education institutions is inadequate, since the interviewed women experienced that they were on their own in the organisation and lacked the power to act when harassed, and they lacked trust in the legal framework and the internal, organisational processes for complaints. Similar to analyses of interviewed women in academia in Swedish research, these women were ambivalent about the term sexual harassment per se (their experiences of harassment did not fit definitions of unwelcome behaviour, etc.).[14] Also, by focusing on women's lived experiences, the study clearly shows that it takes a long time to go from experiencing harassment to actually wanting to make a complaint, to name the experience and demand accountability. There is a gap between neoliberal, bureaucratic policy and the experience of harassment in a normative academic culture: "Policies constructed with liberal feminist assumptions rely on legalities and bureaucratic procedures, which are easily undermined by cultural forces."[15] In a nutshell, the conclusion is that policy needs to take on the culture of academia rather than just offer opportunities to make complaints. In addition, the study concludes that policy as a preventive instrument in academia needs to stem more clearly from women's lived experience of harassment. One of the key recommendations in the study is also that managers should be encouraged to use FCPA as a concrete way of re-framing simplified understandings of sexual harassment as manifestly also questions of power and vulnerability.

Cross-sectional studies

Lindenberg, K.E. & Reese, L.A. 1995. Sexual Harassment Policy Implementation Issues: Learning From a Public Higher Education Case Study. *Review of Public Personnel Administration, 15*: 84-97.

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14. Bondestam & Carstensen (2004); Carstensen (2004).
15. Marshall, Dalyot & Galloway (2014), p. 292.

This study investigates policy awareness in the context of reporting behaviours and perceived satisfaction with the policy more generally. It is primarily a descriptive analysis of a survey questionnaire on incidence and policy (N=460) from a large higher education institution in the USA, where the respondents were employed lecturers and researchers and administrators spread across all faculties. The response rate was 38 per cent with a clear predominance of administrators. The study also reports results from analyses of supplementary interviews with HR staff involved in handling complaints, etc. The study itself, which was based on the current legal definitions of sexual harassment, has an interesting structure because it links the incidence of sexual harassment to the policy process at one particular higher education institution. In other words, it not only asks questions about both of these factors but the analysis also attempts to connect harassment with reporting behaviour and with policy awareness. It is worth noting that no equivalent study (which was conducted in 1994) has been done (to date) in Sweden or in any of the other Nordic countries.[16]

The results of the study show that no generalised statistical correlations between sexual harassment victimisation and policy awareness can be established. But the more sexualised and public the harassment is described as being by the respondent (pornographic images, explicit sexism), the greater the probability that they are also aware of the policy. At the same time, through detailed analysis of responses to the survey, it is concluded that there is nothing to suggest that further efforts to strengthen the impact of the policy (information, communication, revising the policy) will change under-reporting, policy awareness, or reporting behaviour. Technical and administrative personnel constitute the group of respondents who have the best knowledge of the policy and complaint procedures, which is explained by these categories of personnel having a general knowledge of complaint procedures in the work environment, and that there are more new employees in these categories who would have been provided with substantially more information and training in their new employee orientation (at the time many of the lecturers and researchers were employed, there were no such policies in place). Otherwise, the article has a strong focus on under-reporting and the dysfunctionality of complaint procedures.

Furthermore, the findings in this study indicate that although there is no correlation between policy and harassment, this is perhaps mainly an artefact of it being a cross-sectional study that focuses on current situations and not specific initiatives for the implementation of policy or other interventions over time. In other words, this is a study that observes a specific current situation in an academic organisation and the extent to which it lives up to a kind of base level (the higher education institution has a policy, provides training, has case managers who focus on the issue, etc.). A general conclusion in purely analytical terms after having read this and many other studies

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16. Richards, Crittenden, Garland et al. (2014) is another example of studies that have no counterpart in Sweden or the Nordic countries; this one being about how (heterosexual) relationships between employees and students can be handled in practice through a variety of policy initiatives.

in the same spirit[17] is that a bureaucratically legitimised policy process that implements the measures expected by the legal framework does not seem to have any impact on under-reporting, reduce the incidence of sexual harassment, or lead to an increase in the number of formal complaints made.

Bottom-up perspective

Bennett, J. 2009. Policies and sexual harassment in higher education: Two steps forward and three steps somewhere else. *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*: **7-21.**

This article is based on a two-year project evaluating the implementation of policies aimed at preventing sexual harassment at three South African universities. The study utilises a number of different theoretical and conceptual frameworks depending on the part of the empirical data in focus. A large survey constitutes the main part of the empirical data but there are also analyses of a set of interviews with case managers as support for the findings and conclusions. More specifically, the study aimed to investigate: (a) policy awareness; (b) the policy's legal framework (legislation/organisation-specific rules); (c) how it is used by the HR officers; (d) if students perceive the policy as useful; and (e) how important the research process connected to the implementation of the policy had been. The latter was a specific process that provided knowledge support and conducted formative evaluations of the implementation process. A legal understanding of the term sexual harassment forms the starting point, but in the South African context it is also always linked to ethnicity/race, sexuality and class and also has a direct bearing on HIV prevention and questions of assimilation, integration, globalisation and men's violence against women more generally. In reviewing the literature, the article makes it very clear that research on sexual harassment in academia has been replaced by research on bullying and harassment in schools, which has had a clear impact on incentives for and actual preventive efforts in this area. This development is essentially reminiscent of what has occurred with this research in Sweden since the mid-2000s.

In South Africa, research and initiatives related to sexual harassment prevention in academia have been activist-driven for a long time and interventions have generally been bottom-up in organisations. With the implementation of policies on sexual harassment as part of the neoliberal governance model at these universities, this situation has shifted, this study shows, with a range of different consequences. In the past, notions of heterosexuality as the norm were challenged through interventions, but in the analysed neoliberal policy era, instead the feminist perspective and activist-based perspective are excluded, even if the issue still arouses strong reactions and therefore also breeds organisational resistance. The marginalisation of knowledge about sexual harassment, but also how case managers and others with responsibility for the issue are belittled, is made clear in particular in the study's interview analyses. Furthermore, the longitudinal perspective in this study points to the consequences of how efforts to change the situation are

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17.   See in particular Lindenberg & Reese (1996); Reese & Lindenberg (2002).

implemented (top-down or bottom-up) and how different competing challenges are affected by legal and political (gender, class, race) priorities.

Two main findings emerge from the study. Firstly, that the context, the knowledge perspective (or lack thereof) and the implementation process control how the members of the organisation comprehend the relevance of sexual harassment. The more eviscerated the critical knowledge perspective was, the less relevant the organisation's actors experienced the issue to be. Secondly, how terms are used controls the understanding of how sexual harassment occurs per se. If sexual harassment is given meanings associated with other challenges in the sector, decision-makers are more incentivised to take action. Policy processes that isolate sexual harassment as a separate phenomenon, without any bearing on other challenges (class, race, sexuality, globalisation), marginalise the issue in purely organisational terms (knowledge, use, understanding of the scale of the phenomenon). One of the few theses in the international research field on the preventive perspective and which specifically studied the implementation of policy based on empirical data in the USA comes to similar conclusions about the significance of top-down versus bottom-up.[18]

Insider perspective

Dare, L.A. 2000. Sexual Harassment in the University of North Carolina System: Policies, Programs, and Practices. *Dissertation Abstracts International. Section A: Humanities & Social Sciences 60*, 3287-3287.

This is a frequently cited thesis with empirical data from 16 universities in the USA which aimed to describe in depth institutional responses to being made aware of the incidence of sexual harassment. Policy is one of eight sub-questions answered in the study based on text and document analyses of policies and a large amount of interview material from conversations with case managers ('Coordinators') at various levels. Sexual harassment is uniformly defined by the existing legal discourse (legislation and Title VII and IX of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in the USA). An insider perspective means in this context that the author had herself worked as an equal opportunity coordinator with responsibility for handling cases of sexual harassment at a major university for a long time. The thesis therefore has a very pragmatic tone and consistently aims to give voice to the phenomenon from the insider perspective of the practitioner on the ground, which is also why the analysis leads to relatively simple models.[19]

In general, the results from the analyses evolve into two models for preventive efforts (where policy is an important part in all the results): (a) The Dynamic Response System Model, which features a continuous review of policy and the development of the conditions for and expertise of Coordinators at different levels with clear mandates; ongoing and comprehensive training and publicity initiatives; groups of experts and other advisory committees at many different levels; and strong networks of key individuals who pursue

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18. Batchelor (1994).
19. Similar analyses were made in a Swedish thesis in the field (see Andersson, 2007).

the issue and campaign for the importance of preventing sexual harassment; (b) The Static Response System Model, which is based on a policy that is not updated and passive Coordinators without a clear mandate, limited training and publicity initiatives, and the absence of advisory committees and other liaison networks pursuing the issue.[20] The study identifies knowledge, a mandate, resources and the activity of case managers in particular, in liaison with continuing education and training and publicity initiatives, as making the crucial difference between policy that is applied and functions well, or not.

Summary and analysis

The international research in this field gives us some guidelines on how an organisation can work as effectively as possible with policy. In the research reviewed in this report, we find support for the conclusion that, in order to be effective and functional, policy needs to:

- Engage with the culture of academia rather than focusing on access to a complaints procedure
- Be based on the lived experience of harassment
- Place sexual harassment in a context
- Aim to function as protection for the rights to self-determination and non-discrimination
- Be both individual- and group-based (this means for example that policy should address both direct help and support for victims and group-based measures that focus on gender and power in study and work environments and in the workplace more generally)
- Be implemented bottom-up or from the inside rather than top-down and from the outside
- Be combined with knowledge, a mandate, resources and active rather than passive case managers, in liaison with continuing education and training and publicity initiatives.

Our research review provides solid evidence for claiming that there is an established discourse on why a policy to prevent sexual harassment should exist, what it should contain, and how it should be implemented. However, in general, our research review lacks any actual evaluation of if, and if so how, such a policy process actually has an impact on the incidence of sexual harassment or its consequences. Instead, a review of this research shows that the way in which policy is currently designed and implemented risks limiting our understanding of gender-based harassment in academia by having too narrow a focus on a legal understanding of sexual harassment, on complaint handling and the perspective of the individual; and by lacking any links to other forms of harassment/sexual violence. At the same time, it appears that a bureaucratically legitimised policy process that implements the measures expected by the legal framework does not seem to have any impact on under-reporting, reduce

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20. Equivalent model descriptions, but in other contexts and organisations, can be found in Buchanan, Settles, Hall et al. (2014); de Haas, Timmerman, Höing et al. (2010).

the incidence of sexual harassment, or lead to an increase in the number of formal complaints made.

The importance of and need for policy is consistently highlighted in this research field. There is a noticeable shift from policy in the past being expected to serve the purpose of showing that the university and university management understand that sexual harassment happens, is a problem and must be spurned; to more recently being used more as an integral part of the university's preventive efforts. #MeToo made many people aware of the incidence of sexual harassment, and many also expressed surprise and dismay, so prevention policies may also be able to continue to serve their initial purpose. However, what this review of the international research on policy shows is that the more recent function of policy – being understood as a key tool in the university's efforts to reduce the incidence of sexual harassment – is not supported in the literature. Policies tend to have a strong focus on individuals/women, the law and complaints, while the perspectives of the perpetrator and the ramifications for the broader work environment are missing. A weak or non-existent theoretical contextualisation of the concepts combined with a lack of relevant knowledge – perspectives that are able to describe the problem of harassment in all its complexity (in particular feminist perspectives on sexual violence, intersectionality, the process perspective, the links to related forms of harassment in academia) – further weakens both the research on policy and policy itself as tools in efforts to prevent sexual harassment.

Education and training

Research on sexual harassment, academia and education and training is sparse, at least when it comes to research-based evaluations of large-scale education or training programmes and/or initiatives. We found about 600 publications in the research field that relate to education and training and harassment (5,561 records in total, see *About the search process*) with the majority of these texts recommending educating people on what sexual harassment is per se. Thirty publications of direct relevance to our research review were selected, since in various ways these studies analyse the implications of training and sexual harassment in academia (and in related public sector organisations).

These studies mainly stem from disciplines such as pedagogy, HR and psychology include a range of different countries (although the USA dominates), higher education institutions, and organisational levels; and have a relatively narrow understanding of the concept (in principle, exclusively legal definitions).

The analysis that follows below focuses on larger studies with comparative elements, validated methods and entailing a broader sweep than just academia, since the subjects of these kinds of studies are primarily national labour markets or the like, and therefore have produced a more substantial empirical dataset.

However, there is a clear dividing line between studies that have an almost purely experimental design (i.e. examining attitudes and responses to training in various forms within controlled environments) and research articles that are entirely focused on evaluation, discussing already completed education or training initiatives and their effects. It is noteworthy that there are also interesting research fields that deal with the advantages and disadvantages of web-based training, as well as studies that in various ways attempt to analyse the impacts of different kinds of training interventions for specific target groups (managers, case managers, students in specific programmes, etc.).

At first, we divided the studies into themes based on their research focus, which meant reading the field with an eye to the researchers' choice of epistemology, methodological approach and empirical data. But this gave too narrow a picture of the more pragmatic and relevant questions addressed. For this reason, for this summary, the material was instead divided into themes based on their content focus, which resulted in the following themes concerning training about sexual harassment and its relevance for:

- *Attitudes* (and how they are impacted by the training)
- *Trainer's sex* (training in policy aimed at preventing sexual harassment and the effects of the gender of the lecturer/responsible trainer)
- *Context* (studies that include context-sensitive and/or comparative analyses)
- *Theory and practice* (if/how training can bridge the gap between research and practice)
- *IT and web* (the advantages and the disadvantages of analogue/digital training initiatives)
- *Impact studies* (which often explore a number of behavioural parameters in relation to the training in controlled experiments)
- *Target group – managers* (studies that evaluate the impact of training programmes)
- *Target group – case managers* (studies that evaluate the impact of training programmes)
- *Target group – students* (studies that evaluate the impact of training programmes).

This section therefore describes one main text per theme, with references to other similar texts where relevant, for the purpose of orienting the reader in the key references. The following section summarises the main findings, followed by an analytical commentary on the research into the implementation of training efforts.

Attitudes
Antecol, H. & Cobb-Clark, D. 2003. Does sexual harassment training change attitudes? A view from the federal level. *Social Science Quarterly, 84*: 826-842.

This study explores whether sexual harassment training has an impact on how participants perceive what sexual harassment is. It is a very large

study based on the 1995 labour market survey in the USA with 13,200 respondents. Thus, this study does not deal with academia specifically but has been included here because it is the largest known study of the phenomenon (and employees at universities and university colleges are one group of respondents). The response rate in total was 61 per cent and for this article the authors made a selection based on the group that responded to all the questions in the questionnaire (N=5,875). The questionnaire consisted primarily of questions about various forms of sexualised behaviours by managers and colleagues and asked the respondents to define the extent to which they saw them as sexual harassment. Large ANOVAs were conducted and a number of correlations were established. Sexual harassment is defined broadly in line with the prevailing legal definition in the USA but the study probes more deeply than this as a result of its choice of method. Several follow-up studies to this original study are also available. These add virtually no new knowledge, but provide further support for the findings presented.

