

INVITED REVIEW OPEN ACCESS

Measuring Workplace Sexual Harassment: A Review

Abi Adams¹ | Daksh Walia²¹University of Oxford and the Institute for Fiscal Studies, Oxford, UK | ²University of Oxford, Oxford, UK**Correspondence:** Abi Adams (abi.adams@economics.ox.ac.uk)**Received:** 2 December 2024 | **Accepted:** 12 December 2024**Funding:** This work was supported by the European Research Council, 948070 and Leverhulme Trust, PLP Prize.**Keywords:** gender discrimination | sexual harassment | survey design

ABSTRACT

Measurement is a key challenge in studying sexual harassment. People's understanding of harassment varies across cultural and legal contexts, and there are many factors contributing to under-reporting. We review the psychology literature on the measurement of sexual harassment and assess the techniques employed in economics in this light. Using an online survey of the US workers, we show that survey methods that provide explicit behavioral examples or detailed definitions of sexual harassment identify higher prevalence rates, especially for black workers and men. We show that measures of the willingness to pay to avoid harassment vary according to which behaviors are specified.

1 | Introduction

The #MeToo movement demonstrated that sexual harassment is commonplace in workplaces around the world. Sexual harassment imposes a number of costs on workers and firms including economic costs from reduced productivity, absenteeism, and turnover, in addition to physical and mental health costs of victimization (Folke and Rickne 2022; Adams-Prassl et al. 2024; Batut, Coly, and Schneider-Strawczynski 2021). The need to tackle sexual harassment has received increased media and policy attention worldwide with a number of countries recently deciding to impose more stringent duties on employers to protect their workers.¹

Understanding the prevalence and aggregate costs of harassment is fraught with difficulty. Accurate measurement presents challenges for researchers, as the understanding of what constitutes harassment varies significantly across cultural, social, and legal contexts. A 2020 review by the United States Government Accountability Office concluded that there were “few reliable nationwide estimates of sexual harassment’s prevalence [which varied] substantially due to differences in methodology.”² Researchers do not always use a standardized method for measuring or defining sexual harassment, creating issues with

comparability across studies and over time as cultural norms evolve.

In this article, we review some of the complexities surrounding the measurement of sexual harassment, comparing methodologies from both psychology and economics. We will focus on *workplace* sexual harassment, though for the sake of brevity will refer to this behavior simply as “sexual harassment” from now on. Researchers typically take one of two approaches to ask respondents about sexual harassment: direct query or behavioral list questions. Surveys using a direct query or labeling approach ask respondents whether or not they have experienced sexual harassment, and may or may not define what they mean by the term. In contrast, surveys using a behavioral list approach ask respondents whether they have experienced any of a set of specific behaviors, without labeling those behaviors as sexual harassment. Prior research has shown that the behavioral list method often implies higher prevalence rates than labeling questions as individuals who experience these behaviors do not consistently label them as harassment (Berdahl and Moore 2006).

We review the emerging economic literature on workplace sexual harassment. Recent papers use different measures of sexual harassment, drawing both on survey measures and

This is an open access article under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/) License, which permits use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

© 2025 The Author(s). *Scottish Journal of Political Economy* published by John Wiley & Sons Ltd on behalf of Scottish Economic Society.

on legal reports to employment commissions or the police. The survey methods employed vary according to whether direct query or behavioral list approaches are employed, and there the time period people are asked about also varies across studies (Folke and Rickne 2022; Batut, Coly, and Schneider-Strawczynski 2021; Antecol and Cobb-Clark 2006). Other contributions use formal filings to employment protection agencies or the police to measure sexual harassment at work (Hersch 2011; Adams-Prassl et al. 2024; Dahl and Knepper 2021); these suffer from key concerns with under-reporting, and selective reporting, but can allow the identification of the perpetrators of harassment in some circumstances. Another strand of the recent literature considers methods to encourage truthful reporting when anonymity concerns are very salient and explores whether concerns about retaliatory firing limit workers' willingness to report harassment formally (Boudreau et al. 2023; Dahl and Knepper 2021).

We next collect bespoke survey data to explore the extent to which methodology matters for the topics on sexual harassment now pursued by economists. Using an online survey of the US workers, we show that measures of the prevalence of sexual harassment, and of workers' willingness to pay to avoid it, are sensitive to the precise measurement methodology adopted. We recruit 900 employed individuals on Prolific aged between 18 and 65 years. Our aim is to analyze how responses vary depending on the method used and whether different demographic groups are differentially sensitive to the questioning style. We ask the same respondent both labeling and behavioral list format questions on sexual harassment. This allows us to explore how an individual's responses vary with the approach taken to ask about experiences of sexual harassment. We also elicit respondents' willingness to pay to avoid behavior labeled as sexual harassment, as well as explicitly defined behaviors that constitute sexual harassment, to analyze how answers about other economically relevant aspects of sexual harassment vary with the questioning method.

We find that the prevalence rate of sexual harassment differs significantly for both women and men by the questioning method used. Labeling approaches yield lower reporting rates than the behavioral list method, in line with existing evidence (Berdahl and Raver 2011). In response to a labeling question, 19.2% of women and 6.5% of men report having experienced sexual harassment in the last 12 months that does not provide a definition of harassment. This rises to 57.6% of women and 46.5% of men in response to the behavioral list method using a version of the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (Fitzgerald, Gelfand, and Drasgow 1995; Stark et al. 2002).³ There is a significant time burden associated with the behavioral list approach compared to simple labeling methods; a compact version of the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire still involves asking respondents about 16 different behaviors. We therefore examine an intermediate approach between the two extremes which we call the "behavioral definition" approach. Specifically, we ask respondents whether they have experienced the three different sub-categories of sexual harassment: gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion. We provide a definition of these behaviors alongside a labeling style question. We find that this method yields significantly greater reporting rates than labeling approaches that ask simply about "sexual

harassment." We find that 34.7% of women and 19.8% of men report experiencing harassment in the last 12 months using this method. Black workers are significantly more likely to report harassment using a behavioral definition method compared to a labeling approach.

Finally, we examine whether the different approaches yield different conclusions with respect to respondents' willingness to pay to avoid harassment. Reassuringly, we find that respondents who experience reporting sexual harassment under any of the three approaches have a significantly higher willingness to pay for a "safe" workplace in a job that is otherwise identical to their current position. We find that both women and men have a significantly higher willingness to pay to avoid sexual coercion compared to behavior labeled generically as sexual harassment. Men have a lower willingness to pay to avoid behavior described as gender harassment compared to behavior labeled generically as sexual harassment, while women regard these behaviors as equally bad. It is therefore important that researchers are specific about the types of behavior under study rather than simply asking about the willingness to pay to avoid sexual harassment in general.

In summary, we stress that researchers in economics think very carefully about measurement when drawing on existing survey evidence or fielding their own empirical work. The prevalence and characteristics of those reporting sexual harassment, and measures of the cost of harassment, vary with the approach adopted. Interestingly, we find that many men report experiencing sexual harassment with a behavioral measurement approach. Male experiences of sexual harassment have received relatively little attention in the economics literature to-date. Our findings suggest this should be remedied.

The rest of this article proceeds as follows. In Section 2, we review the current approaches adopted in psychology to measure sexual harassment and the new contributions within economics. We also summarize techniques to reduce the sensitivity of reporting to social desirability bias and reporting concerns. In Section 3, we outline our online survey design. In Section 4, we analyze the difference that the measurement techniques make to measures of the prevalence of harassment and respondents' willingness to pay to avoid it.

2 | Measurement Approaches

2.1 | Defining Sexual Harassment

According to Farley (1978), sexual harassment was only "discovered" in 1974 and as such the concept is still relatively young and often misunderstood (Crouch 2000). Berdahl (2007) defines sexual harassment as "behavior that derogates, demeans, or humiliates an individual based on the individual's sex." As such, sexual harassment is wider than overtly violent behavior such as sexual coercion and assault, and encompasses behaviors such as social ridicule and sabotage on the basis of one's sex. Expanding the scope of sexual harassment in this way was the result of pioneering work by feminists and legal scholars in the 1970s who highlighted the pervasiveness of sexual harassment at the workplace (Mackinnon 1979; MacKinnon and Siegel 2008).

