SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND BULLYING IN THE WORKPLACE IN PORTUGAL

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COMISSÃO PARA A IGUALDADE NO TRABALHO E NO EMPREGO

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Acknowledgements

In 2014, the Commission for Equality in Work and Employment (CITE) promoted research into Sexual Harassment and Bullying in the Workplace (one of the pre-defined projects funded by the 2009-2014 *European Economic Area Grants*, EEAgrants), setting up a partnership with the Working Conditions Authority (ACT), the Portuguese Bar Association, the Centre for Judicial Studies, Lisbon City Council (CML) and GRAFE Publicidade (national partners), and the Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities (KS) (Norwegian partner).

The Interdisciplinary Centre for Gender Studies (CIEG) at the Institute of Social and Political Sciences (ISCSP), of the University of Lisbon, was the partner chosen by CITE to conduct the research, presented here in book form. Aware of the valuable work of the Commission for Equality in Work and Employment (CITE) and of the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG, the Programme Operator in Portugal for PT07: Mainstreaming gender equality and promoting work-life balance), CIEG is grateful for the invitation to join this partnership and for the opportunity this gave it to raise the public profile of this vital social issue and to update and expand the data available.

The first pioneering study into the sexual harassment of women in Portugal was conducted in 1989 by Prof. Lígia Amâncio and Luísa Lima, who published their findings in 1994. CITE has now followed this up with new research. Now, like then, this work consisted of learning about social facts, gaining a deeper understanding of their sociological dimension in order to inform public policy design and to improve the mechanisms for preventing and correcting situations of harassment in general and in specific settings, such as the workplace.

We wish to thank the President of CITE, Dr. Joana Gíria and to acknowledge the commitment to this project - which has involved research, publication of a brochure and this book, as well as training materials, disseminating the project findings - of Dr. Anita Sares, Dr. Ana Curado and Dr. Tiago Pereira. We also wish to thank Dr. Sandra Ribeiro and Dr. Natividade Coelho, respectively President and Vice-President at the date of the project's launch, who oversaw the initial stages. We wish also to thank CIG, and in particular it's President, Dr. Fátima Duarte and Vice-President, Dr. Teresa Almeida, as well as Dr. Joana Marteleira, PT07 Programme officer.

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Introduction

The research project Sexual Harassment and Bullying in the Workplace was conducted by Interdisciplinary Centre for Gender Studies (CIEG) between 2014 and 2016 as part of a partnership project led by Commission for Equality in Work and Employment (CITE), involving a number of different partners, with funding from EEA Grants.

The starting point for this research was a comparison with the data gathered in a pioneering survey conducted in 1989 (Amâncio and Lima, 1994) of sexual harassment of women. In view of the huge changes in society over the past 25 years, the scope of the research in 2015 was expanded to include bullying, and the survey subjects included men, and not only women, as had previously been the case.

Although the term *sexual harassment* is relatively recent, the abuse to which it refers, experienced by women in the workplace, is a much older phenomenon. But it was in the 1970s that the term entered the public consciousness as the feminist movement fought for change, locating sexual harassment in the wider context of inequalities of gender and power. Formerly regarded a moral or private issue, sexual harassment was now viewed as a social problem which needed to be addressed.

At a later stage, the great diversity of employment situations and the complexity of gender inequalities prompted researchers to take a deeper, interdisciplinary approach to the subject, looking at both the female and male universes, their interactions, power relations and the organisational context

Workplace bullying, defined as such, has only recently gained visibility in Portugal as a social phenomenon. Internationally, research started to shed light on this phenomenon in the 1980s, but it was in the 1990s that the debate and research in this area really took off. Although more needs to be known about this problem, which has only recently been defined, the targets of bullying have always had to deal with the negative consequences for their physical and mental wellbeing.

Both phenomena constitute an affront to human dignity, with consequences for society as a whole. In Europe, these are problems which affect tens of millions of workers of both sexes, although women are the main victims (Eurofound, 2015).

Civic movements and supranational organizations, such as the International Labour Organisation and the Council of Europe, have striven to achieve greater visibility for these issues, condemning them, and pushing them up the legal and political agenda. They have campaigned to persuade states to adopt preventive and punitive measures,

especially in relation to workplace practices, and sought to raise the awareness of employers and unions of the benefits of preventing and tackling harassment and bullying.

In order to obtain a picture of sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace in Portugal, the researchers decided to combine and triangulate extensive and intensive methodologies. A representative sample of the Portuguese working population (mainland Portugal, excluding the primary sector) was surveyed using a questionnaire. At the same time, semi-structured interviews were conducted with men and women who had suffered bullying and/or sexual harassment. The questionnaire was designed to provide data on the scale and characteristics of sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace, to discover how sexual harassment is perceived by society, establishing what has changed and comparing ways of thinking 25 years on. It also set out to discover how the targets of harassment react, who they turn to for support and their reasons for reacting in the way they do and for seeking, or not seeking, support.

The book is divided into nine chapters and an introduction. The first two chapters establish the coordinates for the research.

In the first chapter, we explain how the research is designed, the aims, questions it seeks to answer and the methodological strategy adopted. We also provide an overview of the population surveyed and its objective and subjective working conditions.

The two fundamental questions posed are what is sexual harassment or bullying in the workplace? And why does it happen? To answer these questions, the historical, theoretical and conceptual framework has to be established in order to define clearly the standpoint from which the phenomenon of sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace is observed, described, characterised, interpreted and explained. This perspective is supplied by the second chapter, which starts with a brief history of how the two concepts - sexual harassment and bullying - emerged, identifying and summarising the progress made in research over the last thirty years, fundamentally in the USA, Europe and in Portugal. Transnational and national legislation drawn up over this period is then briefly discussed. In order to understand and explain why the different types of harassment and bullying occur, the chapter then describes three analytical dimensions which are regarded as crucial for addressing these issues in the workplace: questions of power, social gender relations and the organisational settings. The concepts are then operationalised, identifying dimensions and indicators.

The next three chapters set out to describe, characterise, interpret and explain the phenomenon of sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace.

Chapter three is centred on a comparison with the findings of the 1989 research into sexual harassment of women in the workplace (Amâncio and Lima, 1994). Portuguese society has undergone profound changes in the past 25 years, in everything from the structure of the economy and the employment market to sexuality, including levels of educational attainment. So the questions addressed are: Has there been any change in what women and men perceive as being, or not being, sexual harassment? And have reactions to sexual harassment changed? To answer these questions, the findings of the 1989 research and those from the new study, conducted in 2015, are compared at several levels. The first step is to examine changes in the labour market and in the place of female workers in this market. We then assess the change in the frequency of sexual harassment of women in the workplace, placing this transformation, albeit briefly, in the context of broader changes in the conception and meaning of sexuality for women and men. The comparison then focuses on the perpetrators of sexual harassment, examining the effects of the growth of the service sector in the last decade and a half on the identity of the perpetrators of sexual harassment. Explanations are provided for the shift away from the situation in 1989, when sexual harassers were predominantly co-workers, to the situation in 2015 in which sexual harassment is most frequently perpetrated by hierarchical superiors. The fourth focus of the comparison between 1989 and 2015 is on how female targets of sexual harassment react and rationalise the phenomenon. Lastly, we present an analysis of women's attitudes to sexual harassment, characterising the differences in what is and what isn't regarded as sexual harassment in the present (2015) and in the past (1989).

In answering the questions underlying this chapter, we come up against limitations, some of which have to do with the methodological options taken when designing the research instrument and also when formulating the indicators. Other limitations to this comparison are due to the evolution in the theoretical debate and the new knowledge accumulated over the past 25 years, prompting scholars to take a new and specific approach, resulting in a change in analytical priorities.

After focusing in chapter 3 on the changes over the past 25 years, the fourth chapter presents in greater detail the findings on sexual harassment in 2015. The presentation starts with an analysis of the frequency of sexual harassment, broken down into the four dimensions (sexual innuendo, unwelcome sexual advances, uninvited physical contact and *quid pro quo* harassment) and into each dimension by sex. This is followed by analysis of the perpetrators and targets of harassment, by sex. Sexual harassment practices are then analysed on the basis of individual characteristics, using four age ranges and occupational categories. The same practices are also analysed on the basis of the characteristics of organisations: by size, dividing organisations into four groups, by economic sector, by type of contractual arrangements with workers and by type of perpetrator, in accordance with the hierarchical position occupied in the organisation. Lastly, the working environment

is analysed, establishing the relationship between organisational climate and sexual harassment practices. This chapter concludes by looking at the ways in which individual targets of sexual harassment react and at whom they turn to for support. As before, this analysis is carried out by sex.

Chapter 5 addresses workplace bullying in Portugal, looking at six points. Firstly, we analyse people's perceptions of workplace bullying, assessing how clearly women and men identify potential bullying situations. The focus then turns from attitudes to the practices constituting workplace bullying, describing the most frequent practices. The third section of the chapter describes the uneven basis on which targets are subjected to different types of bullying, depending on factors relating to their respective life-stages and career-stages. Attention is then paid to the intersection between educational attainment and workplace bullying. The fifth item is a description and assessment of workplace bullies. Our analysis of workplace bullying in Portugal closes with an analysis of how the targets react.

Chapters six and seven put into perspective the facts on sexual harassment and bullying described in the previous chapters, comparing the findings with those of international studies (chapter six). Comparison of data between countries reveals the seriousness of the frequency of sexual harassment and bullying in Portugal (Eurofound, 2015; FRA, 2014).

Chapter seven will put into perspective the findings on sexual harassment and bullying by transposing the research findings to serve as the basis for planning and taking action (this being one of the four fundamental aims of the research project). Therefore, in this chapter the findings are used to identify needs and as grounds for defining paths and strategies for preventing sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace.

Prevention of bullying and sexual harassment is a priority for societies today. Supranational political guidelines on this issue, especially in Europe (Council of Europe and the European Commission), has been adopted in Portugal. However, systematic efforts to prevent sexual harassment and bullying in an employment setting, and to offer support for victims, are a relatively recent development in Portugal.

By means of a nationwide survey using a representative sample of the Portuguese working population, backed up by interviews, this research has clearly shown that action is needed to prevent sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace. At the same time, comparative analysis with other countries, as seen in chapter six, also shows that the figures for harassment and bullying in Portugal remain above the European average, clearly illustrating the need to tackle this issue.

Chapter seven presents a number of strategies for preventing sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace, indicating the institutions with responsibility for promoting equality and dignity in employment relations, including powers of inspection and intervention in harassment situations. A range of measures are also suggested for implementation by the different organisations, and in particular by employers.

The eighth chapter provides a picture of sexual harassment and bullying in Portugal in the words of male and female employees with personal experience of sexual harassment, bullying and a combination of the two. This chapter gives a voice to ordinary people, to talk about their experiences of sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace.

The closing notes provide a brief overview of the main findings, connecting them to the perspective of how to address sexual harassment and bullying and summing up the conclusions. This final section also shows how the snapshot obtained (necessarily a fleeting image, like any knowledge) points to other unanswered questions and to the need to look further into this phenomenon and monitor its characteristics in Portuguese society.

Chapter 1

Research design, survey population and working conditions

1.1. Research Design

All too often, methodological descriptions are wrongly taken to be dry, dull or predictable recitations of the research procedures or a mere description of how particular methods or techniques were applied. But the importance of methodology lies precisely in the fact that it cannot be confused with the path taken by the research, with specific episodes in the course of the research procedures, or with the specific research practices that constitute methods (Almeida, 2007).

Instead, methodology occupies a critical place in research practices, in which we can resist the temptation to present the research tidily as a finished, seamless and linear whole. Methodological explanations are necessary to clarify our perspective on, and how we approach, the phenomena of sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace as an object of sociological study. In other words, this exercise is fundamental to elucidate a standpoint, to design a strategy, clarify a method, and also to be watchful as to how they are applied.

In general terms, we might say that a methodology is a strategic construction that articulates theory and experiments in order to approach a given object. But a number of different consequences flow from this general assertion: in defining and circumscribing the object of study, in the importance and centrality of theory in the research process, and at every phase.

1.1.1. Defining the object of study

The object of study is not something we can produce at a stroke, by means of an opening theoretical act, or by simply enunciating it with a greater or lesser degree of clarity and circumscription: sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace. In other words, the object cannot be manipulated by technical or instrumental means, and is not immediately evident to observers (Almeida e Pinto, 1976). In the first place, the object of study - sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace - can only be defined and delimited in the light of prior theorisation, which will serve as our guide. That is to say that the object of study will be no more and no less visible than permitted by the theoretical and conceptual frameworks which filter what we see or by impermanent knowledge, successively updated. So we would be unable to achieve a minimum level of understanding of what we mean when we talk about sexual harassment or bullying in the workplace without looking, albeit briefly, at the social history of the issues, of the objects and instruments of thought, in other words, the collective labour of

gradually putting together the theoretical, conceptual and methodological tools that render perceptible the phenomenon of sexual harassment and bullying.

Considering that methodology is a strategic construction articulating theory with experience in approaching the object and that the definition of this object depends, to a large extent, on the theoretical frameworks that shape how we see things, the archaeology of thought is relevant as an act of analytical prudence (Foucault, 1972).

It is therefore necessary to map out the zones of knowledge concerning sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace. This requires an understanding of the historical, procedural and impermanent character of the knowledge produced, of the need to think it through, to make it conscious and explicit and a grasp of the permanent possibility of bringing our knowledge up to date (Almeida, 2007). At the same time, this mapping process is an opportunity to identify gaps in the knowledge produced about sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace - areas where additional effort will be needed to describe and explain reality.

This effort shows up the need to stop relegating sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace to an issue of mere sociological interest. The low status assigned to the issue is due to two distinct forces.

On the one hand, we can point to an international tendency for the topic to be gradually taken off the academic agenda and to be placed instead on an agenda for public action, giving rise to public policies. The fundamental research into harassment issues, and especially into sexual harassment, was at its most intense during the nineteen eighties and nineties, when the basic conceptual and theoretical framework was developed in various western regions (USA, Canada, Europe) and in different academic fields (from sociology to management, from human resources to psychology or psychiatry). Since the turn of the century, efforts have centred on systematising this knowledge and on translating it into public policies, a legal framework and practical formulas for intervention, in the shape of guides to good practice in training, prevention or resolution (e.g. USA, Canada, Australia)[1].

The social[2], media[3] and political[4] visibility that harassment issues (especially sexual harassment) have recently achieved stands in contrast to the scarcity of

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[1] In addition, this form of exclusion can be observed internationally in the difficulty in accommodating this research at international academic gatherings, due to the failure to include it in within the scope of the research areas organising these events.

[2] We should here highlight the work of a women's rights campaign group which, by combining activism with research, has scored considerable success in putting sexual harassment on the public and political agenda.

[3] The way the issue has repeatedly been treated in the Portuguese press, raising its profile and helping to set up a wider social debate on the phenomenon of harassment. Although it should be noted that media attention is more frequently centred on sexual harassment than on bullying.

[4] We should here draw attention to the recent changes to the Penal Code (Article 180), permitting a new crime of sexual harassment (importunação sexual) and the political debate which preceded this change in the law. .

scientific research into this area in Portugal. Indeed, sexual harassment and/or bullying are unable to assert themselves as autonomous objects of study, and we can point to an incapacity to produce systematic and fundamental knowledge concerning the phenomenon of sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace in Portugal. This incapacity is all the more obvious when we note that the only research which set out to provide an extensive picture of sexual harassment in the workplace in Portugal, identifying and characterising the phenomenon, is still the pioneering study by Lígia Amâncio and Luísa Lima, conducted in the late eighties, with an analytical focus limited to sexual harassment of female workers, excluding men from the object of study (Amâncio and Lima, 1994). The inabilty to include the issue on the research agenda can also be seen in the fragmented way in which bullying has been treated: case studies dealing with particular economic sectors (banking, health and social security, or local government).

In this scenario, this research is the first extensive study able to provide a combined picture of sexual harassment and bullying experienced by women and men in the workplace in Portugal.

It is essential to position this research in the scenario of the theoretical and conceptual debate (addressed in greater depth and more systematically in chapter 2) in order to define the standpoint from which the questions are asked and reality is probed, analysed and interpreted (Myrdal, 1969). This can be summarised as a series of aims and questions.

The first aim: **knowledge**. In order words, to produce a picture of sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace - by way of a broad diagnosis. This will provide extensive knowledge of the real situation, seeking to understand how this reality affects the lives of women and men. More specifically, this first aim requires us to answer the following questions: how are sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace structured in Portugal as dimensions of social reality? What are the main components and how do they relate? What lies behind this reality?

Second aim: **comparison**. This research was designed to make it possible to compare and update the knowledge produced in the late eighties on sexual harassment of women, providing the basis for analysing changes (Amâncio and Lima, 1994). The following fundamental questions are implicit in this objective: what mechanisms produce, maintain and transform this reality? Are the workings and characteristics of sexual harassment very different from others associated with this phenomenon in other historical periods?

Third aim: **innovation and adjustment**. The relative immaturity of this object of study in Portugal allows and simultaneously requires us to broaden the analytical focus, including women and men and including two distinct forms of workplace harassment: sexual harassment and bullying. Briefly, the following questions need to be answered: who are the perpetrators and how are they organised? Who are the men and women affected by these forms of workplace harassment, and what are their personal and social histories? Who is more affected by sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace, women or men? What do gender orders and regimes have to do with this?

Fourthly, **provide information to promote action** Just as this topic needs to be put on the research agenda, it also needs to be more firmly placed on the political agenda. So one of the project's central aims is to translate, adapt and transfer the knowledge produced concerning sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace so it can be used by different target groups: political leaders, the general public, companies, unions and employers' representatives. On a practical level, this has involved creating materials.

1.1.2. Methodological options

A brief word is first required on how we approached and addressed the object of study, and consequently the persons who constitute this object.

The decision to do this through triangulation, or by mixing methods, means that we chose a methodological strategy based on more than one research method. In navigation, triangulation means using different means, techniques and instruments to arrive at the navigators' precise location and the exact course of their route. Similarly, in researching sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace, triangulation refers to the use of more than one technique or instrument to produce information of a distinct but complementary nature, making it possible to produce a fuller and deeper identification, description, analysis and explanation of reality. Contrary to what is too often understood, the purpose of methodological triangulation here is not to validate or verify the quality of the data or the information obtained separately through each of the methods (Hammersley, 2005; Brennan, 2005).

Instead, triangulation should be correctly understood as the combined use of extensive and intensive methodologies. In this case, a representative sample of the Portuguese working population (mainland Portugal, excluding the primary sector) was surveyed using a questionnaire, at the same time as semi-structured interviews were conducted of men and women who had been victims of bullying and/or sexual harassment.

This research strategy and general research orientation is devised to respond to the specific aims and issues in view (Brennan, 2005). The use of an extensive approach (questionnaire survey) allows us to respond directly to the first two research aims and to the need to ensure that the findings are comparable with the research regarding sexual harassment of women in the late nineteen eighties (Amâncio and Lima, 1994), as well as to the need to produce a national snapshot or diagnosis of the situation concerning sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace in Portugal in 2015.

In contrast, an intensive approach, applying sociology on a more individual scale (Lahire, 2005), understanding how these phenomena are experienced and internalised individually, makes it possible to articulate the life stories of the perpetrators, social structures and their place in these structures (Mills, 2000). This is essential for answering questions about who the perpetrators are and how they are organised. Who are the men and women affected by these forms of workplace harassment, and what are their personal and social histories?

In essence, the potential offered by this option lies not just in articulating information of different types and characteristics, but also in the fact that this articulation involves combining different scales of analysis. On the macro scale, we are able to arrive at an extensive picture of reality. At the same time, in-depth interviews offer us the opportunity of understanding how the phenomena of sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace operate at a more individual level. The more these issues are silenced and the actual experience is stigmatised, the more important this perspective becomes.

The aim of comparability with the findings of the pioneering research into sexual harassment of women in the workplace conducted in the nineteen eighties meant that the sample had to be designed to respond to the criteria used in the previous study. The survey questionnaire was accordingly applied to a representative sample of the Portuguese working population across the whole economy in mainland Portugal, excluding the primary sector. Considering above all the issue of sexual harassment, it was decided at the outset that it would make sense for women to be overrepresented in the sample in order to increase the possibilities of obtaining a sufficient number of responses which could be used to analyse the various dimensions of the phenomenon. The aim was accordingly established of obtaining no less than 1200 responses from women and around 600 from men.

The fieldwork consisted solely of applying the questionnaire and took place between 5 January and 22 February 2015 and was carried out by 44 interviewers who received specific training. The survey was made of a representative sample of the working population of mainland Portugal, excluding the primary sector. Responses were received from 1801 individuals: 558 men and 1243 women.

The training provided for the interviewers responsible for applying the questionnaire in the field required further reflection on the work of designing the tools for producing information. This involved looking again at the specific indicators on sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace, as well as questions of a more conceptual nature. This was because this training exercise required the researchers to produce an interviewer's manual and conduct two training sessions (one for interviewers in the central and southern regions, and another for interviewers in northern Portugal). The training (manual and sessions) focussed not only on the questionnaire and how to apply it, but also on clarifying fundamental concepts in relation to sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace, so that the interviewers could carry out the fieldwork with sufficient information to clear up any questions from their potential interviewees.

The interviewees (women and men of working age) were selected by the random route method, in accordance with the following fundamental criteria:

(i)   219 sampling points were selected in 78 localities, taking into account the NUTs region and the habitat/size of the localities.
(ii)   Households were selected by using an itinerary defined by a zigzag course from a departure point or starting street for the work.
(iii)   The individuals interviewed were selected at random, using the following criteria: whenever there was a woman in the household of working age, she would be selected in first place; if there was more than one woman who met the requirements, the last woman to have celebrated her birthday was chosen. The criterion of the last birthday was also used in households where there was more than one man in work/of working age.

The use of the random route method had the practical consequence of defining the interviewee's home as the interview location. This particular feature of how the questionnaire was applied represents a significant change in relation to the research conducted in the late nineteen eighties. At that time, it was decided to interview women at their place of work, fearing that at home women would be subject to greater pressures to stay silent on situations of harassment which might not be understood in the family, conjugal or amorous relations of the women interviewed. Gaining access to the persons who make up the object of study would be time-consuming and complicated if done through companies, as the companies would want to check over the questionnaires used and are unwilling to give up employees' time and productivity.

As a result of these objective conditions for conducting the fieldwork (applying the questionnaire), a total of 6454 contacts were made in order to achieve 1801 valid interviews. This mismatch between the number of valid interviews and the number of contacts was due to a number of factors: in the first place, the nature

and topic of the research and the way people were approached (through a questionnaire at home) can help to explain a refusal rate of approximately one third of the people contacted (32%). The concealment (close to secrecy) to which issues relating to sexual harassment and harassment and bullying at work are subjected and the lack of social visibility for the issue means that the questionnaire is seen as an intrusion, undermining and violating people's privacy. People may therefore have refused to take part because the research is perceived as potentially sensitive. Secondly, the requirements of the random route method or the sampling criteria are frequently frustrated by the fact of there being no one at home at the address selected (19%) or by the absence of any potential interviewees (persons of working age/in work) (20%). Lastly, in a negligible number of these contacts (2%), the fieldwork was rejected for failing to meet the supervision criteria.

Continuous monitoring of the fieldwork and application of the questionnaire is designed primarily to assure the quality of the information and of the interviews conducted. Whilst the problem of possible fake questionnaire responses appears to have been solved by using new technologies (CAPI), other potential issues still need to be guarded against: correct application of the questionnaire or compliance with the sampling specifications, for example.

Responsibility for monitoring quality was shared between the CIEG team and the company contracted to conduct the survey. A total of 35% of the work carried out was verified. This was done by telephone, directly contacting the respondents, so as to ensure that these individuals had effectively answered the questionnaire and whether the interviewer had applied the questionnaire correctly. A number of test questions were selected, and the responses could be compared with those recorded on the first questionnaire. Whenever inconsistencies were detected, the questionnaires were cancelled and fresh interviews conducted.

The telephone calls made to control the quality of the fieldwork questionnaires were intended to be brief but often turned into relatively lengthy conversations with the individuals constituting the object of study. These occasions revealed that people who had been the targets of bullying and/or sexual harassment were eager unburden themselves and to talk about their experiences. It also showed that the unavoidable interference caused by the data collection tool - questionnaire survey - had not been experienced as abusive or as an intrusion into the respondents' privacy.