The findings show that in general both men and women tend to define more actions and behaviours as sexual harassment as a consequence of completing training (in comparison with a control group). This is true of men to a greater extent than women, where the probability of men perceiving behaviours as sexual harassment increases by 15.5 per cent after training. In addition, both groups become more sensitive to the issue of harassment from co-workers. Widespread training in an organisation has a greater impact than individual training. Both forms of training have a greater impact on men than women. This study is frequently cited and shows that training in what sexual harassment is produces positive effects in the short term, especially when it comes to increasing knowledge about sexism in its various forms among colleagues and also in terms of how various grey zone behaviours are understood, with particularly clear effects on men's perceptions of what sexual harassment is.[21]

Other results show that 62.7 per cent of men and 55.4 per cent of women believe that this training has helped to reduce the incidence of sexual harassment in the workplace to a great or moderate extent. Fourteen per cent of all respondents were sceptical that training contributes to change. The higher the level of education, the greater the probability that women will define behaviours as sexual harassment. However, education level is not significant for men in this respect. Heterosexual, married women aged 35-54 years see most unwelcome sexual comments and behaviours as sexual harassment. Women whose managers are men described more behaviours as sexual harassment than other groups of employees.

This study is a very good example of the fact that it is possible to measure the effects of training on how grey zone behaviours in particular are interpreted and understood by different groups. It also provides a good foundation for developing methodological approaches for exploring the extent to which training actually leads to employees feeling that it helps reduce the incidence of sexual harassment in workplaces. At the same time, it is indicative of the

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21. See also Beauvais (1986) and Bingham & Scherer (2001) for similar results from smaller case studies in academia; studies which are referenced and also serve as material for comparison for Antecol & Cobb-Clark (2003).

research field as a whole in that it is based solely on cross-sectional data. Longitudinal studies in academia of the effects of training on understanding what sexual harassment is, its incidence, or its consequences for the work environment are virtually non-existent.[22]

Trainer's sex

Tinkler, J., Gremillion, S. & Arthurs, K. 2015. Perceptions of Legitimacy: The Sex of the Legal Messenger and Reactions to Sexual Harassment Training. *Law Soc. Inq.-J. Am. Bar Found. 40*: **152-174.**

Tinkler's research mainly discusses the significance of gender in relation to who the trainer is and who is receiving the training. This study is the most relevant of all the available publications concerning this phenomenon and the results are largely the same as in other studies by the same group of researchers.[23] The aim of this study was to measure the effects of the policy trainer's sex on implicit and explicit beliefs about gender after watching a training slideshow about sexual harassment policy in academia. This was done by employing an experimental research design and in three different procedures and tests with a randomised division into different groups. N=83, male only first-year undergraduate students at a major North American higher education institution. The design also attempted to compensate for deficiencies in validity and reliability, which are relatively rare in this field of research as a whole, with theory and methodology. Implicit beliefs about gender was one dependent variable, and the outcome of the subjects' participation in the experimental situation was tested statistically with analyses of variance (ANOVAs). In a lifelike situation (meaning that the experiment was designed to recreate a normal training situation as far as possible), a man and woman, respectively were filmed narrating a training course on sexual harassment, but the experiment also used classical, social psychology methods, meaning that the subjects themselves were not aware of what they were being tested for.

Here, sexual harassment is a background concept. Instead, the experiment tested whether the subjects' beliefs about gender were influenced by the sex of the trainer narrating the slideshow on sexual harassment and policy in a fictitious, experimental situation. Gender is understood here as where the sexes fit into a hierarchy and how this is associated with power and superiority/inferiority, and above all whether the trainer's sex influences implicit beliefs about gender. The subjects were exposed to very workplace-like situations and overall it is an unusually solid experimental study in the research field. At the same time, a rather remarkable presumption is made that male undergraduate students probably have roughly the same norms in relation to gender as a middle aged cohort of employees in the workplace (p. 158).

The results show in general that the trainer's sex plays a role in how gender and policy on sexual harassment are perceived by men. When a woman narrates the training, more implicit beliefs about gender are activated, but

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22. However, there is more about this in the section below on Bystander programmes.
23. Tinkler (2008, 2012); Tinkler, Yan & Mollborn (2007).

this condition also leads to men and women being seen as more equal. When a man narrates the training on policy, there is no effect on either implicit or explicit gender beliefs with regard to competence and status, but instead strengthens beliefs about women's considerateness, reinforcing more traditional gender stereotypes. When a woman narrates the training, the effects on implicit beliefs are that traditional gender stereotypes are activated to a greater degree: "sexual harassment policy exposure activates implicit, traditional gender stereotypes when implemented by a woman" (p. 164). Differences in perceptions of gender-coded competence decrease when women narrate the training on sexual harassment. "Men are rated as less competent and women are rated as more competent in the policy condition as compared to the control condition" (p. 165). In other words, when women narrate the training, the result is that general assumptions about differences in competence, in line with an expected superiority/inferiority associated with gender, are reduced.

All in all, this study has a complex design, and the results are similarly complex and difficult to do justice to here. On the whole, the study argues that gender plays a role in several ways in training about sexual harassment policy in academia. The study was carried out with only male subjects and is interesting because it attempts to capture a normative majority's beliefs about gender. Tinkler herself comments that other studies[24] have used physical persons of both sexes as trainers in experimental situations and in such cases women are not coded as more considerate at all to the same extent, which is interpreted in Tinkler's paper as a backlash against women. Here, Tinkler's stereotypical beliefs about gender as a researcher shine through in her own experimental design (value judgements about how considerateness and gender should be understood that she does not reflect on). Thus important takeaways from this study are that the trainer's sex influences beliefs about gender, that normative assumptions about gender can be problematic per se in studies of training about sexual harassment unless these assumptions are critically examined, and that this should be followed up in further research and practice, in particular in Sweden where no equivalent studies have been carried out at all.

Context
Bainbridge, H.T.J., Perry, E.L. & Kulik, C.T. 2018. Sexual harassment training: explaining differences in Australian and US approaches. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources, 56*: 124-147.

Many articles in the research field problematize the importance of the context for understanding how training about sexual harassment functions in academia. This study additionally takes a comparative approach by looking at variations between Australia and the USA based on empirical data collected from two national surveys distributed to 5,000 employers in each country. Overall, the response rates were low: in Australia (N=1004, 20 per cent) and the US (N=321, 6.4 per cent). The return rate was thus very low and unfortu-

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24. See Tinkler, Yan & Mollborn (2007).

nately no analyses of this low rate are made in this article. Nonetheless, this is one of the biggest surveys of preventive efforts in the entire international research field and was based on each country's legal definitions of sexual harassment in the broad sense (not just anti-discrimination legislation but also employment law).

The study has two different but allied aims related to the impacts of sexual harassment training. On the one hand, the study descriptively compares training efforts in Australia and the US in relation to the prevalence of sexual harassment and how it is understood in the labour market as a whole, and on the other hand analyses the differences in the scale (whether it is provided) and features (what it contains) of actual preventive efforts in the two countries. Overall, it is a study of knowledge and the ability to apply this knowledge in practice – what is called in the research field the ability of training to reduce the gap for individuals between knowing and acting: "differences in practitioner knowledge about training (a knowing gap) or the ability to use training best practices (a doing gap)" (p. 124).

The results show overall that training is provided in more than 90 per cent of all organisations in the US, but in only half of the surveyed organisations in Australia. The study also shows clearly there is no difference between the two countries concerning the perceived importance of providing the training itself, and neither are there differences concerning where the focus should lie in these training efforts, and therefore cannot explain the differences in training prevalence and content. Instead, the conclusion drawn is that it is due to organisational culture. Employers in the US have the idea that training for all across the organisation works, while Australia has instead chosen to use training targeted at specific individuals, often based on an understanding of what works in practice in specific contexts. At the same time, there are major differences in the available resources (knowledge, time, organisation) which in part are seen as explaining the difference in strategy. On the other hand, there is no link found between strengthening complaint handling and associated HR functions and the amount of training given in general in organisations in either of the countries. In other words, there is no empirical link between how well organised procedures for complaint handling are and the prevalence of training.

This is a study with a very large body of material and high ambitions, but which appears to present only broad arguments and findings which at first sight do not give any direct guidance on what could be counted as successful strategies in preventive efforts. The most important insight from this study is that the organisation-specific conditions for preventing sexual harassment are crucial, which a comparative analysis between countries can indeed show. The authors link their own results with many aspects of the diversity research field and state that their analysis lends further support to studies in that field which came to the same conclusions. In this context, an understanding of how the organisations' active and passive resistance to change in general, and knowledge about violence and harassment more specifically, is key for the design and content of the training initiatives cho-

sen.[25] Recommendations regarding training need to take into account that the national conditions for working preventively through training have often not been evaluated and neither is there any other evidence available concerning what actually works or not – for different purposes, organisations and target groups. There is a very clear lack of intervention studies on the impacts of training about sexual harassment in Sweden and in the Nordic countries, since there are no published articles similar to this in the studied international research field.

Theory and practice

Perry, E.L., Kulik, C.T. & Bustamante, J. 2012. Factors impacting the knowing-doing gap in sexual harassment training. *Human Resource Development International, 15*: **589-608.**

Some studies take aspects of the knowing-doing gap further in various ways, in this case through exploring the differences between research-based sexual harassment training that HR functions believe their organisations need, and the training that is actually conducted in practice. This study was based on a survey which targeted 5,000 HR employees in organisations in the USA, but the response rate was very low (N=321, 6.8 per cent). The survey questions were relatively detailed and concerned different types of initiatives, knowledge requirements and levels, terms used, impacts, etc. In this study there was also a broad spectrum of background variables related to the respondents' organisations emphasising resources, initiatives, rewards and management, etc. Sexual harassment was defined exclusively in the legal sense. The material in this study is the foundation for a large part of Perry's research production;[26] in this case, the most comprehensive analysis of the entire survey, which also generated the most interesting results. While the response rate naturally casts some doubt on the study's representativeness, but perhaps above all on its possible bias given that organisations which have instituted relatively comprehensive preventive efforts and have a good setup for this tend to respond more frequently to this type of survey.

An overall conclusion is that senior management's expressed support for preventive efforts, the engagement of individual managers and managerial rewards for working preventively, and organisational resources per se (time, money and knowledge) reduce the gap between knowing and doing. Attitudes towards academic research and academics had little or no importance in comparison with these factors. Various reward mechanisms for managers for their attempts to prevent sexual harassment (visibility, financial rewards) increased expectations of participation in training interventions, but at the same time did not lead to more training interventions or greater participation

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25. While the study does address issues of resistance to training about sexual harassment, just as in many other studies it does so only indirectly. There is instead a lack of studies that *primarily* address issues of resistance to training about sexual harassment. However, there are a few examples of analyses that would like to show that such training is downright harmful arguing that it entails a form of ideological indoctrination (see for example Eisenman, 2001).

26. See also Perry, Kulik, Bustamante et al. (2010) and Perry, Kulik & Field (2009), which largely confirms the findings in this study.

in such interventions in practice. It seemed to be easier to implement training after actual complaints of sexual harassment had been received than implementing initiatives before complaints had been made to the employer. The study lends strong support to claims that three factors – senior management support, a clear organisation for preventive efforts with associated training efforts, and the active participation of other managers in preventive efforts – are crucial to training efforts actually being implemented in practice. We say this with the reservation that the study's response rate was very low and that the survey was addressed to employers generally in the labour market and therefore does not specifically focus on academia.

IT and the internet

Preusser, M.K., Bartels, L.K. & Nordstrom, C.R., 2011. Sexual Harassment Training: Person versus Machine. *Public Personnel Management, 40*: 47-62.

Today there are quite a number of exploratory and evaluative studies of how to prevent sexual harassment online. In this study, the aim is twofold. On the one hand, the study explores whether it is possible to train people effectively about sexual harassment using computer-based training, and on the other hand it asks questions about what generates the best results: instructor-led training or computer-based training? Two completely separate training programmes were tested: a two-hour long CD-ROM training, and a two-hour training programme led by an instructor physically in the room. Both contained equivalent content (the law, definitions, examples, evaluation exercises, handling of complaints, etc.), but the digital form does not allow for any questions or interaction, while the analogue form enables questions, clarifications by the instructor while the course was in progress, etc. Participants were 70 university employees in the US, 34 women and 36 men in the age range 34-41 years, half of whom had completed some form of tertiary education, thus a distribution across a number of different occupations. Eighty per cent of the participants had previously completed some form of computer-based training on sexual harassment. In the study, sexual harassment was understood in its limited, legal sense, but some of the content of the training raises questions about gender and stereotypes – in principle, what can be expected from a training course of this kind. The study was conducted at a small university, the equivalent of a regional university in Sweden, and used descriptive surveys and interviews with participants. It has been difficult to find studies at all that measure the differences between digital and analogue training on sexual harassment in academia, but this is one such study that is also well controlled in a number of ways.

The overall finding from this study is that whatever the form of training used, substantial cognitive (thinking) and affective (emotion/feeling) learning does occur. The differences between computer-based and instructor-led training are consistently small, but participants stated a preference for instructor-led over computer-based training both before and after the study (i.e. before and after the training). Instructor-led training have impacts in the form of gender coding of the instructor, which is a double-edged sword.

In responses to the open-ended questions in the survey, it emerged that instructor-led training strengthens a belief in the trainer as an authority in a particular area of knowledge, while computer-based training is perceived as informative and easy to understand. One of the conclusions of the authors is that a combined model is preferable, in particular because both groups (computer-based and instructor-led) found the video clips and other digital cases very useful.[27] Participation in the study was voluntary, but it would have been interesting if the study had made an equivalent analysis of a training course that was compulsory.

Unfortunately, there are no gender-disaggregated data reported in the study, and it is unclear why, since gender is a background variable in the survey and both men and women participated in the study. In addition, the study made some attempts to ask about participants' perceptions of the long-term effects of the training they completed, but the results are difficult to interpret and mainly indicate that it is difficult to conduct long-term evaluations of discrete training efforts. This is a methodological dilemma that is in fact linked to the organisational conditions and available resources. What is missing and has also been called for in several studies is evaluative research that follows training interventions while they are in progress, with pre-training and post-training measurements of more variables, to be able to really decide when, where and how instructor-led and/or computer-based training has different impacts on different groups.

Impact studies

Blakely, G.L., Blakely, E.H. & Moorman, R.H. 1998. The effects of training on perceptions of sexual harassment allegations. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 28*: 71-83.

This study examines the impact of sexual harassment training on an individual's understanding of what constitutes sexual harassment. In essence, it was an experimental study where Group A watched a film about sexual harassment and then discuss the film in class, while the control Group B did not. Then both groups filled in a questionnaire about sexual harassment containing 13 items describing workplace behaviours which they were asked to rate on the dimensions severe, ambiguous or innocuous sexually oriented behaviours according to an established model.[28] Group A consisted of 46 women and 74 men, and Group B consisted of 23 women and 33 men. The average age was 21 and all were college juniors at a college in the USA. Sexual harassment was predefined in line with the research and legislation, and then translated into the workplace behaviours described in the 13 items.

The study created a semi-experimental situation in the sense that it was a control group study while the training received was real, in other words it was implemented in exactly the same way as is usually the case at this college for staff and students.

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27. This is a finding that is also confirmed by other similar studies – see for example Ramson (2006); Welibrock (1999).
28. See Blakely (1995).