Berdahl and Raver (2011) distinguish three (non-mutually exclusive) ways in which a behavior can be harassing: psychological harassment, social harassment, and illegal harassment. A behavior is psychologically harassing when it is experienced as threatening to one's well-being (Fitzgerald, Swan, and Magley 1997). Social harassment occurs when a behavior demeans, ridicules, or undermines another in the eyes of others. Illegal harassment is behavior that is directly regulated by the law. Illegal sexual harassment is more likely to be equated with directly sexual behaviors and coercion that have a negative impact on employment outcomes.

To give some examples of illegal harassment, in the United States, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission defines sexual harassment as “unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical harassment of a sexual nature,” with the protection codified under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act which prevents employment discrimination (U.S. Congress 1964; Miller Jr 1966). In India, a specific law, “The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition, and Redressal) Act” or POSH Act, mandates employers provide a safe working environment, defining sexual harassment as “unwelcome behavior, whether physical, verbal, or non-verbal, of a sexual nature” (Government of India 2013). The legal definition in the United Kingdom also regulates behavior that is explicitly sexual, though it also acknowledges behavior that creates a humiliating or offensive environment. The UK Equality Act 2010 defines sexual harassment as “unwanted behavior of a sexual nature that violates the dignity of an individual or creates an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating, or offensive environment” (UK Government 2010). The recent UK Worker Protection Act 2023 imposes a legal duty on employers to “take reasonable steps to prevent sexual harassment of their employees,” including anticipating the occurrence of sexual harassment and preventing it, as well as taking action to prevent further harassment if a case is reported (UK Government 2024).

2.2 | Measurement Approaches

With the acknowledgment of sexual harassment as a prevalent and problematic part of the workplace, the question of measuring its prevalence came to the fore, with researchers in psychology primarily attempting to improve its measurement. The changing nature of legal frameworks and of socially accepted definitions of harassment pose a significant challenge to researchers as there may not be a common conceptual understanding of what behaviors constitute sexual harassment, and this will also vary over time and across countries.

2.2.1 | Labeling or Direct Query Approaches

The most common way of measuring the prevalence of sexual harassment is to survey people about their experiences. Under the “direct query” or “labeling” method, people are directly asked if they have experienced sexual harassment. This method is relatively simple and often used in settings with time and cost constraints. For example, a typical survey question in this tradition would be:

In the past year, have you experienced sexual harassment at your workplace?

Variations of the direct query approach include providing differing time periods of recall, different settings (e.g., workplace or college), and whether the respondent is given a definition of sexual harassment before being asked about their experience.

Berdahl and Raver (2011) review the psychological literature on the measurement of sexual harassment and argue that the direct query method significantly under-reports harassment. A key limitation of the approach is that it relies on an individual's perception of what constitutes harassment. For example, Welsh et al. (2006) use qualitative interviews in Canada to understand how the perception of sexual harassment differs across social groups. They find that women from marginalized groups or with incomplete citizenship rights are much less likely to identify with legal definitions of what constitutes harassment compared to white women with full citizenship rights. Consequently, any direct query method that simply asks about the experience of harassment may lead to variation in reporting patterns across social groups, even within the same country at the same time period. Changes in people's perception of what behaviors constitute harassment also create measurement difficulties. For example, the MeToo movement may have altered people's willingness to label certain behaviors as harassing, creating issues with comparing prevalence rates over time.

2.2.2 | Behavioral Experience Approach

A recognition of the shortcomings of the direct query method was central to the development of the “behavioral list” or “behavioral experience” approach. The most famous version of this method is the widely used Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ). The SEQ was developed by Fitzgerald et al. (1988) to measure women's experience of sexually harassing behaviors perpetrated by men. Behavioral experience methods ask individuals whether they have experienced certain behaviors which the researchers consider to constitute harassment. Table 1 gives a shortened 16-question version of the original SEQ based on an item response analysis of the original battery of questions (Stark et al. 2002).

On the basis of answers to the SEQ, Fitzgerald, Gelfand, and Drasgow (1995) identify three sets of sexually harassing behaviors: (a) gender harassment—sexual or sexist hostility, stories, remarks, and materials; (b) unwanted sexual attention—unwanted sexual discussions, invitations, and touching; (c) sexual coercion—extortion of sexual cooperation with threats and bribes.

Various studies have iterated on the SEQ to create shortened versions of the measurement instrument and to adapt it to better suit certain contexts. This has included adaptations to workplace settings, military settings, and shortened versions of the questionnaire prepared using item response theory (Fitzgerald et al. 1999; Stark et al. 2002). Berdahl and Raver (2011) find that the average harassment prevalence reported by women

TABLE 1 | Sexual experiences questionnaire.

Category	Question
Sexist hostility (sexist behavior)	Treated you differently because of your sex?
	Displayed, used, or distributed sexist or suggestive materials?
	Made offensive sexist remarks?
Sexual hostility (crude or offensive behavior)	Put you down or was condescending to you because of your sex?
	Repeatedly told sexual stories or jokes that were offensive to you?
	Made unwelcome attempts to draw you into a discussion of sexual matters?
	Made offensive remarks about your appearance, body, or sexual activities?
Unwanted sexual attention	Made gestures or used body language of a sexual nature which embarrassed or offended you?
	Made unwanted attempts to establish a romantic sexual relationship with you despite your efforts to discourage it?
	Continued to ask you for dates, drinks, dinner, etc., even though you said “No”?
	Touched you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable?
Sexual coercion	Made unwanted attempts to stroke, fondle, or kiss you?
	Made you feel like you were being bribed with a reward to engage in sexual behavior?
	Made you feel threatened with some sort of retaliation for not being sexually cooperative?
	Treated you badly for refusing to have sex?
	Implied faster promotions or better treatment if you were sexually cooperative?

Note: This provides the questions in a shortened version of the original Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (Fitzgerald et al. 1999) developed using Item Response Theory by Stark et al. (2002).

in studies using the SEQ is 58% compared to 24% in the direct query method.

That being said, the behavioral experience method is not immune to criticism. Some have argued that this methodology could overstate the prevalence of harassment as it does not reflect whether an individual is harmed by a particular behavior, that is, whether it was psychologically, socially, or legally harassing (Gutek, Murphy, and Douma 2004). For example, some authors have argued that unexpected similarities in (high) rates of men and women’s recorded experience of harassment using this method suggests that it might capture behavior that is not harassment (Berdahl and Raver 2011; Konik and Cortina 2008; Raver and Nishii 2010).

To address this criticism, some studies ask both about the occurrence of certain behaviors and respondents’ subjective evaluation of those behaviors (Berdahl and Moore 2006). Harassment is then defined as the product of the occurrence and evaluation, that is, the more frequent and negative the experience, the more harassing an action is. This method could then allow for the same behavior to be defined as harassing for some individuals but not for others depending on, for example, their gender and power within a firm (Einarsen 2000). However, it is unclear whether a respondent’s subjective evaluation of how harmful a

particular action is should be captured by the definition of harassment. Social desirability bias could mean that, for example, men feel they are supposed to answer that they are not harmed by sexist comments at work.

Despite these concerns, the widespread use of modified versions of the SEQ questionnaire to capture the prevalence of harassment suggest that it is arguably a good starting point for any survey that wants to capture the prevalence of behaviors that can be constituted as harassment. A cost of this approach is that it can involve significant time to complete which imposes a cost on respondents. This could also create problems with respondent attention in the case of online surveys (Stantcheva 2023).

2.3 | Approaches in Economics

A small but growing literature has explored the consequences of sexual harassment for labor market outcomes and worker decision making. The precise measurement of sexual harassment has varied across studies and so some care should be taken in aggregating the findings across studies. There are recent examples of papers using direct query methods, behavioral experience methods, and also using legal claims and police reports.