1.2. The characterization of the surveyed population

The surveyed population is characterised by means of a series of base or fundamental variables: age, educational attainment, type of employment contract, employment situation, economic sector, size of company or organisation.

1.2.1. Age

The surveyed population consisted of 1801 individuals, and interviews were conducted of 1243 women and 558 men. The average age of the surveyed population is 44.1 years, and the average age for the women is higher than that of the men (44.6 years and 43 years, respectively). The modal age is 44 years. The minimum age was 18 years and the maximum was 90 years[5].

The surveyed population presents an intermediate age range and most of the women and men surveyed belong to the two intermediate age ranges. In other words, 53.9% of the surveyed population is aged between 35 and 54 years.

The age range most represented in the surveyed population is that for women and men aged 35 to 44 years. The percentage of women and men belonging to this age group is very similar, at around 28%.

The group aged 65 years or over is the least well represented in the surveyed population (3.1%), and is predominantly female: the proportion of women in this age range is more than twice that of men (Table 1-1).

Table 1-1. Age and sex of surveyed population (%)

	Total (W + M)	Women	Men
24 years and under	5,7	4,8	7,7
25 - 34 years	18,9	18,2	20,6
35 - 44 years	28,2	28,3	28
45 - 54 years	25,7	27,0	22,8
55 - 64 years	18,3	17,9	19,4
65 years and over	3,1	3,8	1,6
N	1801	1243	558

1.2.2. Educational attainment

The surveyed population presented levels of educational attainment close to those of the Portuguese working population aged over 15 years (INE, 2014). The deviations which can be observed are related, at least in part, to the non-inclusion of the primary sector in our sample of the working population, and also the exclusion of the autonomous regions (Madeira and the Azores): both the primary sector and the autonomous regions are characterised by lower levels of educational attainment.

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[5] The working population refers to individuals aged 15 and over who, in the reference period, constituted the manpower available for producing goods and services which are traded in the economy (employed and unemployed). Source: INE (meta-information on working population).

So whilst, for the Portuguese population as a whole, in 2014, 57% had completed only basic education (up to the 9th grade), this group represented only 45.2% of our sample, and higher educational levels are represented more strongly.

The surveyed population divides into three in terms of educational attainment. We can point to a large group with a low level of educational resources, accounting for about half of the individuals surveyed. This group contains women and men who have completed no more than the 9th grade of the Portuguese school system ('basic education'): 45.2% of the reporting population surveyed population has completed the 9th grade and 0.8% have completed no level of education. It may also be observed that the 9th grade is the most frequent level of educational attainment for both men (47.1%) and women (44.3%) in the reporting population, and that individuals without any level of educational attainment are all women (1.1% of the women in the reporting population).

A second group contains individuals with intermediate educational resources, i.e. men and women respondents who completed secondary education (29.7% of total). This group accounts for 31% of the men surveyed and 29.1% of the women.

Lastly, the surveyed population includes groups with a high level of educational resources, accounting for 24.3% of those surveyed. More than a quarter of women (25.4%) have completed higher education and a lower proportion of men (21.9%).

Figure 1-1. Level of education of surveyed population, by sex (%)
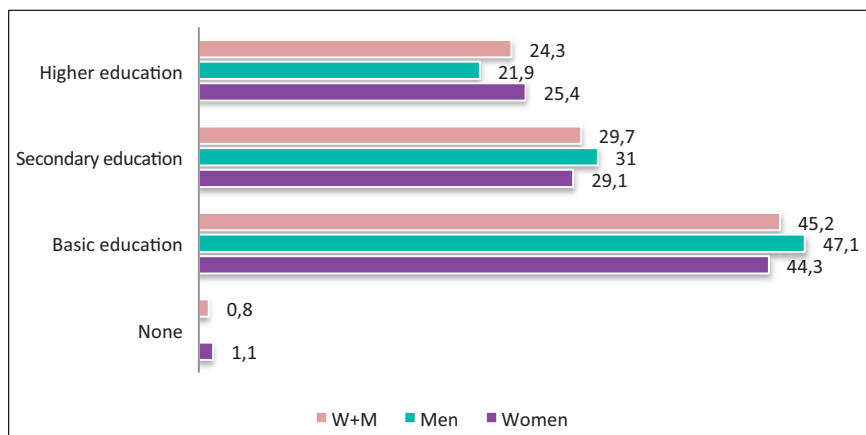
This segmentation of the surveyed population is juxtaposed with another on generational or historical lines, identifying what we can call the pre-democracy generation and the generation born under democracy.

It is clear that the largest percentage of individuals with lower levels of educational attainment is found amongst women and men aged 45 years and over. Looking carefully at the older age groups (44 - 55 years, 55 - 64 years and 65 years and over), for whom access to education and an academic career was severely constrained by the atavistic policies of an undemocratic regime, we find that the proportion of those who completed secondary or higher education diminishes as we move up the age ranges. Inversely, the proportion of those who completed only basic education or with no educational qualifications at all increases as we move up the scale.

In contrast, and reflecting the transformation of Portugal over the past four decades, we can see that in the age ranges where access to education and to an academic career have been enjoyed in a democratic environment, and in the context of convergence with Europe, the relative proportion of those completing secondary and higher education is greater, and there is a significant reduction in the proportion of those who have completed only basic education.

This generational/historical division is illustrated with extreme clarity by a comparison of respondents aged 65 and over with those aged 24 and under: 82.1% of respondents aged 65 or over had completed only basic education (9th grade), whilst this level of educational attainment accounted for only 25.2% of those aged 24 and under. At the same time, 49.5% of respondents aged 24 and under had completed secondary education and 25.2% had completed higher education, in sharp contrast with 3.6% of the oldest respondents (65 or over) who had completed secondary education or 8.9% who had completed higher education.

Figure 1-2. Level of educational attainment of surveyed population, by age (%)
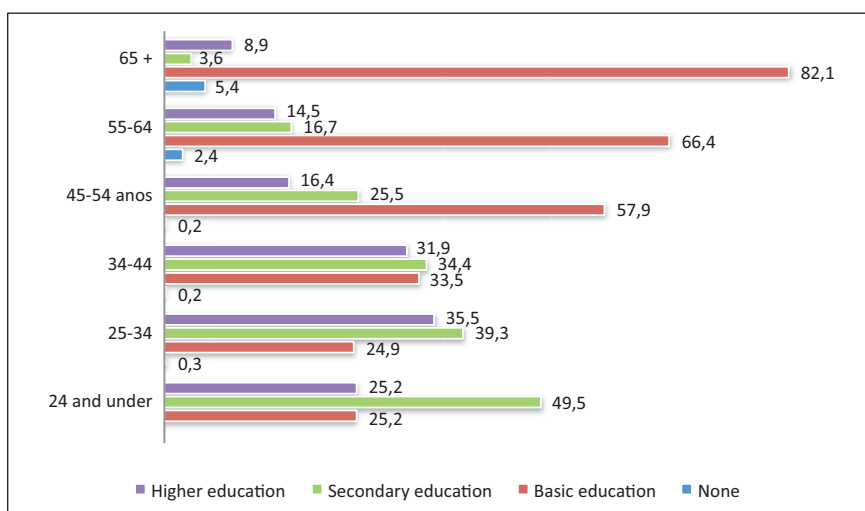
It was also found that the democratisation of Portuguese society has also wrought changes resulting in increased equality between men and women in access to education and longer educational careers. In the first instance, the proportion of women respondents with no educational qualification falls to zero, or to completely negligible levels, when we move down the age scale, namely when our focus shifts away from women whose lives and educational careers were shaped by the culture of inequality prevailing the pre-democratic period in Portugal and turns to the generation growing up under democracy. In the second place, whilst an overwhelming majority of women aged over 45 completed no more than basic education (57.1% of women between 45 and 54 years; 68.5% of women between 55 and 64; 83% of women aged 65 or over), less than a third of women in all the younger age groups share this level of educational attainment. Thirdly, in the younger age ranges, we find that higher education qualifications are more frequently held by women than by men, and this difference in the duration of educational careers is particularly evident amongst respondents aged 24 years and under.

Figure 1-3. Level of educational attainment of surveyed population, by age and sex
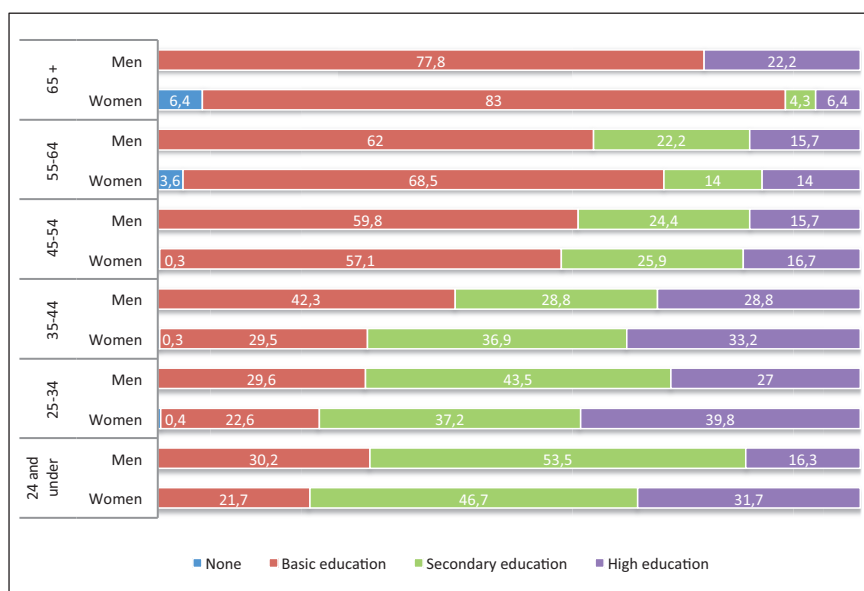
1.2.3. Type of employment contract and employment situation

VThe surveyed population is split in respect of the basis on which they are employed, i.e. type of employment contract, if any. Around half the respondents are employed on a permanent contract, whilst the other half present a variety

of precarious forms of employment: temporary contracts (fixed term), no contract, paid or unpaid internships. We should not forget the percentage of people who either did not or were unable to answer this question.

In the first instance, we need to look carefully to see whether the different types of employment arrangements are distributed evenly through the different economic sectors.

Next, and considering the context of economic and financial crisis and the impact this has had on the labour market, and also recent successive changes to employment law, which have tended to deregulate the sector, we need to understand: first, whether women and men are equally affected or whether there are differences in the legal basis on which women and men are employed, second, whether there are differences in the types of employment arrangements for women and men, depending on their age, and third, whether educational attainment affects the contractual basis on which women and men are employed.

Figure 1-4. Type of employment contract in surveyed population (%)

	%
Permanent contract	47,4
Temporary contract	47,5
No contract	1,5
Paid internship	1,1
Grants	0,1
Don't know/no answer	2,1
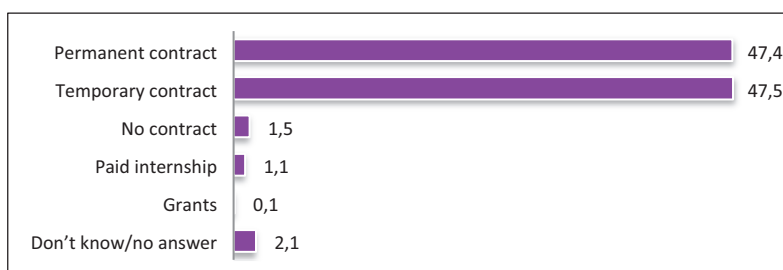
In general, we may say that the more intensive economic sectors, traditionally less based on skilled labour and advanced training for their workers, are those where we find the highest percentages of permanent employment contracts. In other words, these are the sectors presenting less job precarity.

In contrast, in the sectors more associated with a service economy, and more based on the knowledge and the skills of their male and female workers, it is more frequent to find more precarious contracts.

It may also be observed that the sectors presenting the least job security are: other service activities, artistic and leisure activities, hotel and catering, wholesale and retail, transport and the media.

As we shall see below, a closer examination shows that these same economic sectors where employment arrangements are often less secure coincide, at least in part,

with those where women represent a larger proportion of the workforce: human health and welfare activities, education, administrative and supporting services, hotel and catering. All the economic sectors employ more than half their workforce on a non-permanent basis (fixed term contracts and other arrangements).

We should add that the sectors with the largest proportion of the workforce on a no contract basis are sectors such as property/real estate, other services and the media. Complementing what we have just described, women are more often employed on an insecure basis than men: a majority of the women surveyed falls into this category (fixed-term contracts + no contract + internship). In contrast, a majority of the men surveyed enjoy greater job security, with 52.5% on permanent contracts, although a significant number are still employed on a less stable basis (Figure 1.5).

Figure 1-5. Type of employment contract in surveyed population, by sex (%)
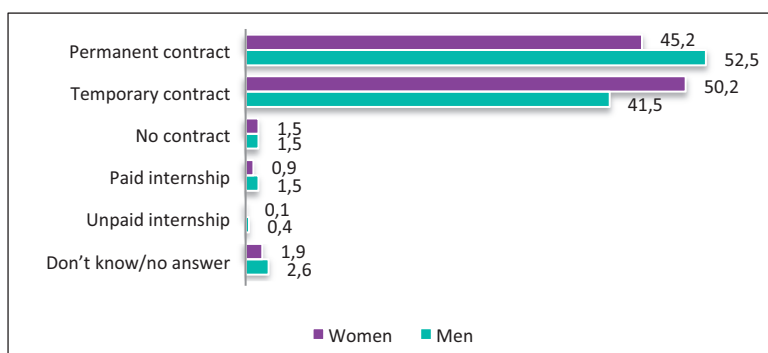
VIt can be observed that female and male respondents aged 45 and over are less affected by precarious employment arrangements. Even so, women are more commonly employed on an unstable basis, with more than half the respondents employed on a fixed term contract and other insecure basis. However, a majority of men (57.9%) in the same age group enjoy the job security afforded by permanent contracts (Figure 1.6).

Precarious employment is a problem faced more by younger respondents, who paradoxically belong to a more highly qualified generation. Access to education has been democratised and skills levels have risen in Portuguese society over a period that coincides, at least in part, with a process of deregulation in employment law and industrial relations. It is therefore no surprise that the highest percentages of women and men on fixed-term contracts and the lowest percentage of permanent contracts are to be found amongst respondents aged 24 years and under.

Comparing the older age group (45 years and over) with the youngest group (24 years and under), we find that 57.9% of male respondents are on permanent contracts in the first group and only 30.8% in the second. Similarly, 46.6% of female respondents aged 45 or more are on permanent contracts, whilst only 33% of female respondents aged 24 or under are employed on this basis.

Figure 1-6. Type of employment contract in surveyed population, by age and sex (%)
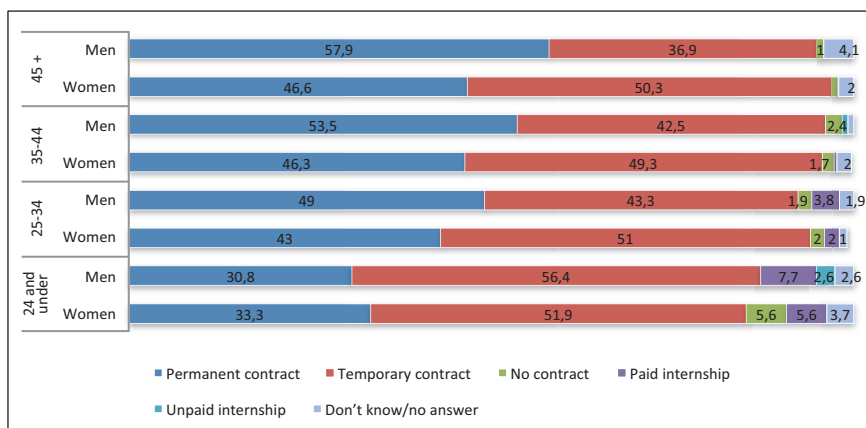
Despite the growing use of less stable forms of employment, often accompanied by a pro- entrepreneurship discourse, analysis of the employment situation of the surveyed population shows that the overwhelming majority of women (84.1%) and men (83.3%) are employed, rather than self-employed. However, as we have seen, being an employee can involve very different types of employment arrangements (Figure 1-7).

The self-employed represent the second largest contingent in the reporting population, although their numbers fall well below those for employees. More women than men are self-employed workers (9% for women and 7.9% for men).

Figure 1-7. Employment situation of surveyed population, by sex (%)

1.2.4. **Economic sector and size of company or organisations**

Analysis of the economic sectors in which the women and men surveyed work reveals a structure in which the tertiary sector is strongly represented, i.e. an economy geared largely to the service sector. At first glance, we can see that 72.6% of male respondents work in skilled or unskilled services. The same tendency is even more visible for the women: only 11.5% of female respondents work in sectors (industrial and construction) other than the service sector.

A closer look reveals the persistence of horizontal segregation in the labour market, and the existence of economic sectors where the workforce is feminised. By highlighting a process of reproducing gender orders that define expectations and in practice organise what a woman should be, this shows us that the more feminised sectors are those which relegate women to a caring role or, alternatively, to less skilled positions. For example, human health and welfare activities account for approximately 13% of the women surveyed and only 4.3% of the men. Unskilled service activities can also be seen to be predominantly feminised, employing 8.7% of the women in the survey and only 2.5% of the men. Education is a sector which employs 9.3% of the women, as compared to 4.7% of the male respondents. Similarly, administrative activities and supporting services account for 9.9% of the women and 5.2% of the men (Table 1.2).

On the other side, we find economic sectors which remain male preserves: the most significant of these are manufacturing industry and construction, public administration and defence, and also the media sector.

Table 1-2. Surveyed population, by economic sector and sex (%)

	Women	Men
Manufacturing industry, power, gas, steam, hot and cold water and cooling, waste management and pollution management	10,9	15,9
Construction	0,6	11,5
Wholesale and retail; Vehicle and motorcycle repair	18,8	17,9
Transport and storage	1,0	7,2
Hotel, catering and similar	13,0	8,6
Information and media	1,7	3,4
Financial, insurance and real estate	2,7	2,9
Consultancy, science and technology and international organisations	5,5	6,6
Management and supporting services	9,9	5,2
Public administration and defence; obligatory social security	4,1	8,2
Education	9,3	4,7
Human health and social welfare	13,1	4,3
Arts, performing arts, sports and leisure	0,8	1,1
Other unskilled services activities	8,7	2,5
Total	**100,0**	**100,0**
N	**1243**	**558**

AThe size of the companies and organisations in which the women and men surveyed work reveal an industrial fabric in which small and micro-enterprises predominate: 61,4% of those surveyed work in companies or organisations with up to 49 workers, whilst 37.5% work in organisations with no more than 9 workers.

Figure 1-8. Surveyed population, by size of company or organisation (%)
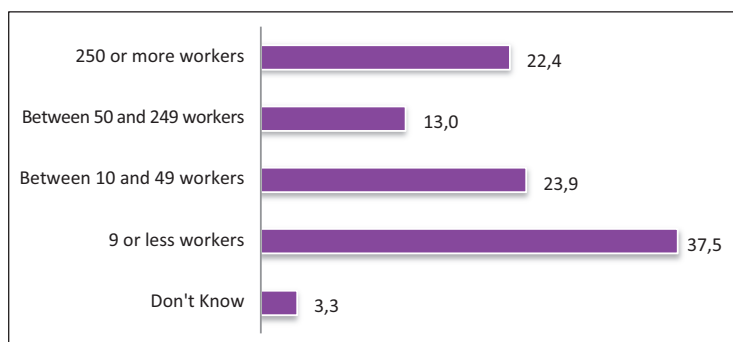
1.2.5. Limitations on daily life activities

We also asked respondents about limitations they faced in performing daily tasks. This is an issue rarely addressed in population surveys, contributing to the invisibility of problems which in practice affect a significant number of Portuguese men and women. This evaluation was conducted by using a series of indicators which measure the greater or lesser degree of difficulty experienced in performing routine everyday tasks (Table 1-3).

The greatest difficulties relate to sight: approximately 11% of women and 6% of men consider they have great difficulty in seeing, or are unable to see, even when they wear glasses. However, these figures are lower than those we can find in the 2011 Census data, which shows that 17.2% of the Portuguese population suffers from this type of limitation.

Secondly, the surveyed population also presents mobility issues, citing great difficulty or inability to walk or climb steps (7.4% of women and 4.3% of men). Once again, the figures for the Portuguese population as a whole are much greater (23.5%). We may therefore conclude that people facing limitations in activities are under-represented in the working population, revealing the barriers to employment encountered by this population group, as other studies have documented (Pinto, 2014).

Table 1-3. Able only with great difficulty or unable (%)

	Mulheres	Homens
To see, even wearing glasses	10,7	6,3
To hear, even using a hearing aid	3,5	2,5
To walk or climb stairs	7,4	4,3
To concentrate or memorise	4,7	2,2
To care for their own personal (for instance, take a bath or get dressed alone)	0,9	0,4
To understand others or make themselves understood	1,9	1,4
N	**1243**	**558**

1.2.6. Geographical distribution - NUT

In terms of geographical distribution, the surveyed population is located in mainland Portugal, with significant concentrations in the Northern region (33.5%), the Lisbon region (32.5%) and the Central region (20.2%), as shown in Table 1-4.

The Alentejo and Algarve are the regions which contributed least to the contingent of the reporting population. We should also note that the Northern region is where the percentage of men is higher than that of women (40.7% and 33.2%, respectively).

Table 1-4. Surveyed population by region (NUT) (%)

	Total	Women	Men
North	**35,5**	33,2	40,7
Centre	**20,2**	20,4	19,5
Lisbon	**32,5**	33,4	30,6
Alentejo	**6,9**	8,6	3,2
Algarve	**4,8**	4,3	5,9
Total	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**

1.3. Working conditions

In addition to the more traditional socio-demographic characterisation, the scope of this research and the nature of the object of study pointed to the fundamental need to characterise the surveyed population in terms of working conditions, albeit briefly and in general terms. In order to arrive at this description, we have to consider two distinct planes, the first of which is objective working conditions. Here, we looked specifically at income (measured using the indicator of subjective perception of income), at whether the respondents have supervisory duties, and the extent of these responsibilities and powers (measured by the number of people under their supervision), and lastly at the perceived degree of autonomy in their work. The second plane considered was that of what we can call subjective working conditions, which depends on a personal assessment made by the respondents in relation to the quality of their working relationships (with different protagonists in daily working life), the working atmosphere (trust and proximity to the different protagonists) and also an overall assessment of their job satisfaction.

1.3.1. Objective working conditions

We decided it was important to obtain information on material living conditions, in other words, to assess the resources or income which the respondents can obtain from their work. But measuring these resources is often a complex task, because respondents sometimes feel uncomfortable about disclosing their income. To avoid this discomfort, it was decided to assess income by using a subjective indicator, measuring perception of the sufficiency or insufficiency of their income for their daily lives.

So by using the subjective indicator for income from work, we find that the majority of respondents reveal that it is difficult or very difficult to live with their current income from work (52.4%), and of these 19.5% say it is very difficult to live on the current income and around one third say that it is difficult to live on their current income (32.9%). In addition, in comparison to men, women suffer more often from economic insecurity: 21.9% of the women respondents say they have great difficulty in living with their current income from work, whilst only 14.2% of men report the same situation (Figure 1.9).

Figure 1-9. Perception of income, by sex (%)
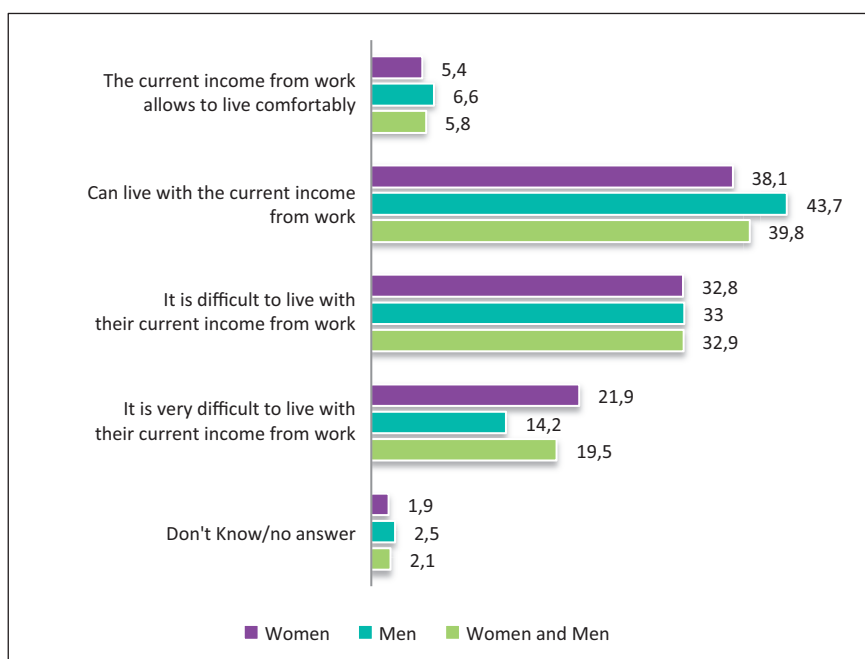
If we think of work as a world organised on hierarchical lines, the position occupied in this world is a critical element when it comes to access to resources, power or prestige. So to assess and describe the surveyed population in relation to the position occupied by women and men within working organisations is an important element in characterising objective working conditions.