All participants in Group A, regardless of gender, rated more of the severe behaviours as sexual harassment than did those in Group B. In addition, the analysis of Group A shows that the training intervention radically reduced the variation within the group; there was great consensus within the group on what constituted severe and ambiguous sexually oriented behaviours. There were no clear results concerning innocuous behaviours between the groups, most likely because the training was relatively superficial in nature. A significant result was that the male subjects who had not seen the film rated ambiguous behaviours as sexual harassment to a significantly lower degree compared with all other conditions (female subjects who had seen the film, female subjects who had not seen the film, male subjects who had seen the film). There are quite a few impact studies in the research field, and those most frequently cited internationally point to similar results. The majority of these studies are from 1990–2005, are measurements taken post discrete training sessions, often include only descriptive statistics, and in general lack any analysis or theory-based interpretations that would provide greater insights than the obvious (that training is good, and that it is important in preventing sexual harassment, etc.). Nevertheless, from these studies one can draw the general conclusion that there is support in the research for claiming that men who do not participate in training in what constitutes sexual harassment in general are less inclined to see or define sexually harassing behaviours as in fact sexual harassment.[29]

Target group: managers

Buckner, G.E., Hindman, H.D., Huelsman, T.J. & Bergman, J.Z. 2014. Managing Workplace Sexual Harassment: The Role of Manager Training. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal, 26*: 257-278.

This article explores the significance of training quantity, variety (in methods used), and recency (the time elapsed since training) for managers' ability to accurately identify sexual harassment and respond appropriately. The study used a questionnaire that consisted of different scenarios and questions about agency, taken verbatim from previous research.[30] Two hundred and nine (209) managers from the private and public sector (including academia) in the USA participated, recruited by students in undergraduate management and psychology programmes at higher education institutions in the USA. The respondents were 129 men and 80 women, with an average age of 42 years, of which 95 per cent were white and 63 per cent had 1–15 years of management experience. Sexual harassment was defined in line with the legislation in the US, and to some extent also on the basis of previous research in the field. This is fundamentally an experimental study that tests scenarios with actual managers and their understandings of behaviours and situations and their propensity to act.

The study shows overall that when the quantity and variety of training increases, this leads to a poorer capacity to accurately identify sexual har-

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29. See in particular Bingham & Scherer (2001), Biviano (1998), Moyer & Nath (1998), Walsh, Bauerle & Magley (2013).
30. Blakely, Blakely & Moorman (1998).

assment, which is also supported by other previous research on the same theme.[31] But the reason for this is not, as previous research claims, an effect of indoctrination or an overemphasis on harassment, but instead, which regression analyses show in detail, for the simple reason while accuracy in defining sexual harassment is reduced, the ability to identify behaviours as sexual harassment is increased, resulting in more false-positives. In other words, the results are explained by a measurement and methodological error rather than any actual problem with providing training. In fact, the study interprets this diversified and deepened understanding of sexual harassment as an important tool for managers in preventive efforts:

> That is, if training increases sensitivity to harassment, and if increased sensitivity compromises expertise, it does so by inducing more false-positive identifications [...] Managerial over-reaction might be an effective component of an organization's prevention and correction program (274).

The ability to take action in cases of sexual harassment is not affected by training either positively or negatively. Consequently, this is a significant study in several ways because it demonstrates empirically and analyses the differences between knowing (too much) and the consequences of this. The study's recommendations unequivocally point to the poor state of knowledge in this area, in particular that while the effects of training are one thing that should be measured, there is also a need for more knowledge about how training and the ability to accurately identify sexual harassment and respond appropriately are correlated. Managers with this knowledge are not necessarily those who work preventively even if this increases their actual ability to succeed when they do:

> "It is clear that we know very little empirically as to what constitutes an effective sexual harassment training program. Moving forward, scholars should continue to work to discover antecedents that will predict management's ability to accurately identify instances of sexual harassment and respond with an appropriate action [...] From an HR perspective, these results are a call for action for research aimed at continuous improvement in the organization's sexual harassment prevention and correction program, including its sexual harassment training programs" (p. 275).

Similarly, there is some research which shows that training actually reduces the number of complaints to be handled, contrary to widespread beliefs that training creates 'more problems' for organisations and places greater demands on managers to work preventively because training increasing sensitivity to sexual harassment and it is therefore assumed that this results in more complaints.[32]

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31. Bisom-Rapp (2001), Dobbin & Kelly (2007), Grossman (2003), Lawton (2004).
32. Coyle & Sumida (2005).

Target group: case managers

Blaxall, M., Parsonson, B. & Robertson, N. 1993. The Development and Evaluation of a Sexual Harassment Contact Person Training Package. *Behavior Modification, 17*: **148-163.**

This is an early study in the research field which, despite its rather limited empirical material, sets the stage for questions about training and has since been followed up in many more and bigger studies in different ways.[33] The study explores the effects of a training package for sexual harassment contact persons. Twelve contact persons, half women and half men, working at administrative units at a higher education institution and having responsibility for dealing with complaints of sexual harassment, were put into pairs and trained by an instructor for a total of roughly 11 hours on the legislation, gender, complaint handling, listening and helping skills, etc.

The initiative was evaluated regularly via questionnaires and knowledge tests after each of the four training sessions that were included in the training package. External observers were also used who rated videotaped material (as part of the training package) and how it compared qualitatively to ensure equivalence between different training materials. Sexual harassment was defined in the project and in the study in the strict legal sense. The article gives a very detailed account of how procedures for complaints are constructed and specifies in detail what steps and questions the contact person is to use. A very substantial article in this respect, which in a way is a pioneer study in that it so thoroughly addresses the relationship between training for those whose job it will be to handle complaints of sexual harassment and how such training functions in practice. As far as can be judged, it is the only one of its kind in the research on sexual harassment internationally. However, it ought to be noted that the experimental design and measurement methods are relatively weak and that the study replicates a similar study from New Zealand.[34]

The results show clearly that the training package studied has very good effects on a number of different factors: the ability to identify sexual harassment in itself, knowledge about how the matter can be addressed, how to counsel victims, understanding what victims need in terms of various kinds of support, etc. The study shows in particular the importance of, and capacity for, training interventions to equip contact persons with the social skills they need to be able to manage the complexity inherent in dealing with cases of sexual harassment. How the different capacities of the trainee contact persons participating in the study were mapped and modified by the training intervention and its actual results are described in concrete terms below:

> Trainee performances in pre-training simulated probe sessions were characterized by (a) a few options for dealing with the complaint; (b) vague, speculative, and incorrect option information; (c) option information offered in an uncertain manner; (d) no choice offered to client (clients usually were encouraged to use university mediators); (e) little

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33. See for example Cohen (1997), Goldberg (2007).
34. Fletcher (1975).

systematic consideration of an option´s consequences; (f) little attempt to rank options in order of clients preference; and (g) unstructured sessions (trainee would intermittently explore the problem and suggest options). Conversely, post-training simulation sessions performance was characterized by (a) the provision of more options, (b) more information provided on each option, (c) a more confident manner when presenting information, (d) better structured sessions, and (e) having relevant, useful materials on hand (p. 159).

What is noteworthy here is that there is an area of the research field that actively addresses, develops and deepens knowledge, models and (as in this case) evaluates, entire intervention programmes in detail, in particular how effective these intervention programmes are for those who handle complaints of sexual harassment at higher education institutions. This study established a knowledge base anchored in research, often comparative research (comparative in the sense that different training programmes were tested in different contexts for the purpose of replicating and modifying them to suit context-specific differences). But further development has been entirely lacking in the research field in the last decade as far as can be judged, with the exception of some smaller studies that do not, however, have the same robust design.[35] It is also noteworthy that there are no research-based studies within this area of the research field at all from Sweden or any of the Nordic countries. In other words, we can conclude that we need to know more about how those who handle complaints of sexual harassment at Swedish universities and other higher education institutions can be strengthened in their roles through training.

Target group: students

Kaplan, O. 2006. Awareness instruction for sexual harassment: findings from an experiential learning process at a higher education institute in Israel. *Journal of Further & Higher Education, 30*: 213-227.

The majority of the studies of students and training about sexual harassment conclude in general that knowledge and understanding increases for all, regardless of gender, in the short term, but that it is difficult to see any differentiated results in the existing research in studies of other groups. Kaplan's study presents a more nuanced analysis in several ways and the study has a design that deserves attention in its own right.

Its purpose was to analyse the significance of students engaging in an experiential learning process in a compulsory course component in the Business Administration Masters' degree programme (MBA) at the College of Management in Rishon LeZion, Israel. Forty-four students in the programme interviewed a total of 215 female students as part of an assignment. The interview material was the basis for the content analysis in Kaplan's article along with the students' own learning in the form of their reflections in documented seminars and their assignments. Sexual harassment is understood

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35. See for example Campbell, Kramer, Woolman, et al. (2013).

primarily in the legal sense (where Israel has a stricter definition that mainly describes unwanted propositions and demands for sexual services and thus tones down verbal harassment and 'everyday sexism') at the background level, but in the study itself as an exploratory, reflexive bottom-up approach.

It is a study that stands out because it took place outside the USA where the majority of all the research in this field internationally has been carried out. But the study also addresses the relationship between knowledge and experiential training in academia, that is, it successfully challenges normative conceptions that knowledge is intellectual and theoretical (primarily) and decoupled from our physical being and experiences. The study is also interesting because it engages students who are themselves participating in a Master's programme and focus solely on sexual harassment in this course component; in other words, it is a part of a compulsory course (and not, as is so often the case, an optional course in a study programme).

Overall, the analyses show that learning occurs in two stages: in the interview situation with the respondents where body language, emotions, and difficulties in arriving at a consensus on what sexual harassment is become decisive experiences; and because the students reflect on their interviews in a context that is permissive and does not demand compliance with norms and systems (the legislation, definitions, etc.). This also means that the author's recommendations point to the process perspective as what has been gained from the study:

> The present paper does not end with technical recommendations for awareness seminars or any other types of instruction tools. It appears that change comes from within, when awareness of events and processes that have been repressed for years, personally and socially, finally rises to the surface. The question relates to how a social problem can be handled not only by means of instrumental law and punishment, which remains an external threat, but also through facilitating understanding, awareness and emotion, which undoubtedly create a better, more egalitarian society" (p. 224).

The study highlights the whole discourse of training as instrumental, made up of legal and other requirements, loaded with guilt, lacking in acknowledgement of one's own vulnerability, the right to remain ignorant, etc. An important seed is sown here for a completely different approach to the question of whether this kind of training has "impacts": learning and education as a way of processing complex experiences rather than formal knowledge of the law, policies, procedures, etc.[36] There are a lot of studies that address learning processes, in particular in terms of coping strategies specifically for women, and do so by looking at the outcome of the training intervention, which is often positive, at least for those who participated in it.[37]

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36. Equivalent results have also been reported with a similar intervention for female engineers (see Volpatti, Bodnar & Byland 2014).
37. Barak (1994), El-Ganzory, Nasr & Talaat, (2014).

Summary and analysis

There is a normative discourse on the importance of educating people about sexual harassment, and the many positive effects that this has on attitudes in particular that is well supported in the international research field. At the same time, research in the field regularly describes a significant gap between knowing as a result of training, and doing (differently) in practice, and that training only ends up being as good as its context allows it to be. The planning, design and content of the selected training initiatives should take into account:

- The trainer's gender, the gender composition of the group being trained, and normative assumptions about gender.
- Organisation-specific conditions for preventing sexual harassment
- The active and passive resistance to change in general and knowledge about violence and vulnerability more specifically in organisations
- The support of senior management, an easily navigated organisation for preventive efforts and their associated training initiatives, and the active participation of other managers in preventive efforts, have emerged as key to how well training initiatives work.
- That training initiatives conducted in physical rooms and online in principle have the same impact but in combination they optimise reflexive *and* affective learning

There is a consensus that training can help to increase knowledge about sexual harassment, but there is also a consensus that this knowledge does not per se mean a change in behaviour or a reduced incidence of sexual harassment in workplaces. In view of the fact that sexual harassment occurs at our universities, the functions that work with this issue need to be identified and the organisation must ensure that they have the right skills. In this respect, training can play an important role. The case manager should have good, up-to-date knowledge about how complaints should be handled, investigators should know what an investigation into sexual harassment should involve, and managers should have the competence to fully shoulder their employer responsibilities. *Training linked to function* could then be understood as fundamental to ensuring that individuals have the right skills to carry out their work. For example, we can conclude today that – in the absence of research-based studies in Sweden or the Nordic countries that have actively addressed, developed and deepened knowledge and models – we know very little about how case managers at Swedish universities and higher education institutions can be strengthened in their role through training initiatives.

When training is used with a view to reducing the incidence of sexual harassment, *training coupled with change,* knowledge of the significant gap between knowing through training and doing (differently) in practice needs to be taken into account. What type of training initiatives facilitate a workplace where students and staff who are studying and working at universities and who want to develop, learn, be challenged and challenge, pursue careers or have a job; who want to think, talk and write; can do these things alone and with others?

Complaint handling and support structures

This section brings together what we know from the international research about sexual harassment and complaints and complaint handling, focusing on academia and public sector workplaces as the context. Unlike the summaries of research on policy and education and training above, for this section we have chosen a qualitative approach. This is because the research field dealing with complaints and complaint handling in academia:

- Is relatively small in scope (about 45 out of the total of 5,561 records, with an overwhelming majority of the studies having data from the USA in the 1980s and 1990s)
- Is strongly and unusually context-bound (as a consequence of the fact that many studies only look inwards at their own organisations and systems, which means that comparative studies are also rare)
- Lacks relevant/robust evaluations of the implementation or utilisation of complaint handling systems or the equivalent in academia
- Has not accumulated enough empirical data on common research questions to make it possible to summarize to a range of understandings in this review.

The number of publications that focus exclusively on academia is also so small that we have had to broaden our gaze to take in studies of working life in general, but still with the main focus on other educational organisations and organisations in the public sector (in line with this task). This means in short that we attempt here to highlight individual studies by means of short summaries and conclusions that address specific themes (compared with the previous sections on policy and education and training, where individual articles instead functioned as indicative of larger research questions and provided different perspectives and empirical studies based on these). We have thus attempted to provide an overview of the research field's structure per se in terms of three overlapping but clearly defined time periods in order to demonstrate some of the broad lines of development on questions related to complaint handling and sexual harassment. We then conclude this section with a snapshot of the state of the research in Sweden and highlight some of the key issues related to complaint handling.

Establishment of the field (around 1975–1995)

This period coincided with the legislation being created and different countries and higher education institutions laying the foundations of knowledge about sexual harassment victimisation through prevalence studies. A relatively large number of texts from this period, with a strong emphasis on the USA, argued in fact for the development and implementation of processes and procedures for managing complaints in academia as well as working life in general based on the legislation and the prevalence of sexual harassment. The focus during this period was mainly on demanding that employers take responsibility in line with the legislation for establishing effective systems that would allow individual employees to report sexual harassment, rather

than seeking justification for complaint handling systems in strengthening the rights of individuals, or their demands and need for support or redress.[38]

A particular focus during the latter part of this period was questions about what best serves (individuals and) organisations: informal or formal processes? In other words, processes for dealing with complaints are seen as relatively unproblematic per se. Rather, it is the form that they take and the need to protect victims, perpetrators and also the reputations of organisations (effectiveness, profitability, the ability to attract students to courses and study programmes, etc.) which was in focus. And this is where opinion diverges in this part of the research field. There is no pronounced consensus, even though in principle this is never motivated by empirical studies on what actually works in practice. Similar positions exist on questions about procedures for complaint handling in the education system as a whole.[39] Often the differences are primarily context-specific (public or private sector employer, student or staff, interpretations of the causes of victimisation, etc.), the approach taken in investigations (*for* the victim or *at* the victim's expense, etc.), or the consequences for the organisation, which is the real 'make-or-break' issue that is often relegated to the future as a subject for future research.