Folke and Rickne (2022) link representative Swedish working conditions survey data to administrative data on employment. The survey data use a direct query approach and, after providing respondents with a definition, ask them whether they have experienced sexual harassment in the previous 12 months. The definitions provided do not include sexual coercion. They find that 12.6% of women and 4.2% of men respond in the affirmative. Experiencing sexual harassment is more likely for those in the gender minority at their workplace and is associated with higher turnover of those experiencing harassment. They provide randomized hypothetical job offer vignettes to analyze the willingness to pay to avoid harassment. Here they take an approach more in line with the behavioral experience methodology to provide descriptions of particular behaviors consistent with sexist hostility, sexual hostility, and unwanted sexual attention. They find that, on average, respondents are willing to give up approximately 10% of hypothetical wages to avoid these forms of workplace sexual harassment.

Other papers have been able to make use of behavioral experience methods to identify harassment. Antecol and Cobb-Clark (2006) use a survey of active duty women in the United States military that includes a 24-question version of the SEQ which asks about experiences over the previous 12 months. They exclude behaviors labeled as sexist behavior and sexual assault from their main analysis. They find 71% of women in military experience sexual harassment, and that these experiences are associated with lower job satisfaction and an increased probability of leaving the military. Batut, Coly, and Schneider-Strawczynski (2021) use four behavioral experience questions in the French Working Conditions survey to measure harassment. Two of these questions ask about unwanted sexual attention and sexual assault. The third asks about whether they have heard derogatory jokes or remarks about women at work. The final question asks about people systematically saying obscene or demeaning things to you. Sharma (2022) conducts a randomized control trial on the effectiveness of sexual harassment awareness training among Indian college students. They use the SEQ method to ask respondents about their experiences in the 2 months prior to the survey, finding that 47% of women had experienced harassment at baseline.

Economists have also used administrative data on legal filings on sexual harassment to measure its prevalence and characteristics. Hersch (2011) uses data on claims filed at the United States' Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to analyze the prevalence of claims across industry, age, and sex. Basu (2003) also uses EEOC filings for descriptive evidence to motivate a model of wage determination under harassment. EEOC filings have also been used to calculate the compensating wage differential for greater exposure to sexual harassment risk (Hersch 2018, 2011). Adams-Prassl et al. (2024) use Finnish police reports filed between colleagues to analyze the labor market impacts of extreme incidents of gender-based violence at the workplace. One benefit of their approach is that the data allow them to track the economic outcomes of victims, perpetrators, and the wider workforce before and after police reports are filed. This allows them to demonstrate that female victims often face greater declines in economic outcomes than perpetrators. In male-managed firms, these events cause other women in the firm to leave and fewer women to be hired into new positions.

2.4 | Reporting Bias

Sexual harassment is a sensitive topic and its reporting remains heavily stigmatized. Consequently, any surveys designed to capture sexual harassment must ensure that they encourage truthful reporting, especially where survey respondents are not anonymous. Removing human survey enumerators and using pre-recorded self-administered survey protocols have been shown to reduce reporting bias for sensitive attitudes (Chauchard 2013; Blume, Lai, and Lim 2019). Fisher and Flannery (2023) provide a game theoretic analysis of survey design techniques to elicit truthful responses for sensitive and stigmatizing questions.

A common method for encouraging truthful reporting where stigma or anonymity concerns are salient is the list experiment. For example, Delfgaauw and Boring (2024) use this approach to explore social desirability bias in people's expressed opinions about workplace sexism and diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) policies. List experiments typically involve giving people a list of statements and asking them how many they agree with, with one sensitive statement which the researcher wants to measure. In the simplest case, there will be a control group which is not shown the sensitive statement and a treatment group which is shown that statement with all other "neutral" statements being common across the two. The difference in the average number of statements that the two groups agree with gives an estimate of the proportion of people who agree with the sensitive statement. For example, if we had a list experiment with, say, five neutral statements, and one statement reading "I have experienced sexual harassment," then the difference of the mean number of statements between the treatment and control group gives an estimate of sexual harassment prevalence without a researcher being able to identify who precisely has experienced harassment.

An alternative to list experiments are randomized response or garbled survey techniques (Warner 1965). These provide another route for researchers to estimate the prevalence of harassment without being able to identify harassed survey respondents. Under the original randomized response approach, a surveyor would instruct a respondent to roll a dice or toss a coin and answer the question truthfully or not depending on the outcome. For example, imagine a sample of respondents who are asked if they have experienced sexual harassment. They are instructed to answer truthfully if the number on a fair dice is 1, 2, 3, or 4, but to always answer "Yes" otherwise. The surveyor should not see the actual result of the coin toss. This means that a respondent has plausible deniability if it is revealed they answered "yes," as it could simply be that they rolled a 5 or 6. Imagine that 50% of the respondents report experiencing sexual harassment $0/(\hat{p} = 0.5)$. If people are following the instructions, this would imply a true prevalence of sexual harassment, p^* , of 25% as:

$$\hat{p} = \frac{2}{3} \times p^* + \frac{1}{3} \times 1 = \frac{1}{2} \quad (1)$$

$$\rightarrow p^* = \frac{3}{2} \left(\hat{p} - \frac{1}{3} \right) = \frac{1}{4} \quad (2)$$

However, there are concerns that survey respondents often do not comply with instructions in randomized response

techniques. Noncompliance undermines researchers ability to estimate the prevalence of harassment. Chuang et al. (2019) provide evidence that survey respondents often deviate from instructions to garble and provide the least sensitive answer. As a potential solution, Boudreau et al. (2023) provide an alternative “hard garbling” method to estimate the prevalence of sexual harassment in a garment manufacturing firm in Bangladesh. Given the potential for retaliation in this setting, there is a strong need to assure the anonymity of participants to achieve truthful reporting. Under hard garbling, respondents are instructed to report accurately and a random subset of reports are automatically recoded without any action on the part of the individual. They find that this method increased reporting by 45% over the control group.

Finally, measures based on formal reports to legal institutions are known to give huge underestimates of the prevalence of harassment in the labor market at large. Formal reporting is far from universal. In the case of sexual coercion and gender-based violence, victimization surveys suggest that approximately 10% of physical assaults are reported to the police, with lower reporting rates for crimes considered less serious by the victim (European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control 2009; EU Agency for Fundamental Rights 2015). Dahl and Knepper (2021) explore the possibility of employer retaliation as motivating under-reporting of harassment. They develop a simple model of reporting with the possibility of retaliatory firing by an employer. The model predicts that reporting rates should rise, and the merit of the marginal claim should fall, when workers’ outside options improve. They show that the merit of claims filed to the EEOC files increases with higher local unemployment and reduced unemployment insurance, showing that sensitivity of reporting to firing concerns is likely operative.

3 | Survey Design

To study variation in the responses to different measurement tools, we collect bespoke survey data on the harassment experiences of a sample of US workers.⁴ Collecting our own data allows us to analyze within subject variation and explore whether reporting dynamics differ across demographic groups. The data were collected through an online survey administered by the *Prolific* platform. To be eligible, respondents had to be resident in the United States, aged 18–65 years, and have worked as an employee during the 12 months prior to the interview. We survey both women and men to establish whether there are gender differences in the responses to the different harassment questions. As the survey is online and completely anonymous, we do not include any list experiments or randomized response techniques to estimate the prevalence of sexual harassment.

Table 2 presents the demographic characteristics of respondents to the survey and compares them to the distribution of respondents to the Current Population Survey (CPS). We take the Basic Monthly CPS in September 2024 and restrict the sample to respondents of the same age range as our survey eligibility criteria and whom respond either “employed—at work” or “employed—absent” to the employment status question. As is common with online surveys (Adams-Prassl et al. 2020), our survey is not representative of the broader US workforce; our respondents are more educated than average, and are more likely to be non-white.

TABLE 2 | Demographic characteristics of survey respondents.

	CPS		Raw—survey		Weighted—survey	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Woman	1.00 (0)	0.00 (0)	1.00 (0)	0.00 (0)	1.00 (0)	0.00 (0)
Age	41.78 (12.79)	41.70 (12.84)	39.27 (11.45)	39.14 (10.86)	40.46 (11.86)	39.94 (10.59)
White ethnicity	0.78 (0.412)	0.81 (0.394)	0.61 (0.489)	0.59 (0.493)	0.78 (0.412)	0.81 (0.394)
College	0.46 (0.498)	0.38 (0.485)	0.65 (0.478)	0.65 (0.476)	0.46 (0.499)	0.38 (0.485)
Income			62,426.26 (59,022.3)	77,693.84 (72,053.6)	57,177.76 (58,495.3)	70,253.91 (64,651.3)
% Team women			60.16 (25.97)	38.63 (22.69)	61.25 (26.61)	36.28 (23.86)
N	20,722	22,536	408	390	408	390

Note: Survey response weights calculated to match the distribution of (white-non-white)—(college-non-college)—(woman-man) cells in the September 2024 Current Population Survey.