The relevance of this type of characterisation is even greater if we bear in mind that the Portuguese labour market continues to present significant gender inequalities which are reflected in vertical segregation and in the difficulty faced by women in reaching senior or management positions (glass ceiling). In addition, these inequalities are clearly visible in the persistence of the pay gap between men and women.

Supervisory responsibilities, i.e. access to power and authority within the working organisation, are unsurprisingly distributed in a way that shows that only a minority of workers occupy positions of supervision and responsibility at work (24.4%). And the majority of these, as might be expected, are men (Table 1.5).

Table 1-5. Surveyed population and supervisory responsibilities, by sex (%)

		Men	Women
Has some supervisory responsibility in her/his work	Sim	28,5	22,5
	Não	76,7	71,1
	N/R	0,8	0,4
	Total	**100,0**	**100,0**

Although Portugal's business fabric consists predominantly of small enterprises, as indeed reflected by the characterisation of the reporting population, women occupy supervisory positions more often than men in small organisations or are responsible for relatively small teams of male and female workers, whilst men represent a significant majority in supervisory positions in companies with more than 5 workers (Figure 1.10).

Figure 1-10. Number of persons supervised, by sex (%)
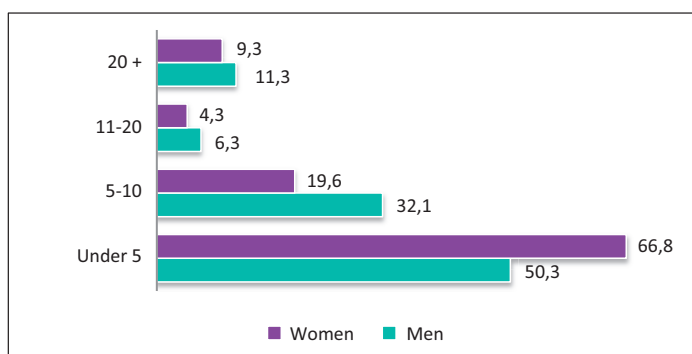
As regards autonomy in daily work, we find that women and men present very similar figures, but women are in the majority: 55% of men and 56.9% of women in the surveyed consider they have autonomy in organising their working day (they agree or completely agree with the assertion "I am free to organise my working day").

As regards the power to influence decisions in the organisation or company where they work, 38.8% of men respondents consider they have this capacity, as they agree or completely agree with the assertion: "I am able to influence decisions by the organisation/company where I work"; whilst a smaller, but very similar figure is presented by women (38.1%), as can be seen in Table 1.6.

**Table 1-6. Decision-making power and autonomy in work, by sex
(answers: I agree or I completely agree) (%)**

	Women	Men
I am able to influence decisions in the organisation/company where I work	38,1	39,8
I am free to organise my working day	56,9	55,0

1.3.2. Subjective working conditions

The subjective working conditions of the surveyed population is characterised by using indicators which involve assessments made by women and men respondents: (i) overall assessment of job satisfaction; (ii) quality of working relations; (iii) working atmosphere (trust and proximity to the different protagonists at the workplace).

In line with the ideas advanced by other researchers into job satisfaction or professional performance, the surveyed population reveals high levels of job satisfaction: the majority of women and men respondents say they are satisfied or extremely satisfied with their work.

**Table 1-7. Degree of job satisfaction
(% satisfied or extremely satisfied)**

	Women	Men
Degree of job satisfaction	68,1	69,2

This general job satisfaction is complemented by an assessment of the different types of working relations, for men and for women. In the first place, the majority of men and women classify their relations with co-workers as good or very good, followed by relation with management of employers and others. Lastly, the lowest levels are expressed in relations with hierarchical inferiors: only 30% are satisfied with these relations.

**Figure 1-11. Quality of working relationships
(% of working relationships classed as good or very good)**
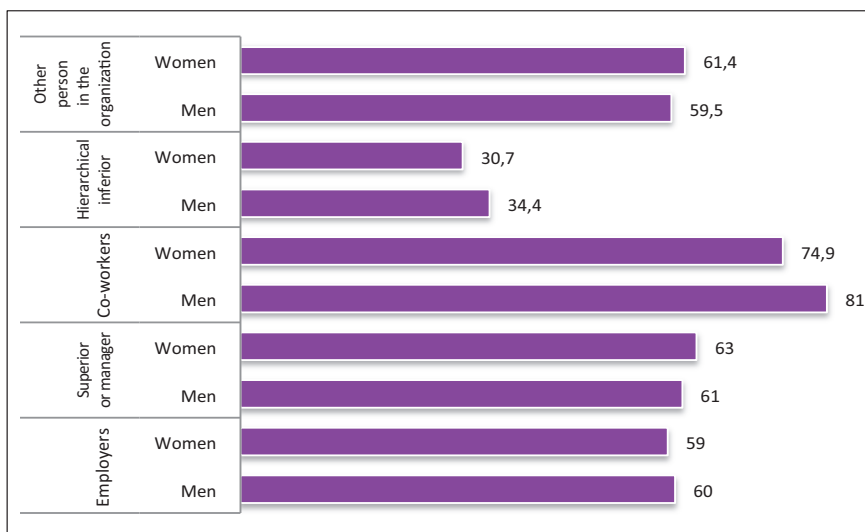
The reporting population's assessment of their working atmosphere appears to follow the same optimistic tendency. The overwhelming majority of women and men respondents consider that their working environments are characterised by proximity and trust. This is clearer in relation to co-workers than to employers or management. It should also be noted that men are more negative than women in their assessment of the level of trust and proximity in relation to management and employers (Figure 1.12).

**Figure 1-12. Working atmosphere of surveyed population, by sex
(% of I agree or I completely agree)**
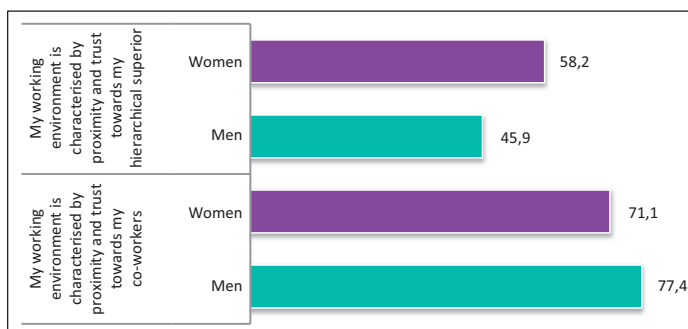
Chapter 2

Sexual harassment and bullying: historical and conceptual perspective

What is sexual harassment or bullying? Why does it happen? To answer these questions we need a historical, theoretical and conceptual framework to define and explain the standpoint from which a given phenomenon or object of study is observed, described, characterised, interpreted and explained.

So we will start with a brief history of how the two concepts - sexual harassment and bullying - emerged, identifying and summarising the progress made in research over the last thirty years, fundamentally in the USA, Europe and in Portugal. Transnational and national legislation drawn up over this period is then briefly discussed. In order to understand and explain why the different types of harassment and bullying occur, we then develop the theoretical perspective and three analytical dimensions which are regarded as crucial for addressing these issues in the workplace: questions of power, social gender relations and the organisational settings. The concepts are then operationalised, identifying dimensions and indicators.

But what do harassment/bullying practices consist of? From what is still a provisional perspective, harassment, be it sexual harassment or bullying, consists of behaviour perceived as abusive and intended to intimidate, coerce or undermine the dignity of (an)other person(s), and is not to be confused with consensual seduction or an argument at work. It should be stressed that, in general, harassment is a process continuing over a lengthy period of time. We can also state that whilst sexual harassment almost always involves bullying, the reverse is often not the case.

How and when did the concept of bullying appear? What are the differences between sexual harassment and bullying? The vast literature which exists today on the two subjects rarely takes a combined approach, as we have in the research and this book[6]. We may find a multitude of books and articles on sexual harassment and others on bullying. In general, in an academic context, the former belong to the literature on women's studies, gender studies and feminism, although Law and other scientific fields have also tackled the issue. Books and articles on bullying are in general found in the field of academic studies and research relating to employment, organisational dynamics or human resources, although, logically, issues of sexual harassment are also addressed in this literature.

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[6] One of the exceptions to the separate treatment of the two topics of sexual harassment and bullying is the book by Jeff Hearn and Wendy Parking, entitled *Gender, sexuality and violence in organizations* (Hearn and Parking, 2001), which systematically examines an issue which was still taboo at the time - violence in organisations -, addressing the two phenomena from a gender perspective.

Lastly, the national and supranational legislation, directives from the Commission, the European Union and the Council of Europe, and the International Labour Organisation Conventions, tend to consider the types of harassment in their guidelines. But if the history of how sexual harassment and bullying arose and how they are denounced are separate, as we shall see below in greater detail, the fact is that both forms are condemned in the various supranational sets of rules, calling attention to the serious consequences for the victims' health and to the importance of combating these practices.

The transposition of these international guidelines into national law obviously varies greatly depending on the context. There are countries and movements which have taken a lead in denouncing sexual harassment, such as in the case of the USA. Denunciations by the feminist movement since the mid-1970s, combined with the important role of the courts and the greater tradition of litigation, resulted, from the 1980's onwards, in court rulings which served as examples and persuaded organisations and companies to move fast to adopt codes of ethics in order to prevent these phenomena. So in the United States, this change came about through a combination of grassroots action and the line taken by the courts (Zippel, 2006: 84).

In Europe, concerns with this issue, the measures taken by organisations and cases reaching the courts all moved more slowly than in the USA, and the history of the 30 years from the 1980s to the first decade of the 21st century can be viewed as a period when the focus swung back and forth between supranational regulations - European Parliament, European Commission - and the measures applied by the Member States (Zippel, 2006: 84). The pressure from movements calling for gender equality has been felt more keenly in supranational legislation at European level than in national legislation, which is more dependent on the particular features of the specific cultural, institutional and political context[7].

During the first decade and a half of the 21st century a series of important developments took place in Europe in relation to the topic of sexual harassment. In 2002 and 2006 there were two important directives from the European Parliament and the Council concerning application of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation, which clearly envisaged the need to adopt measures to combat sexual harassment. And on 8 October 2015, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on Directive 2006/54/CE of the European Parliament and the

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[7] Celebrating the passage of Directive 2002/73/EC of the European Parliament on sexual harassment, which the Member States were required to transpose into their national systems by 2005, the European Commissioner Anna Diamantopoulou said: "The general level of awareness concerning sexual harassment in the Member states is very poor. Sexual harassment, unmentioned today in the majority of national laws, has finally got a name" (Zippel, 2006: 83).

Council[8], calling on the Commission and the Member States to conduct specific monitoring of sexual harassment in order to improve knowledge, intervention and prevention of the phenomenon. The Istanbul Convention[9], in relation to which Portugal took a pioneering role, as one of the first signatories in 2013, was another fundamental step towards facing up to the problem, given that the signatory countries are required not only to apply measures, but also to monitor and oversee their application.

The issue of bullying attracted greater attention in the US as from a study conducted by the American anthropologist and psychiatrist Carroll Brodsky, who in 1976 published a pioneering book entitled *The Harassed Worker* (Brodsky, 1976). On the basis of this initial approach to aggressive behaviour and persecution in the workplace, in which the issue of sexual harassment is also tackled, it was in 1980s Europe that the topic of bullying first attracted widespread interest, thanks to a number of Scandinavian researchers (Leymann, 1990; Einarsen and Raknes, 1997) and other European authors (Hirigoyen, 1999).

There is also a set of supranational provisions which have helped to turn the spotlight on issues of bullying, drawing attention to a growing problem in workplaces. Working conditions studies (EWCS) published regularly by the Dublin Foundation (*European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions*) have revealed the difficulties, aggravated by the economic crisis, which many male and female workers have experienced in hostile working environments, due to staff cuts, unemployment, the faster pace of work and the wearing away of job security.

In view of the findings of these surveys, the European Parliament approved on 21 September 2001 a Resolution on Harassment in the Workplace (2001/2339 (INI))[10] which set out to sensitise Member State to the need to combat the problem and also accepted the need to raise awareness of these phenomena throughout the European Union. The need to tackle the problems was also addressed in Directives 2002/73/EC and 2006/54/EC of the European Parliament and the Council, and more recently the Resolution of 2015; these address the phenomena of bullying and sexual harassment and return to the need to combat these problems, as we shall see in greater detail below.

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[8] On 8 October 2015, the European Parliament approved a resolution on Directive 2006/54/CE of the European Parliament and Council, on application of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation (2014/2160(INI)), calling on the Commission and the Member States to conduct specific monitoring of sexual harassment in order to improve knowledge, intervention and prevention of the phenomenon.http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P8-TA-2015-0351+0+DOC+XML+V0//PT accessed on 12 December 2015.

[9] Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence http://cid.cig.gov.pt/Nyron/Library/Catalog/winlibsrch.aspx?skey=E51FECF9544F4B5E864D2852A1F1E304&cap=2%2c13&pesq=3&opt0=or&ctd=off&c4=off&c3=off&c1=off&c2=on&c8=off&c13=on&c14=off&c15=off&c16=off&arqdigit=off&bo=0&var3=conven%u00e7%u00e3o%20do%20conselho&doc=95339.

[10] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=P5-TA-2001-0478&format=XML&language=PT accessed on 12 December 2015.

We will now look in greater detail at the history and evolution of the theories and concepts of sexual harassment and bullying, referring to the main research studies conducted internationally and in Portugal. We will then conclude with a proposed definition and the operationalisation of the concepts as posited in our research.

2.1. Sexual Harassment – history of the concept and the theories explaining it

Although the term sexual harassment is relative recent, having entered the collective consciousness in the 1970s, the experiences to which it refers are a much older phenomenon. The abuse experienced by female workers at the hands of their employers, supervisors and managers, in a factory setting, was a matter of concern to trade unions, employers and public institutions in certain countries in the late 19th/early 20th centuries (Zippel, 2006: 11). In a different employment setting, women in domestic service are also known to have suffered sexual abuse from men in the household.

But at this time, this abuse was regarded as a moral issue or a private problem. In the 1970s, at Cornell University in the USA, Lin Farley examined accounts of the experiences of working women as part of her class in Women and Work, and termed these experiences "sexual harassment´". The situations described referred to "unwelcome sexual advances", involving explicit or implicit demands from employers, supervisors or managers, requiring their female subordinates to show themselves as sexually available. Whenever these advances were rejected, this would create difficult situations and hostile environments which often resulted in the women leaving or being dismissed.

As well as giving the phenomenon a name, her reflections on these experiences resulted in two books which also broke new ground in their approach: *Sexual shakedown: the sexual harassment of women in the working world*, by Lin Farley (1978) and *Sexual Harassment of working women: a case of sex discrimination* by Catharine MacKinnon (1979).

Insisting that harassment was something which had nothing to do with "sexual desire", and everything to do with the affirmation of male power over women, these reflections and the resulting positions defined sexual harassment as a form of violence against women, illustrating the power inequalities between the sexes (MacKinnon, 1979).

It was also argued that these practices were in general associated with the fact that women had lower status and lower wages than men in an employment setting. In other words, situations of harassment were one of the manifestations of wider

gender and power inequalities, and the women's movement included these issues in their calls for an end to violence against women, for respect for their dignity at work and for their right to self-determination. Formerly regarded as a private matter, sexual harassment was now viewed as a social issue which needed to be addressed.

But the measures needed - starting with denunciation, from the 1970's onwards, through to its being recognised as a specific type of workplace violence which needed to be combated - took much longer. Efforts to gain recognition that these violent practices actually existed came up against considerable resistance. In many cases, the situation might appear ambiguous - might the victim have "provoked" the behaviour? (Hearn and Parking, 2001: 47). These ambiguities have persisted to this day because recognition of women's rights to equality has also been a long process. And whilst today more visible and dramatic aspects of gender violence, such as physical and psychological violence in a conjugal setting, or even foeticide, are practices more widely condemned than they were thirty years ago, considerable ambivalence remains in relation to sexual harassment. Let us look back to the 1980s.

Setting out from the positions outlined by MacKinnon in the 1980s, progress was gradually made, especially in the USA, towards a perspective on sexual harassment which was translated into legal terms and in some cases found its way as far as the courts. In a legal definition, sexual harassment in the workplace can essentially take two forms: *quid pro quo* harassment, i.e. the attempt to obtain sexual favours in return for an offer of improved working conditions, which when refused by the victim results in de-promotion, worsening of working conditions or even dismissal (MacKinnon, 1979; Beiner, 2005: 9; Dias 2008: 13), or else the existence of a hostile working environment, with discrimination and intimidation based on sex, which also has visible effects on the victim's working conditions.

These first fundamental definitions, which address power relations and sexual and gender discrimination, were later to serve as the basis for further elaboration. Ten years later, a number of authors drew attention to a degree of conceptual and methodological imprecision and a certain lack of theoretical groundwork in some of the studies conducted up to that time into sexual harassment, pointing to the limitations of some of them which were based on samples of university students (Lengnick-Hall: 1995). The fact that these studies were anchored theoretically in different academic areas - psychology, management and human resources management, sociology, in legal studies and women's studies - may also perhaps have contributed to the diversity of approaches and the possible disagreements.

But the concepts were gradually refined and research proceeded. Louise Fitzgerald and her colleagues draw up a conceptual framework and a scale to assess the frequency of harassment practices (*Sexual Experiences Questionnaire*). They also defined sexual harassment by identifying three structural dimensions: unwelcome

sexual advances, sexual coercion and gender harassment (Fitzgerald, Gelfand and Drasgow, 1995).

The first of these, unwelcome sexual advances, may consist of offensive behaviours of a sexual nature (such as attempted or actual touching, kissing or groping), unwanted by the other person. Sexual coercion consists of an attempt to obtain sexual favours in return for benefits at work or the victim keeping her job, and in order for the target to yield to the harasser, he or she may use coercion or threats (the situation identified above by other authors as *quid pro quo* harassment). The final dimension, gender harassment, encompasses a wide range of verbal and non-verbal behaviours not necessary seeking a sexual exchange but based on hostile or sexist attitude, degrading or humiliating actions in relation to the other person, involving discrimination against such person on the basis of their gender. With another team, Fitzgerald also drew up a theoretical and empirical review of sexual harassment (Fitzgerald, Swan and Fischer, 1995).

Ten years later, the scale designed by Fitzgerald and her colleagues was in turn criticised by other authors who, in the course of reviewing the empirical studies conducted through to the middle of the first decade of the present century, pointed out some of the weak points in this scale, whilst still acknowledging that it represented a substantial step forward in the research on the subject (Gutek, Murphy and Douma, 2004). Amongst other aspects they considered that the definition of sexual harassment was too general and inclusive, which might tend to distort the prevalence of harassment practices.

In another meta-analysis conducted in 2009 on the basis of research conducted by Lengnick-Hall in 1995, O'Leary-Kelly and colleagues analysed the studies conducted since that date. They focus more on progress made in the theoretical field and in empirical studies than on methodological issues. They identified four definitions of sexual harassment in the literature up to that time. They consider that when Lenghick-Hall conducted their review, there were basically two alternative definitions of sexual harassment, the legal definition and the psychological or subjective definition. The former included the legal definitions referred to above ("*Quid pro quo*" and "hostile environment"), and in the latter they identified the subjective dimension, i.e. the victim's perception.

More than ten years on, O'Leary-Kelly and colleagues point to the existence of other definitions of sexual harassment which pinpoint new dimensions of this reality. Which would obviously have consequences, both in the way that the studies operationalised the concept and therefore how they could "measure" it, both in legal terms and when defending cases in court. The reference to the existence of definitions which refer both to the objective dimensions of the behaviour (what is called behavioural harassment, as proposed by Fitzgerald and colleagues,

or *quid pro quo* harassment), and to the dimensions of subjective perception ("hostile environment" or "perception of being the target of sexual and gender discrimination") not only reveals a more detailed understanding of the phenomenon but also shows that this field of study had matured (O'Leary-Kelly et al., 2009: 505-506).

They likewise conclude that research in this field had expanded the theoretical knowledge, citing as examples studies which examine the occurrence of sexual harassment within the wider field of studies of sexual or gender stereotypes, power inequalities between the sexes, issues of sexuality in specific environments and questions concerning organisational settings - predominantly male, mixed or more feminine. They also point to the progress made in other studies in considering the importance of the characteristics, histories and antecedents of both the aggressors and the victims in wider contexts and also in the greater or lesser influence of the specific cultural features of the countries in which the sexual harassment occurs (O'Leary-Kelly et al., 2009: 510-526).

The complexity of the phenomenon and the need to coordinate different approaches in order to explain it has been a constant feature of more recent analyses and studies. Sundaresh and Hemalatha conducted a review of the literature which shows that there have been essentially three major explanatory models: the psychological model, which stresses the effect that attitudes to women have on sexual harassment, the organisational model, which focuses more on the role of distance from power, and the socio-cultural model, which looks primarily at expectations based on gender roles. Only models which combined several explanatory factors can result in more effective analyses and action (Sundaresh and Hemalatha, 2013: 79).

More than thirty years after the topic of sexual harassment was first raised, and after the intervening years of conceptual debate and research, the theoretical progress we have identified contributed greatly to the perspective eventually adopted in our research. Consideration was given to the need to locate studies of bullying and sexual harassment in the relevant macro-, meso- and micro-dimensions (Hearn and Parkin, 2001), marshalling questions of power, social gender relations and organisational settings as described more fully below.

2.1.1. Sexual harassment: Portuguese contributions

In Portugal, we may say that there has been little research into sexual harassment, including the conceptual issues, contextual factors and the effects generated on individuals, organisations and society as a whole. However, if we adopt a comparative chronological perspective, we find that political efforts in Portugal to discover the scale of the problem and the endeavours of grassroots activists have closely accompanied the trajectory observed internationally. The driving force

behind the study of sexual harassment has come from the Commission for Equality in Work and Employment, CITE, the public authority responsible for promoting labour and employment rights, which first invited academics to look into the issue in the 1980s. What happened was that shortly after the topic started to attract attention around the world, especially in the USA in the mid-1980s, Portugal emerged as one of the pioneers when in the late eighties CITE decided to commission a survey from CIES-ISCTE (Amâncio and Lima, 1994)[11]. It was this study, the only of its kind in Portugal at the time, which served as the central point of reference and comparison for our research and for this book.

Also in 1989, the NGOs belonging to what at the time was called the Advisory Council to the Commission on the Condition of Women (*Conselho Consultivo da Comissão da Condição Feminina*), organised a seminar in Lisbon on the subject of *Sexual Harassment in the Workplace*[12]. In addition to presenting the findings of the survey, the seminar debated the topic and examined the difficulties and resistance to tackling the issue in the Portuguese context (Tavares, 2010; UMAR, Agenda Feminista, 2016). Several female trade union officials took the opportunity to denounce recurrent practices in companies which their own male union leaders had practically refused to address.

Viewed in perspective, the situation in Portugal may effectively be considered to have progressed in parallel with other countries. But what happened in Portugal was that long intervals elapsed between each initiative. The issue of sexual harassment was again tackled in 1999 in an article by Fátima Duarte, today the President of CIG (Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality), entitled *Work and Sexual Harassment*, in the collection *Ditos* e *Escritos*, published by CIDM (Duarte , 1999), taking a legal perspective.

The issue of sexual harassment was mentioned in the National Survey of Violence against Women, conducted in 1995 (Lourenço, Lisboa and Pais, 1997), in which acts of sexual harassment were included as one of the indicators of sexual violence.