Another feature of the early articles in this research field, which have feminist points of departure, is that they include both empirical and theoretical arguments for the need for just and fair, accessible systems for complaints while directing quite fundamental criticism at the whole notion that you can solve the problem of the victimisation of individuals, which is assumed to have structural causes, by means of bureaucratic procedures: "While we may be able to react to a problem within the structure that created it, it seems unreasonable to expect to solve the problem without changing its structural causes".[40] The structural arguments for (or against) complaint handling systems are in fact a kind of fundamental theme in this part of the research field, with the legal system and the employer's responsibility in the foreground.

Reassessment (around 1990–2010)

During this period – in academia in particular, but also to some extent in working life more generally – research publications emerged that in various, but often paradoxical ways, tried to tackle the problem of the gap between the prevalence of sexual harassment and the (lack of) complaints. Studies conducted argue for *both* the need to refine and improve existing systems for complaint handling and the implementation of policy on this *and* contained more and more research-based and evaluation-based criticism of the whole idea that one could solve the problems of prevalence per se through a bureaucratisation of victimisation, largely through strengthening the victim's ability

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38. Brandenburg (1982, 1997), Kors (1991), Meek & Lynch (1983), Robertson, Dyer & Campbell. (1988), Rowe (1981, 1997), Schneider (1987).
39. Gutek & Koss (1993), Layman (1994), Marshall (1996), Wishnietsky (1994).
40. Livingston (1982), p. 20.

to make a complaint.[41] This thus represents an adjacent gap in the research concerning the question of the disconnection between the prevalence of sexual harassment and the lack of complaints, which might better be described as a gap between the research findings and policy. This issue was addressed in ever-increasing detail the more articles that we read from this time period (even if it is a discourse that was ongoing both before and after this period to some degree): researchers "demonstrate" that existing complaint handling systems are under-performing, while the same researchers, their own evidence to the contrary, argue for the necessity of these systems. Many studies also clearly point to the inability of organisations to deal with complaints when they are actually made by individuals subjected to sexual harassment, calling it the 'deaf ear syndrome' and showing how costly this ends up being for the victims, perpetrators, the work environment and the organisation as a whole, etc.[42] On the whole, there is an increasing individualization of sexual harassment victimisation during this period (compared with the previous one), in terms of both the way in which victimisation is understood per se and in the arguments as to why it is so important to assure complaint handling.

Finally, there is a trend during this period to use theory to clarify the kinds of procedural problems that exist in complaint handling,[43] mainly based on various aspects of organisational theory models well-known at the time[44] that specifically concern:

- *Impartiality in procedures and decisions* (are they equal and transparent in the face of established consequences?).
- *Impartiality in interactions* (does equity and transparency prevail in interpersonal dialogues as part of conciliation and mediation for example, or in the parties' contacts with the responsible managers and the union/professional association?).
- *Distributive justice* (are the consequences of decisions equitable?).

In all three of these justice perspectives, there are a variety of problems associated with guaranteeing the victim's credibility and (legal) right to define harassment per se, as well as the need for redress, protection for perpetrators, etc. Generally, it is also seen as difficult for employers to achieve a complaint handling system that fully complies with any of the justice criteria.[45] The latter has led to a number of proposals from various researchers to depart from individual-centred complaint handling in favour of a more collective approach that addresses the harassment of an individual as essentially a work environment problem.[46] Here too, we found empirically based proposals in a similar spirit, in particular as regards harassment in academia and complaint handling that stressed the importance of working more actively to

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41. See for example Gilliland & Steiner (2001), Lee & Greenlaw (2000), Williams, Fitzgerald & Drasgow (1999).
42. Peirce, Smolinsky & Rosen (1998).
43. See in particular Dorfman Cobb & Cox (2000).
44. Bies & Moag (1986), Bies & Shapiro (1988), Greenberg (1987).
45. McQueen (1997).
46. See for example Tyler & Bies (1990) for an early critique.

change gender regimes in some work environments.[47] This is seen primarily as a way to both strengthen the organisation's ability to detect and act when harassment is occurring and to behave in supportive ways towards victims during complaint processes.

New models (around 2005–2018)

It is not as easy to label the state of the research for this period at a similar, overarching level, since it falls into two parts that are somewhat different, but which have a common factor in the form of innovative solutions to the need of support for victims (and to some degree also for perpetrators and the work environment); either quite separate from legal discourses and complaint handling systems, or as an integral part of these.

Some researchers worked systematically to prepare, test and evaluate various alternative approaches to complaints, mainly in the form of *models*, emanating primarily from the need to establish support structures for victims in the first instance, whether or not complaint handling is effective or how effective it is. More robust studies, often taking a longitudinal perspective on complaint handling at higher education institutions, are indicative of this direction in the research field.[48] Studies which have developed a model that is easily understood and applied and apparently functions well, and which take complaint handling models a step further by having the stated aim of restorative justice in the form of redress for victims of sexual harassment, are particularly interesting in this context.[49]

A model such as this illustrates clearly that the employer's responsibility does not end, but rather is ongoing and becomes more stringent, throughout the entire "period" that the employer is aware of the victimisation. It also points out where and when various kinds of 'restorative' efforts are appropriate and why (see Annex 3, which gives an overview of the article referred to here). Similar studies can be found from this period that have developed and tested an idea about what the support process might look like within the context of academia.[50] In the latter instance, this means a support structure is established, and it is relatively independent of other procedures and the complaint handling system, which also is symptomatic of the shift in the research field between this and the previous period: suggestions for support structures move from being peripheral to being an integral part of the complaint handling system.[51]

A number of different dialogue models were also discussed in this period, and their common denominator is the systematic establishment of accountability for the perpetrators' own violent actions. These models have mainly been developed in the contexts of criminology and psychology or have a bearing on the research field concerning men's violence towards women and questions about sexual violence more generally. A few of these models have

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47. See for example Rudman, Borgida & Robertson (1995).
48. For example Best, Smith, Raymond et al. (2010).
49. Koss, Wilgus & Williamsen (2014).
50. Grauerholz, Gottfried & Stohl (1999).
51. See also more examples in Paludi (2016).

been validated with a number of different sample groups over time and in different contexts, among them one model (RESTORE) that has also been successfully tested in the education context (in the USA and New Zealand, for example).[52]

The testing of a number of assumptions in the research on complaints and complaint handling also features to some extent in this part of the research field. A standard 'solution' to complaints of sexual harassment entails the employer entering into a conciliation process involving various financial incentives such as offering moves to other positions (for victims and/or perpetrators), or by some other means resolving cases without being forced into legal action. When this research field started, there was strong argumentation for conciliation as a good strategy, particularly in the context of the North American legal system. However in recent years, the idea of conciliation itself has been well and truly problematized with a particular focus on challenging the apparently established view that women victims of sexual harassment in particular prefer dialogue-based conciliation.[53] A few decades on, conciliation is instead seen as a necessary evil which, in thorough evaluations of conciliation processes, turns out to re-create gender norms that influence the outcome of conciliation in various ways. Often the outcomes for women victims of sexual harassment and other forms of sexual violence are negative.[54] The same kind of criticism is well established in other adjacent research fields and in different national contexts, especially in relation to family law and custody disputes, etc.[55]

What about Sweden?

Research on sexual harassment in academia in Sweden has mainly dealt with the incidence of sexual harassment at various higher education institutions in the form of small-scale survey studies. The qualitative research that has been done consists of a set of articles on specific themes, and in particular three dissertations about the phenomenon, which address the causes and effects of sexual harassment in academia in different ways.[56] In the latter, both indirect and direct criticism is levelled at a kind of naïvety in a large section of the research field which consists in an firmly rooted belief that *if only* a comprehensive complaint handling process can be established – with policies, training of staff, regular information and communications, trained case managers within HR who can deal with the entire complaint handling process, managers who have the right knowledge and know how to respond appropriately, etc. – then the problem of the gap between the incidence and reporting of sexual harassment, about which there is plenty of evidence in the research, could be eliminated. In some senses, this naivety is clearly discernible in the contemporary Swedish higher education system's attempts to

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52. See in particular Koss, (2010, 2014), Jülich (2010).
53. Hernstein (1996), Hill (1990), Mack (1995).
54. Chase & Brewer (2009).
55. See for example Field (2006).
56. Andersson (2007), Bondestam (2004), Carstensen (2004).

avoid addressing the lack of actual complaints by repeatedly updating and developing existing procedures and complaint handling systems.

It is particularly noteworthy that sexual harassment policies and knowledge production in the Swedish higher education sector tend to strive for a *simplification* and *formalisation* of sexual harassment in order to make it manageable. This despite the fact that the research points to the opposite need for a diversified understanding of harassment by "differentiating between acts of discrimination, sexual harassment and gender harassment because they are significantly different terms even if, at an overarching level, they are expressions of the same thing – the gendered power structure in working life".[57] Another aspect that is apparent in the Swedish context is the lack of knowledge about how harassment forms itself into a process that normalises violence with a number of significant elements. Here, one particular dissertation provides guidance in that it schematically summarises how this process is directly connected to academic career paths, status, power and issues of dependency and the internalisation of violence (see also Annex 4 for an overview).[58]

The normalisation process consists of a variety of different stages (empirically established through analyses of qualitative interviews), leading directly to internalisation of women victims. Some of these are:

- Disparaging comments
- Systematic disparagement of her specialist area and choice of theoretical orientation
- Telling her she is worthless
- Asking for gratitude for taking an interest in her work and for taking on the task of improving her
- That he puts up with her even though she is so hopeless
- Demanding total subservience such that she is not allowed to have her own differing opinion
- Shifting the goalposts which reduces and limits her choices and scope for action
- Destruction or attempted destruction of her research material, etc.[59]

With a description like this, the gap between the genealogy of harassment and the bureaucracy of complaint handling becomes even clearer. A more detailed description of an emblematic complaint at a Swedish higher education institution was made in a study in order to analyse and identify why a bureaucratic complaint handling system in itself makes an acknowledgement of sexual harassment victimisation impossible.[60] This study concludes with the following concerning how investigations of sexual harassment in academia are usually carried out and what their results are:

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57. Andersson (2007), p. 163.
58. Ibid., p. 157.
59. Ibid., pp. 155-156.
60. Bondestam & Carstensen (2004), pp. 39-42.

[An] investigation's main function is to frustrate the possibility to understand and acknowledge what a person subjected to gender harassment is trying to communicate. On the whole, this example demonstrates the absurdity of investigating situations, documents and experiences which attain their bureaucratic importance only when the victims are forced to translate them into text in order for them to be validated as real. In other words, what happens with an investigation is that it becomes possible to summarise two years of suffering on one A4 page.[61]

Summary and analysis

Summarising the state of knowledge in the existing international research on complaints procedures and systems for handling complaints indicates that the field is still in its infancy. There are no comprehensive impact studies that analyse whether these procedures and systems facilitate redress for victims. Instead, the overall picture from this research field is that these processes risk exacerbating the existing victimisation in many ways. More specifically, the review in this section shows the following:

- Research-based evaluations of actual procedures for dealing with complaints at higher education institutions are lacking.
- A number of studies paradoxically argue for better procedures while at the same time criticising the ineffectiveness of these procedures on the whole. A shift occurs over time in the research, from seeking justice through the legal system to individual redress.
- Redress as the goal for complaint handling is not achieved through conciliation and other forms of financial solutions, and
- In recent research, a number of models point to the importance of the establishment of support structures for those who have suffered sexual harassment, in principle regardless of whether actual procedures for complaint handling exist, and if so, regardless of whether they are effective or not.

Support in the research for complaint handling per se having preventive potential is thus non-existent. This does not mean that complaint handling is unimportant or irrelevant. If a victim wants to and chooses to make a formal complaint, the complaint must be handled correctly within the existing legal framework. Employers in Sweden have a duty to investigate such complaints; a duty that is activated once the employer becomes aware of possible sexual harassment. A consequence of this duty to investigate is that it becomes the employer's responsibility to determine how the rights and privacy of both or all parties involved are to be guaranteed, and how a potential perpetrator and possible sanctions against this person should be handled.

Employers also have a liability for the work environment, including the psychosocial work environment and prohibitions on discrimination and reprisals. But there is support in the research for the fact that only a minority of victims of sexual harassment report it, among other things due to a

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61. Ibid., p. 42.

reluctance to identify themselves as victims, distrust of the management's handling of complaints, and an often justified fear of reprisals.[62]

This raises a number of different questions. What kind of concrete support do victims need so that sexual harassment does not have negative psychological and physical consequences? So that it will not impact their work or studies negatively? What type of support structures are needed for a victim of sexual harassment to be able to remain in a work or study environment without worrying about encountering the perpetrator? To be able to remain at the site of a practical placement, in field work, as a postdoc, or at a conference? To be able to present his or her thesis in front of the entire student group? To be able to remain at the workplace late to work or study? To be able to focus, to be able to teach, to be able to conduct research?

Bystanders

Within the international research field as a whole (N=5,561), there are a number of smaller fields which in various ways deal with sexual harassment and preventive measures in academia. In addition to policy and education and training, which are the two main issues in the research field related to prevention, there are for example a number of articles that focus on implementation processes in general,[63] specific initiatives linked to knowledge about perpetrators,[64] the organisational conditions for the establishment of support structures for victims,[65] or studies describing the need for and emergence of preventive, administrative functions.[66]

One of the biggest subfields concerns the issue of bystanders – those who witness others being subjected to sexual harassment – and their preventive potential. In total, there are around 40 articles in the research field that in various ways analyse bystanders in academia linked to sexual harassment, published between 2002 and 2018, with most falling within the latter decade. In other words, it is a relatively 'young' section of the research field as a whole. These studies are generally grounded empirically and theoretically in psychology, social psychology and organisational theory, but also include the research fields of violence prevention measures and sexualised violence.

In a more detailed analysis, research on bystanders and sexual harassment in academia can be divided into three specific questions:
- What are the legal, organisational and social psychology conditions that impact when, where, and why bystanders act or not?
- How do bystanders react and act in concrete terms, and what are the consequences, when they witness sexual harassment in academia?
- How, when and in what ways can bystanders function as a preventive mechanism in an organisation, and what existing models and interven-

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62. See also Bondestam & Carstensen (2004); Carstensen (2004).
63. Kihnley (2000).
64. Philpart (2009).
65. Van De Griend & Messias (2014).
66. Grauerholz, Gottfried, Stohl et al. (1999).

tions that focus on the preventive role of bystanders have been tested in academia?

A fourth subfield can be discerned that specifically focuses on experiences of psychotherapy, evaluated clinical treatment, and a variety of violence prevention measures targeting male students in particular who have committed acts of sexual assault. Bystander questions associated with rehabilitation and prevention are also problematised in these studies to some degree, but are omitted in this research review for reasons of relevance.[67] The division into three questions above has guided the summary below, where the focus is primarily on concrete, preventive models and their impacts in academia.

Conditions for bystanders

A very recent study from the USA deals with the question of causality and not just the correlation between policy implementation and the reporting of sexual harassment, and has a clear focus on the role of the bystander.[68] Using a methodological two-step procedure, an experimental study of students was conducted concerning policies and their significance for taking action as a bystander, and a semi-experimental (simulated, but with examples taken from, and experimental subjects with experience of, authentic situations) follow-up that used the existing policies of various organisations, HR employees as the experimental subjects, and focused on the probability of reporting instances of sexual harassment as a bystander. Both these studies examined the probability – with regard to existing policy (three different variables: policy with zero tolerance requirements, a more normative policy that describes the applicable legislation and procedures for complaints, and entirely without access to policy) – of reporting serious and more subtle forms of sexual harassment.