The average age of survey respondents is slightly younger than the average US worker, though comparable. As our aim is to explore the difference that alternative measurement techniques make rather than provide estimates of the prevalence of sexual harassment in the labor market at large, the fact that our survey is not representative is not a significant issue.⁵ Nonetheless, we weight our responses to match the CPS distribution of education and race in the United States workforce by gender throughout.

3.1 | Questionnaire

3.1.1 | Experiencing Sexual Harassment

After completing a short block of questions on demographic characteristics, we ask respondents' a block of questions on their personal experience of sexual harassment in the workplace in the last 12 months.⁶ We begin with the following introduction:

We want to understand how common certain behaviors are in the workplace. We will now ask you a number of questions about your experiences at work.

Some of these questions relate to experiences of harassment and discrimination. The phrasing of these questions is in-line with standard surveys in psychology and personnel studies. Harassment and discrimination can affect both women and men.

We will now ask you about whether you have personally experienced certain types of behavior in your workplace in the last 12 months.

To assess whether people apply the formal definition when asked about their experience of otherwise undefined "sexual harassment," we randomize whether respondents are asked either question Q1 or Q2:

Q1. Have you personally experienced sexual harassment at your workplace?

(Yes, No)

Q2. Have you personally experienced sexual harassment at your workplace? This includes behaviors like offensive remarks about one's gender, unwanted sexual remarks or advances, sexual coercion like bribing or threatening, and other forms of sexual violence. (Yes, No)

We next ask a series of follow-up questions to all respondents on specific categories of sexually harassing behavior: gender harassment and sexist hostility, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion:

We will now ask you about specific types of behavior that you might have personally experienced in the workplace in the last 12 months:

Q3a. Have you personally experienced cases of gender-based harassment at your workplace? This includes behaviors like teasing, exclusion, or unwanted remarks related to one's gender.

Q3b. Have you personally experienced cases of unwanted sexual attention at your workplace? This includes behaviors like repeatedly asking out, catcalling, or staring.

Q3c. Have you personally experienced sexual coercion at your workplace? This includes behaviors like unwanted sexual touching, bribing or threatening, and other forms of sexual violence.

Finally, we include a battery of questions on specific examples of behaviors underlying gender harassment and sexist hostility, and unwanted sexual attention to probe whether naming behaviors directly has any impact over and above giving the definition of particular aspects of harassment. These are a subset of the SEQ questions developed by Fitzgerald et al. (1999) and then improved by Stark et al. (2002). We did not include specific behavioral questions on sexual coercion to avoid putting participants under undue stress given the modest ambition of this study. For example, in the case of gender harassment and sexist hostility, we asked:

Q4. Have you been in a situation in the last 12 months where a supervisor or coworker:

1. Treated you differently because of your sex?
2. Displayed, used, or distributed sexist or suggestive materials?
3. Made offensive sexist remarks?
4. Put you down because of your sex?
5. Repeatedly told sexual stories or jokes that were offensive to you?
6. Made unwelcome attempts to draw you into a discussion of sexual matters?
7. Made offensive remarks about your appearance, body, or sexual activities?

The specific questions used in the case of unwanted attention are provided in the Appendix S1.

3.1.2 | Willingness to Pay

After asking about respondents' experiences of sexual harassment, and whether they have witnessed such harassment, we ask a series of questions about their willingness to pay to avoid

these behaviors. We begin with the following introduction to help respondents gain familiarity with the exercise:

We are now interested in how you much you value certain aspects of the work environment.

We will ask you questions about the minimum extra salary (in percentage terms) that you would need to be paid to accept one job offer over an alternative.

For example, imagine you are told about two jobs, Job A and Job B. You prefer the work environment described in Job A so you decide that you would need to get paid at least 15% more to accept Job B to make up for that. When asked for the minimum extra salary you would need to be paid to accept Job B, you would give 15% as your answer.

We first ask all respondents about their willingness to pay for a job in a workplace that is a “safe environment” but is otherwise identical to their current job. Answers to this measure will partly reflect one’s exposure to sexual harassment in addition to how costly it is for them to be exposed:

Imagine that you receive a job offer from a company with the following reputation:

You have heard that the workplace is a safe environment with no instances of sexual harassment.

The job is otherwise identical to your current role.

What is the minimum change in salary at which you would stay in your current job? Please give your answer in terms of a percentage change from your current salary.

Remember: The job is exactly the same as your current role. If you consider your current workplace to be a safe environment, you should not need a big change in salary to remain in your current job.

Next we ask two questions in which we ask respondents to evaluate two hypothetical job offers. The first job is always described as: “Job A is identical to your current job in all respects including salary, and the workplace is known to be a safe environment that is free of sexual harassment.” The second job, Job B, is described as identical to Job A except for its work environment. In the first question, respondents are told that: “Job B is identical to Job A but you have heard that sexual harassment by other employees is a common occurrence at this workplace.” For the second question, respondents are randomized into whether they are told that they have heard of cases of either gender harassment, unwanted attention, or sexual coercion at the workplace. The definitions of these behaviors are also given.

In all willingness to pay questions, we provide respondents with a scale of 0%–100%. Thus, in theory, there are some respondents who has answers could be censored if they would have to get more than double the salary to accept Job B.

4 | Results

4.1 | Prevalence

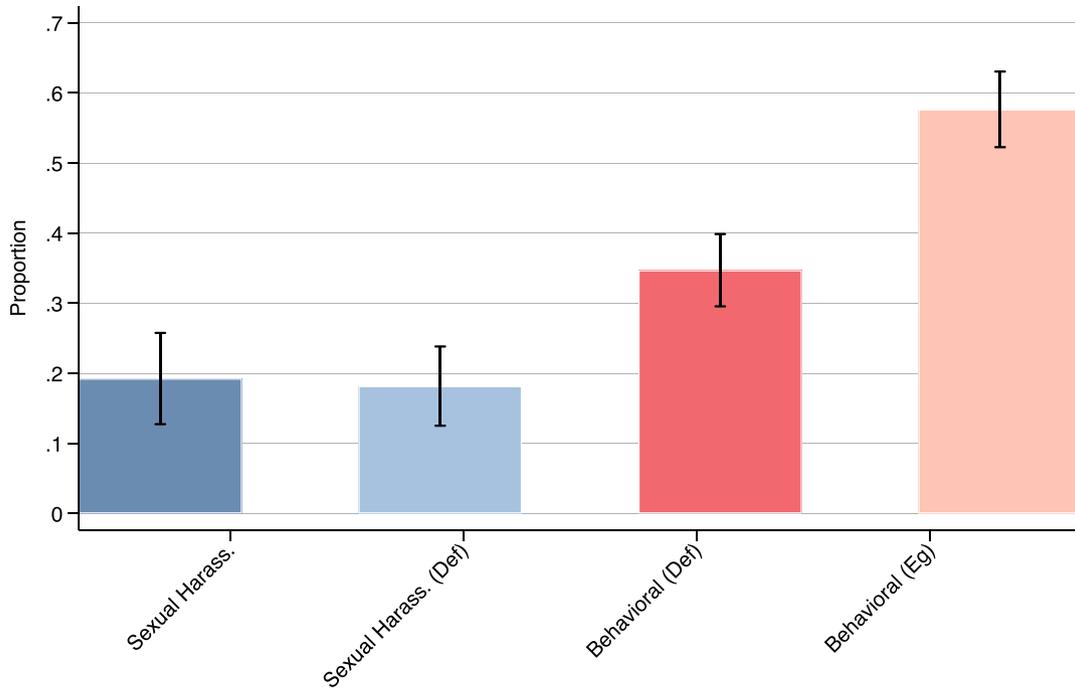
We begin by considering individual experiences of harassment and how that varies with the question asked. Figure 1a,b provides the mean response rates for women and men, respectively, to the different measures outlined in Section 3.1.⁷ The first bar for both genders gives the reporting rate in response to the question that asks simply about “sexual harassment” but does not give the definition (Q1 in Section 3.1). The second bar provides response rates to the labeling question that provides the definition of sexual harassment (Q2). The third bar gives the mean of respondents answering yes to one of the three separate questions about experiencing gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion (Q3a–c). The final fourth bar in each panel gives the mean of respondents answering yes to one of the specific behavioral questions about gender harassment and unwanted attention (Q4), plus those answering yes to the question providing the definition of sexual coercion (Q3c).