The subject was later addressed again in the National "Gender Violence" Survey conducted by a research centre (SociNova/CesNova of the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, Universidade Nova de Lisboa), in collaboration with CIG in 2007. This looked at women and men and included different manifestations of violence, including sexual violence (Lisboa *et al*., 2009) Sexual harassment was considered here as a sub-type of sexual violence and was therefore included as an act of sexual

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[11] In terms of political action, including the work of organisations with public responsibility for the issue, the period in which CITE commissioned the survey (late 1980s) also saw the publication of a leaflet with information on Sexual Harassment in the Employment Market (UMAR, 2012:7).

[12] The poster for the Seminar may be consulted in the Archive of the Fundação Mário Soares (available in HTTP: http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_154504, referenced "Seminário: Assédio Sexual nos locais de trabalho - CCF" (1989), CasaComum.org).

violence (Lisboa *et al.*, 2009: 100). The data relating to acts of harassment are presented for women only, excluding the frequency of harassment of men.

In the field of social activism, the only project since 1989 focussing specifically on sexual harassment was *Rota dos Feminismos*, organised in 2010 and 2011 by UMAR with support from the Dutch Embassy. This project sought to raise public awareness of the issue of sexual harassment and stalking in the street, public spaces and at work, through the medium of art. The project also aimed to help put the issue of sexual harassment on the political agenda, calling on society to offer victims means of filing complaints, seeking protection and obtaining compensation. A questionnaire was applied nationwide as part of the project, and information materials were designed. Although obtaining data on harassment in the workplace was one of the project's aims, its main focus was on harassment in public places (UMAR, 2012).

The project also set out to exert pressure for the issue to be included in the political agenda, by generating public debate on the topic. The political pressure from grassroots activists has apparently been lacking in coordination, or else, perhaps, has simply had little effect. Changes in the law to protect the rights of victims are recent, having occurred since the turn of the century. These changes first afforded protection against discrimination in labour relations and later extended the protection of criminal law to the victims of harassment, as required by the international treaties signed by the Portuguese State, in particular the Istanbul Convention.

Considering the legal perspective, Pena dos Reis, Pereira, Reis and Ravara (2014) magistrates at the Centre for Judicial Studies (CEJ) published an initial Training Handbook on *Harassment at Work*, for use by trainee judges and the Public Prosecution Service. So, the change in the law, and the training of judges, who interpret and apply the law, were simultaneous developments in Portugal.

We can point to the first ruling of a Portuguese court in favour of a victim of sexual abuse at work, in a case brought by a female employee of Nestlé against a (male) hierarchical superior (Tavares, 2010).

2.2. Bullying – history of the concept and the theories explaining it

Like sexual harassment, workplace bullying is a social phenomenon to which little attention has yet been paid in Portugal, but which takes a serious toll on the physical and mental health of its victims. Internationally, research started to shed light on this problem in the 1980s, but it was in the 1990s that the debate and research in this area really took off. The research we conducted in 2015 was therefore significantly out of step with these international studies, but nonetheless benefited not just from

the experience which the relevant research and publications were table to transmit to us, but also from a series of studies already carried out in Portugal.

2.2.1. Moral harassment, harassment, bullying or mobbing: conceptual definitions

A variety of conceptual definitions and terms have been used in other languages for what in Portugal we have known as *assédio moral* (literally 'moral harassment'). We will briefly survey the history of how the issue has arisen, and of the various terms used. We shall also see how initial conceptions centred more on individual behaviours, characterised as pathological or socially harmful, have given way to more relational ideas, identifying the organisational contexts in which these behaviours can occur, and suggesting what macro-, meso- and micro-factors also play a significant role here (Hearn and Parkin, 2001: 75-102).

As we have seen, the concept of workplace harassment first gained public attention in the US thanks to the research conducted by Carroll Brodsky, a psychiatrist, who in 1976 published a pioneering book entitled *The Harassed Worker*. Brodsky defined this aggressive behaviour as "the repeated, persistent attempts of an individual to torment, frustrate, or otherwise break the resistance of someone else. It is a treatment that, with persistence, provokes, puts pressure on, scares, intimidates, or inconveniences another individual." (Brodsky, 1976: 2).

But it was from the mid-1980s onwards, thanks to the work of Leymann, a German-born Swedish researcher, that this issue was more widely recognised and debated. Leymann designed an instrument for measuring the incidence of bullying, comprising 45 violent behaviours (LIPT, Leymann Inventory of Pscyhological Terrorisation), on the basis of research in which he analysed parties attending a psychological support clinic in Sweden after being subjected to forms of psychological aggression in a working environment (Leymann, 1990: 120); he concluded that exposure to these forms of violence led to post-traumatic stress syndrome, and that 95% of victims presented these symptoms. After validating the instrument, in a series of partial studies, he conducted research using a representative sample of the Swedish working population (Leymann 1992d. *apud* Hearn and Parkin, 2001: 65).

Leymann prefers the term *mobbing* to *bullying*, on the grounds the latter is more connoted with physical aggression and threats, arguing that physical violence in the workplace would be rarer[13]. *Mobbing* on the other hand can be characterised,

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[13] «I deliberately did not choose the English term «bullying», used by English and Australian researchers (in the USA, the term «mobbing» is also used), as very much of this disastrous communication certainly does not have the characteristics of «bullying», but quite often is done in a very sensitive manner, though still with highly stigmatizing effects» (Leyman, 1996: 167).

in his view, by «more sophisticated behaviours such as isolating the victim» (Leymann, 1996: 167)[14].

This research operationalised the concept of *mobbing* as psychological terrorisation, in other words, "these actions take place often (almost every day) and over a long period (at least for six months) and, because of this frequency and duration, result in considerable psychic, psychosomatic and social misery. This definition eliminates temporary conflicts and focuses on the transition zone where the psychosocial situation starts to result in psychiatric and/or psychosomatic pathological states." (Leymann, 1990: 120).

The difference between the two terms has also been analysed by a number of authors as centring on the fact that the concept of *mobbing* places greater emphasis on the victim whilst *bullying* is more centred on the aggressor[15].

In France, the main driving force behind research into bullying has been Marie France Hirigoyen, a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst who in 1998 launched a book entitled *Le Harcèlement Moral. La violence preverse au quotidien*, which has established itself as a work of reference in the field of bullying (Hirigoyen, 1999). Her work has had a wide impact, not only in France, but also in other European countries and in Latin America.

For this author, bullying consists of "any abusive conduct which is manifested especially in behaviours, words, acts, gestures or writings which may undermine the personality, dignity, or physical or psychological integrity of a person and endanger their employment or vitiate the working atmosphere" (Hirigoyen, 1999: 61).

Given that the phenomenon has been studied in various countries and by various scientific disciplines, and that any in-depth analysis necessarily involves a multidisciplinary perspective, it has been given several different names, some of which we have already mentioned. In France it is known as "*harcèlement moral*" (equivalent to *assédio moral* in Portuguese) and 'perverse manipulation'; in England, Australia and Ireland as *bullying* or *harassment*; in the United States as *moral harassment*, *emotional abuse*, *counter-productive work behavior*, *psychological harassment*; in Scandinavia and Central European countries as *mobbing*; in Japan as *ijime*; in Portugal as *coacção moral* or *assédio moral*; in Latin America as *acoso moral*, *acoso psicológico*, *hostigamiento laboral*, *psicoterror laboral* or *psicoterrorismo*; in Brazil as *assédio moral*, a*ssédio psicológico*, *mobbing* (Bradaschia, 2007: 52).

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[14] There is a web portal on mobbing with information updated at least up to 2009 where a number a texts by Leymann can be found, as well as other information on the issue http://www.mobbingportal.com/index.html.

[15] Existe um portal sobre *mobbing* com informação atualizada pelo menos até 2009 onde se podem encontrar alguns dos textos de Leyman mas também muito outra informação sobre o tema http://www.mobbingportal.com/index.html

Another key contribution to academic research into this issue from Scandinavia is the research conducted by Einärsen in conjunction with other male and female researchers (Einärsen, Raknes and Matthiesen, 1994), in a joint study with Skogstad (Einärsen and Skogstad, 1996) or more recently with Zapf (Zapf and Einarsen, 2005). In these studies, the definitions of mobbing (the term generally used here) also reveal a viewpoint more centred on the perpetrator than on the victim, whilst also tending to underline the difficulties encountered by victims in defending themselves, explained, in general, by asymmetries of power.

For other authors, bullying is characterised by abusive conduct which may take the form of acts, words, gestures, writing or speech, which in some way leads to harm to the personality and moral and psychic integrity of the individual, potentially jeopardising the victim's (or victims') jobs and damaging the working atmosphere (Namie, 2003; Sperry, 2009, Sousa, 2011).

Aggressive behaviour by the harasser is normally persistent, ongoing and intentional, designed to wear down the victim's will, causing annoyance and discomfort and eventually destroying her or him psychologically. It functions as a "(…) disciplinary process, in which the aggressor seeks to annul the will of the person who represents, somehow, a threat." (Heloani, 2004).

At the same time, the procedures constituting bullying always involve a sort of perverse suffering, as they consist of substantive interference in the individual's state of mind and psychological life, undermining their dignity, in social and affective relations, and even in their identity as a person (Hirigoyen, 1999).

All the definitions of bullying developed so far include a common denominator - psychological violence. This type of violence is not always "(…) explicit, in some cases taking subtle and indirect forms, but with effects which can be devastating, able to affect not only the worker, but also the company itself and its surroundings " (Rodrigues e Freitas, 2014: 286).

In addition to psychological violence, we can point to common ground between the authors referred to above when they identify the following characteristics in bullying: constancy and frequency, as the act of bullying is persistent and continuous, it may be directed against a single person or a group and also has devastating consequences for the victims.

Heinz Leymann stresses its ongoing nature when he explains that the difference between conflict and mobbing is not centred only on what is done or how, but also on the frequency and duration of the abusive act. Likewise, Zapf only considers abusive behaviour to constitute bullying or mobbing when it is repeated weekly for a minimum period of six months. Marie-France Hirigoyen also stresses that, in

bullying, repetition and the methods used are important aspects of its form, as are its consequences, such as perverse suffering and the way it interferes with the state of mind and psychological life of the victims.

2.2.2. Power, characteristics of aggressors and victims and organisational settings

These conceptual definitions have served as the basis for developing other approaches to the issue. Research conducted in recent years has enriched the original perspectives by elaborating on questions of power, the characteristics of victims and aggressors and organisational settings where harassment is more or less likely to occur.

The issue of the power differential can be identified in all situations of bullying although it takes on particular aspects depending on the context.

Bullying usually means there is a power gap between victim and bully. The most common situation is that of the hierarchical relation between subordinates and management, but power gaps can also exist in relations between co-workers. This happens, for example, when a challenger appears for someone else´s position, and the challenger systematically seeks to denigrate the incumbent in the eyes of the management. Systematically devaluing the work of the bully's own manager in conversations or dealings with other managers can be another example of exercising power, in this case by a subordinate over a hierarchical superior.

Studies show that bullying behaviour can also vary depending on whether it is top-down, perpetrated by hierarchical superiors against persons lower in the hierarchy, which is the most common form, horizontal bullying, when practised against co-workers, or else bottom-up, when managers are bullied by workers, which is rare, but still exists.

When this type of conduct is perpetrated by hierarchical superiors, it can briefly be characterised as: giving confused or imprecise instructions to the worker over a long period of time, designating him/her for new tasks without proper training; addressing constant criticisms to the worker for committing errors she or he has not made; preventing the worker from performing any task, such as by leaving him or her somewhere for a long period without any purpose, and without setting any task, or instead overburdening him or her with countless tasks and impossible deadlines, causing high levels of stress, which may culminate in burnout; taking away their areas of responsibility and ordering them to carry out tasks below their skill level; constantly altering the worker's working hours or shifts without explanation, prior notice or the worker's agreement; treating the worker as if he or she were invisible, i.e. systematically ignoring their presence when in the bully's presence or that of the

bully and other workers, without looking at them or addressing them, and also preventing them from expressing their opinion; in a continuous way, criticise and make offensive or humiliating jokey comments, and set hazardous tasks which might damage the worker's health; create an environment hostile to the worker, shouting or threatening him or her in various ways in order to cause them to lose control; exclude the worker from social events, such as parties or leisure activities organised by the company.

When harassment takes place between peers, it can take other forms, such as: preventing access to information needed for the workers to be able to perform her or his tasks correctly; ridiculing the person for their physical appearance of personality in front of other co-workers; spreading rumours about their personal or professional life or making offensive comments concerning their social origins, religious beliefs, gender, race or ethnic origin; pestering them with offensive or insulting emails or telephone calls; isolating them, by not speaking to them or treating them disdainfully. (Freitas, Helámio e Barreto, 2008; Brun e Milczarek, 2007; Leymann, 1996; Einarsen, Raknes, Mathiesen and Hellesøy, 1994).

These types of behaviour, on the part of management, or else between co-workers or between subordinate and managers, when prolonged over time, produce stigmatising effects for the victims, resulting in physical and psychological symptoms which in some circumstances may be severe (incapacitating mental illness, unfitness for work, suicide). The victim of bullying may start to suffer from insomnia, panic attacks, shaking and palpitations, aches and pains, extreme tiredness, feelings of anomie, depression and burnout. The worker loses interest in his or her work and starts on a process of withdrawal. Performance appraisals suffer, as do his or her prospects for career progress or promotion.

Individuals affected by violence and harassment in the workplace tend to have higher levels of work-related health problems. The proportion of male and female workers who report psychosocial risk factors, such as anxiety, irritability or difficulty in sleeping, is almost four time greater amongst women and men who suffer violence or intimidation and harassment than amongst those not targeted by these practices (Eurofound, 2005).

In the attempt to explain the reasons which may contribute to the occurrence of bullying in its different forms, there are authors who point to the importance of factors relating to the personality of the bully or the victim. For Einärsen et al., the target is not a passive agent in the process. Some studies have shown that the male and female targets of bullying are people with strong and active personalities and tend to express their opinion when they disagree. They are people unwilling to be dominated or even influenced by management authority without questioning it, making them preferential targets for certain "bullying" personalities (Einärsen *et al*., 2003).

But other authors have pointed to the opposite situation, in other words, showing that weak personalities with difficulties in asserting themselves can be preferential targets of bullying (Freitas, Heloani and Barreto, 2008). In other words, it is not necessarily personality issues, relating to either the bully or the target, which matter most when seeking to explain bullying. Without forgetting that individual factors may help to explain these behaviours, everything again seems to suggest that various factors, on the macro-, meso- and micro-levels, again need to be considered For example, from the perspective of Bradaschia (2007), what we have termed the meso-level, working conditions and what is called organisational climate also influence the greater or lesser frequency of bullying practices. Other factors, which we have termed macro-factors, such as social and gender inequalities, asymmetries of power, structural factors and the economic crisis, will also play a part. Of course, the individual level will also have an effect on these practices through the combination of individual, organisational, structural and contextual (workplace) factors which interact and reinforce each other, making the occurrence of bullying either more or less likely. This explains why some people have successive experiences of bullying, with different people in the same workplace or even in different workplaces. And it also helps us to understand why some people present pro-active attitudes in certain situations and appear to become inhibited when faced with a situation of workplace bullying. Personal reasons viewed in the context of experiences and working relationships combine to make sense and require us to consider the whole bullying process, often lasting a long time, giving the lie to simple explanations for the experiences of particular individuals. The personal accounts of those who have been through this negative experience confirm this, and we include a selection of such accounts in this book.

But attention is currently still focussed on organisational climate and the proposal from Salin (2003) pointing to the need to understand this. According to this author, the phenomenon of bullying or harassment is multicausal, meaning it should be explained by a number of factors (Salin, 2003).

There are structures and processes in organisations which allow harassment practices to occur: these are internal competition, the pay and benefits system, internal bureaucracy and the relative difficulty in dismissing workers. These same structures are interrelated with processes which may precipitate situations of abuse, such as economic or organisational crises, restructuring or downsizing, changes in management type and competition from working groups. The organisational environment is largely under the control of management which exerts tangible influence over the functional structure of the organisation and its employment strategy.

Both structures and processes can cause the appearance of factors which trigger abuse/harassment. The first factor is the perception of the existence of power

inequalities (which explains why a majority of victims are bullied by hierarchical superiors, male or female). Power inequality in the organisation combined with traditional gender roles and the low status of certain minorities affect the way in which harassment is carried out, as both women and minorities are perceived as having less power and, as such, less status in the organisation (Salin, 2003: 1219). (2).

The second factor is the perception that the bully will suffer few consequences. If we look at the theory of rational choices and cost/benefit analyses, the cost paid by the bully (such as some form of punishment) is seen as small or non-existent. Salin (citing Einersen and Skogstad, 1996; Leymann, 1992 and Tylefon, 1987) states that bullying is more common in larger, more bureaucratic organisations, because, as a result of their size, complexity and the formalities involved in decision making, individuals are less visible, reducing the risk of their being easily detected and punished for abusive behaviour (Salin, 2003: 1220). The third factor has to do with a climate of job dissatisfaction and frustration at work. This factors is associated with organisational constraints (lack of control over their own work, lack of defined aims and targets, ambiguities in roles or conflict, lack of information, hostile physical environment - excess noise, incorrect temperature) and is also something that pre-disposes a workplace to interpersonal conflict, and consequently to bullying.

Attention should also be paid to structural factors in operation today. In modern societies, the workplace is the main focus for bullying behaviour, due to a number of organisational factors which a number of studies have identified: organisational culture, which can produce and reproduce bullying; intimidating behaviour by either managers or co-workers, resulting in a poor working environment; excessively competitive or stressful work, or else monotonous tasks with a low level of control; conflicting or ambiguous roles; the existence of opposing hierarchies; excessive workload; poor or inadequate conflict management, or denial that conflict exists; authoritarian leadership style; organisational changes, such as technological or structural change, and the lack of job security (Leymann, 1996; Di Martino, Hoel and Cooper, 2003; Sousa, 2011).

Relevant factors also appear to be found in business management models based on the concept of excellence, directly involving the organisational climate, as well as strategic management of human capital. Whilst originally the concept of organisational excellence implied the quest for a climate of satisfaction for human capital with increased productivity, this has gradually changed, as a result of the global economic crisis and the rise of neo-liberal ideologies, in both politics and economics, and the concept has been subverted to mean excellence associated with a climate of increased competition between the workforce (Sennett, 1999).

Workers are required to stand out from the others to secure the right to their job. A professional cannot content him or herself with just being good, they have to be the best. So workers are constantly jostling for position in the organisational structure, aiming for the top. The demands stretch them to beyond their physical and psychological limits. Total commitment, loyalty unchecked by any critical questioning, combined with flexible management as the synonym of "end of the professional career and the disregard for the accumulated experience." (Sennet, 1998: 17) have led to: "(…) tyrannical practices which require workers to comply with absurd demands in the name of competitiveness. These "innovative practices", known as lean production, downsizing, outsourcing, presuppose that any professional can be replaced by another more capable worker. Hence the encouragement of individualism, the incitement to competition, the pressure to worker harder, the weakening of social relations at work, in short, the emergence of new forms of violence at work which cause human suffering." (Souza e Souza, 2008: 17).

Bullying, as a social issue, is therefore related to large-scale changes in work and in organisations, partly as the outcome of growing globalisation and neo-liberal ideology and partly as the outcome of the economic and social crisis which Europe, and this specific case Portugal, is experiencing.

In recent years, business organisations and employment in Portugal have undergone huge changes, as companies have downsized, unemployment has risen and job security has declined. As stated by Beck (1992: 19), in «advanced modernity, the social production of wealth is systematically accompanied by the social production of risks» (Beck 1992: 19). The risk of growing employment flexibility associated with competitiveness and market deregulation has resulted in unstable working climates, where the organisational culture that takes hold is easily based on fear of performance appraisals and job precarity. This gives rise to hostility, abuse and psychological violence.

2.2.3. Bullying: Portuguese contributions

Although Portugal was late in tackling the topic of bullying, research has now been carried out in various academic disciplines[16]. We will indicate some of these studies below, making only a generic reference to their scope. The findings of these studies will be discussed in chapter 6, from a comparative perspective.

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[16] As in our account of research into sexual harassment, it is worth pointing to a number of landmarks in the study of bullying. More research has been conducted into bullying than into sexual harassment, and the first conference in Portugal on bullying was held in 2007 at the Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão (ISEG). Some of the main papers presented were published in Socius working papers 8/2008 (those by António de Sousa Uva, António Garcia Pereira, Ana Verdasca, Miriam Rodrigues and Maria Luísa Teixeira and João da Mata).

In the field of public health, an important study was undertaken by Paulo Ferrinho and colleagues into violence against health professionals in hospitals and health centres. They identified various types of violence and showed that violence was more frequent in health centres than in hospitals. They also concluded that certain types of violence are very frequent, but only rarely reported (Paulo Ferrinho *et al*, 2003).

In the field of the sociology of work, Pereira de Almeida and colleagues conducted research into workplace bullying, applying a questionnaire in 33 organisations in the health and welfare sector, taking in a wide range of institutions, such as hospitals, health centres, child care facilities and day centres, in 3 geographical areas: Greater Lisbon, the Setúbal region and the Santarém region. They concluded that the phenomena of violence most often experienced by the male and female workers surveyed (in these sectors where women represent the overwhelming majority) were bullying in the form of symbolic violence and as means of controlling work (Perreira de Almeida *et al*, 2007).

We should also refer to the doctoral thesis on bullying, in the field of psychology, by Manuel Araújo, in 2009, entitled *"Individual and organisational predictors of bullying in the workplace"*. This study set out to analyse the impact of various dimensions of workplace bullying, on individual health and on what the author termed organisational health, a construct which includes job satisfaction, satisfaction with supervision, absenteeism, staff turnover and accidents (Araújo, 2009). The author has also published other joint studies and articles on the subject (Araujo, Mcintyre and Mcintyre, 2015).

Another doctoral thesis on bullying was presented in the field of business and organisational sociology by Ana Verdasca, looking at the Portuguese banking sector (Verdasca, 2010). The author sought to " measure the level of incidence of bullying, in terms of both self-perception (subjective) and in behavioural terms (objective)" and also to describe the experience of the victims of bullying and investigate the existence of relationships between organisational factors, socio-economic situation and the incidence of bullying in this service sector industry (Verdasca, 2010: 9). She has also published other studies and articles on bullying (Verdasca, 2008, 2014 and 2015).

In the field of organisational management, Maria de Lurdes Gomes, submitted an MA dissertation in 2010 on bullying in private and public organisations in the Setúbal district (Gomes, 2010) and Tânia Constantino analysed bullying in the public sector, using a convenience sample of workers at a local authority unit on the south bank of the Tagus (Constantino, 2010).

In the field of health and safety at work, Raquel Barros addressed the issue of workplace bullying in 2013, submitting a thesis which set out to analyse the

correspondence between exposure to workplace bullying and the physical and psychological results for male and female targets (Barros, 2013).

In the field of organisational management in public health, Patrícia Marques presented an MA thesis in 2014 entitled "Bullying in nursing, contributions to organisational management". This author took a qualitative approach to the phenomenon, analysing the narratives of nurses who have suffered bullying, in public and private health institutions (Marques, 2014).

Considering the legal perspective, attention should be drawn to the work of Pena dos Reis, Pereira, Reis anf Ravara (2014), magistrates at the Centre for Judicial Studies (CEJ), who published a Handbook on *Workplace Bullying*, to be used in training public prosecutors and judges. It was decided to provide this specific training in view of the very small number of cases which reached trial.

Also from a legal standpoint, an MA dissertation by Carolina Amante has examined evidence in bullying. This is the first study of an issue of great importance in this area, and looked at a number of court decisions in favour of the victims of bullying (Amante, 2014).

2.3. Sexual harassment and bullying: supranational and national legislation

Sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace are addressed in legal texts adopted by a number of international bodies. Of these, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) deserves to be mentioned in first place, as the United Nations agency working in the field of employment and labour and because, as early as in the 1950s, it identified the fundamental role to be played by States in changing practices. ILO Convention no. 111 (approved at the 42nd meeting of the International Labour Conference, in Geneva in 1958, taking effect in 1960) is evidence of the importance attached to dignity at work and equal opportunities in employment and occupations. At the General Conference in 1958, discrimination in respect of employment and occupation was the fourth item on the order of business. Almost 60 years on from this convention, in 2016, the ILO accepted that a convention was needed which included all forms of sexual harassment and violence at the workplace, and which defined measures for employers to support women who suffered violence (ILO, 2016). In its report dated 2015, *Progress of the World's Women: Transforming economies, realizing rights*, the governing body of the ILO considered including this issue on the agenda of a future International Labour Conference (ILO, 2015: 137). The language used is very specific, explicitly holding employers accountable alongside States. In particular, gender inequality is clearly acknowledged by the fact that the support strategy mapped out is aimed specifically at women.