On the whole, the analysis shows that policy leads to an increase in bystander action, that is, that more individuals who are not themselves victims of sexual harassment become more inclined to report incidents of the sexual harassment of others. The effects of policies are especially clear for severe forms of sexual harassment. The study points out in particular that zero-tolerance policies also result in bystanders reporting more subtle forms of sexual harassment more frequently, which is somewhat new knowledge in the research field as a whole.

One interpretation made in this study is that the reason for this might be that there is a reduced risk for the person reporting the incident when the policy so clearly condemns sexual harassment – that zero tolerance in fact protects the bystander reporting it from (social) backlash. A recommendation from the study's authors is thus that the formulation of policies, which usually have in mind those at risk of being harassed, also or perhaps even primarily, should target bystanders' opportunities and/or obligations to intervene as well as to report sexual harassment.

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67. A good overview of violence prevention in academia in this respect is Cooper & Dranger (2018).
68. Jacobson & Eaton (2018).

Still, the experimental situations described here are not longitudinal studies of actual policy implementation and the likelihood of bystanders reporting harassment – even if the study simulates and uses cases from actual organisations. The fact that the study demonstrates a causality between bystanders' reporting frequency and policy, which has previously been either an untested hypothesis or at best an unconfirmed assumption, is sufficiently interesting because it sends an important message about policy implementation as well as the importance of bystanders. It is important to emphasise too that a zero-tolerance policy can have other desirable and less desirable effects, where the latter might include the extent to which the members of an organisation perceive the policy as credible.[69]

The results of the study outlined above get indirect support from two experimental studies from France. One of these studies[70] compares two situations – one with a clear legal framework that supports intervening and another without such a framework – in relation to bystander intent to intervene when he or she observes sexual harassment occurring. The results show clearly that both women and men take action as bystanders where the legal context is clearly stated, but not in the other condition. The only difference between the sexes is women's tendency not to want to confront the perpetrator to the same extent as men.[71] In an equivalent study,[72] with employees in the public sector as the subjects and two different policies (clear requirements versus non-existent requirements on bystanders to act) contributing the background understanding, these results were repeated. In this study too, there are significant gender differences where women are more likely to interact with and support victims, while men are more likely to interact with and restrain a (potential) perpetrator. Most interesting in this study is perhaps the difference in bystander action depending on the situation in which sexual harassment occurs per se. In harassment situations that are clearly hierarchically coded (manager–employee), regardless of gender, bystanders are three times less likely to interact with the victim.[73]

These results can in turn be seen in the light of experimental social psychology research, which clearly shows that where there is sexist talk or sexist behaviour in a group of men, it augments other men's tendencies to make sexist comments or behave in sexist ways, even in relation to totally unknown women who are not part of the group.[74] The reverse is also true: if a man in a

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69. See also Anton (2015) for a good overview.

70. Chakroun & Soudre-Lecue (2015).

71. Compare this with a somewhat different approach to the question that links clear sanctions for sexual harassment in academia with bystanders' actions in Cummings & Armenta (2002).

72. Chakroun & Soudre-Lecue (2014).

73. The most frequently cited study in the entire research on how sexual harassment is linked to gender is Blumenthal (1988).

74. Angelone (2005).

group behaves in a non-sexist way and does not express sexist opinions, the probability is that other men will follow suit.[75]

Similarly, there are several empirically robust studies which clarify the relationships between men's consumption of pornography and a reduced likelihood to take action as a bystander if he observes sexual harassment occurring.[76]

Another research-based insight in this regard is that, irrespective of gender, bystanders are also negatively impacted by their own experiences per se, where the negative impacts for women on their self-image, self-confidence and choice of education and occupation in particular are well supported in the research.[77]

Bystanders in practice

Research on who takes action as a bystander, for what reasons, and with what effects, is still somewhat in its infancy when it comes to sexual harassment in academia, but has a substantially longer history in research on ethics, organisations and identity in various ways.[78] One of the early studies in academia[79] provides a good overview of existing studies in the research field with a particular focus on the incentives for and consequences of bystanders' behaviours. The current state of knowledge is illustrated in two models with slightly different focuses (see Annex 5). A 13-point research programme is also presented in the study which calls for the development of deeper knowledge of bystander identity formation, how role models and role model interventions by bystanders effect the behaviour of others, empirical links to other research fields (abuse, co-dependence, leadership, etc.) and of the legal ramifications of intervening as a bystander. The conclusion from this article is worth quoting in its entirety because it so clearly pinpoints what the situation in academia can be like without bystanders, termed observers in the quote below:

> If observer non-intervention in SH represents the status quo in an organiza-tion, as we suspect it does in many organizations, this can be a perilous con-dition. When observers are excused from responsibility for SH prevention, this enhances the ambiguity around defining SH and diminishes the moral intensity of the issue. Indeed, over time, non-intervention actually may cre-ate an environment that encourages SH. Careful attention to SH observers and to the management of their intervention, therefore, is critical.[80]

Departing from the models in the previous article, an analysis of bystanders was carried out in Australia based on qualitative interviews with targets of

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75. See also Mitchell, Hirschman, Angelone et al. (2004), which is a foundation study and who, like Angelone (2005), present convincing reflections on the laboratory experiment as a methodology in this part of the research field.

76. See in particular Foubert & Bridges (2017).

77. Bradley-Geist, Rivera, I., & Geringer(2015).

78. Latan & Darley (1970).

79. Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly (2005).

80. Ibid., pp. 303-304.

workplace sexual harassment (N=29) and descriptions of formal complaints from all states (N=284) in 2009.[81] In total, 20 interviews and 54 formal complaints were analysed in the study. They were selected because they contained relevant information on the significance of bystanders. This study shows in particular that the incidence of sexual harassment per se generates a broad group of bystanders with emotional, professional and other links to the targets of sexual harassment: the target's family and co-workers get dragged into the process.

Most common is that bystanders support the victim of harassment for a time after the incident, and least common is that bystanders intervene in an ongoing situation. But without a doubt the most frequent response of all was *inaction* – a category that one of the authors added to one of the models. The study does not provide any direct evidence for the form of bystander intervention that is the most effective, but includes a literature review which indicates that direct and clear interventions have the greatest impact. The material in the study is unfortunately too limited to carry out statistical analyses of gender differences. On the other hand, the study confirms an identification model which states that bystanders take action primarily in relation to victims who are similar to themselves. The latter is a result that is confirmed in several other studies in other contexts when it comes to sexual harassment[82] and harassment related to ethnicity.[83] Among heterosexual students, there is a particular correlation when it comes to their willingness to take action as bystanders when the victim is not heterosexual. The will to act increases significantly when the bystander, when the bystander has studied courses about social issues, and when the bystander has friends who are not heterosexual. Generally, this applies to women to a greater degree than men.[84]

Preventive models

Two of the thirty most frequently cited[85] articles in the research field are comprehensive studies of the implementation of bystander interventions in academia. The study described here is a large, research-based evaluation of a specific intervention aimed at preventing violence in more ways than just sexual harassment: the Green Dot bystander intervention.[86] This initiative, which was initially financed by the University of Kentucky women's rights organisation and even today is not profit-driven, was developed within that university in 2006. Green Dot is now regularly used at universities in a number of US states and has also been validated in South Africa, Korea and Alaska. To date, 575 elementary schools are also enrolled in the programme.

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81. McDonald, Charlesworth & Graham (2016).

82. Chroni, Grigoriou, Hatzigeorgiadis et al. (2013), Franklin, Brady & Jurek (2017), Hitlan, Schneider & Walsh (2006).

83. Low, Radhakrishnan, Schneider et al. (2007).

84. Dessel, Goodman & Woodford (2017), cf. also Brown & Messman-Moore (2010).

85. Field normalized citation by the Swedish Research Council in conjunction with Kvinnsam, the University of Gothenburg Library, during work on another international research review of sexual harassment in academia (see Bondestam & Lundqvist (2018)).

86. Coker, Fisher, Bush et al. (2015), Coker, Bush, Fisher et al. (2016).

The Green Dot bystander intervention has two clear ideas: to involve all/the majority (as bystanders) in a long-term commitment to continuous violence prevention, and to do this using research-based knowledge about sexual violence as the foundation for various perspectives and initiatives.[87] The aim here is not to argue that this particular programme is the most suitable one to implement in the higher education sector in general – a programme that is so clearly context-specific in many respects (and in fact should be for it to work well) – but merely to provide some background that details more about its origins and content in order to better understand how the results of such an intervention should be interpreted.

A group of researchers launched a research-based evaluation[88] of Green Dot in academia by comparing one campus (N=2,768) where the intervention had been implemented (the intervention campus) with two other campuses (N=4,258) where it had not (the comparison campuses). The evaluation was based on large survey studies and random selection (however with some reservations) since the analyses principally required multiple regression analyses. The content focus was mainly on the frequency of various forms of violence. The results show overall that the percentage of victims of violence was significantly lower at the intervention campus. Sexual harassment emerged clearly as one of the forms of violence where there was a significant difference found between the intervention campus (fewer victimisations) and the comparison campuses (more victimisations). The study also presents many results concerning other forms of violence, and for most of these too, the trend is similar. There are some partially contradictory results, especially in the case of men's responses to the intervention, and a lengthier analysis of the study's methodological constraints results in the authors contenting themselves with being cautiously optimistic about bystander interventions like this one.

Another research-based evaluation[89] of Green Dot was carried out by the same authors but this time in the form of a longitudinal study of first-year students over four years with the same structure, selection process, methods and analysis as the previous study. Here too, a similarly significant difference between the intervention campus and the comparison campuses was found when it came to sexual harassment, and in this case it was a difference that endured over time. There is also another study with comparable results (and methodological limitations).[90] The impact of the Green Dot intervention for men remains unclear in certain respects and this may, according to the authors, have its explanation in the programme's structure, but also in the chosen measurement methods. Other more targeted bystander intervention programmes in academia (where single-sex groups participate in intervention efforts over time) have been shown to have positive effects by contrib-

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87. More info can be obtained here: https://alteristic.org/services/green-dot/green-dot-colleges/.
88. Coker, Fisher, Bush et al. (2015).
89. Coker, Bush, Fisher et al. (2016).
90. See also an earlier, less robust evaluation by the same group of researchers in Coker, Cook-Craig & Williams (2011).

uting to a reduction in men's violence and an increase in their propensity to act to counter other men's risky behaviour, for example.[91]

There are several more or less successful intervention programmes in which bystanders are an important component that have been applied both within and outside academia and evaluated by research. In particular, there are a number of good articles that analyse the literature and, from this analysis, summarise the main features in, and provide models for, intervention programmes that include bystanders. A frequently cited study[92] chose to approach the question of preventive interventions linked to sexual harassment in the workplace by focusing on a violence prevention model from the literature. The division into primary, secondary and tertiary prevention strategies clarifies how various forms of intervention can be assumed to have a substantial impact on various problems. They also added two of their own dimensions to the model by specifying the timing (of the prevention strategy itself) and function (the process used). It provides a very useful overview of where, when and how preventive strategies should be launched (see Annex 5). What is missing thus is an understanding of the importance of bystander interventions, but based on how other such programmes are designed, and with the aid of the existing model's design, it is relatively easy to conclude that bystander initiatives belong among primary preventive efforts. This being particularly the case if they are if they are formulated as ongoing, inclusive interventions that target the majority of the members of an organisation.

Summary and analysis

This relatively limited part of the research field nonetheless provides many promising conclusions concerning efforts to prevent sexual harassment in academia. The following are particularly notable:

• The absence of efforts targeting individuals who belong to the majority culture can create a situation which normalises sexual harassment.
• The likelihood of taking action/intervening as a bystander when sexual harassment occurs is based on gender and perceived similarity in terms of position within the organisation and experience.
• The demands on or expectations of bystanders should be included in the formulation of policies and training efforts.
• Systematic training of bystanders at a higher education institution, in line with the results from large impact studies, reduces the incidence of sexual harassment by up to 30 per cent.

Sexual harassment occurs in a context and thus in itself creates a broad group of bystanders with emotional, professional and other links to the victim. Generally, the research focuses on bystanders as potential actors who respond to and stop or prevent sexual harassment from occurring. But bystanders are a group that exist not only before and when sexual harassment occurs, but even afterwards. In view of what we know about reprisals from colleagues

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91. See for example Field (2011).
92. McDonald, Charlesworth & Graham (2015, 2016).

once it becomes known that a complaint has been made – such as experiences of ostracism, isolation and negative gossip – bystanders can also be included in the design and development of support structures.

Unless targeted interventions and systematic training are implemented, it appears that bystanders risk acting in ways that support the perpetrator that is, becoming co-creators of a situation which normalises sexual harassment. We know that perceived similarity with the victim affects the likelihood of bystanders taking action when harassment occurs. We know less about how perceived similarity or other relationships with the perpetrator might affect bystanders. Studies show that when harassment is perpetrated by a person in a superior position against an individual in an inferior position within an organisation, bystanders are three times less likely to interact with the victim. This can provide some inkling of how power dimensions affect bystanders. This also highlights the importance of including a gender perspective, which can provide knowledge about the organisational climate, leadership, working conditions, gender and power, hierarchies and the consequences of violence and harassment for both individuals and groups – in research about bystanders and in designing bystander programmes.

Organisations and leadership

It is part of our task from UHR to include, where relevant, studies of organisations other than academic ones. In doing so, general organisational factors emerged, irrespective of the specific workplace. For this reason, it was decided to include a specific section in which issues related to organisations and leadership are described more generally. The organisation and its leadership are often highlighted in the research field as key in combating sexual harassment, but usually only with more or less routine comments about the importance of good leadership or a well-functioning organisation. It is however possible to detect a change over time, where explanatory models focused on the individual are in fact increasingly being replaced by questions about organisations and their leadership. The majority of the studies that focus on organisations and leadership in our total list, which consisted of 5,561 records, were published in the 2000s. In many studies, a clearer link was sought between research on sexual harassment and adjacent fields such as organisational theory and workplace aggression.[93]

> Put simply, we know that organizational factors are fundamental, and therefore we should move toward identifying the organizational policies and procedures that are most critical for preventing the conditions that create an organizational climate that is favourable to sexual harassment.[94]

This section should be read as an attempt to take seriously these routine comments and recommendations occurring in most of the studies in the research

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93. See in particular Lee (2018).
94. Willness, Steel & Lee 2007, pp. 143–144.

field and to compile a brief overview of the arenas and issues raised concerning organisation-specific factors and leadership in relation to the incidence and prevention of sexual harassment. The starting point was questions such as *which* organisational factors and *what* type of leadership can prevent sexual harassment, and in what context?

Around 20 articles were selected based on the criterion that they explored the interplay between organisation-specific factors, sexual harassment and preventive efforts. These articles were read in their entirety, and six of them have been summarised and may serve to exemplify the results and discussions that are repeated in the majority of these studies. This limited number does not provide scope to draw any major conclusions, but our selection does point towards other approaches and frameworks of understanding than matters of policy, education and training, complaint handling and support structures.

The chapter below provides summaries of the six articles that discuss questions of leadership, working conditions, workplace climate and control at workplaces in relation to efforts to prevent sexual harassment. In view of the limited quantity of material, it is not surprising that academia does not constitute a field within this field. Consequently, it cannot either be used as a selection criterion for this section. The section below thus describes which factors ought to be focused on in order to establish organisations that are resistant to sexual and other types of harassment. The studies summarised below should be read as attempts to identify and dissect specific organisational factors and leadership styles, and to describe how these relate to the incidence and prevention of sexual harassment.