For both women and men, there is sensitivity in reporting to the method of questioning. Measures that ask about sexual harassment without giving a definition or behavioral examples yield lower estimates of prevalence than those that ask about the components of sexual harassment separately and/or provide specific examples. In Appendix S1: Figure A1, we provide the mean answers to the subquestions underlying the two behavioral measures. Respondents do not consistently consider gender harassment, sexist comments, and sexist hostility when answering general questions on harassment. For example, 48% of women and 45% of men who answered “no” to the question, “Have you personally experienced sexual harassment at your workplace?,” reported that they had experienced sexist and sexist hostile behaviors at work. Similarly, 28% of women and 24% of men who answered “no” to the general sexual harassment question reported that they had experienced unwanted sexual attention at work.

We see similar patterns of heterogeneity in prevalence of sexual harassment by the measures used. Appendix S1: Tables A1 and A2 report the results of a linear probability model of experiencing harassment on the demographic characteristics we collected for women and men, respectively. For women, all measures indicate that women older than 40 years are less exposed to sexual harassment than women aged in their 20s and 30s. All measures indicate that black men are more exposed to sexual harassment than white men or those who identify with another ethnicity.

Figure 2 shows the average prevalence of sexual harassment by the proportion of women in a respondent’s team at work. We asked every respondent: “Please think about your team at work. On a

(a) Women



(b) Men

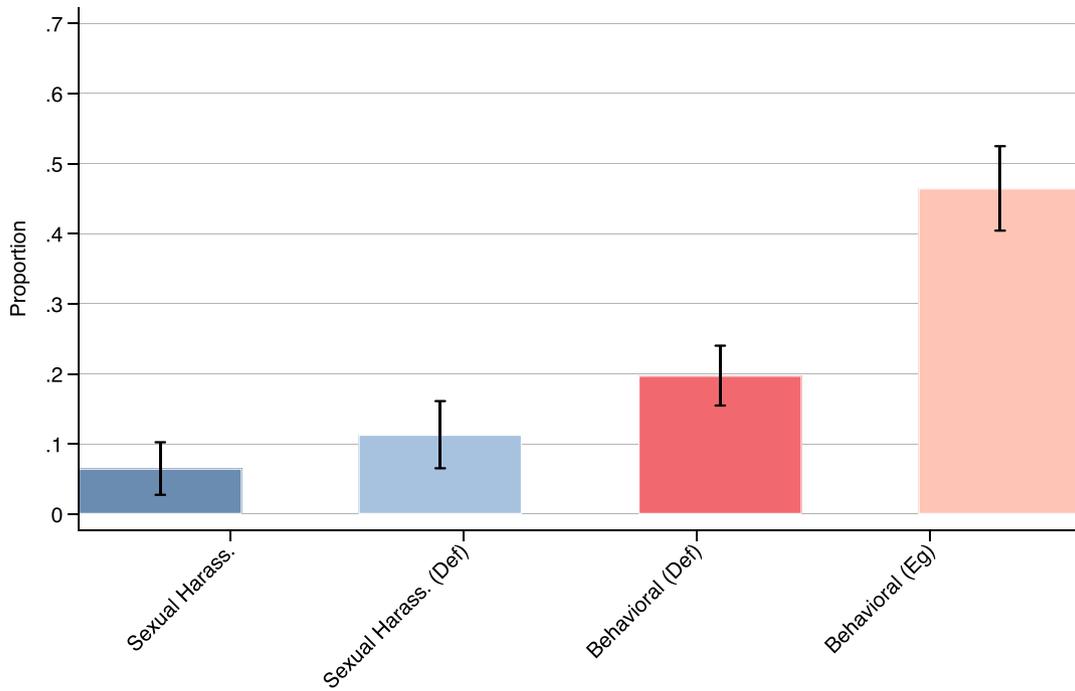
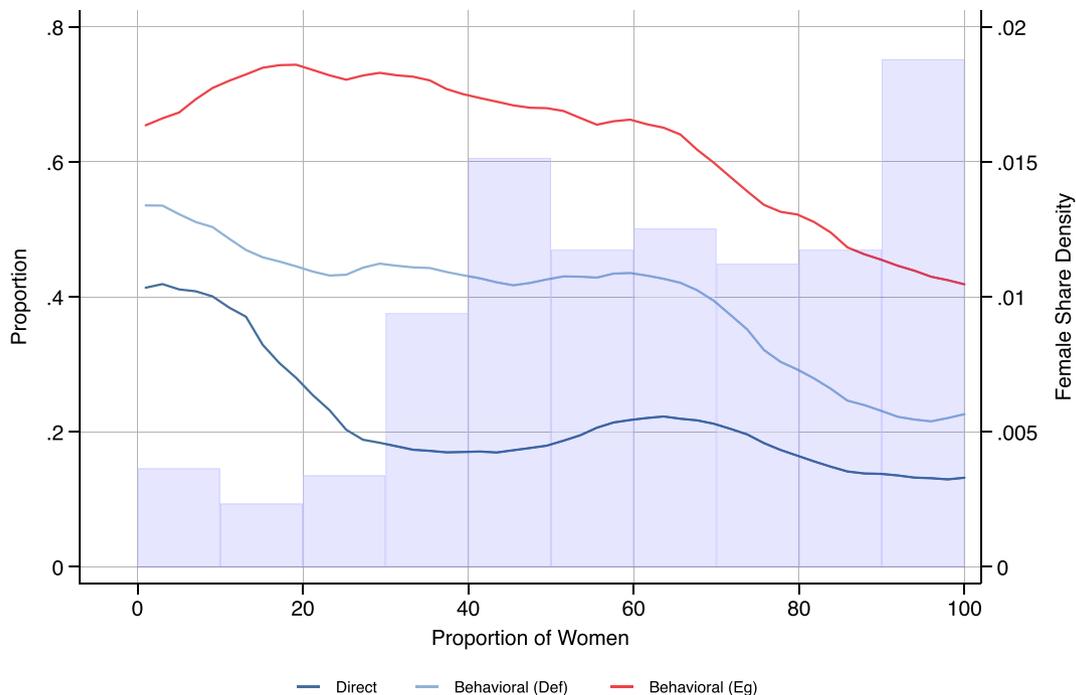


FIGURE 1 | Prevalence of sexual harassment. This figure reports the mean prevalence of sexual harassment reported by (a) women and (b) men for different measurement approaches. The methods reported are: (i) asking respondents whether they have experienced sexual harassment; (ii) providing the definition of sexual harassment and then asking respondents if they have experienced it; (iii) defining the different types of harassment (gender harassment, unwanted attention, sexual coercion) and then asking whether they have experienced any of them; and (iv) using the behavioral experiences approach of providing a list of behaviors and asking respondents if they have experienced them, with any affirmative answer coded as having experienced harassment.