At supranational level, we will now focus on the European Union and the roles of the European Commission and the European Parliament.

In 1998, the European Commission defined sexual harassment as «unwelcome conduct, of a sexual nature, or other sexually-based conduct undermining the dignity of women and men at work, including the conduct of superiors and colleagues» (European Commission, 1998).

Since the 1990s, supranational legislation, adopted by the European Union, the International Labour Organisation and other institutional institutions, has devoted more attention to the issues of workplace harassment[17]. The issue has appeared in connection with working conditions, but also in association with the principle of equal treatment of men and women; in the latter case, this has been accompanied by explicit references to sexual harassment, especially since the turn of the century.

Similarly, Directive 97/80/EC of 15 December, on the burden of proof in cases of discrimination based on sex, refers to the need for Member States to improve the living and working conditions of the population, an aim to be achieved by applying the principle of equal treatment of men and women (1997L080- 7). In Article 2.1, the same Directive states that "the principle of equal treatment shall mean that there shall be no discrimination whatsoever based on sex, either directly or indirectly." 1997L0080-PT-22.07.1998).

In 2000, the European Council adopted a draft directive on promoting gender equality in areas other than employment and professional life. An understanding of the importance of equality in areas outside employment lay behind the decision to urge the Commission to strengthen rights relating to equality - appeal to the Commission and proposed directive resulting from the Council meeting in Nice on 7 and 9 December 2000. At the same time, legislation designed to prevent and combat discrimination based on sex in the employment market has continued to be adopted.

In 2001, the European Parliament approved a Resolution on workplace bullying. In item 10 A, it takes into consideration a survey conducted by the Dublin Foundation which found that 12 million people claim to have been the victims of bullying in the 12 months prior to the survey. This Resolution draws attention to the need to learn more about the phenomenon in order to be able to tackle it, pointing out that it also seems to be directly connected to the rise in temporary employment contracts and insecure employment arrangements, which affect women in particular.

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[17] We refer to the more specific attention paid to harassment, without overlooking the importance and pioneering nature of fundamental documents such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), in which, in 1979, the United Nations required all states party to the convention to eliminate discrimination against women in employment, and to guarantee the right to work on the basis of equality between women and men (Article 11 a) of Resolution 34/180, of 18 December 1979). Available at http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cedaw.pdf).

The documents urges the Member States to hold bullies to account, recommending that the problem be combated through persuasive prevention policies. It also pointed to the need for a concerted information strategy at different levels in society and measures to deter and combat the practice in the workplace.

But it was the Directive of the European Parliament and the Council of 23 September 2002 (2002/73/CE) which, in addition to stressing the need for equal treatment of men and women, defined in conceptual terms what is understood by direct and indirect discrimination, harassment and sexual harassment.. Items 3, 4 and 5 of the same article state that all types of discrimination based on the sex of the individual will be considered as discrimination to be combated and prohibited within the legislative framework of the EU. Member States, social partners, employers and the providers of vocational training are urged to take measures to prevent all forms of sexual discrimination and in particular bullying and sexual harassment in the workplace.

The 2002 Directive required Member States to apply measures by 2005. In 2006, a further Directive (2006/54/EC) again drew attention to the issue, defining «harassment» in Article 2.2 as «unwanted conduct related to the sex of a person that occurs with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person, and of creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment»; and «sexual harassment» as «any form of unwanted verbal, non-verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature that occurs, with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person, in particular when creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment»[18].

The same Directive of 5 June 2006 returns to the theme of implementing the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women in employment, occupations and gender equality, establishing that the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women applies in fields relating to employment and professional life. The directive rules that bullying and sexual harassment are inconsistent with the principle of equal treatment of men and women, and that these acts constitute a form of discrimination, which may occur in the workplace, or in access to employment, vocational training and career advancement.

The European Agency for Safety and Health at Work also regards harassment as a potential risk factor for stress-related diseases (depression, breakdown, cardiovascular

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[18] In the period between 2002 and 2006, Directive 2004/113/CE (of 13 de December 2004) of the Council of the European Union applied the principle of equal treatment of men and women to access to and the supply of goods and services. Recital 9 of this directive states that "Discrimination based on sex, including harassment and sexual harassment, also takes place in areas outside of the labour market", echoing the understanding expressed at the Nice meeting in 2000 (Official Journal of the European Union L 373/37 - PT, of 21.12.2004).

diseases or musculoskeletal disorders), and considers that this phenomenon increased significantly during the 1990s. (https://osha.europa.eu/pt/themes/psychosocial-risks-and-stress)

Following on from negotiations conducted under Article 139 (2) of the European Union Treaty, an intersectoral agreement was reached on workplace harassment and violence on 26 April 2007, signed by the social partners - *European Trade Union Confederation*, ETUI, *Confederation of European Business* (BUSINESSEUROPE), *European Association of Craft, Small and Medium-sized Enterprises* (UEAPME) and the *European Centre of Enterprises with Public Participation and Enterprises of General Economic Interest* (CEEP) - after being approved by the respective decision-making bodies of these organisations. This document set out to enshrine mutual recognition of the social and economic consequences of workplace harassment and violence.

The document clarifies the different forms - physical, psychological and/or sexual - which workplace harassment and violence can take, noting that it can consist of isolated incidents or more structured forms of behaviour. It may occur between co-workers, hierarchical superiors, subordinates or third parties, such as clients, suppliers, students or patients. The aim of the agreement was for everyone involved in the organisations to arrive at a better understanding and clearer perception of the phenomenon of workplace harassment and violence, and to provide all concerned with a framework of guidance, permitting them to identify, prevent and manage these problems (Framework agreement on harassment and violence at work, 2007).

The European partners filled out the existing EU and national legislation with a model instrument designed to be used and adapted by social partners, at local, national and sectoral level, depending on their specific needs.

The document addressed a number specific issues relating to harassment and violence in the workplace, in particular: recognition of the existence of three forms of violence - physical, moral/psychological and sexual harassment. The agreement encompasses all public and private sector workers and is based on the principle of zero tolerance of any type of violence or abuse; the signatories undertake to take steps to prevent and combat violence in the workplace. The document stipulates that "the implementation of this agreement will be carried out within three years of the date of signature of this agreement"[19].

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[19] http://www.cite.gov.pt/imgs/instrumcomunit/Acordo_quadro_europeu_assedio_violencia_trabalho.pdf accessed on 12 December 2015.

Another crucial step towards combating violence against women was taken by the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, known as the Istanbul Convention[20]. This represents further progress towards facing up to the problem, insofar as the signatory nations are required not only to implement measures but also to monitor their application.

More recently, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on 8 October 2015 on application of Directive 2006/54/EC, calling on the Commission and the Member States (in item 16) to implement effective monitoring and controls, in order to improve the collection of data on harassment and discrimination on the basis of sex, in particular discrimination relating to pregnancy and maternity leave. It also called on the Commission to assess Article 26 (concerning sexual harassment) in the assessment report for Directive 2006/54/EC. The Resolution of 2015 also urges the Commission to recommend clear and unambiguous measures to combat sexual harassment in the workplace[21].

2.3.1. Harassment as socially unacceptable behaviour: Portuguese legislation

A predominant social awareness of harassment as an unacceptable form of behaviour took form more quickly in Portugal in an employment setting than in the field of social relations in general. This explains why harassment found its way into the Employment Code in 2009 whilst it was only incorporated into the Criminal Code rather more recently (2015).

Workplace harassment is an issue which has been taken up by the law because of the need to protect the rights of targets and to prevent its occurrence by deterring harassers or, after harassment occurs, to punish the conduct and the person who has breached a rule (McCann, 2005).

The law was slow to protect the rights of the targets of harassment. However, the necessary framework was provided by the Portuguese Constitution, in place since 1976, with its provisions which protect equality and dignity and prohibit discrimination.

Regulations concerning harassment have to be viewed on two levels: in general, and in the specific setting of employment. Although these two levels are related

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[20] Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence http://cid.cig.gov.pt/Nyron/Library/Catalog/winlibsrch.aspx?skey=E51FECF9544F4B5E864D2852A1F1E304&cap=2%2c13&pesq=3&opt0=or&ctd=off&c4=off&c3=off&c1=off&c2=on&c8=off&c13=on&c14=off&c15=off&c16=off&arqdigit=off&bo=0&var3=conven%u00e7%u00e3o%20do%20conselho&doc=95339 accessed on 12 December 2015.

[21] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+TA+P8-TA-2015-0351+0+DOC+PDF+V0//PT accessed on 16 January 2016.

and are recognised as influencing each other, it is important to be aware of the specific features of harassment in the workplace when considering the legal dimension and designing preventive measures and strategies for action.

Sexual harassment in the workplace was included in the Employment Code as a separate issue in December 2003. Forming part of the chapter on Equality and non-discrimination in access to work and exercise of duties, it clearly points to recognition by the legislator of the possibility of workplace harassment (Law 99/2003, of 27 August, Article 24.2). What the Employment Code stresses is the affront to the dignity of workers, referring specifically to one of the possible consequences of sexual harassment: an atmosphere of intimidation.

In 2009, Law 7/2009 of 12 February made changes to the definition of harassment (Article 29.1): «harassment is deemed to be unwanted behaviour, in particular based on a factor of discrimination, occurring at the time of access to employment or in the course of employment, work or vocational training, with the aim or effect of upsetting or embarrassing the person, undermining their dignity, or placing them in an atmosphere which is intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or destabilising».

The second paragraph of this articles states that «sexual harassment comprising unwanted behaviour of a sexual character, in verbal, non-verbal or physical form, with the aim or effect referred to in the preceding paragraph. » In paragraph 4, this type of behaviour is classified as a very serious civil offence (Law 7/2009, of 12 February, Article 29). The Employment Code applies to employment relations, and so has not effect on other spheres of life. In the field of employment relations, harassment is classed as a civil offence, and consequently the penalties are less severe than for criminal offences. In addition, under the Employment Code, harassment occurs when its aim is to upset or embarrass the person, undermine their dignity or create for them an environment which is intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or destabilising; the connection to discrimination against workers (male or female) is maintained. Lastly, the relative delay in transposing European Directives meant that in Portugal, prior to 2009, it was necessary to rely on Community legislation to protect the rights of employees[22].

Insufficient protection for legal values regarded as important by Portuguese society and the political relevance attached to the responsibility accepted by the Portuguese State (when it ratified the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, adopted in Istanbul,

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[22] The influence of supranational law on Portuguese employment law can be recognised in Article 24 of the Employment Code, which follows from Directive 761207/EEC, of 9 February 1976 (as amended by Directive 2002/73/EC, of 23 September 2002) and in Articles 22 and 23 of the Employment Code which transcribe, in part, some of the provisions of Directive 2000/78/EC, of the Council, of 27 November.

on 11 May 2011, and approved by Resolution of the Assembly of the Republic 4/2013, of 21 January) appear to have prompted the new rules on harassment included in the Criminal Code in 2015.

The Criminal Code was amended in 2015 to provide general protection, for all persons and in all areas of the life of society. The authors of the new rules included harassment under the heading "Perseguição" (literally, persecution, also with the meaning of stalking, for example in the Istanbul Convention). Stalking is a crime, provided for in Article 154-A of the Criminal Code, in line with the provisions of the Istanbul Convention. The thirty eighth amendment of the Criminal Code was established by Law 83/2015, of 5 August, creating, amongst other things, the crime of stalking and altering the crimes of sexual coercion and sexual nuisance), as follows: "1 - Any person who, repeatedly, stalks.) or harasses another, by any means, directly or indirectly, in such a way as to cause them fear or worry or to prejudice their self-determination, is punished by a prison sentence of up to 3 years or a fine, if no more serious penalty is applicable under another legal provision."[23]

This is the first time that stalking has been addressed as a separate issue and the first time that the concept of harassment is explicitly mentioned in the Criminal Code, albeit as equivalent to stalking. Nonetheless, it is important to point out that criminalisation reflects society's intolerance of this type of behaviour. Social unacceptability, combined with compliance with the requirements of the Istanbul Convention[24], created a pressing need to criminalise this form of behaviour, thereby deterring prospective stalkers and harassers (general prevention).

In the same amendment of the Criminal Code, a new Article 170 was added, headed "Sexual Harassment" ("Importunação Sexual" in this case, as opposed to "Assédio Sexual" as generally used for workplace harassment). The text of this article makes

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[23] We reproduce here the full text of Article 154-A of Law 83/2015, of 5 August, available in its entirety on the website of the Lisbon District Public Prosecutor's Office (available at http://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?tabela=leis&nid=2381&pagina=1&ficha=1) Article 154-A Stalking

    1 – Any person who, repeatedly, stalks.) or harasses another, by any means, directly or indirectly, in such a way as to cause them fear or worry or to prejudice their self-determination, is punished by a prison sentence of up to 3 years or a fine, if no more serious penalty is applicable under another legal provision.

    2 – Attempt is punishable.

    3 – In the cases provided for in para. 1, accessory penalties may be applied the defendant prohibiting contact with the victim for a period of 6 months to 3 years and requiring attendance of specific programmes for preventing typical stalking.) behaviour.

    4 – The accessory penalty of prohibition of contact with the victim shall include staying away from the victim's residence or work place and compliance shall be monitored by technical remote control means.

    5 – Criminal proceedings are dependent on a complaint being filed.

[24] Article 40 of the Istanbul Convention lays down that "Parties shall take the necessary legislative or other measures to ensure that any form of unwanted verbal, non-verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person, in particular when creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment, is subject to criminal or other legal sanction." In these terms, the Convention provides a broad definition of how States are to use the legislative means at their disposal, including the Criminal Code, criminalising conduct when the State sees fit to do so.

it clear that to make proposals of a sexual nature or to force contact of a sexual nature on another person constitutes a crime, punishable by a prison sentence of up to one year or a fine of up to 120 days as can be seen from the clear wording of the law: "Any person who harasses another, through acts of an exhibitionist character, making proposals with sexual content or forcing contact of a sexual nature on them shall be punished by a prison sentence of up to 1 year or a fine of up to 120 days, if no more severe penalty is applicable under another legal provision."[25]

Both these crimes, addressed separately, are included in the section on crimes against persons. Stalking is included in the chapter on crimes against sexual freedom and sexual harassment (*importunação*) is located in the chapter on crimes against sexual freedom and self-determination (in section I, on crimes against sexual freedom). The legal value protected here is sexual freedom. The issue at stake is protection of the individual's freedom to choose with whom they have sexual relations. This relates to the consent of self-determining adults to involve themselves in relations or to engage in practices of a sexual nature with each other. Indeed, the findings of the research presented and analysed in greater depth here, and in particular the interviews with the targets of harassment, point to situations of emotional involvement which to which the targets give their consent, but where this consent is subsequently withdrawn.

Working relations provide a setting based on ties of trust and regulated by norms of social conduct which differ littler from those governing relationships in general: relationships involving friendship or intimacy may occur at the workplace. What is neither appropriate nor acceptable is to presume that working relationships, insofar as they define hierarchical positions of dependency, constrain personal freedom, including the freedom of a persons to engage in relations, or not, with another, outside the professional sphere.

2.4. Sexual harassment and bullying: power, gender relations and organisational setting

We should recall the questions we asked at the outset: how and why do sexual harassment and bullying occur?

Our review of the literature on harassment issues and previous research in this area, drawing on a permanent exchange between theory and empirical observation, has allowed a specific theoretical perspective to take shape. In order to understand and explain the phenomena of sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace, it is fundamental to combine three standpoints: issues of power, social gender relations and organisational settings.

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[25] For the full text of Law 83/2015, of 5 August, we again refer readers to the Lisbon District Public Prosecutor's Office (the law is available at http://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?tabela=leis&nid=2381& pagina=1&ficha=1).

Moreover, in the cases of both sexual harassment and bullying, the theoretical proposals of a majority of the most recent studies tend to agree on the need to combine several dimensions in order to explain these realities, departing from the views which tended to point to specific pathological characteristics either in the aggressors or the victims. Without neglecting the importance of personal and interpersonal characteristics, which come into play in settings of interaction between harassers and the harassed, as will also be noted in the interviews conducted in our research, most studies accept the need to combine what we may also term macro-, meso- and micro-analyses. It should also be noted that to analyse the types of harassment from a common standpoint is no object to pointing out what distinguishes them and the specific features of each.

The first thing that comes to mind when we think of harassment - assuming harassment to be any type of abusive and insistent behaviour perceived as unwelcome and rejected by the target of this insistence - is a classical definition of a type of power exercise: i.e., leading someone, against her or his explicit will, to act in a way which the other wishes, seeking to coerce them directly or by more underhand means, threatening them or even punishing them when they refuse to cooperate.

This is what is understood by power in the interpretation of authors such as Robert Dahl (1972) or Blau (1967): a relationship in which A has power over B insofar as he can lead him to do something that B would otherwise not do. In order to exercise this power, the agent can impose his will, exerting pressure or offering rewards, possibly with an underlying duality, conflict or antagonism. This is also what happens whenever a manager, or hierarchical superior, or employer wishes to dismiss a worker but has no legal basis on which to do so and therefore creates a hostile working environment, intimidates, threatens or persecutes the worker so that they leave of their own accord.

The same type of situation and power asymmetry occurs when a man - manager or co-worker - seeks to obtain sexual favours from a woman, she shows that she is not available, rejects these advances, and he is insistent, going so far as to pester or antagonise her and, above all, when the man is her boss or hierarchical superior, punishing her for this rejection by systematically disparaging her work or driving her to quit her job. In this situation, apart from the setting of dependency/subordination in an employment context, we can also see at play the symbolic subordination of women to men in society, and also the fact that women may be viewed as sexual objects which are accessible, and therefore available, offering no resistance. In other words, at stake here are social gender relations, sexuality and power and the way in which organisational settings reflect the relationship between the three. This relationship may be further aggravated through the structuring of relations between hierarchical superiors (male or female) and subordinates (male

or female). When hierarchical relationships are established in function terms and different degree of responsibility allocated, them can be interpreted by the persons involved as relationships whereby one party (male or female) dominates another (male or female). This interpretation is biased to the extent that societies, at the macro level, are characterised by gender inequalities. Portuguese society is in a process of transition from a traditional gender gap to a modern gender gap (Torres and Brites, 2007).

But the reach or scope of power also tell us that is may be specialised, that all power is relative and limited to a specific sphere of influence. There are individuals or groups which are powerful in one sphere of activity, but weak in other spheres (Dahl, 1972; Lesswell and Kaplan, 1950). At the same time, power can also be "disseminated" in specific spheres of influence where it is exerted hierarchically or discursively and on the symbolic plane (Bourdieu, 1989).

If harassment usually implies a power gap between the target and the harasser, power situations can also exist in relations between co-workers. This is the case, for instance, when someone seeks to dispute another worker's place and so systematically sets our to denigrate the competitor's image in the eyes of the hierarchy or simply to demoralise him or her, attacking their self-esteem and/or identity, including their gender identity. Systematically devaluing the work of the bully's own manager in conversations or dealings with other managers can be another way of exercising power, in this case by a subordinate over a hierarchical superior.

But in both sexual harassment and bullying, the role of social gender relations is crucial to an understanding of these practices. The long tradition of female subordination on the social macro-level and the corresponding male supremacy in the public domain, the association of women with the reproductive sphere, combined with the low value attached to this, and the repercussions of this in an organisational and employment setting (under-representation of women in positions of power and in decision-making, unequal pay and salaries) contribute to the fact that women are more frequently found in vulnerable positions in an organisational setting and for this same reason are more susceptible to harassment.

But review of the more recent literature has also showed that power issues, the specific features of organisational settings - male-dominated, female-dominated or mixed - and gender issuers can combine in unexpected ways. On the basis of a longitudinal study, McLaughin, Uggem and Blackstone (2012) conclude that women in management positions in male-dominated workplaces are more subject to harassment (any type of harassment) that women in subordinate positions. It is as if to have power over men in male-dominated environments constituted a challenge to the traditional norms and turned male "harassment" into a form of

resistance to female power, in a gate-keeping stance. In this case, women are punished for having challenged their traditional subordinate role. In addition, women will in this case be punished by men who seek to maintain male privileges and by other women probably in defence of the traditional norm, without questioning the habit but, in practice, helping to preserve the male hegemony. Transition processes in societies take place through collective questioning: social norms are altered, but this is slow. In Portugal's recent history (the 40 years of democracy), education has been democratised and women have enjoyed access to qualifications and so to positions of power in various domains, including in the professional sphere. This is an important change and social progress, already with a visible impact on social attitudes, as can be seen in this study, as analysed in detail in the chapter on the wider changes in Portuguese society and the manifestations of this in social attitudes to sexual harassment of women (chapter 2).

But social gender relations are not problem which affects women. Men too can be victims of a gender regime which affects and diminishes them. There are also cases of men who are humiliated and harassed by their manager or co-workers (men or women) when they seek, for example, to exercise their rights relating to parental leave to take care of their children, or to support dependent family members. It is as if caring threatened the "masculinity" (status) of the men (and carers) and as if, in the organisational setting, this were used against the worker to force him to devote his full physical and emotional resources to the job, without consideration for the personal and family dimension.

Returning to a point we touched on above, we may stress here that, as shown by a number of studies, including our own, women too are the perpetrators of sexual harassment and bullying, albeit much less frequently than men. In the case of bullying, women essentially target other women, whilst the main victims of sexual harassment by women are men. In this research, the cases, if any, were so few that it was difficult to understand what factors might be at play. Only studies with specific samples, allowing for a degree of depth, might help to clarify what is happening here, although it is clear that issues of power and vulnerability, gender relations, organisational settings and sexuality are most likely also involved.

Likewise, situations such as harassment by subordinates of managers and hierarchical superiors, sexual harassment by men of other men, or of women, require more focussed studies which would undoubtedly contribute to a deeper and fuller understanding of these phenomena.

In short, the combination of three factors is crucial to explaining phenomena of harassment: social gender relations, power and organisational setting. This interrelation requires a combined approach, less frequent in the literature on the subject, but fundamental from a perspective of an integrated analysis consistent

with recognition of the diversity of situations and practices of men and women, and between men and between women. Of course, men and women are not homogeneous aggregates and the use of power also varies depending on the context and the people or situations to be dominated. This combined approach from an integrated perspective which acknowledges diversity may help to explain harassment, identifying the factors which make it more likely to occur on the macro- meso- and micro-planes. This can be used to design forms of intervention and policies for preventing harassment, addressing its many different facets.

We will now look at how the concepts, dimensions and indicators were defined in the research.

2.5. Summary, conceptual proposal and operationalisation

In formulating the concepts of sexual harassment and bullying used for the research, we drew on the theoretical debate and the highly developed concepts proposed in previous studies; we were also constrained by operational and comparative factors. On the issue of sexual harassment, our research findings had to be compared with those obtained in 1989. The dimensions and indicators chosen had to be comparable with those in the earlier study. In respect of bullying, an effort was made for the questions to be put in a way consistent with those on sexual harassment, so that the questionnaire would be easy to understand and to answer. This was the reason for not using the best-known scales: the SEQ, updated by Fitzgerald, Gelfand and Drasgow (1995), for sexual harassment, and the most recent versions of Leymann's LIPT scale (1990), for bullying.

So what were the concepts, dimensions and indicators used in the research? Harassment can be psychological (bullying and/or sexual, and consists of behaviour perceived as abusive and intended to intimidate, coerce or undermine the dignity of (an)other person(s), and is not to be confused with consensual seduction or a professional argument. It should be stressed that, in general, harassment is a process continuing over a lengthy period of time.