Organisational research is a separate and very big research field and this section makes no claims on reproducing the knowledge that exists in that field. However, the research field on sexual harassment is described as something that has largely developed separately and not in parallel with other related research.[95] Previous themes in this report, such as policy, education and training, complaint handling, support structures and bystanders are always part of an organisational context. This chapter looks specifically at how organisation-specific factors that are not necessarily designed to deal with sexual harassment nonetheless impact and may operate positively or negatively in relation to preventing and managing the incidence of sexual harassment.

Passive leadership

Lee, J. 2018. Passive leadership and sexual harassment. *Personnel Review, 47(3)*, 594-612.

Early on in this article, the author argues that research on sexual harassment needs to incorporate knowledge and research from the broader field of workplace aggression, since sexual harassment can be understood as a subcategory of this. The author also argues that sexual harassment is often understood as a specific form of harassment, distinct from other types of

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95. Lee (2018); Mueller (2001)

aggression – something which has led to the research and literature in the field developing separately from a lot of other adjacent research. This also applies to the lack of empirical studies in how specific leadership styles are linked to the incidence of sexual harassment. In spite of the possibly significant role a manager plays in encouraging or preventing workplace aggression, almost no empirical studies have investigated the relationship between passive leadership and sexual harassment. This study therefore aimed to explore the relationship between passive leadership (avoiding responsibility and hesitating to intervene) as an organisational factor, observed hostility at workplaces, and the incidence of sexual harassment.

The study was based on data from an online survey of full-time employees (N=403) in various organisations and industries in the USA, with a response rate of 59 per cent. Half of the respondents were women and half were men. Represented industries included the construction industry, service industry, retail, finance, education and health. The respondents were asked to report the kind of leadership in their workplace using the Multi-Factor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ-5X), how often they had observed or been subjected to hostility in their workplace in the past two years, and if they had been subjected to sexual harassment based on the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ).

The results from the study showed that passive leadership increases the risk of sexual harassment for both male and female employees. The results also showed that the correlation between hostility and sexual harassment is greater for female employees working in a male-dominated workplace than for male employees. This study shows that passive leadership can contribute to general hostility in the organisation – something which in turn is related to employee sexual harassment victimisation.[96]

The study concludes with recommendations for organisations that want to reduce and prevent the incidence of sexual harassment: to monitor and screen out managers and executives who exhibit passive leadership behaviours, and to create a work environment where collegiate and civil social interactions are encouraged and valued highly.[97] The study also recommends offering education and training in proactive leadership skills, showing an interest in and being actively involved in how employees are treated in the organisation, and to be sensitive to potential sexual harassment and intervene in a timely manner. Sexual harassment most often occurs in a larger context of general negativity in terms of interpersonal behaviours embedded in the organisation, since organisations that tolerate one form of negative interpersonal behaviour probably also tolerate others.

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96. See also Offerman & Matamut (2002) for similar conclusions on the central role of leadership in preventing sexual harassment, for an analysis of the impact of managerial level on reporting, and the consequences of sexual harassment when the perpetrator is a person in a managerial position.
97. See Settles, I. H., Cortina, L. M., Malley, J. et al. (2006) for similar results from a study conducted in academia with recommendations that managers should encourage collegiality, ensure a level playing field between men and women by, for example, ensuring that departmental 'chores' are shared equally within the department, and actively discourage sexist talk.

In addition, the study shows that the gender ratio in the workplace is an organisational factor that can strengthen the link between hostility and sexual harassment. The results show that the indirect consequences of passive leadership are more apparent for women who work in a male-dominated workplace. For men, the gender ratio in the workplace is not significant (with the reservation from the authors that this condition, that is men working in female-dominated workplaces, has small numbers in the study).[98]

Working conditions

Ollo-López, A., & Nuñez, I. 2018. Exploring the organizational drivers of sexual harassment: Empowered jobs against isolation and tolerant climates. *Employee Relations*, 40(2), 174-192.

This study used data from two national surveys on working conditions in Spain: the National Survey on Working Conditions, 2007 and 2010 (N=19,000). These national surveys consist of interviews containing questions about working conditions, education, personal characteristics and financial and organisational factors from different industries. The surveys also include the question "Have you been the victim of sexual harassment in your workplace?".

The aim of this study was to investigate and identify organisational drivers of sexual harassment. The study contributes to the international research field in two ways: firstly by testing a number of hypotheses about the link between the incidence of sexual harassment and organisational factors such as empowerment, the level of monitoring and control, and formalisation; and secondly by broadening the field from the focus on North America, where the majority of studies have been carried out, to include a large body of material from Spain.

The results from the study show how the risk of being subjected to sexual harassment is greater in organisations that have a high tolerance for negative behaviours.[99] However, assistance from colleagues or managers has no significant impact on the likelihood of being subjected to sexual harassment. Similarly, neither a high level of formalisation, nor a high level of monitoring and control of employees provides any protection against sexual harassment. By contrast, both men and women working in organisations that have implemented strategies to balance work and family life, such as flexible working hours, report a lower incidence of sexual harassment.[100] The type of contract an employee works under is described in the study as the main socio-economic factor related to the risk of being subjected to sexual harassment. Women in the workplace employed by temporary employment

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98. See also Salin (2008) for results concerning differences among male and female managers when it comes to being able to set up active measures against harassment in the workplace.

99. See also Dresden, B.E., Dresden, A.Y., & Ridge, R.D. (2018); Bates, C. K., Jagsi, R. R., Gordon, L., et al. (2018) for discussions about negative workplace climates associated with masculinity in academia, and "locker room talk".

100. This finding is also supported in Timmerman & Bajema (2000), who describe this as a gender-specific aspect of the organisational climate and also include men and women being treated equally and that there is a positive attitude in the workplace to combining work with family life.

agencies report being harassed 68.5 per cent more often than women who are direct employees of the workplace.[101]

The structural characteristics of organisations

Mueller, C., De Coster, S., & Estes, S. 2001. Sexual Harassment in the Workplace: Unanticipated Consequences of Modern Social Control in Organizations. *Work and Occupations*, **28(4), 411-446.**

This study describes previous research on sexual harassment in the workplace as falling into one of two parallel tracks. The causes of sexual harassment, such as individual and organisation-specific factors, constitutes one track, while the consequences of being harassed, such as job stress, intention to quit and job dissatisfaction, is another track. Unfortunately, the study concludes, researchers in general have not focused on both these tracks at the same time in one context, which has thus prevented researchers from fully exploring the relationship between cause and effect. The aim of this study was to do just that and to develop a model for sexual harassment which takes into account both its causes and effects. The study is based on theories of modern social control in workplaces where direct control of employees has been replaced by more indirect control through the introduction of collaborative processes and structures to increase employee job satisfaction and commitment to the organisation, and to cultivate a sense of belonging and community among employees.

Four structural characteristics of organisations that were expected to produce increased job satisfaction and engagement were identified in the research:

- Social integration – that workers are socialised into a strong organisational culture of collegial support and collegial relationships that even extends beyond the workplace.
- Structural differentiation – where individual mobility within the organisation is facilitated.
- The decentralisation of decision-making – leading to a feeling of autonomy and empowerment for employees.
- Formalisation and legitimacy – where order is maintained by a system of rules and procedures that protect the rights of employees.

With this model, the study contributes to the sexual harassment research field in two ways. On the one hand, it contributes by broadening the definition of what are interesting organisational factors in relation to sexual harassment, from a previous focus on specific factors such as policies and levels of tolerance for harassment in the workplace, to include other factors that have not been designed specifically as measures to combat sexual harassment, such as control strategies. On the other hand, the study explores whether the

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101. In their study, Hennekam & Bennet (2017) emphasise precarious working conditions, competition for work and unequal power relationships for women in creative professions as important factors for understanding sexual harassment victimisation. Therefore, among other things this study calls for trade unions to help strengthen the rights of workers in order to prevent sexual harassment.

relationship between organisational factors, individual characteristics and sexual harassment operates in the same way for women as for men.

The study was based on data collected in 1993 from a survey of employees in a large company in the telecommunications industry in the USA (N=6,485). The empirical material contains information about the organisational context, individual characteristics, sexual harassment victimisation, and negative work outcomes.

One finding of the study is that organisational factors which ostensibly have nothing to do with sexual harassment have an impact on the incidence of sexual harassment and that the relationship between sexual harassment victimisation and negative work outcomes and intention to quit could be explained by these organisational factors. This seems to apply regardless of gender. Modern control mechanisms such as those described in the bullet list above have consequences that go beyond the anticipated impacts such as increased job satisfaction, reduced job stress and greater inclination to stay in the organisation. These modern control mechanisms also reduce sexual harassment victimisation in the workplace. The study concludes that sexual harassment needs to be understood in relation to the organisation as a whole, and prevention efforts should include both everyday strategies for organising work as well as more specific policies and processes.

Work climate

Snyder, J. A., Scherer, H. L., & Fisher, B. S. 2012. Social organization and social ties: Their effects on sexual harassment victimization in the workplace. *Work*, 42(1), 137-150.

The aim of this study was to test if the social disorganization theory from criminology is useful in understanding the incidence and prevention of sexual harassment in workplaces. Social disorganisation theory postulates that structural features in a geographical area (often a residential area/city block), such as ethnic heterogeneity, social mobility and poverty, can lead to the breakdown of social institutions and social ties in the area, which in turn can result in an increased risk of victimisation. Empirical studies of social disorganisation theory outside the context of residential areas have rarely been carried out, but the authors of this study see parallels between the residential area and the workplace. The authors argue that it can be important to include the interplay between the workplace character and social ties in efforts to prevent sexual harassment. Social disorganisation theory can provide a better understanding of what triggers sexual harassment and influences its continuation and, through this, provide guidance on what workplace characteristics should be specifically encouraged in order to achieve change. The study thus aimed to test social disorganisation theory in new contexts and also to add to the knowledge about how various organisational and social

factors impact the risk of victimisation, thus facilitating better targeting of preventive efforts.[102]

The study uses data from two years (2002 and 2006) of the Quality of Working Life Module (QWL), which is part of the national General Social Survey in the USA, (N=1796) and (N=1734), respectively. Participants in the survey were over the age of 18 and resided in the US and the material was collected via interviews in person or by phone. Examples of variables that QWL covers are workplace productivity, time management, safety in the workplace, social ties in the workplace and workplace resources.

The results of the study showed that women reported a significantly higher incidence of sexual harassment than men (11.32 per cent compared with 2.77 per cent). The statistical analysis was carried out separately for men and women in order to investigate the organisational and social factors affecting women's and men's risk of sexual harassment victimisation, respectively, in various ways. The result showed that five variables were significantly related to sexual harassment, in line with a disorganised workplace having a higher risk of sexual harassment victimisation. Lower productivity, poor time management, inadequate resources and administrative support and managers not positively acknowledging work efforts were all factors related to an increased risk of sexual harassment victimisation. Furthermore, the study identified a correlation between poorer social ties between employees, and between managers and employees in the workplace, and an increased risk of sexual harassment victimisation for both women and men. The results indicate that individuals who identify their workplaces as disorganised will experience an increased risk of sexual harassment victimisation, regardless of their gender.

The study concluded that active preventive efforts ought to focus on building stronger relationships between employees and management and to train and support staff in how to manage and use their time effectively.[103] The specific conditions and characteristics of the workplace need to be identified and incorporated into efforts to prevent sexual harassment.

> The importance of identifying more specific workplace characteristics that are related to sexual harassment has prevention implications. First, if specific characteristics, such as productivity and time management, are related to sexual harassment risk, preventions can be tailored to target these specific influences. (p. 147)

The limitations highlighted in the study refer to causality. While the results show that specific characteristics of the organisation, such as productivity, workplace relationships and other processes affect the incidence of sexual

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102. See Townsley & Geist (2000) for a feminist poststructuralist perspective on the work climate. Through interviews, this study explores how gender, resistance and oppression enact hegemonic discourses and gendered organisations within academia.

103. In Sweden for example, we have the Swedish Work Environment Authority's *Organisational and social work environment (AFS 2015:4Eng)* provisions which came into force on 31 March 2016, in which similar issues are raised.

harassment, the authors also present the idea that the incidence of sexual harassment can shape the organisation as an effect of these factors. Given our knowledge of the effects of sexual harassment victimisation, where for example intention to quit and lack of motivation are well supported in the research, the interplay between organisational factors and the incidence of sexual harassment needs to be investigated further.

Sex-based harassment

Kabat-Farr, D., Cortina, L., & Kovera, Margaret Bull. 2014. Sex-Based Harassment in Employment: New Insights into Gender and Context. *Law and Human Behavior, 38(1)*, **58-72.**

The aim of this study was to empirically explore two different types of harassment: gender-based harassment, and sexual harassment and unique aspects of men's experience of harassment. The study calls for the research field to become more refined in capturing different types of harassment, individuals' experiences of harassment, and developing a better understanding of the contexts that enable sexual harassment. The study also refines the terminology, emphasising that the term *sexual harassment* has resulted in a focus on *sexual* rather than *gender* and concludes that an alternative term that can be used to accommodate a greater complexity is *sex-based harassment*. The study therefore used both terms to be able to relate its findings to the legislation and previous research and to encourage reconsideration of these terms.

The aim of the study was to explore how the under-representation of a gender in the workplace can potentially influence the risk of two types of harassment and to explore potential gender differences in how under-representation relates to harassment in the workplace. The study's goals were to understand how a gender imbalance, that is, an under-representation of one's 'own' group, impacts harassment.

The study was based on material from surveys conducted in three different workplace domains: the court system (N=1662), academia (N=2772, response rate 66% = 1711) and the military (N=19960). This summary of the study focuses on the academia domain, as this is the focus of our task here. The study did not include faculty (research/teaching staff) but rather other occupational groups such as administrative and service staff. The motivation for this was that research/teaching staff are more autonomous and do not work in groups to the same extent as these other occupational groups.

The results of the study show that for all three workplace domains generally, an under-representation of women results in a higher risk of being subjected to both forms of harassment, with the greatest difference for gender

harassment.[104] For men, it appears that belonging to an under-represented group acts protectively, that is, working as a male in a female-dominated workplace appears instead to be protective against sexual harassment victimisation in particular. Throughout, the study found that employees (regardless of gender) who work in domains where there is greater integration of women in the workplace reported a lower incidence of harassment. This result led the authors to recommend that organisations ought to invest heavily in recruiting, retaining and promoting women in order to reduce harassment. The goal ought to be well-integrated, structurally egalitarian workplaces where women and men share power and leadership equally.

System-level interventions

Buchanan, N., Settles, I., Hall, A., & O'Connor, R. 2014. A Review of Organizational Strategies for Reducing Sexual Harassment: Insights from the U. S. Military. *Journal of Social Issues*, **70(4), 687-702.**

The aim of this study was to examine whether and how system-level interventions can reduce the incidence of sexual harassment in organisations. The article uses best practices, previous research and data from the US military's surveys to illustrate how policies, procedures and training relate to women's experiences and a broader perspective on sexual harassment. The Department of Defense in the US have regularly conducted surveys of the incidence, reporting process and consequences of sexual harassment for over 20 years. In combination with a high incidence of sexual harassment in the US Armed Forces and its large number of employees, this makes the military an important organisation in which to explore the relationships between sexual harassment and organisational factors. The study used data from women who responded to the survey in 2002 (N=9,725).

The US Armed Forces[105] is a male-dominated, hierarchical and highly masculinised workplace and military personnel report high levels of sexual harassment. In the 2002 survey for example, 59 per cent of the respondent women reported that they had experienced sexual harassment in the past twelve months. This has led to leaders in the military having established policies and procedures in an attempt to reduce the incidence of sexual harassment. This organisation therefore constitutes an excellent subject for closer examination of the relationship between system-level interventions (interventions at the organisational level) and women's experiences of sexual harassment.