(a) Women



(b) Men

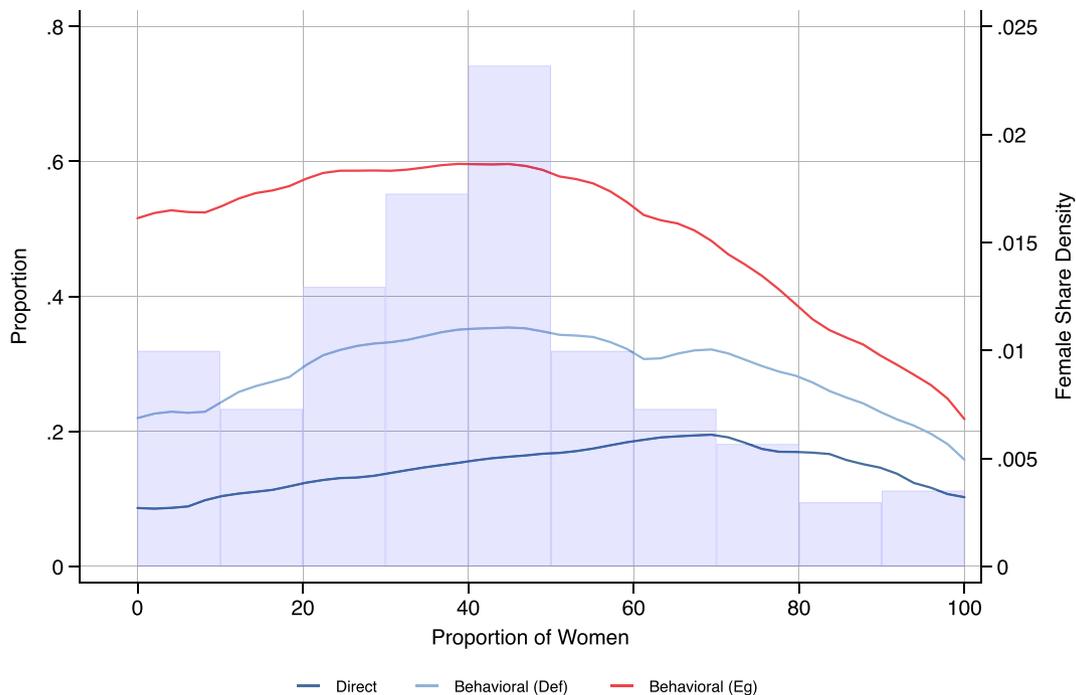


FIGURE 2 | Prevalence of sexual harassment by female share in team. This figure reports the reported prevalence of harassment reported by women (a) and men (b), plotted against the proportion of women in their workplace. The lines plot the results from a local polynomial regression of prevalence on the proportion of women and the histogram shows the distribution of the proportion of women in the workplace reported by the respondents. We plot prevalence for three different measurement approaches: direct report (asking whether they have experienced harassment), direct report by behavioral definitions (providing definitions of the three types of harassment and asking if they have experienced it), and the behavioral experience approach (providing a list of specific experiences and asking respondents if they have experienced them).

scale of 0–100, what is the share of women in your team?”⁸ All measures imply that women are most exposed to sexual harassment when they are in the gender minority in a team. The prevalence of sexual harassment experienced by women declines approximately linearly in the share of women in their team. This is consistent with the findings of Folke and Rickne (2022). While the level of experienced harassment differs across the three measures used, all give the same qualitative pattern with respect to variation with the gender share of a team. The pattern for men is more nuanced. The prevalence of sexual harassment experienced by men appears to be greatest in more gender-balanced teams. The behavioral example measure yields the highest prevalence rates of sexual harassment in male-majority teams (driven by experiencing sexist remarks and/or sexist hostility). This is consistent with men perpetrating sexual harassment against other men. However, we did not ask about the identity or characteristics of perpetrators of harassment. Future work should seek to replicate this result and explore the mechanisms driving it.

In Table 3, we consider if there are particular characteristics associated with those who answer “no” to the direct reporting style of question, but “yes” to behavioral questions. For both women and men, black respondents are significantly more likely to report sexual harassment with behavioral questions compared to those who identify as non-black. There are few other significant demographic correlates. Compared with the direct report method, black respondents are 10 percentage points more likely to report harassment with a behavioral measure that gives a definition of the particular behavior in question.

4.2 | Willingness to Pay

We now consider respondents’ willingness to pay to avoid particular experiences at the workplace. Figure 3 gives the distribution of respondents’ willingness to pay for a “safe” workplace over their own. We see substantial variation in willingness to pay which will reflect a combination of exposure and the strength of preferences to avoid exposure. It is reassuring that all measures of harassment positively correlate with respondents’ willingness to pay for a safe workplace. Black respondents (female and male) also report a significantly higher willingness to pay which could reflect a higher exposure to harassment and discrimination in their current firm.

We also consider how respondents’ willingness to pay differs across the categories of sexual harassment. For this exercise, we take the within-individual difference between their reported willingness to pay to avoid “sexual harassment” in general versus their reported willingness to pay to avoid either gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, or sexual coercion.⁹ Figure 4 shows that women report a similar willingness to pay to avoid workplaces with a risk of gender harassment and unwanted sexual attention compared to those where unspecified sexual harassment is reported. However, they display a significantly larger willingness to pay to avoid workplaces where sexual coercion is described. Men also have a significantly larger willingness to pay to avoid workplaces where sexual coercion is described. They have a lower willingness to pay to avoid workplaces where gender harassment is described as being commonplace as opposed to unspecified sexual harassment (Table 4).

TABLE 3 | Correlates with mismatch in harassment reporting.

	Women		Men	
	Definition (1)	Examples (2)	Definition (3)	Examples (4)
Ethnicity				
Black	0.1033 (0.0444)**	0.0951 (0.0489)*	0.1292 (0.0502)**	0.0370 (0.0553)
Others	0.0359 (0.0535)	0.0275 (0.0589)	−0.0348 (0.0153)**	−0.0298 (0.0686)
Age group				
30s	−0.0721 (0.0475)	−0.0333 (0.0578)	0.0481 (0.0329)	0.0109 (0.0643)
40s	−0.0541 (0.0514)	−0.0117 (0.0622)	−0.0039 (0.0289)	0.0628 (0.0754)
50+	−0.0944 (0.0503)*	−0.0987 (0.0618)	0.0174 (0.0331)	−0.0428 (0.0750)
College	−0.0342 (0.0345)	−0.0051 (0.0435)	0.0443 (0.0241)*	0.0026 (0.0428)
Log income	0.0150 (0.0204)	0.0125 (0.0296)	−0.0003 (0.0131)	−0.0395 (0.0360)
Constant	−0.1039 (0.2010)	−0.1100 (0.3061)	−0.0484 (0.1399)	0.4198 (0.3827)
Observations	408	408	389	389
R ²	0.1151	0.2353	0.1074	0.2252

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. The outcome for this table is defined as any case where there is a mismatch in the respondent’s response to the direct report question and the two other measurement approaches. For columns (1) and (3), the reference value is the approach of distinguishing the three types of sexual harassment and asking if the respondent has experienced them, with the outcome coded as 1 whenever they respond yes to this question, but no to the direct report of whether they have experienced sexual harassment. For columns (2) and (4), the reference value is the behavioral experiences approach, wherein an individual is defined as having experienced harassment if they have experienced any one of a given list of behaviors, with the outcome coded as 1 whenever a respondent reports harassment under this approach, but not using the direct report method. The table reports results from a regression with all characteristics added together, and the base categories are: white for ethnicity, and 20s for age group. Standard errors in parentheses. We also control for whether the person answered the direct report question with or without the definition of sexual harassment provided.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