Table 2-1. Sexual harassment concept

Sexual harassment		
Concept	**Dimensions**	**Indicators**
Sexual harassment consists of a range of unwelcome behaviour, of a physical, verbal or non-verbal nature, perceived as abusive, and may include pestering through attempted physical contact, requests for sexual favours with the aim or effect of obtaining advantages, blackmail and even the use of force or strategies involving coercion. Although generally ongoing, sexual harassment can also consist of one-off episodes, or episodes of an explicit and threatening nature.	**Sexual insinuations**	Jokes or remarks about the target's appearance which cause offence; Offensive jokes or remarks about the target's body; Offensive jokes or remarks of a sexual nature.
	Unwelcome sexual advances	Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, hugging, groping, kissing or attempted kissing); Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault.
	Contacto físico e agressão sexual	Contactos físicos não desejados (tocar, mexer, agarrar, apalpar, beijar ou tentar beijar); Agressão ou tentativa de agressão sexual.
	Quid pro quo **harassment**	Asking for sexual favours in return for promises of a job or improved working conditions.

Table 2-2. Moral harassment concept

Bullying		
Concept	**Dimensions**	**Indicators**
Bullying or psychological harassment is unwelcome behaviour perceived as abusive, which is persistent or repeated, and may consist of verbal attacks with offensive or humiliating content or subtle acts, which may include psychological or physical violence. This behaviour is intended to lower the self-esteem of the target(s) and, in the last instance, to undermine their position in the workplace Targets are involved in situations where they generally have difficulty in defending themselves.	**Social isolation**	Isolating or cutting off the target from co-workers; Isolating or cutting off the target from superiors.
	Professional persecution	Setting unattainable goals; Systematic denigration of the target's work; Unsuitable duties.
	Intimidation	Systematic threats of dismissal; Subjecting the target to stress in order to break him/her down.
	Personal humiliation	Humiliating reference to physical psychological or other characteristics.

Chapter 3

Portugal: Sexual harassment 25 years on. What has changed?

The first research in Portugal about sexual harassment in the workplace was conducted in 1989 (Amâncio and Lima, 1994). The survey subjects consisted exclusively of women of working age. Twenty-five years on, it is important to understand what has changed and in what sense.

Portuguese society has undergone profound changes in the past 25 years, in everything from the structure of the economy and the employment market to sexuality, including levels of educational attainment. So has it also changed as regards what women and men perceive as being, or not being, sexual harassment? And have reactions to sexual harassment changed?

In a quarter-century, Portugal has experienced significant change in access to education, technological progress, expansion of the service sector and in the way men and women perceive and experience sexuality.

So the first step will be to compare the working conditions experienced by women in Portugal, on the limited basis of the indicators available and comparative between the two studies.

Our comparison with then turn to the phenomenon of sexual harassment of women, looking at four distinct aspects: comparison of the frequency of sexual harassment of women in the workplace; perpetrators of sexual harassment in the workplace; forms of reaction, support and rationalisation by female targets of sexual harassment in 1989 and 2015; and lastly, differences in women's attitudes to sexual harassment in the workplace.

3.1. Working conditions and age of women workers, 1989 – 2015

Our main concern is to discover how the changes which have taken place in Portuguese society and the employment market in Portugal have affected female workers. Obviously, this comparative analysis is limited to the indicators available for 1989 and from our own research. The aim is to compare working conditions and the situation of women in the employment market in 1989 and 2015 on the basis of a limited set of indicators: the economic sectors in which women work, the most common form of contractual arrangements, position occupied in the employment market and age.

The first point to note is that there have been great changes in both the Portuguese economy in general, with a deep shift towards the service sector, and in the position occupied by women in the employment market. Whilst in 1989 40% of women worked in manufacturing industry, 9% in retail and 51% in skilled and unskilled services; in 2015 only 11% work in manufacturing industry, the proportion of women working in retail has more than doubled and 69.7% of women work in the service sector.

Table 3-1. Economic sectors (%)

Economic sector	Women 1989	Women 2015
Manufacturing industry	40	11,5
Retail	9	18,8
Services (skilled and unskilled)	51	69,7

An assessment of the changes between the late 1980s and 2015 in the position occupied by women in the world of work is important for characterising objective working conditions, insofar as this position is crucial in relation to access to resources, power or prestige.

Although access by women to positions of responsibility, supervision or management is still subject to severe constraints, the fact is that there has been a shift towards increased equality between men and women in access to positions that confer responsibility, power and prestige: in 1989, only 8.7% of female respondents occupied management positions and the authors warned that this figure might be inflated, insofar as the questionnaire was applied at the workplace and the female workers were selected by the companies and employers (Amâncio and Lima, 1994: 21). In contrast, in 2015, we found that 22.5% of female respondents have some supervisory responsibility at work.

Table 3-2. Women in management (%)

	Women 1989	Women 2015
In management positions	8,7	N/A
Has some supervisory responsibility in her work	N/A	22,5

N/A: Not applicable.

Another fundamental change which has occurred in the labour market and which affects women's objective working conditions has to do with the contractual basis on which they are employed. The changes here point to a significant trend towards less secure employment, with the number of women on permanent contracts dropping from 79.7% in 1989 to 45.2% in 2015. Indeed, at present, a majority of working women experience precarity in their employment arrangements and their

position in the labour market: 50.2% are on fixed-term contracts; 1.5% work on a non-contract basis; 1.2% are interns (paid or unpaid) or student trainees; and a further 1.9% of women replied don't know/no answer.

In line with the ageing of the Portuguese population, we find that the female working population in Portugal has also aged. In 2015 almost half of female workers were aged 45 years or more, compared to less than 20% in 1989. In the late 1980s, a majority of the respondents were aged 34 years or less (53.1%)[26].

Figure 3-1. Age of women workers, 1989 – 2015 (%)
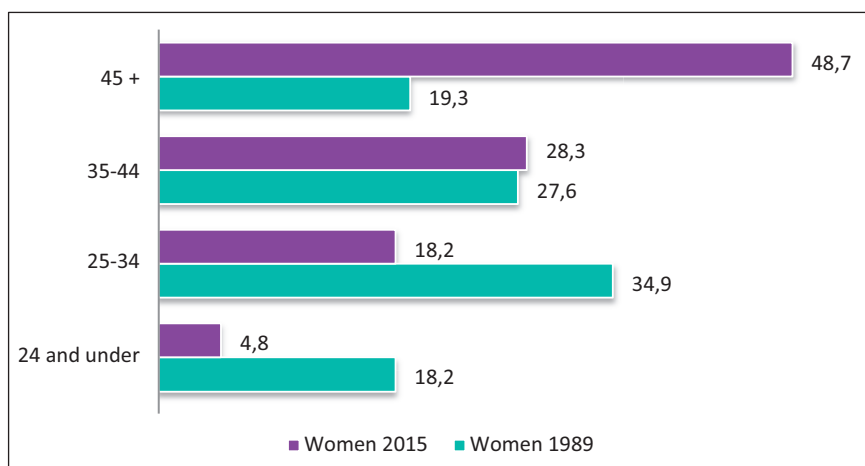
3.2. Sexual harassment of women: 25 years on

Looking at this quarter century, the main feature is a reduction in sexual harassment of women in the workplace. In the late 1980s, more than 30% of women suffered sexual harassment in the workplace. This figure now stands at around 14%.

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[26] A preocupação em garantir a comparabilidade entre a realidade do assédio sexual sobre as mulheres em 2015 com os resultados da pesquisa realizada por Amâncio e Lima em 1989 condiciona, neste momento, a análise a quatro grupos etários (até 24 anos, entre 25 e os 34 anos, entre 35 e 44 anos e mais de 45 anos).

Figure 3-2. Frequency of sexual harassment of women, 1989 and 2015 (%)
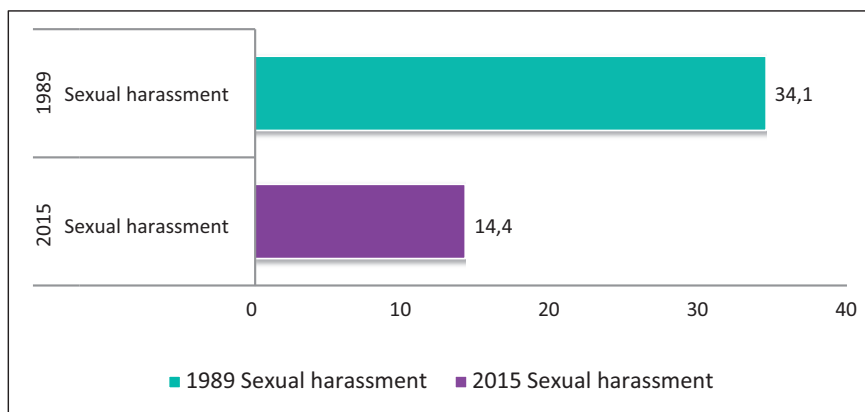
We might imagine that highly regulated labour relations, or the dissemination and widespread adoption of organisational policies of zero tolerance and prevention of sexual harassment might account for the reduction in cases of harassment over the past 25 years. But the fact is that this period has been characterised by deregulation and liberalisation of the labour market, with employment law reforms introducing greater flexibility, and a reduction in job security for women (as described above). At the same time, sexual harassment and the related prevention issues have not been on the public agenda, at least not systematically. This means that good practice for preventing or combating sexual harassment has not been widely disseminated amongst Portuguese employers, with the exception of a handful of multinationals operating in Portugal which have imported their internal policies, codes of ethics and monitoring procedures.

So the reduction of the frequency of sexual harassment in the workplace has to be explained, at least in part, by wider dimensions of social change in Portugal over the past 25 years. We, in fact, cannot neglect the deep changes which have placed equality and especially gender equality on the personal agenda in which the Portuguese wish to guide their lives (Torres, Coelho and Cabrita, 2014).

It is also relevant to understand, on the one hand, that when we speak of sexual harassment we are talking about sexuality and, on the other hand, that that main axis along which sexuality is organised is gender (Kimmel 1994 and 1996, Weeks, 2007). In short, the relationship between sex and gender is mutually constitutive: sexuality is constructed on the basis of gender normativities, in other words, it is through their experience of masculinity and femininity that men and women construct themselves as human beings (Kimmel 1994 and 1996); gender is confirmed through sexual behaviour (Kimmel 1994 and 1996).

The context of change around sexuality that lies behind the reduction in sexual harassment in the workplace in Portugal may be perceived as one where the forces of change co-exist with conservative forces. On the one hand, the affirmation of women-as-individuals (Torres, 2001) and women as sexual citizens (Weeks, 2007) increasingly divorced from a form of emphasised femininity (Connell, 1987, 2005), which shapes itself and adjusts to a masculine symbolic economy (Bourdieu, 1999). Comparing 1989 and 2015, we can see that women of working age have learned about their rights as women, citizens and workers, leading them to be more watchful of themselves and their bodies, and to affirm their individual plans in all areas of their lives; this has potentially forced a reduction in sexual harassment in the workplace.

On the one hand, the maintenance of a gender order organised along the lines of archetypal hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005a, 2005b), prescribing normative expectations of what a man should be, is based, at least in part, on the idea that sexuality is the terrain for staging and confirming masculinity and its fundamental characteristics (Connell, 2005a, 2005b).

Despite the reduction, there is still a high level of sexual harassment women in the workplace (14%). This pattern may be explained, at least partially, by the persistence of a vision of what a man should be, shaped around the imperatives of heterosexuality, sexual diversity, permanent control and activity. In other words, by the continued existence of a male archetype which in all social settings - including the workplace - responds to the image of the man with sexual power, with the capacity for conquest and multiplication of sexual partners, transforming women into indicators of his success and prestige as a man. At work and elsewhere, men continue to check their own conformity to a male archetype which prescribes a man in power, in sole charge of events and sexual interaction, with exclusive rights of initiation, and responsible for breaking with the sexual passivity of women.

In essence, sexual harassment in the workplace cannot be dissociated from the persistence of a non-egalitarian vision of sexual encounters. A vision which makes these moments between individuals who differ in status and in the ability to determine reality: men as the producers of what happens in the sexual encounter, and women as receptors.

3.3. Perpetrators of sexual harassment of women, 1989 – 2015

Observation of the perpetrators of sexual harassment of women reinforces the idea that sexual harassment is partly rooted in a non-egalitarian vision of sexuality, seeking to make the man in control in the world of work the sole agent determining an encounter of a sexual nature.

As regards the perpetrators of the sexual harassment experienced by women in the workplace between 1989 and 2015, two fundamental changes are clear: firstly, whilst the most frequent perpetrators in 1989 were co-workers (57%) in 2015 they were 26,8%; secondly, hierarchical or direct superiors were the main perpetrators in 2015 (44,7%) but in 1989 they were only 32% (Figure 3.3).

Secondly, in relation to 2015, a significant proportion of perpetrators of sexual harassment in the workplace are third parties: customers, suppliers or users account for around 25,1% of cases of sexual harassment suffered by women. On the one hand, these findings underline the need, when studying sexual harassment, for a broader conception of the workplace that includes people from outside the workplace, with whom the targets have dealings in the course of their work. On the other hand, the fact that so many perpetrators are third parties is inevitably related to the strong shift towards the service sector in the Portuguese economy, and the position occupied by women in the world of work (as described above).

Lastly, although their importance is merely residual, we should not neglect to mention that some situations of sexual harassment suffered by women are caused by their hierarchical inferiors (1,7%) or other people working in the organisation (1,7%).

Figure 3-3. Perpetrators of sexual harassment of women, 1989 and 2015 (%)
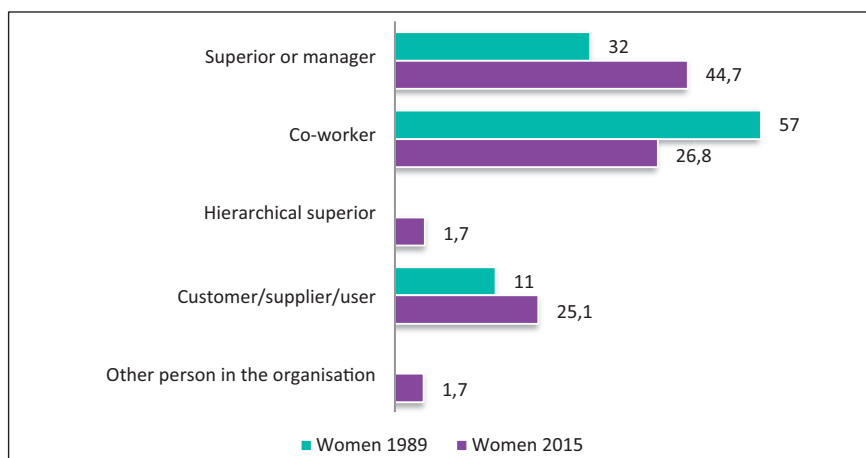
3.4. Reactions, support and rationalisation

The break with a form of emphasised femininity (Connell, 1987, 2005) which conforms and adjusts to a masculine symbolic economy (Bourdieu, 1999) and the affirmation of women as individuals (Torres, 2001) and as sexual citizens (Weeks, 2007) provides the context for women's increased ability to react when targeted by sexual harassment in 2015, the type of people from whom they seek support or with whom they talk about the situation, or the ways they find to rationalise what has happened to them.

Comparing the findings from 1989 (Amâncio e Lima, 1994) with our own research, we can point to a clear change toward a reduction in passivity in the immediate reaction at the moment the incident of sexual harassment takes place. Whilst in 1989, 49% of women reacted immediately to sexual harassment at work by doing nothing, pretending not to notice, only 22.9% did this in 2015 (Figure 3.4).

Pretending not to notice the situation of sexual harassment in the workplace was the most common type of response in the later 1980s. In contrast, in 2015, immediate expression of annoyance at the occurrence is the most common response of women targeted by harassment (52%).

Figure 3-4. Women's reactions to sexual harassment, in 1989 and in 2015 (%)
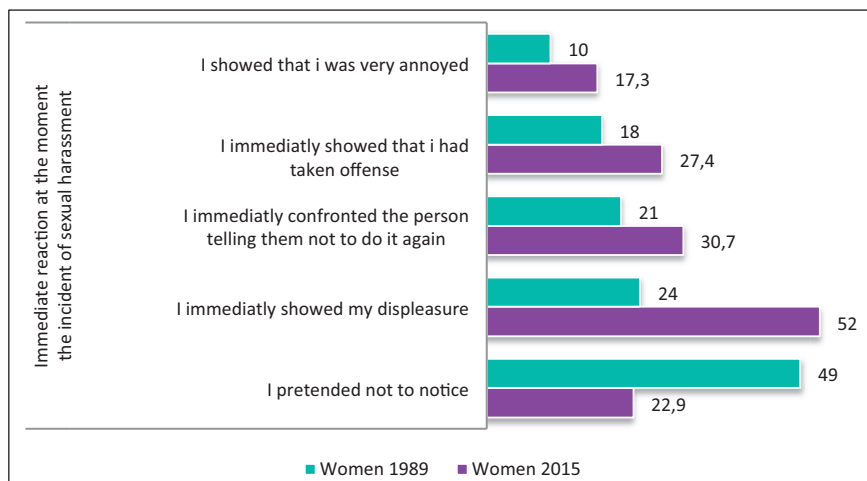
The people that women choose to tell about the harassment they have suffered is another form of reaction which it is important to consider.

Firstly, between 1989 and 2015, a significant reduction can be observed in the silencing of sexual harassment experienced in the workplace. In the late 1980s, 31.2% of women said they spoke to no one about what had happened at work. In 2015, this figure fell to 19%.

Secondly, we can note significant investment in building a support network or in using an informal and affective support network in everyday working life. In other words, more than one third of women targeted by sexual harassment at work spoke to their female co-workers about what had happened. We should also note that this choice is itself revealing of important gender effects, insofar as male-co-workers are not included among the first choice of who to speak to. They are chosen by around 12% of women in 2015, as compared to only 8.5% in 1989.

Thirdly, in 2015, the importance assigned to people with whom the women establish affective and emotional ties in their support and solidarity network is greater than in 1989 In effect, friends and family are now hugely important as listeners: in 1989 16% female targets of sexual harassment talked about it with their friends, while the figure today has risen to 37.4%; for family, the figure has risen from 12%, in 1989, to 35.8% in 2015. Similarly, although not to the same extent, women's partners (male or female) are one of the fundamental choices for whom to talk to about their experiences of sexual harassment at work.

Figure 3-5. People they talked to about sexual harassment, women, in 1989 and in 2015 (%)
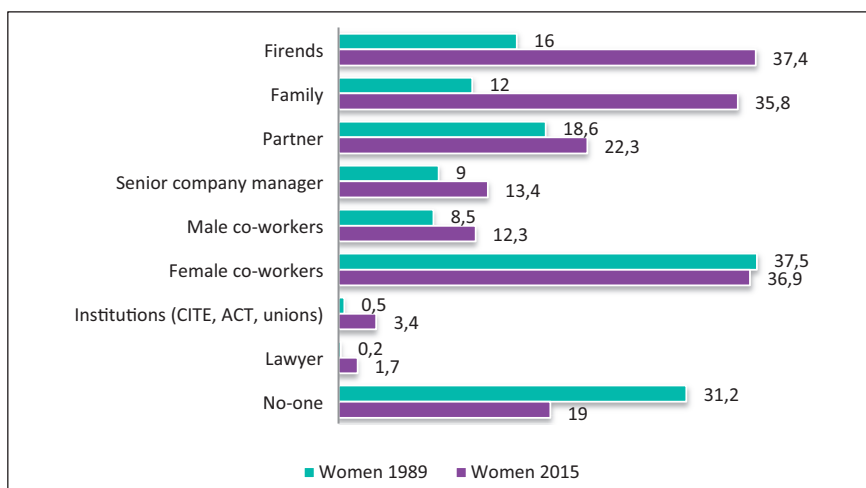
The fact that women are now more able to react and less likely to be silenced on the subject of sexual harassment can probably not be dissociated from deeper changes relating to the meaning and orientation of women's sexuality in Portugal. In particular, the ability to react to harassment and to verbalise it is of course a way in which women present themselves and their sexuality, involving a break with, or at last an attenuation of the normative capacity of the sexual double standard, which prescribes sexual containment for women. In other words, breaking the silence and abandoning passivity means that women in 2015 assert themselves as individuals (Torres, 2001) and full sexual citizens (Weeks, 2007), able to assert what they want to experience or not, without risking accusations of immorality. Even if this expression means revealing a situation of sexual harassment, i.e. a potential intimate, bodily and erotic encounter with a spatially problematic character for women because it occurs outside the restricted setting of frameworks for affective and amorous relationships. And also because sexual harassment in the workplace blurs the line between the material and sexual dimensions of life, making a connection traditionally perceived as a form of contamination and immorality. Lastly, to have the ability to report, talk about and react to sexual harassment means being able to face up to the risk of an accusation of immorality and generic approximation to the stigma of being a prostitute: someone who exchanges sexual favours for material or professional benefits.

Another aspect fundamental to a characterisation of sexual harassment and an assessment of the change over the past 25 years is the way in which female targets of sexual harassment think about the causes of the harassment they experience. In other words, the rationalisation that serves to explain, for the targets and for others, what they experience in the workplace.

The indicators relating to explanations for the sexual harassment suffered were constructed in different ways in the two studies: in 1989, it was decided to use a scale where women rated the importance of different types of explanation, the explanation being measured by the position on this scale. In 2015, this scale was replaced by a question with different potential answers - the indicator being measured by the frequency of each option being chosen.

In 1989, rationalisations tended towards explanations external to the women themselves and to rationalisations based on a sort of fatalism. In other words, women experiencing sexual harassment in the workplace pointed to the following explanations, in decreasing order of importance. First of all, harassment was explained by the fact that the perpetrator was an impertinent individual. The second explanation advanced appeared more deterministic, naturalising the phenomenon of sexual harassment and inequality between men and women: 'a woman at work has to be subject to these things'. Although to a lesser extent, importance was also attached to explanations of the sexual harassment suffered by women that pointed

to their own responsibility ('being an attractive and friendly woman'), issues relating to the setting or opportunity ('because I was alone with the perpetrator'), or to (bad) luck (Amâncio and Lima, 1994: 42-43).

In contrast, in 2015, disrespect is cited by most female targets as the reason for sexual harassment. This if followed by a rationalisation of sexual harassment of a fatalistic or naturalising type: women are subject to these things in the workplace. Around 9% of women experiencing sexual harassment say they are unable to explain it.

Figure 3-6. Explanations given by women for the sexual harassment experienced, 2015 (%)
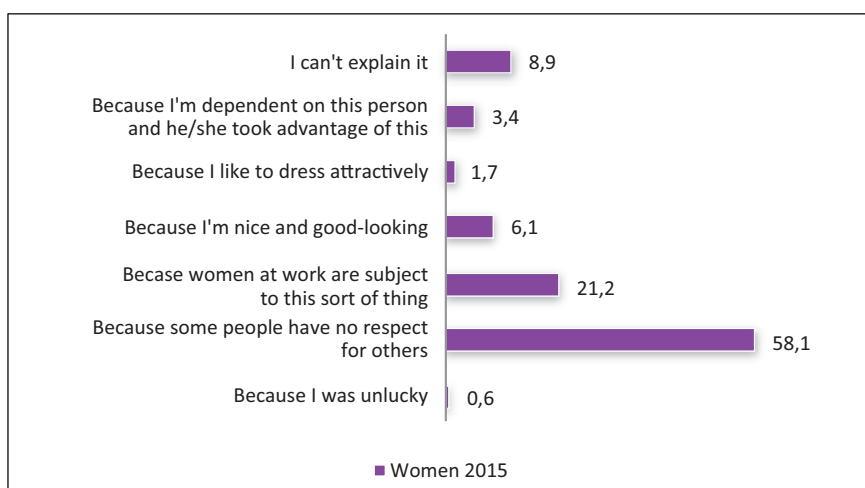
3.5. Women and the perception of sexual harassment

Comparison of the 1989 survey data with the findings in 2015 shows that women are now clearer about what they perceive and identify as sexual harassment in the workplace.

In 1989, perceptions of what was or wasn't sexual harassment at work were particularly diffuse in relation to what we have called sexual insinuations. At that time, lewd comments about how they dressed or their physical looks were identified as forms of sexual harassment by around one third of women.

But 25 years on, in 2015, 65.8 of women identify offensive jokes or comments about their looks as sexual harassment and 84.2% perceive offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature as a form of harassment. Twenty-five years ago,

offensive comments about women's body parts were identified by around 50% of women as a form of sexual harassment, but this figure has now risen to 72.9% (Figure 3.7).

More particularly, in 1989 sexual insinuations were the practices which generated the least consensus among women, and scored low figures for identification as forms of sexual harassment. In contrast, in 2015, women of working age are very quick to identify different forms of sexual insinuation as forms of sexual harassment at work. In addition, we find that the level of agreement increases when insinuations are focussed more on the body and sexuality - a tendency also noted in 1989, albeit with very different figures for identifying these practices as forms of sexual harassment.