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104. This result is consistent with much of the literature on sexual harassment. The study by Cogin & Fish (2007) also shows that gender bias in a workplace relates to a higher incidence of sexual harassment. The study also concludes that this is one of the most difficult factors to deal with.

   See also Settles, I. H., Cortina, L. M., Malley, J. et al. (2006) for a discussion of the differences in women's sexual harassment victimisation in academic science compared with social sciences. Women in academic science experienced their work environment – as a result of their experiences of harassment and perceptions of the work climate – as more hostile, which was related in the study to male dominance in academic science.

105. The Swedish Defence University has also published a number of studies of sexual harassment in the armed forces in Sweden. See for example Estrada AX & Berggren AW, (2009).

The results of the study show that women who felt that the leadership were making active efforts to stop sexual harassment and for respectful behaviour reported a lower incidence of sexual harassment in the last 12 months, were more satisfied with the outcome of their complaints about sexual harassment (if made), experienced the training as more effective, and perceived sexual harassment as less of a problem "today than four years ago". Active, clear leadership demonstrating that sexual harassment is not tolerated[106] and equality between men and women are key to an organisation's efforts to prevent sexual harassment. The study also recommends that organisations should regularly carry out confidential assessments of the incidence of sexual harassment and the workplace climate among all employees. An interesting fact is that this study calls for more longitudinal studies to investigate whether policies, procedures and training reduce the incidence of sexual harassment over a longer period of time. And despite the fact that the authors state that the Department of Defense has conducted these surveys regularly for over 20 years, this material is not used in the article to study changes over time. The study thus does not provide an answer to whether system-level interventions have had positive effects on the incidence of sexual harassment over time in the US Armed Forces.

In its concluding remarks, the article calls for more research about perpetrators based on the need to know more about what motivates them to harass others, such as exerting power or enforcing gender conformity in the organisation. A shift of focus that could direct organisations towards other types of measures and interventions.

Summary and analysis

Subject to the material for this part of the review being limited, and significantly limited in relation to the much broader field of organisational theory, in summary it can be noted that:

- Passive leadership increases the risk for both male and female employees of being subjected to sexual harassment, while clear and active leadership which demonstrates that sexual harassment will not be tolerated prevents sexual harassment.
- Structural characteristics of organisations that are expected to produce increased job satisfaction and engagement also reduce the incidence of sexual harassment.
- The type of contract that employees work under is related to their risk of being subjected to sexual harassment, where more secure jobs result in a reduced risk of victimisation.
- Well-integrated, structurally egalitarian workplaces where women and men share power and leadership equally prevent sexual harassment.
- Women in male-dominated workplaces are at greater risk of sexual harassment than in workplaces characterised by gender integration.
- Recruiting, retaining and promoting women in an organisation can prevent sexual harassment.

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106. See also Offerman & Malamut (2002) for similar results concerning the importance of active leadership.

Including research on organisations and leadership in research on sexual harassment makes apparent that sexual harassment occurs in a context and is one of several forms of aggression in the workplace, with both specific and general components. There is support in the research for an interplay between negative organisational factors and the incidence of sexual harassment. However, causality has not been established since the incidence of sexual harassment can increase the incidence of negative organisational factors. In order to design effective efforts to prevent sexual harassment in academia, in all probability it is relevant to identify *both* general organisational factors *and* specific organisational factors that have an impact on the incidence of sexual harassment.

These studies leave us with more questions than answers – because they are so few and so small, but also because similar studies have not been conducted within academia. What kind of leadership exists in academia, what kind of leadership is rewarded, what kind of leadership limits the incidence of sexual harassment? How should one balance the different management and control systems, who works under what conditions in academia, what are the characteristics of academia as a workplace, and what are the consequences of sexual harassment and other forms of victimisation? There are no studies of sexual harassment in academia related to organisations and leadership.

The fact that academia is managed and controlled by a least two parallel structures – line management and collegiate management – is one basis for initiating

research specifically exploring organisations and leadership in relation to efforts to prevent sexual harassment in academia. If organisational theory lacks the gender dimension in general, and a focus on sexual harassment in particular, the risk of using it as a basis for preventive efforts is that the dimensions of power gender, along with the perpetrators, are rendered invisible, and that links to knowledge about sexual violence are weakened. It is interesting to note how negative organisational factors linked to management, leadership and the work climate coincide with the negative consequences of sexual harassment victimisation, which have substantial support in the research. The question of cause and effect is thus something that needs further investigation. For example, when the findings of one of the studies mentioned above recommend stronger social ties between managers and employees, we need to ask ourselves what happens when it is a manager who subjects an employee to sexual harassment?

Sexual harassment and gender-based victimisation are problems that exist within academia and are related to gendered structures that create inequality and unequal opportunities. Preventive efforts that include more organisational factors than those specifically designed to prevent sexual harassment require knowledge about the organisation and its specific characteristics. What are the characteristics of academia in Sweden as a workplace today and who can legitimately answer that question?

Summary of the research review

In summary, the international research field gives a picture of efforts to prevent sexual harassment as bureaucratic and based on legal requirements, without any evidence of their impact on men and women victims of sexual harassment. The following is a summary of research-based knowledge about preventive efforts divided into the themes for this research review.

For policies to be applied and serve a purpose, they need to:
- Engage with the culture of academia rather than focusing on access to a complaints procedure
- Be based on lived experience of harassment
- Place sexual harassment in a context
- Aim to function as protection for the right to self-determination and non-discrimination
- Be both individual- and group-based (this means for example that policy should address both direct help and support for victims and group-based measures that focus on gender and power in the workplace)
- Be implemented bottom-up or from the inside rather than top-down and from the outside
- Be combined with knowledge, a mandate, resources and active case managers, in harmony with continuing education and training and information initiatives.

The planning, design and content of training initiatives should take into account:
- The sex of the instructor, the gender composition of the group being trained, and normative assumptions about gender
- Organisation-specific conditions for preventing sexual harassment
- Active and passive resistance to change in general and knowledge about violence and vulnerability more specifically in organisations
- The support of senior management, an easily navigated organisation for preventive efforts and their associated training initiatives, and the active participation of other managers in preventive efforts, have emerged as key to how well training initiatives work.
- That instructor-led and computer-based training have principally the same effects, but in combination they optimise reflexive *and* affective learning.

Complaint handling and support structures should be based on:
- The fact that research-based evaluations of actual procedures for dealing with complaints at higher education institutions are lacking.

- A number of studies paradoxically arguing for better procedures while simultaneously criticising the ineffectiveness of such procedures in general.
- A shift having occurred over time in the research, from seeking justice within the legal context to individual redress.
- The fact that redress as the goal for complaint handling is not achieved through conciliation and other forms of financial solutions.
- In recent research, that a number of models point to the importance of the establishment of support structures for those who have suffered sexual harassment, in principle regardless of whether actual procedures for complaint handling exist, and if so, regardless of whether they are effective or not.

Bystanders constitute a group that can operate preventively, but then it should be taken into account that:

- The absence of efforts targeting individuals who belong to the majority culture can create a situation which normalises sexual harassment.
- The likelihood of taking action/intervening as a bystander when sexual harassment occurs is based on gender and perceived similarity in terms of position within the organisation and experience.
- The demands on or expectations of bystanders should be included in the formulation of policies and training efforts.
- That systematic training of bystanders at a higher education institution, in line with the results from large impact studies, reduces the incidence of sexual harassment by up to 30 per cent.

Research exploring organisations, leadership and sexual harassment shows that:

- Passive leadership increases the risk for both male and female employees of being subjected to sexual harassment, while clear and active leadership which demonstrates that sexual harassment will not be tolerated prevents sexual harassment.
- Structural characteristics of organisations that are expected to produce increased job satisfaction and engagement also reduce the incidence of sexual harassment.
- The type of contract that employees work under is related to their risk of being subjected to sexual harassment, where more secure jobs result in a reduced risk of victimisation.
- That well-integrated, structurally egalitarian workplaces where women and men share power and leadership equally prevents sexual harassment.
- Women in male-dominated workplaces are at greater risk of sexual harassment than in workplaces where there is gender integration.
- Recruiting, retaining and promoting women prevents sexual harassment.

The limitations and challenges of the research field

- The research field's position, both horizontally (mainly the USA) and vertically (its low status). How does this affect the knowledge that the field generates and what can be used in the Swedish context?
- In research on prevention, the link to knowledge about violence in general and violence prevention in particular is weak.
- As in much of the field in general, the perspective of the perpetrator is conspicuous by its absence also in the research on prevention.
- The majority of the research consists of small cross-sectional studies, while longitudinal comparative studies, evaluation research and follow-up studies are in the minority.
- Research on bystanders stands out as a relatively new field with interesting relevance for preventive efforts, but initiatives and research in this subfield in Sweden as well as in the Nordic countries is lacking.

Concluding remarks
– a more nuanced picture

A research review is able to highlight specific measures and interventions that have been carried out at the international level to prevent sexual harassment and also provide guidance on the effectiveness of these measures based on the quality of the study. In this report, we have attempted to present the general themes that can be discerned in material that deals with the prevention perspective on sexual harassment in academia. A research review also provides the opportunity to say something more generally about the field itself and the issues that can be glimpsed at its boundaries. What questions does the field appear to be interested in posing and how are these questions posed? What questions are not being posed, or at least are not normative for the research? What questions were being posed ten, twenty, thirty years ago and why are they not being posed now? Below are some thoughts from our analysis on what we see as key to continuing the conversation about preventing gender-based victimisation in academia.

Package solutions are inadequate

In the material for this research review, preventive efforts appear in general to be in the form of package solutions. The package solution contains policy, education and training, complaint handling and support structures. These are primarily bureaucratic instruments/tools that can be understood as a floor level for dealing with the reality in which we find ourselves. Policies must exist and be applied, education and training must be provided, complaints must be handled correctly, and victims must get the support they need. The material studied in this review can provide guidance on *how* these efforts can and ought to be organised, although there is no evidence that this kind of package solution actually prevents the incidence of sexual harassment. Could it be that this "package solution" is predicated on an idea of us having come further than what the evidence-based knowledge actually says we have? For example, it assumes that management has acknowledged the existence of the problem, that sound knowledge of the forms and consequences of victimisation is well-established, that the experiences of victims are taken seriously, that procedures for complaint handling are in place, that accounts of victimisation are interpreted sympathetically, and that power, hierarchies and gender have no impact on our daily lives within academia.

In-depth knowledge of prevalence in comparative contexts

In order to develop preventive efforts, we need to know what the situation looks like in academia in Sweden today. We need to carry out comparative studies to answer questions such as: What are the differences between universities, departments and faculties and why? We need to pose different questions to get different answers and we need to listen, believe in and

respect the answers that we get. Our point of departure needs to be the lived experiences of harassment – the time aspect, its impact on the lifecycle of the victim, their needs for reparation. We also need to take in knowledge from adjacent research fields and be prepared to challenge and change fundamental structures and ways of working in academia. The private is personal as much as it is academic and political.

We need to see and explore the complex reality where it is not always possible to separate a person's private and professional lives, and where a person's experiences of harassment are influenced by several different structures simultaneously. Preventive efforts need to be able to call into question the private/professional dichotomy, experiences of sexual violence and gender-based harassment from the perspective of a person's life history *and* explore the specific circumstances and conditions in workplaces, the content and function of leadership, organisation-specific factors, etc.

Bystanders' impact means taking the majority culture as the starting point

In the research field, studies of bystanders indicate positive results when it comes to reducing the incidence of sexual harassment. The knowledge that through non-action the majority risk contributing to the normalisation of sexual harassment identifies the importance of including bystanders in all aspects of preventive efforts, such as policies and education and training. Bystanders ought to be understood across a number of dimensions in future studies and preventive efforts – they are vital players in creating inclusive work and learning environments, they can act as critical actors in situations where harassment risks occurring or actually does occur. They contribute to effective, instructive support structures, but should also be understood as potential perpetrators, which needs to be addressed with effective training initiatives.

Organisations and leadership are a neglected phenomenon in research

Despite repeated arguments from the research field about the fundamental role that organisations and leadership can play in efforts to prevent sexual harassment, the lessons learned from research fields where there is great knowledge concerning organisations and leadership are not included to any great degree in research on sexual harassment. For academia as an organisation, there are specific aspects that need to be addressed in the future. Some of the more key aspects are:

- How different forms of governance (line management and collegiate management) can work together in preventive efforts
- The way in which competition for money and position, career paths, the acquisition of qualifications system, mobility, internationalisation, gendered understandings of who is qualified and what research is, etc., can contribute to the risk of and vulnerability to harassment in various forms

- How a hierarchy of research, education and administration risks helping to facilitate harassment
- The way in which precarious employment creates greater victimisation, fueling under-reporting, strengthens the existing reluctance to report harassment, enables reprisals, etc.
- How opportunities to combine family life with working life have consequences for how harassment is perceived and what consequences it will have in both the short and long term.

Intersectionality

Mobility and internationalisation mean in part new forms of harassment and thus also influence the design and implementation of preventive measures. In addition to this, the terminology used to describe sexual harassment needs to evolve per se. Sexual harassment is multi-dimensional because it is intertwined with other forms of harassment. Consequently, preventive solutions are not necessarily found in tools specifically organised for the purpose. Intersectional perspectives on harassment – both in relation to the social and academic position of victimized individuals and in relation to the interaction between different forms of harassment – are key if academia in Sweden is going to be able to provide for and offer work and study environments for all. Sexual harassment occurs, and continues to occur, in the Swedish higher education sector.

Moving on

There is nothing in the research field that indicates a general reduction in the problem, either in Sweden or abroad.[107] There is no room to explore the reasons for this within the framework of this task. In conclusion however, it can be said that what has been done to prevent sexual harassment has not been sufficient. The things that have been done to prevent sexual harassment have not been the right things. Where the right things has been done, it has been too little, for too short a period of time, too ad hoc, too much centred on the individual and without systematic or research-based evaluation. Preventive efforts in the future need to look beyond legal and bureaucratic understandings of sexual harassment. Along with the knowledge field as a whole, preventive efforts need to help build resilient organisations. Prevention in workplaces has to have as their starting point the research-based and experience-based knowledge of both practitioners in the field and victims.

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107. See also Bondestam & Lundqvist (2018).

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Annexes

Annex 1

Limitation of search terms

A significant number of synonyms for the term "sexual harassment" were identified at an early stage in the search process. Examples of synonymous terms that were excluded are "sexual assault", "sexual abuse", "sexual violence" and "rape". These were excluded as the number of hits including these search terms was considered to be not manageable for this task. Initially, research linked to forms of harassment other than just sexual harassment was also of interest, more specifically harassment linked to the grounds of discrimination listed in Sweden's Discrimination Act. This research also had to be excluded for the same reason. Using a variety of search techniques however, it was possible to design a search so that the term "sexual harassment" and for example harassment on the basis of sexual orientation were included as follows: sexual* AND harass*.