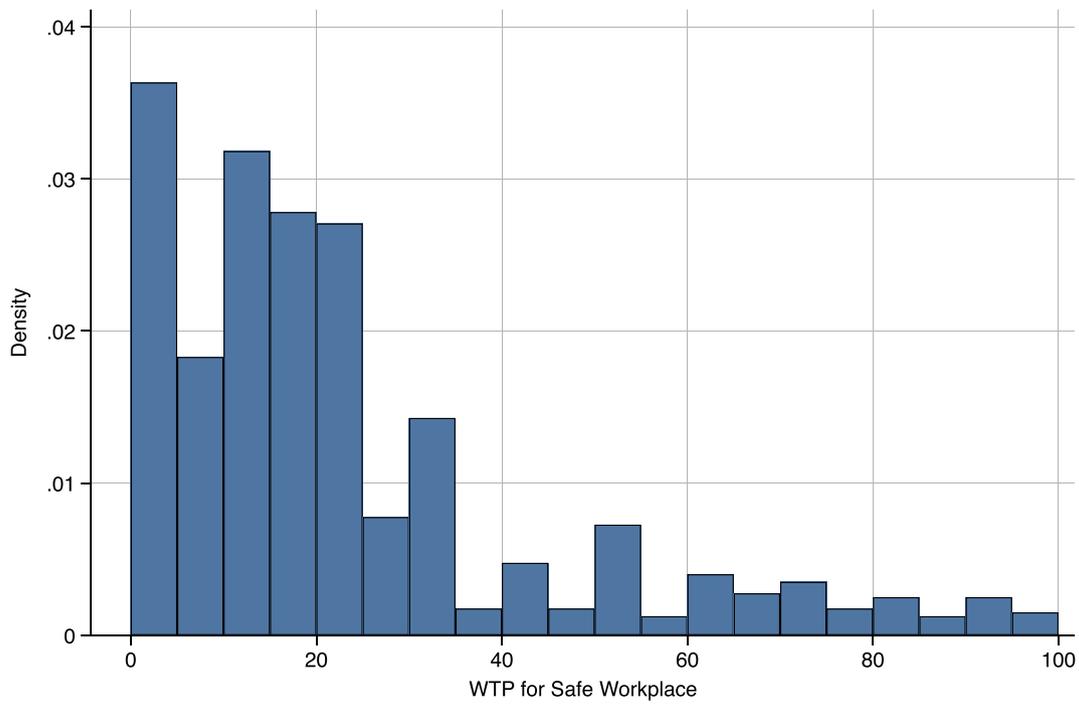


FIGURE 3 | Willingness to pay for a safe workplace. This figure shows the distribution of the willingness to pay for a safe workplace, defined as the percentage of an individual's current salary.

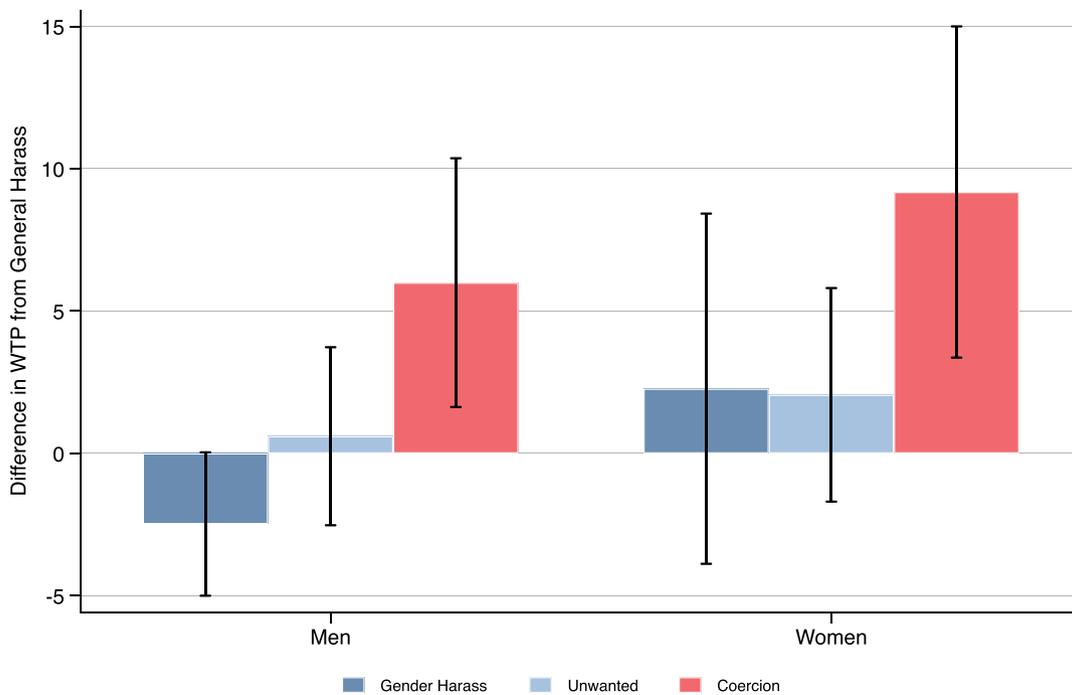


FIGURE 4 | Willingness to pay to avoid forms of harassment. Figure reports the average within-individual difference between their reported willingness to pay to avoid either gender harassment (dark blue), unwanted sexual attention (light blue), or sexual coercion (red) compared to their reported willingness to pay to avoid “sexual harassment.” Also plotted, 95% confidence interval.

5 | Conclusion

This article reviews the critical role of measurement in accurately capturing the prevalence and impact of workplace sexual harassment. The chosen survey method—whether direct query, behavioral list, or the intermediate behavioral definition—significantly

affects reporting rates, with behavioral approaches yielding higher prevalence estimates than general labeling questions. These variations highlight how individuals' understanding and identification of harassment differ, influencing their willingness to report on the prevalence and cost of these behaviors. Given these insights, future studies should prioritize transparent descriptions of the

TABLE 4 | Correlates with WTP for safe workplace.

	Women			Men		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
SH measure						
Direct	8.8860 (3.0761)***			11.7696 (3.9970)***		
Behavioral (def)		9.2585 (2.4358)***			12.8000 (2.6886)***	
Behavioral (eg)			8.5494 (2.1776)***			6.9990 (1.8914)***
Ethnicity						
Black	14.4130 (3.1154)***	12.7824 (3.0396)***	13.1649 (3.1827)***	12.8859 (2.5715)***	10.2480 (2.7141)***	12.8259 (2.6107)***
Others	-1.6128 (3.3298)	-1.9503 (3.2089)	-1.7760 (3.4024)	7.3019 (4.0835)*	6.9919 (4.0371)*	8.3985 (4.2971)*
Age group						
30s	-3.8597 (3.5699)	-3.6621 (3.5772)	-3.6995 (3.4668)	-1.6436 (2.5045)	-1.3981 (2.4946)	-1.6919 (2.5812)
40s	-3.2603 (3.7403)	-3.0903 (3.7604)	-3.6084 (3.6380)	-0.4832 (2.5663)	-0.2070 (2.4132)	-1.1158 (2.5267)
50+	-9.3299 (3.8318)**	-8.4968 (3.8855)**	-8.9456 (3.7051)**	-2.9947 (2.6421)	-2.1234 (2.5507)	-2.0806 (2.6257)
College	0.7634 (2.4263)	1.0958 (2.4118)	0.6221 (2.3755)	3.9469 (2.0329)*	2.4863 (2.0215)	3.9568 (1.9936)**
Log income	-2.4084 (1.7891)	-2.5947 (1.7756)	-2.6770 (1.7735)	-2.0388 (1.6355)	-1.9897 (1.6351)	-1.6668 (1.6536)
Constant	46.5548 (19.1040)**	46.7874 (19.0244)**	46.3477 (19.1997)**	35.9232 (17.7178)**	34.4656 (17.7738)*	29.5737 (18.0284)
Observations	408	408	408	389	389	389
R ²	0.1110	0.1256	0.1232	0.1426	0.1813	0.1453

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. This table reports the results of regressing the respondent's reported willingness to pay for a safe workplace on their demographic characteristics, and whether they reported having experienced sexual harassment. The sample for columns (1)–(3) is women, and for columns (4)–(6) is men. For column (1) and (3), we include an indicator for whether the respondent reported having experienced harassment by the direct report method. For columns (2) and (5), we include harassment reported through the direct report method with the three categories of harassment defined, and for columns (3) and (6), we use the reported harassment from the behavioral experience method. The base category is white for ethnicity and 20s for age group.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

measurement tools employed and how these relate to the prior psychology literature. This will help to ensure a comparable body of research on workplace sexual harassment is generated within economics.

Acknowledgements

We thank the European Research Council (ERC Grant Number 948070) and the Philip Leverhulme Foundation for their generous funding.

Endnotes

¹ For example, UK's Worker Protection Act 2023 that amended the Equality Act 2010 to impose legal duties on employers to "take reasonable steps to prevent sexual harassment and create a safe working environment." More details can be found here.

² The United States Government Accountability Office's review on Workplace Sexual Harassment can be found here.

³ These prevalence rates are consistent with other studies of the US workers. For example, Rospenda, Richman, and Shannon (2009) find that 52% of women and 43% of men reported experiencing sexual harassment using a behavioral list instrument. Funk and Parker (2018) find that 22% of women and 7% of men report experiencing sexual harassment in response to a labeling question.

⁴ Section B of Appendix S1 includes the full battery of questions used in the analysis in order of presentation.