Figure 3-7. Sexual insinuations: is it sexual harassment?
Answers in 1989 and 2015 (%)
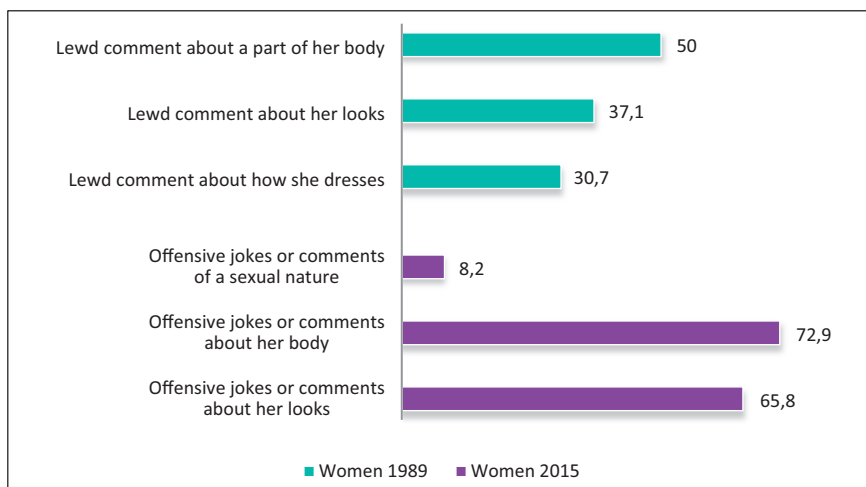
In relation to unwelcome sexual advances, an increase can also be observed in the percentage of women identifying situations constituting sexual harassment of this type (Figure 3.8).

In this dimension of sexual harassment, the tendency continues for greater clarity in women's identification of these practices as sexual harassment. However, we should note that the figures are very similar for propositions of a sexual nature in 1989 and explicit and unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature in 2015.

The greatest differences between 1989 and 2015 are found in the perception of looks: in 1989, to look at a woman as if mentally undressing her was identified as

a form of sexual harassment by only 49.5% of female respondents, whilst in 2015 insinuating looks were regarded as sexual harassment by 62.7% of women.

We should point out that the historical period from 1989 to 2015 was one of great change in technology and the media. These changes have radically transformed the way work is organised and how people relate to each other in the workplace. New technologies of information and communication have expanded interactional settings to include something new, the virtual dimension. It was therefore essential to include new indicators to identify situations of sexual harassment for which these new information and communication technologies serve as the medium or vehicle.

It was found that phone calls, letters, text messages, emails or images of a sexual and offensive nature are identified by nearly 90% of women as forms of sexual harassment in the workplace - although, with the new information and communication technologies these messages can be sent and received outside the more restricted setting of the workplace and outside normal working hours.

At the same time, unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made using these technological media are also identified as forms of sexual harassment in the workplace by around 90% of female respondents in 2015.

Figure 3-8. Unwelcome sexual advances: is it sexual harassment?
Answers in 1989 and 2015 (%)
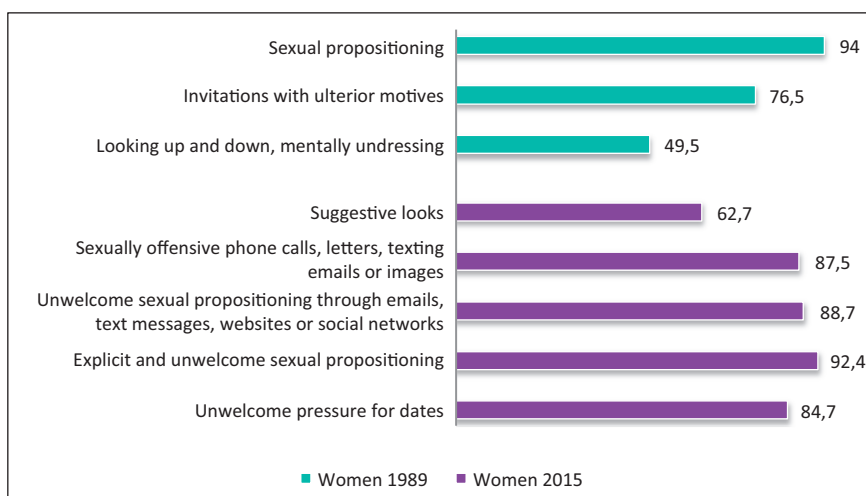
The differences between the 1989 and 2015 figures as to what constitutes sexual harassment gradually diminish as the study turns towards more explicit forms of sexual harassment. In other words, when the harassment involves physical bodily contact (Figure 3.9).

Just as 25 years ago, more than 90% of women identify these physical incidents as sexual harassment. The figures for the physical dimension of sexual harassment, involving body-to-body interaction between the perpetrator of sexual harassment and the target, are very similar for the two moments in time when sexual harassment in the workplace has been measured in Portugal.

Figure 3-9. Unwelcome physical contacts: is it sexual harassment?
Answers in 1989 and 2015 (%)
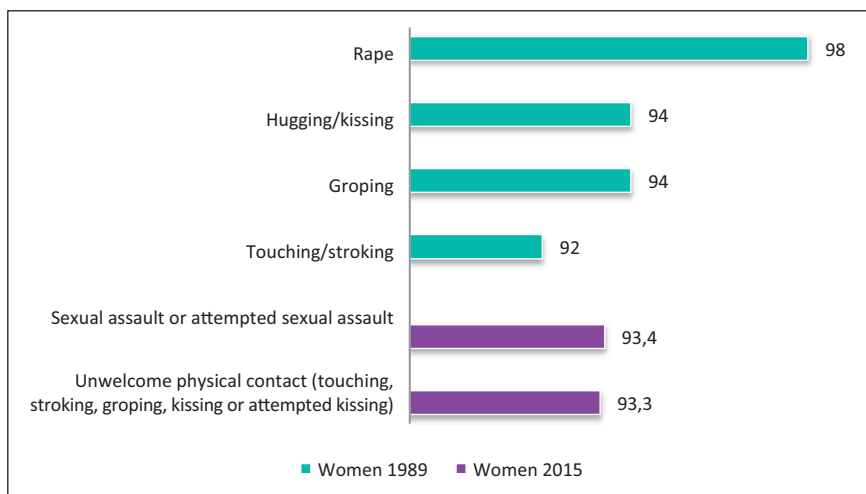
In short, comparing the 1989 findings with those in 2015, it can be seen how the changes which have taken place in Portuguese society over the intervening 25 years are revealed in the way women of working age are now more aware of their rights as women, citizens and workers. Two specific trends can be identified: women show greater clarity in identifying situations of sexual harassment, and women who suffer sexual harassment are better able to react (from doing nothing to immediately showing their annoyance).

Chapter 4

Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

The preceding chapter has provided a picture of the changes in Portugal over the past 25 years in the employment market and in attitudes and practices relating to sexual harassment. This chapter presents the findings on sexual harassment in 2015 in greater detail.

The presentation starts with an analysis of the frequency of sexual harassment, broken down into the four dimensions (sexual innuendo, unwelcome sexual advances, unwelcome physical contact and *quid pro quo* harassment) and into each dimension by sex. We then analyse who the perpetrators and targets are, by sex, in order to establish the main differences between these findings and those of the 1989 study, which looked exclusively at the sexual harassment of women.

Sexual harassment practices are analysed on the basis of individual characteristics, using four age ranges and occupational categories. The same practices are also examined on the basis of the characteristics of organisations: by size, dividing organisations into four groups, by economic sector, by type of contractual arrangements with workers and by type of perpetrator, in accordance with the hierarchical position occupied in the organisation.

The working environment is analysed by establishing the relationship between organisational climate and sexual harassment practices. This chapter concludes by looking at the ways in which individuals who are the targets of sexual harassment react and to whom they turn for support. As before, this analysis is carried out by sex. Figures are given for statistical significance and the association between variables is only analysed when statistically significant (p<0.05).

4.1. Sexual Harassment in the Workplace: practices

The frequency of sexual harassment gives us the overall proportion of respondents (of both sexes) who are or have been the targets of sexual harassment in the workplace: 12.6% in total, or 14.4% of women and 8.6% of men. In 62.6% of cases, the sexual harassment takes place or took place at the respondents' current workplace. The remaining 37.4% of cases took place in previous workplaces.

The figures recorded (12.6%) are above the European averages in the *European Working Conditions Survey*, which point to 2% (Giaccone and Di Nunzio, 2015: 16).

Considering the four dimensions of the concept of sexual harassment, the most highly represented dimension, concentrating more than half the responses (52.9%) is unwelcome sexual advances (the dimension that includes insinuating looks, explicit propositions of a sexual nature, invitations for dates, unwelcome propositions). The second most frequent dimension was that of sexual insinuations (which includes offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature or referring to the target's body or appearance). This dimension represents 26.4% of responses.

In third place, unwelcome physical contact and sexual assault or attempted sexual assault (with 18.1% of responses). This dimension includes situations of sexual assault and attempted sexual assault, and situations of unwelcome physical contact, such as groping, stroking, kissing and attempted kissing. Physical contact, attempted or actual, is what this dimension refers to: this may involve sexual harassment practices which are more explicit and less ambiguous from the standpoint of the target and witnesses, and less subtle from the point of view of the perpetrator, when compared with the sexual harassment practices included in the two dimensions with a higher frequencies of response.

In fourth place, with 2.6% of responses, is *quid pro quo* harassment. This dimension represents a frequency of response which may be regarded as negligible, but we should still recall that this dimension of sexual harassment includes requests for sexual favours in return for promised improvements in working conditions. This is a practice which can be observed in practice in promises made in return for sexual favours.

Figure 4-1. Frequency of Sexual Harassment, by dimension of concept (%)
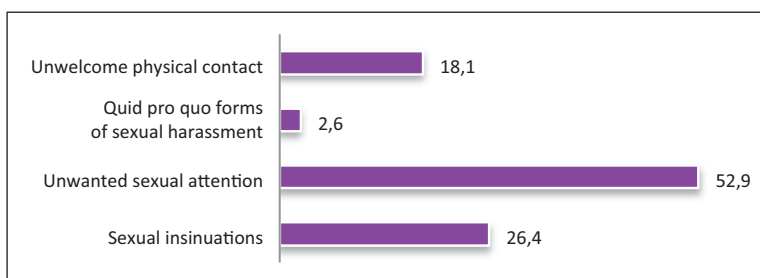
Analysis of the findings by sex allows a deeper understanding of the practices considering whether the targets of sexual harassment are female or male.

Unwanted sexual attention is the dimension with the most frequent responses, for both male and female individuals. However, proportionally more men than women report harassment practices belonging to this dimension (respectively 62.5% and 50.3%) (Figure 4.2). Of the indicators corresponding to practices which allow us

to measure this dimension of sexual harassment, intrusive and offensive questioning about their private life represents 22.9% of responses from men, followed by insinuating looks which they find offensive (14.6%). For women, insinuating looks constitute the most frequently reported practice (23.5% of the frequency of responses). Intrusive and offensive questioning about their private life is proportionally less reported than for men (12.8% of women's responses) (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4-2. Frequency of Sexual Harassment, by dimension of concept and sex (%)
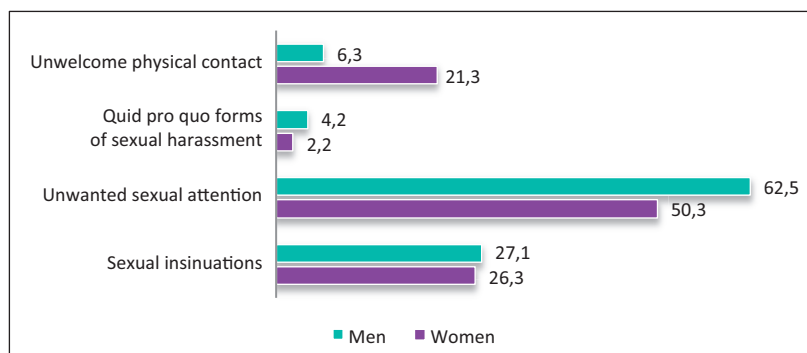
The distribution of responses amongst male individuals is wider, i.e. sexual harassment practices are more diverse and the frequency is more spread out, with a figure of around 10% for unwelcome invitations for dates (12.5%) and unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature (10.4%). In the case of women, responses are more concentrated in the indicator with the highest frequency of responses (insinuating looks which make them feel offended) and the two indicators mentioned above in relation to the male responses both stand at around only 5%. The receipt of phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature experienced as offensive is less frequent, at 2.8% for women and 2.1% for men. Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks score even lower, and were reported in 0.6% of cases, exclusively by women (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4-3. Unwanted sexual advances, by sex (%)
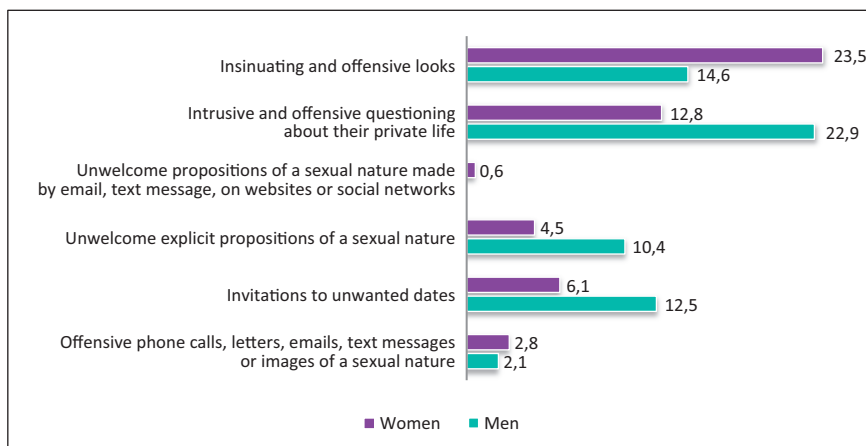
In the dimension of sexual insinuations, the proportions of responses from men and women are closer than for the previous dimension, although men report slightly more harassment practices in this dimension (27.15) than women (26.3%) (Figure 4-2.). Offensive jokes or comments about the appearance of men and women (reported respectively by 14.6% and 14.5%) is a gender-neutral indicator of sexual harassment. Offensive jokes or comments about their body is an indicator reported more often by men (8.3%) than by women (6.1%), although the difference is slight (around 2.2 p.p.) and offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature is an indicator where responses from women (5.6%) are more frequent than from men (4.2%); the difference is again minor (Figure 4.4)

Figure 4-4. Sexual insinuations, by sex (%)
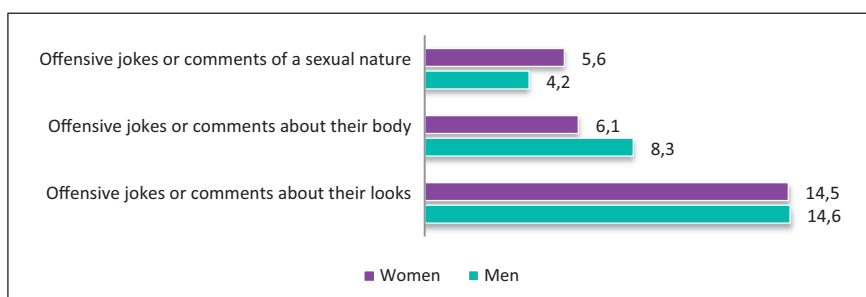
The frequency of responses from men and women differ most in the unwelcome physical contact dimension. In this dimension of sexual harassment, women report more situations of sexual harassment than men, at 20.1% and 6.3% respectively (Figure 4-5.). It is unambiguous in this dimension that female sexuality merges as

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a factor of vulnerability for women in the workplace. In the indicators considered in this dimension, sexual harassment practices are made explicit and reflect the possibility of the other person acting in an offensive, continuous and unwelcome manner.

Figure 4-5. Unwelcome physical contact, by sex (%)
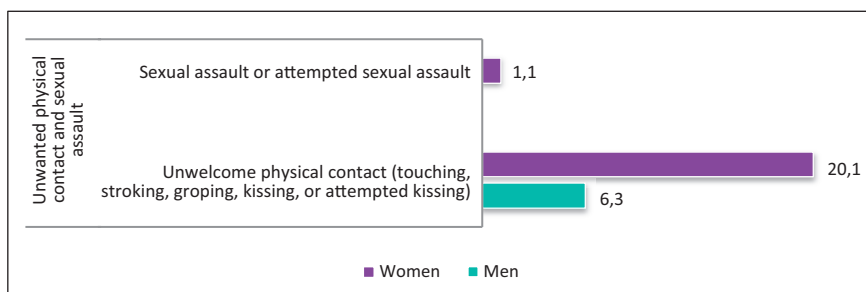
Quid pro quo harassment, where sexual favours are sought in return for a promise of improved working conditions, is the least reported of the four dimensions only four women reported instances of this, and only two men.

At the interview stage, it was possible to learn more about these situations. In order to illustrate the occurrence of this situation in different workplaces we will first use the account by a live-in household servant (Andreia), whose job was to care for an elderly person, and the account of a employee (Anabela) at a health care unit, corresponding to a medium-sized organisation (more than 50 employees).

Andreia lost her job as a result of the economic crisis and was unable to find work in her professional area. As a last resort, he took a job as a domestic servant in the house of an elderly man with reduced mobility.

> *(…) Yes, he did, he promised to marry me, that I could have whatever I wanted, I could have the people I liked, he would do everything I asked and in return (...) which was to stay there at home and satisfy him sexually. (…) provided I satisfied him he would give me everything, and he would say, look, go and buy a nice dress... and I would say: "Mr. X; all I want from you is my wages, if I wanted dresses I would buy them, what I want from you is just my wages." (Andreia Sousa, 46 years, complete secondary education and secretarial training).*

> *"He was always making comments about my body and invitations which weren't at all normal, and often I also felt he was watching me and when his wife arrived he would then be quiet. (What sort of invitations?) We could meet, we could go out, your life could be better, think about it, when shall we go here and when shall we go there, and the woman, who was his wife, didn't have to know... (...) (Did the sexual harassment also take place outside the workplace?) I don't know if it was outside, outside working hours... it also happened because my room was right*

> *next to the restaurant and he would see me, he would see me when I was in my room... I often felt I was being watched." (Anabela Ferreira, 43 years, 7th grade of school education, waitress in a restaurant).*

These accounts illustrate explicit situations of *quid pro quo* harassment and show how this occurs in different work places, irrespective of the possibility of there being witnesses and the degree of external control to which they are exposed. It might be deemed that workplaces more exposed to external social control might function as a factor inhibiting sexual harassment practices. However, it appears that sexual harassment occurs more or less irrespective of the possibility of the harasser being observed by witnesses.

According to the accounts of harassment victims, practices occur in private with the harassers controlling the possibility of their being seen. More explicitly in the second account than in the first, the harasser appears to understand the inadmissibility of his conduct, although this does not stop him. This element under analysis here points to the need for a more detailed understanding of the motivations of harassers and also the reactions of the targets of sexual harassment, in particular in relation to complaining about the situation.

As illustrated by these excerpts from interviews, the private domain, constraining the presence of witnesses, may increase the risk of sexual harassment. However, this behaviour is much more complex than it appears at first sight and the harassers, aware of their own practices, are careful about the circumstances in which they harass the targets. This means that the target's own account of the situation may in effect be the only evidence of sexual harassment. In the first place, unwelcome physical contact (reported by 20.1% of women, as mentioned above) does not necessarily leave physical marks. Secondly, if the behaviour is challenged, the narrative of the target of sexual harassment is subject to denial by the narrative of the harasser. Because they sense this, the feeling of vulnerability experienced by the targets of sexual harassment can easily be increased, matched by a growing sense of power and control on the part of the harasser.

This issue is considered further below in the sub-chapter on analysis of reactions to sexual harassment.

4.2. Perpetrators of sexual harassment in the workplace

According to the findings, sexual harassment is perpetrated much more by men (82.4%) than by women (17.6%) and there is a statistically significant association ($a2 = 92,48$; $p = 0,000$) between the sex of the perpetrators and the sex of targets of sexual harassment.

Figure 4-6. Perpetrators of sexual harassment, by sex (%)

Author

Women — 17,6
Men — 82,4
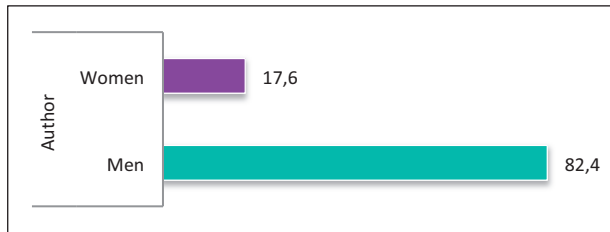
In cases where the perpetrator of sexual harassment in the workplace is male, women constitute the overwhelming majority or the targets (95%), whilst men are the targets of sexual harassment by other men in 35.4% of cases. The sexual harassment of men by other men may have its origins in homosexuality (sexual desire) but, in addition to this, a man may denigrate the social status and masculinity of another man by means, amongst other things, of jokes about his body (physical strength or virility) (Berdhal, 2007). This explains the frequency of situations of sexual harassment by men of other men - where the motive is affirmation of superiority between men, without using explanations involving homosexuality, which are reductive and focus on the individual and his sexuality, mirroring the similarly reductive interpretation of male harassment of women.

When women are the perpetrators of sexual harassment in the workplace, the targets are women in 5% of cases and men in 64.4% of cases. Despite this, men, as we have seen, are more frequently the perpetrators of sexual harassment - of women in a more explicit proportion, and of other men, in more than 1/3 of cases.

The sexual harassment of women by women has received little theoretical attention and has predominantly been interpreted as "mirroring the prototype of male harassment of women: unwanted sexual advances" (Berdhal, 2007: 650).

Figure 4-7. Harassers and targets, by sex (%)

Male perpetrator — 35,4 / 64,4
Female perpetrator — 95 / 5

■ Male target ■ Female target
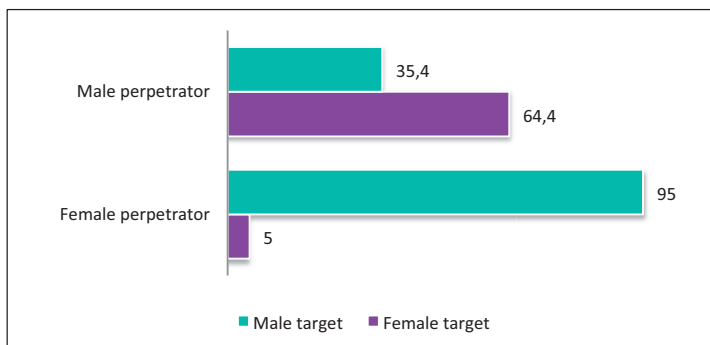
The figures show that we are dealing with abusive practices which tend to be carried out more by individuals of the male sex. It is indispensable to interpret these practices in a gender theory framework, where employment relations absorb or mirror gender relations existing in society in general. However, it is clear that the setting of employment social relations requires a specific analysis, which is therefore distinct from that which would be conducted for sexual harassment in social relations in general. It is equally clear that the setting locates employment relations in organisations - places where power is exerted through exercise of functional duties, which are in turn defined on the basis of a structure that defines social positions of subordination and superiority. In the context of hierarchical and functional superiority, confusion may arise between the exercise of power and the exercise of responsibility. It is therefore important to analyse employment and/or workplace relations in which elements of paternalism, individual protectionism and sexism are mixed with other typical factors in employment relations.

4.3. Sexual Harassment practices by age group

A deeper analysis of sexual harassment practices is needed on the basis of the age group of the male and female respondents reporting at least one instance of sexual harassment (Figure 4-8). Younger men and women are more frequently affected by sexual harassment in the workplace. The majority of women or men were or are targets of sexual harassment when aged less than 35 years, with a tendency for situations of sexual harassment involving physical contact or *quid pro quo* harassment tending to diminish as they get older. The sum of the frequency of sexual harassment of women between 25 and 44 years is 64.3%. The sum of the frequency of sexual harassment against men in the same age ranges is 56.3%. This shows that more than half of all situations of sexual harassment in the workplace occur in these age ranges, for both women and men.