Choice of databases

In its choice of sources, KvinnSam have included both multidisciplinary databases and discipline-specific databases. Scopus and Web of Science (WoS) belong to the first category, and are heavily weighted towards science subjects (Swedish Research Council, 2014). Databases with a more social sciences orientation, and which are assumed to be relevant to the subject, are Sociological abstracts and the Gender Studies Database. Education studies databases were included in some of the searches, since they often contain publications on higher education, and this was deemed to be relevant for the searches that solely targeted sexual harassment within academia. Supersök, the University of Gothenburg Library search portal that searches in most databases and the local library catalogue has some limitations with respect to systematic searches compared with searching in subject-specific databases. For Nordic countries materials, KvinnSam searched in these countries' National Library catalogues (LIBRIS , Oria, bibliotek.dk, MELINDA and Gegnir.is). In addition to these, searches in publication databases such as SwePub and DiVA were performed. Finally, searches in Google Scholar were also done in order not to miss any relevant publications for the topic.

All databases used as sources for this task

International:
ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center)
ERC (Education Research complete)
Gender studies database Google Scholar
Scopus
Sociological abstracts

Supersök (University of Gothenburg Library search portal)
Web of Science (Core Collection)
SwePub

Nordic countries:
Bibliotek.dk (Denmark) Bibsys – Oria.no (Norway) DiVA (Sweden)
Gegnir.is (Iceland) Helka (Finland) KVINFO (Denmark) LIBRIS (Sweden)
MELINDA (Finland) Norart (Norway) NordPub (Nordic countries)

Searches in detail

KvinnSam used the following search string:
- English: (("sexual harass*" *OR* (harass* AND sex*)) *AND* (universit* OR college* *OR* academ* *OR* "higher education" *OR* work* *OR* organisation*)) *NOT* (child* *OR* school*)
- Swedish: (("sexuella trakass*" *OR* (trakass* AND sex*)) *AND* (universit* OR högskol* *OR* akadem* *OR* "högre utbild*" *OR* arbet* *OR* organisation*))

In the Swedish translation, the last part of the search string *NOT* (child* *OR* school*) was not included since these words in Swedish databases gave the same amount of unwanted hits as in WoS and Scopus.

The English version of the search strings was used in all the specified databases. In the Nordic databases, an additional search was performed where the search string was translated to the relevant Nordic language. All in all, the searches resulted in a total of 5,561 unique records.

A request for search help was sent to **Denmark**: KVINFO, **Finland**: Centre for Gender Equality Information/Finnish Institute for Health and Welfare, **Iceland**: Jafnréttisstofa/Center for Gender Equality, and **Norway**: Kilden (Gender Research), Research Council.

We also requested Danish materials from KVINFO and Bibliotek.dk. GEG-NIR was searched for the Icelandic material and assistance was also given by an Icelandic contact who was able to make an accurate translation of each search string and suggested interesting publications, a couple of which were of relevance to the task. KvinnSam also conducted searches for the Norwegian material in the national library catalogue ORIA and in the Norwegian and Nordic index to periodical articles (Norart). There were no matches of relevance beyond what had already been found in the periodical article databases. After having received further recommendations, KvinnSam also searched in Norway's National Institute of Occupational Health (STAMI) and the FAFO Foundation's publications. Searches for the Swedish material were performed in LIBRIS, KVINNSAM (the database itself), SwePub, Diva and Artikelsök (all newspaper articles in Sweden). Searches for the Finnish material were performed in MELINDA and HELKA. To quality assure the Finnish literature, the bibliography for Liisa Husu's thesis "Sexism, support and survival in Academia" was checked.

KvinnSam also searched in the bibliographies of relevant publications to find additional publications. They also searched for relevant publications in Google Scholar to bring up the publications that had cited these.
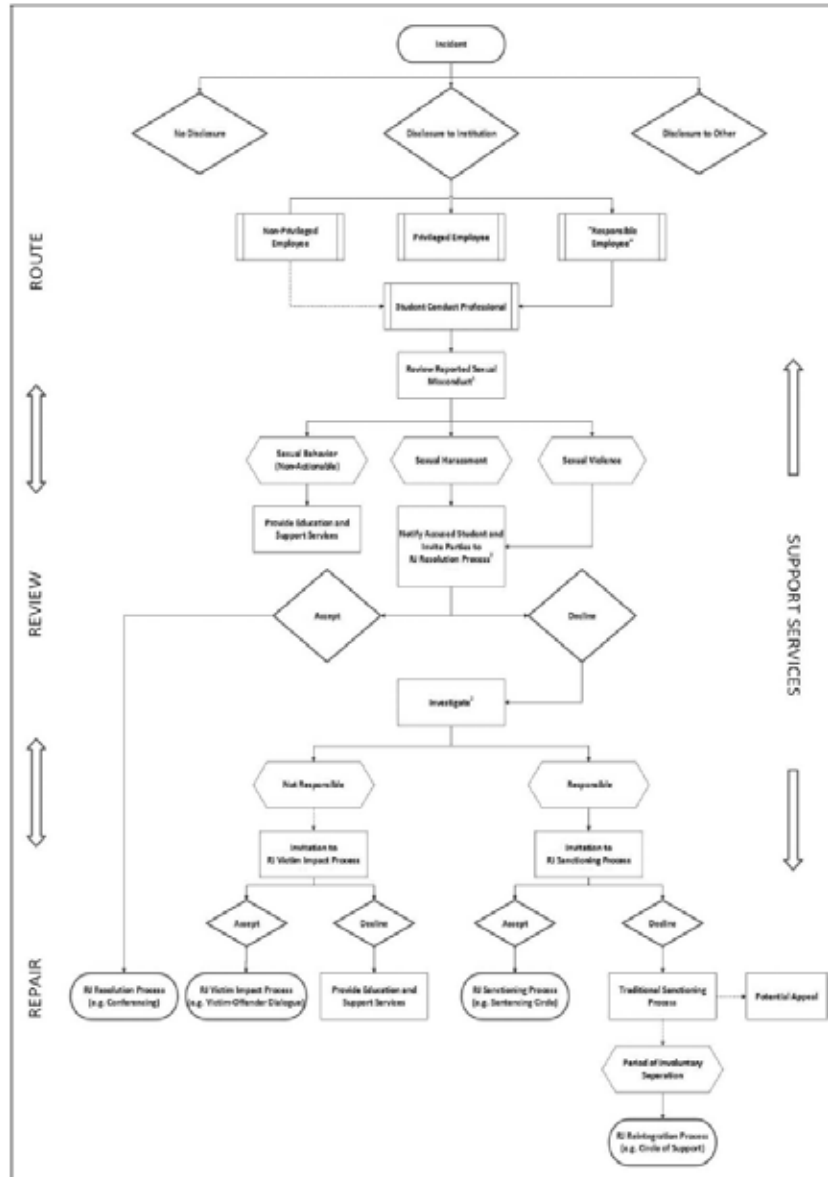
Annex 2

Models of antisexual harassment policies in academia. Zippel (2003), p. 177:

TABLE ONE
Models of Antisexual Harassment Policies

|	Model 1: Individual based	Model 2: Group based	Model 3: Combined Models 1 and 2 with focus on gender equality
Policy statements	Protection of the rights of the individual employee	Protection of employee as collective group-right	Protection of women's rights to sexual self-determination and nondiscrimination
Interventions	Procedures for complaint handling of conflict between individuals: harasser and harassed	Intervention in workplace unit: group-based sensitivity training, group-mediation, and team-building	Both individual and group focused: First, immediate help for individuals: advocates and support systems for complainant such as legal and psychological consultation. Second, group-based intervention in workplace units with focus on dynamics of gender power.
Form of complaints	Individual, formal complaints; Interest-based quasi-legal rights. ⇒ Confrontational strategy between accuser and accused. Information of legal rights	Group-based, class action. Needs based: informal complaints, informal complaints, and consultation	Multiple forms: formal and informal (needs and interest based) Multiple routes: multiple offices to handle complaints.
Training goals		Change of workplace culture to respect and fairness Group dynamics awareness Cooperative teamwork, teambuilding, and partnership Power-sensitive training	Goal: Change of gender workplace culture Empowerment of women, equality for women Gender sensitivity training

Annex 3

Restorative justice responses to student sexual misconduct: A sequence diagram illustrating the framework and the possibilities. Koss, Wilgus & Williamsen (2014). p. 250.

Annex 4

The normalisation process in working life. Andersson (2007), p. 157 (only available in Swedish).
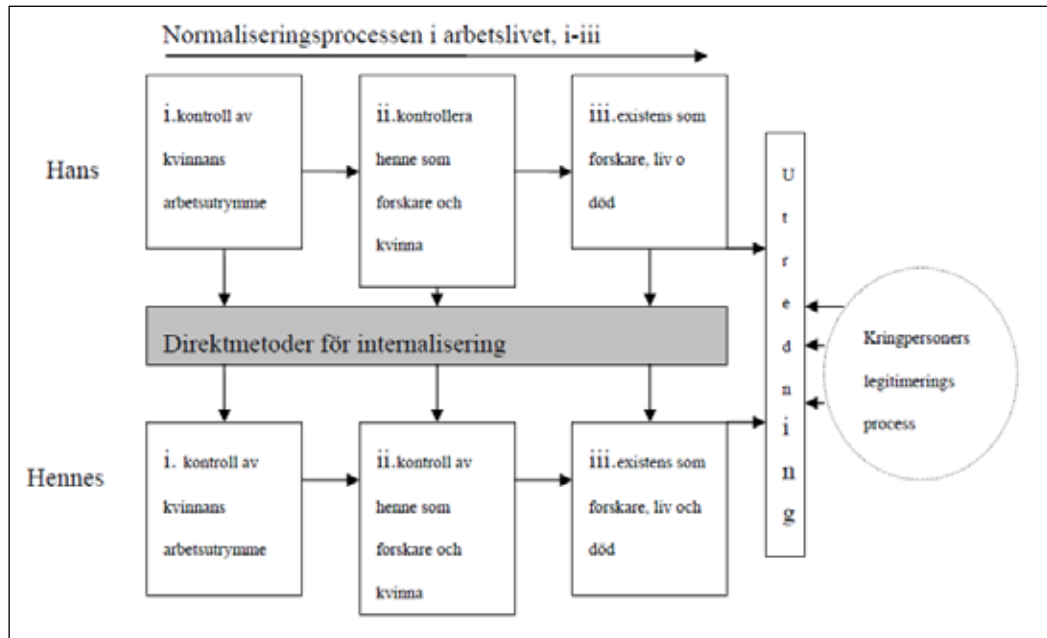
Annex 5

Two models: "A Typology of Observer Intervention Behaviors in Sexual Harassment" and "Potential Routes to Observer Intervention in Sexual Harassment". Bowes-Sperry, L. & O'Leary-Kelly, A.M. (2005), pp. 290 and 291.

FIGURE 1
A Typology of Observer Intervention Behaviors in Sexual Harassment

FIGURE 2
Potential Routes to Observer Intervention in Sexual Harassment

Swedish Council for Higher Education
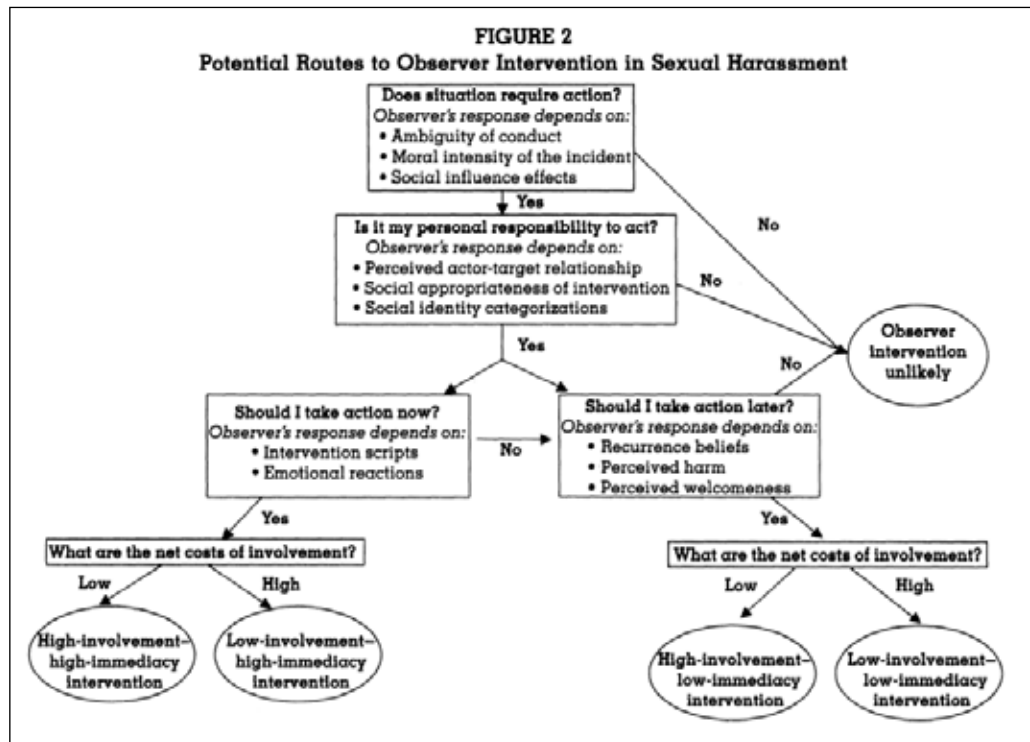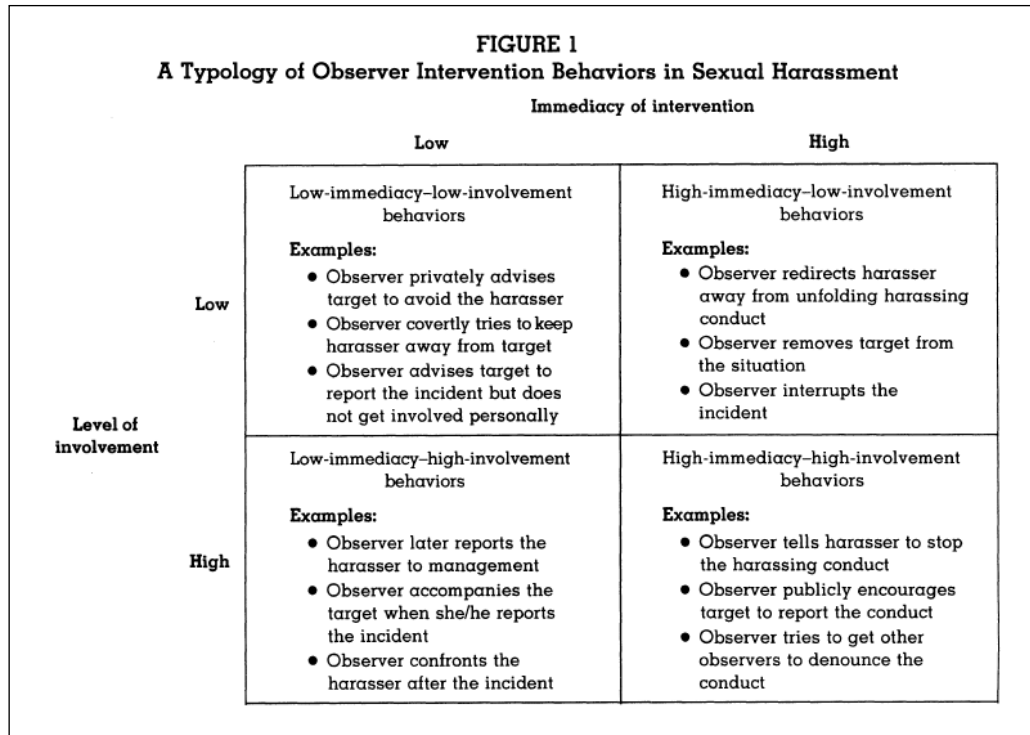
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- promotion, support and analysis within the HE-sector.