⁵ However, our prevalence estimates are consistent with those from other studies (Rospenda, Richman, and Shannon 2009; Funk and Parker 2018).

⁶ In the survey, we also ask respondents about whether they have witnessed sexual harassment in the last 12 months at work. Respondents were randomly assigned to answer this question before or after the block of questions on their personal experience of sexual harassment. For the sake of brevity, we focus on answers concerning an individual's own personal experience of sexual harassment in this article.

⁷ All analysis here is weighted such that the distribution of survey respondents on race and college matches that of the CPS.

⁸ To ensure that respondents understood the scale, we provided the following guidance: For example, if there are no women in the team, you should answer 0. If everyone in the team is a woman, you should answer 100. If in a team of 10 people, 3 are women, you should answer 30.

⁹ Recall that respondents were randomly assigned to be asked about only one of gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, or sexual coercion to keep the survey length manageable.

References

Adams-Prassl, A., T. Boneva, M. Golin, and C. Rauh. 2020. "Inequality in the Impact of the Coronavirus Shock: Evidence From Real Time Surveys." *Journal of Public Economics* 189: 104245.

Adams-Prassl, A., K. Huttunen, E. Nix, and N. Zhang. 2024. "Violence Against Women at Work." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 139, no. 2: 937–991.

Antecol, H., and D. Cobb-Clark. 2006. "The Sexual Harassment of Female Active-Duty Personnel: Effects on Job Satisfaction and Intentions to Remain in the Military." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 61, no. 1: 55–80.

Basu, K. 2003. "The Economics and Law of Sexual Harassment in the Workplace." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17, no. 3: 141–157.

Batut, C., C. Coly, and S. Schneider-Strawczynski. 2021. "It's a Man's World: Culture of Abuse, #MeToo and Worker Flows." Working Paper No. 149.

Berdahl, J. L. 2007. "Harassment Based on Sex: Protecting Social Status in the Context of Gender Hierarchy." *Academy of Management Review* 32, no. 2: 641–658.

Berdahl, J. L., and C. Moore. 2006. "Workplace Harassment: Double Jeopardy for Minority Women." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 91, no. 2: 426–436.

Berdahl, J. L., and J. L. Raver. 2011. *Sexual Harassment*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Blume, A., E. K. Lai, and W. Lim. 2019. "Eliciting Private Information With Noise: The Case of Randomized Response." *Games and Economic Behavior* 113: 356–380.

Boudreau, L. E., S. Chassang, A. Gonzalez-Torres, R. Heath, and National Bureau of Economic Research. 2023. "Monitoring Harassment in Organizations." Tech. Rep., National Bureau of Economic Research.

Chauchard, S. 2013. "Using mp3 Players in Surveys: The Impact of a Low-Tech Self-Administration Mode on Reporting of Sensitive Attitudes." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 77, no. S1: 220–231.

Chuang, E., P. Dupas, E. Huillery, and J. Seban. 2019. "Sex, Lies, and Measurement: Do Indirect Response Survey Methods Work?" Tech. Rep., Mimeo.

Crouch, M. A. 2000. *Thinking About Sexual Harassment: A Guide for the Perplexed*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Dahl, G. B., and M. M. Knepper. 2021. "Why Is Workplace Sexual Harassment Under-Reported? The Value of Outside Options Amid the Threat of Retaliation." Tech. rep., National Bureau of Economic Research.

Delfgaauw, J., and A. Boring. 2024. "Social Desirability Bias in Attitudes Towards Sexism and Dei Policies in the Workplace." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 225: 465–482.

Einarsen, S. 2000. "Harassment and Bullying at Work: A Review of the Scandinavian Approach." *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 5, no. 4: 379–401.

EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, L. 2015. "Violence Against Women: An EU-Wide Survey." Technical Report.

European Institute for Crime Prevention & Control, L. 2009. "Men's Experiences of Violence in Finland." Technical Report.

Farley, L. 1978. *Sexual Shakedown: The Sexual Harassment of Women on the Job*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Fisher, J. C., and T. J. Flannery. 2023. "Designing Randomized Response Surveys to Support Honest Answers to Stigmatizing Questions." *Review of Economic Design* 27, no. 3: 635–667.

Fitzgerald, L. F., M. J. Gelfand, and F. Drasgow. 1995. "Measuring Sexual Harassment: Theoretical and Psychometric Advances." *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 17, no. 4: 425–445.

Fitzgerald, L. F., V. J. Magley, F. Drasgow, and C. R. Waldo. 1999. "Measuring Sexual Harassment in the Military: The Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (Seq—Dod)." *Military Psychology* 11, no. 3: 243–263.

Fitzgerald, L. F., S. L. Shullman, N. Bailey, et al. 1988. "The Incidence and Dimensions of Sexual Harassment in Academia and the Workplace." *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 32, no. 2: 152–175.

Fitzgerald, L. F., S. Swan, and V. J. Magley. 1997. "But Was it Really Sexual Harassment?: Legal, Behavioral, and Psychological Definitions of the Workplace Victimization of Women." In *Sexual Harassment: Theory, Research, and Treatment*, edited by W. O'Donohue, 5–28. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Folke, O., and J. Rickne. 2022. "Sexual Harassment and Gender Inequality in the Labor Market." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 137, no. 4: 2163–2212.

Funk, C., and K. Parker. 2018. *Pew Research Center: Women and Men in Stem Often at Odds Over Workplace Equity*. Atlanta, GA: NewsRx Health & Science.

- Government of India. 2013. "The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013. Act No. 14 of 2013."
- Gutek, B. A., R. O. Murphy, and B. Douma. 2004. "A Review and Critique of the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (Seq)." *Law and Human Behavior* 28: 457–482.
- Hersch, J. 2011. "Compensating Differentials for Sexual Harassment." *American Economic Review* 101, no. 3: 630–634.
- Hersch, J. 2018. "Valuing the Risk of Workplace Sexual Harassment." *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty* 57, no. 2: 111–131.
- Konik, J., and L. M. Cortina. 2008. "Policing Gender at Work: Intersections of Harassment Based on Sex and Sexuality." *Social Justice Research* 21: 313–337.
- Mackinnon, C. A. 1979. *Sexual Harassment of Working Women: A Case of Sex Discrimination*. Vol. 178. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- MacKinnon, C. A., and R. B. Siegel. 2008. *Directions in Sexual Harassment Law*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Miller, R. S., Jr. 1966. "Sex Discrimination and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." *Minnesota Law Review* 51: 877.
- Raver, J. L., and L. H. Nishii. 2010. "Once, Twice, or Three Times as Harmful? Ethnic Harassment, Gender Harassment, and Generalized Workplace Harassment." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 95, no. 2: 236–254.
- Rospenda, K. M., J. A. Richman, and C. A. Shannon. 2009. "Prevalence and Mental Health Correlates of Harassment and Discrimination in the Workplace: Results From a National Study." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 24, no. 5: 819–843.
- Sharma, K. 2022. "Tackling Sexual Harassment: Experimental Evidence From India." Working Paper.
- Stantcheva, S. 2023. "How to Run Surveys: A Guide to Creating Your Own Identifying Variation and Revealing the Invisible." *Annual Review of Economics* 15, no. 1: 205–234.
- Stark, S., O. S. Chernyshenko, A. R. Lancaster, F. Drasgow, and L. F. Fitzgerald. 2002. "Toward Standardized Measurement of Sexual Harassment: Shortening the Seq-Dod Using Item Response Theory." *Military Psychology* 14, no. 1: 49–72.
- U.S. Congress. 1964. "Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." Public Law 88–352. <https://www.eeoc.gov/statutes/title-vii-civil-rights-act-1964>.
- UK Government. 2010. "Equality Act 2010. Chapter 15."
- UK Government. 2024. "New Protections From Sexual Harassment Come into Force."
- Warner, S. L. 1965. "Randomized Response: A Survey Technique for Eliminating Evasive Answer Bias." *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 60, no. 309: 63–69.
- Welsh, S., J. Carr, B. MacQuarrie, and A. Huntley. 2006. "'I Am Not Thinking of It as Sexual Harassment' Understanding Harassment Across Race and Citizenship." *Gender & Society* 20, no. 1: 87–107.

Supporting Information

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section.