Figure 4-8. Frequency of Sexual Harassment, by age group and sex (%)

Men Women
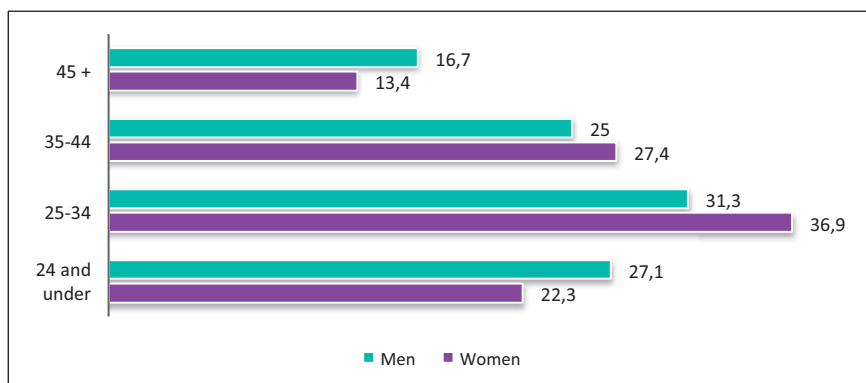
Respondents aged between 25 and 34 years and between 34 and 44 years reported proportionally more sexual harassment practices belonging to the dimension of unwelcome sexual advances that younger respondents (24 years and under) and also older respondents (45 years and older). Aggregating these two age ranges (the intermediate ranges), we find that 64.1% of male and female respondents had experienced unwelcome sexual advances - with practices which involve intrusive questioning about their private life and unwelcome invitations for dates and explicit and unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature (Figure 4.9). The active sexuality component may underlie this relationship between age and sexual harassment practices.

Figure 4-9. Unwelcome sexual advances, by age group (%)
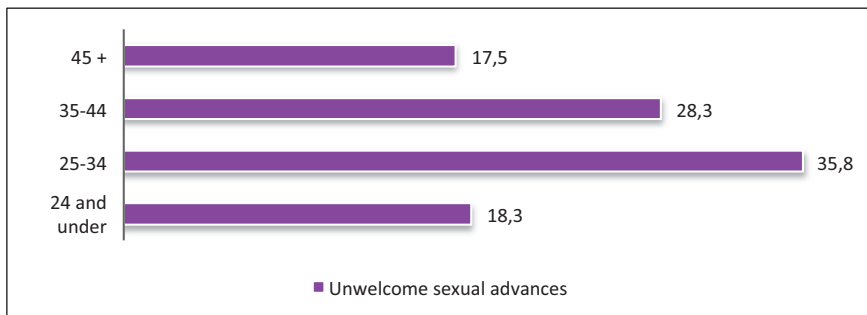
In the dimension of sexual insinuations, we again find a large proportion of responses from individuals aged between 25 and 34 years (33.3%) and between 35 and 44 years (26.7%). Younger people (24 years and under) are more highly represented in this dimension than in the previous dimension, at 26.7%. Indeed, sexual insinuations are most frequent amongst younger people and least frequent amongst individuals aged 45 and over (13.3%) (Figure 4.10). This relationship between age and sexual insinuations suggests a connection between sexual harassment practices which involve offensive jokes about the target's appearance, about their body, and offensive jokes of a sexual nature. The sexuality component appears to impose itself as suggested in the analysis of the frequencies of responses in the previous dimension.

Figure 4-10. Sexual insinuations, by age group (%)

Age group	Sexual insinuations
45 +	13,3
35-44	26,7
25-34	33,3
24 and under	26,7

■ Sexual insinuations
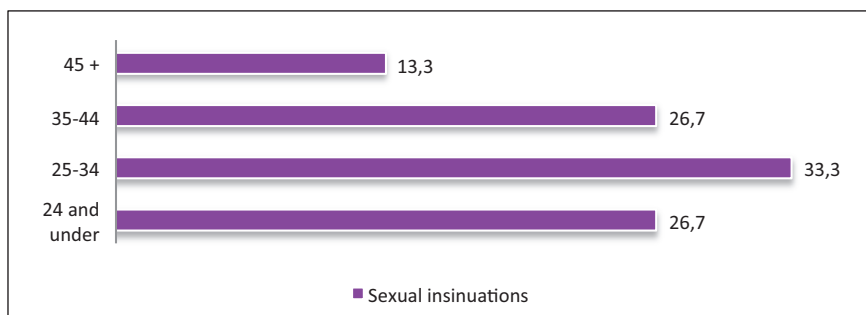
Turning now to the dimension of unwelcome physical contact and sexual assault, we find that responses are concentrated in the youngest age group, with 34.1%, whilst in the age group most distant from this, that for individuals aged 45 years or over, situations of unwelcome physical contact fall to around 7% of sexual harassment practices. It should be recalled that this dimension includes practices which involve unwelcome physical contact and sexual assault or attempted sexual assault. The body, perhaps more than sexuality, emerges from this as the potential channel for sexual harassment. Analysing the data from a gender standpoint, only women reported sexual assault (actual or attempted), albeit with a very lower frequency of response (1.1%). The frequency of women reporting unwelcome physical contact is also higher than for men (20.1% of women and 6.3% of men). In both cases, it is the objectification of the female body that emerges from these sexual harassment practices.

Figure 4-11. Unwelcome physical contact, by age group (%)

Age group	Unwanted physical contact
45 +	7,3
35-44	19,5
25-34	39
24 and under	34,1

■ Unwanted physical contact
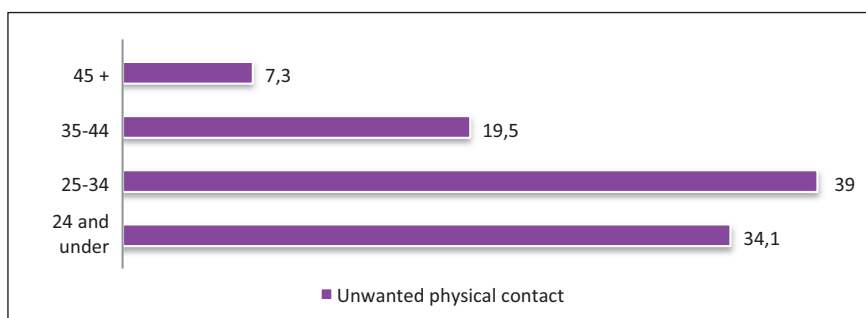
Quid pro quo harassment is the dimension in which the intermediate age groups are most represented, with 83.3%. The figure is very high for the age group of 35 to 44 years (50%).

Figure 4-12. *Quid pro quo* harassment, by age group (%)
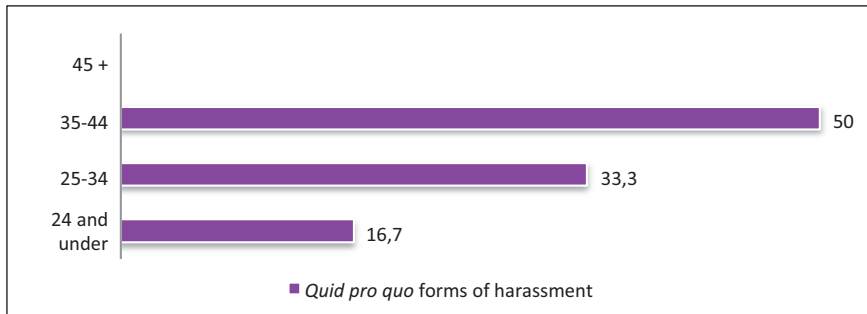
Individuals in the 35-44 age group report the most practices involving the exchange of sexual favours for other advantages in employment relations. This may reflect the fact that individuals take longer to arrive at positions of power and/or with decision-making responsibilities.

Figure 4-13. Breakdown of Sexual Harassment Practices grouped in dimensions by Age Group (%)
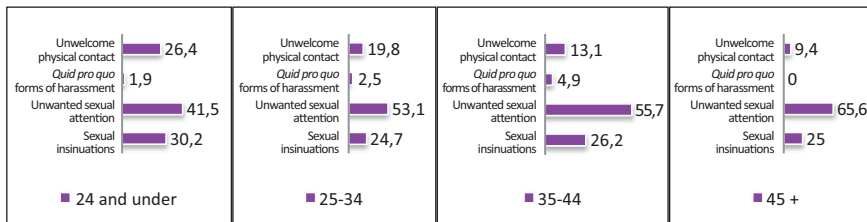
Taking this analysis further to understand the proportion of men and women in each of the harassment dimensions by age group, as may be seen in the graph, it emerges that unwelcome sexual advances is the dimension of sexual harassment most reported in all age groups and is that which figures more frequently in the experiences of men in the workplace than in those of women. Men also report more situations of sexual insinuations, although in this dimension the differences between the sexes are less significant (Figure 4.14).

This is not however the case in relation to the dimension of unwelcome physical contact, with women more frequently reporting incidents, irrespective of their age, whilst the men, as well as less frequently reporting practices considered in this dimension of sexual harassment, are either young men (24 years or under) or older individuals (45 years or over) - so at both ends of the age range. This contrasts with the concentration of sexual harassment incidents in the young adult and adult age groups (corresponding to the intermediate age ranges, between 25 and 44 years).

**Figure 4-14. 14 Breakdown of Sexual Harassment Practices grouped
in dimensions by Age Group and sex (%)**
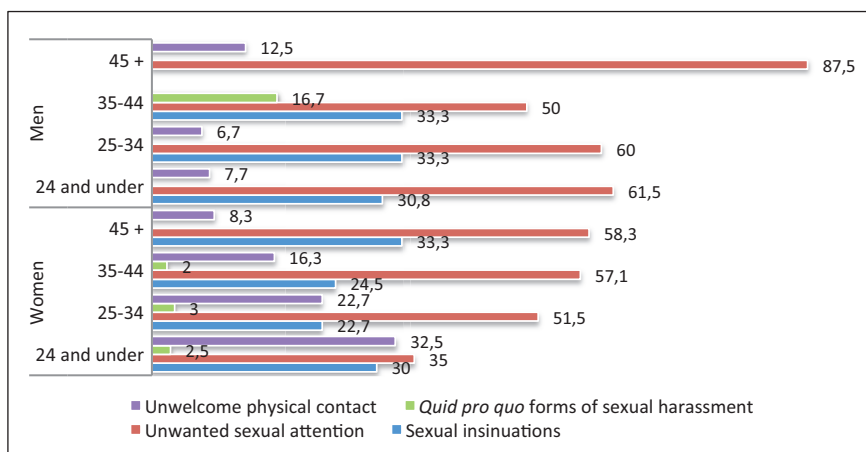
In short, sexual harassment in the workplace more frequently affects women and men during their youth and, perhaps connected to youth, women are the main targets of sexual harassment involving disrespect for their body and sexuality.

4.4. Sexual Harassment practices by occupation

Considering now the occupation of the respondents, as might be expected, the dimension of unwelcome sexual advances is most highly represented in all occupations (Figure 4-15). Even so, this dimension of sexual harassment is most frequent in occupations which include legislators and chief executives, senior officials, managing directors and executive managers (71.4%); technicians and associate professionals (65.6%); and skilled workers in industry, construction and trades (61.1%).

It is interesting to note that in the occupational group of legislators and chief executives, senior officials, managing directors and executive managers, the *quid pro quo* and unwelcome physical contact dimensions of sexual harassment each represent 14.3% of sexual harassment practices.

In the occupational group which includes administrative personnel, the most frequent practices are unwelcome sexual advances (at 44%) , followed by unwelcome physical contact (32%).

Specialists in intellectual and scientific professions reporting situations in the dimension of unwelcome sexual advances are slightly below 60% (57.9%), with the responses shifting towards professional intimidation (at 26.3%).

The analysis is similar for the cases of male and female works in personal services, protection and security services and sales staff. In this occupational group, the situations of sexual harassment reported belong to the dimension of unwelcome sexual advances, standing at below 50% (46.1%), the responses also shifting to professional intimidation (at 30.3%).

Specialists in intellectual and scientific professions and workers in personal, protection and security services and sales staff are two occupational groups closely linked to the provision of services in education and health and to retail, placing the workers, male and female, in a position where they conduct relations through direct contact with third parties. This explains why sexual insinuations, the dimension of sexual harassment concentrating practices based on jokes and comments, is more significant in these occupational groups.

In the occupational group which includes administrative personnel, the figure for the dimension of unwelcome physical contact and sexual assault is 32%.

Figure 4-15. Breakdown of Sexual Harassment Practices grouped in dimensions by Occupational Group (%)
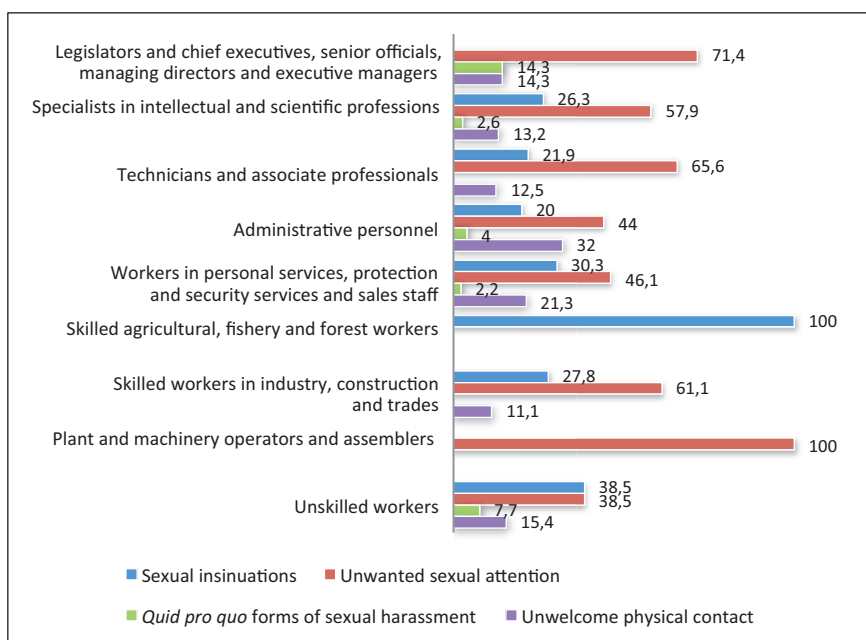
4.5. Sexual Harassment practices by level of educational attainment

Considering educational attainment, divided into three levels (basic education, secondary education and higher education), we find that the most frequent dimension is unwelcome sexual advances. These are followed by sexual insinuations and unwelcome physical contact, although the three dimensions are very close in terms of share. It is seems that the establishment of a hierarchy of the different forms of sexual harassment, which crosses different school attainments , shows that the more important are those with higher frequency levels.

Regardless of the educational attainment of the targets the majority of the incidents of sexual harassment are related to situations that fit into unwanted sexual attention (Figure 4.16).

It is also noticed that sexual insinuations constitute the second set of practices most commonly referred by the targets regardless their school level.

In third place, between the targets with different schools levels sexual harassment practices that involve unwanted physical contact arise.

Finally, it should be noted that the practices of sexual harassment which are embodied in quid pro quo harassment (even they represent a residual expression) are more common between targets with higher educational attainment (about 4.1%) than with lower educational attainment (1.3% among targets with secondary education and 2.7% with basic education).

Figure 4-16. Breakdown of Sexual Harassment Practices grouped in dimensions by Educational Attainment (%)
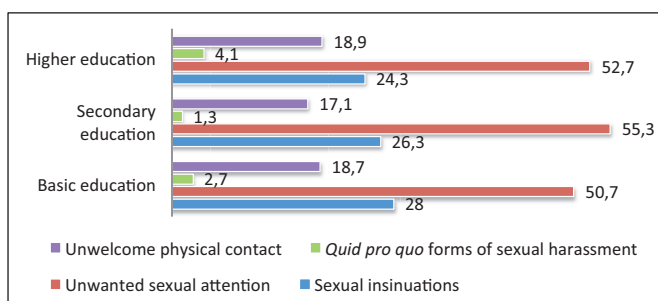
If we take a closer look, we see differences that must be taken into account in the way these dimensions of sexual harassment act on women and men. Firstly, women show a pattern of more homogeneous incidents of sexual harassment by educational

attainment, and that this pattern doesn´t differ much from the more global trend already identified: first, the forms of unwanted sexual attention, second the sexual insinuations, third the unwelcomed physical contact and finally (with an almost residual expression) the *quid por quo* forms of sexual harassment. In turn, male targets reveal experiences of sexual harassment with important nuances according to their educational attainment: for the overwhelming majority of men with basic and secondary education unwanted sexual attention is the most common experienced form of sexual harassment, 68.2% and 66.7% respectively. However, it appears that the *quid por quo* forms of sexual harassment of 4.5% of the cases of harassment suffered by men with basic education disappears among men with secondary education and is replaced by forms of harassment related to unwanted physical contact (13.3%). Among men with higher education unwanted sexual attention ceases to represent the majority of cases (down to 45.5%), losing importance in the face of the growth of situations related to sexual insinuations (36.4%), to *quid por quo* forms of sexual harassment and to unwelcomed physical contact (both representing 9.1%).

Figure 4-17. Sexual Harassment Practices grouped by dimensions by Educational Attainment (Women) (%)
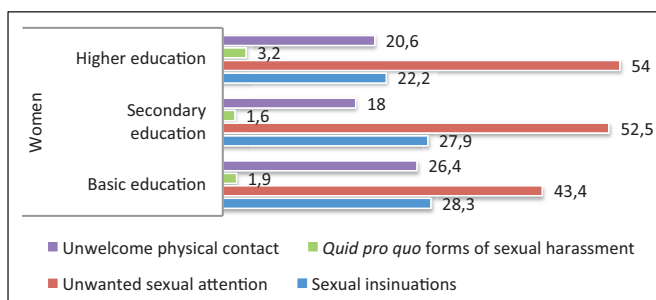
Figure 4-18. Sexual Harassment Practices grouped by dimensions by Educational Attainment (Men) (%)
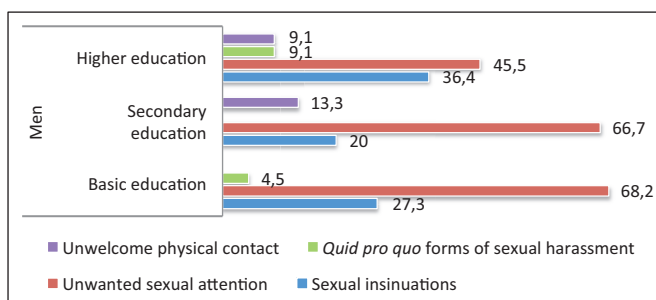
4.6. Sexual Harassment practices by size of Organisation

The size of organisations was considered by grouping them into four segments: organisations with 9 or less workers, organisations with between 10 and 49 workers, those with between 50 and 249 workers and those with 250 or more workers. This showed that situations of unwelcome physical contact are most common in the companies with the least workers (9 or less) (Figure 4-19).

It was also in smaller organisations (9 workers or less and organisation with between 10 and 49 workers) that male and female respondents most frequently reported situations of unwelcome sexual advances, at 51.9% and 61.4% respectively.

The size of organisations turns out to be a factor which increases exposure to sexual harassment. Small organisations predominate in Portugal's business fabric, where 61,4% of the surveyed population works (see chapter 1), and tend to be less open to and less able to obtain training or information on workers' rights, well-being in the work place and harassment (conceptual issues and practices). The possibilities of training and information depend on the existence of managers and directors, on time being effectively allocated and on space being found in the organisation of working processes. General figures show that smaller organisations normally have managers with lower levels of qualifications and educational attainment.

Figure 4-19. Frequency of Sexual Harassment, by Size of Organisation (%)
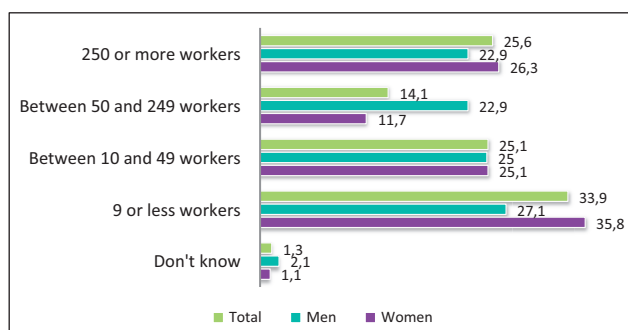
4.7. Sexual Harassment practices by economic sector

Analysis of the economic sectors in which the women and men surveyed work reveals a structure in which the tertiary sector is strongly represented. The majority of female respondents work in service sectors, with only 11.5% working in other sectors. The male respondents are better represented in the wholesale and retail sector (17.9%) and in manufacturing industry, electricity, gas and water (15.9%)

and also in construction (11.5%), contrasting with the very low figure for women in this sector (0.6%).

The economic sector in which situations of sexual harassment occur most frequently is, for women, the wholesale or retail sector (20.9%), the hotel, catering and similar services sector (14,1%), human health and welfare activities (12.4%), administrative activities (11.3%), education (10.2%), to refer only to situations where the proportion of responses per sector is greater than 10%.

For men, the sector where situations of sexual harassment occur most frequently is the hotel, catering and similar sector (14.9%), which is also the sector where the difference between the proportion of responses from men and women (14.1%) is negligible. The construction sector is a unique example of a sector where only men report harassment (12.8%) Manufacturing is also a sector where sexual harassment is more frequently reported by men (10.6% of men and 4% of women).

Figure 4-20. Frequency of Sexual Harassment, by Economic Sector and sex (%)
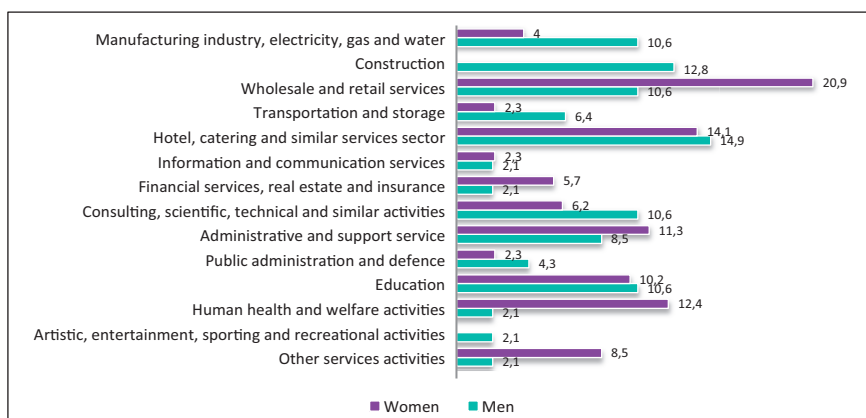
4.8. Sexual Harassment practices by type of contract

Employment arrangements which offer the worker less security, and therefore suggest greater vulnerability, are fixed-term contracts, no contract, and internships (paid and unpaid). Workers employed on one of these bases account for 54.5% of respondents who have been or continue to be targets of sexual harassment in the workplace. Analysis of these cases by sex show there are more cases of women in this situation than of men (Figure 4.21).

Figure 4-21. Frequency of Sexual Harassment, by Type of Contract (%)

Permanent contract — 45,5
Temporary contract — 49
No contract — 1,5
Paid internship — 1
Unpaid internship — 1,5
Don't know/no answer — 1,5

■ Sexual Harassment (M+W)

Roughly in line with the figures for the workforce as a whole, around half of female and male targets of sexual harassment in the workplace are employed on the basis of as permanent contract, although the proportion for women (44%) is lower than for men (51.2%).

The other female respondents (53.1%) and male respondents (48.8%) are employed on a basis which suggests a lack of job security, as well as greater vulnerability and dependency on the organisation/workplace. This distribution shows that most of the women and men experiencing sexual harassment are employed on a less stable contractual basis.

Figure 4-22. Frequency of Sexual Harassment, by Type of Contract and sex (%)

Permanent contract — 44 / 51,2
Temporary contract — 50,9 / 41,5
No contract — 1,3 / 2,3
Paid internship — 1,3
Unpaid internship — 0,6 / 4,9
Don't know/no answer — 1,9

■ Women ■ Men
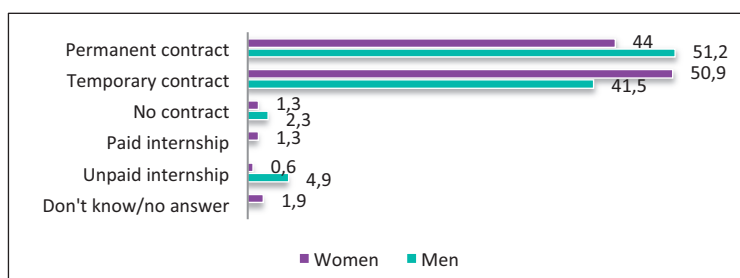
Looking closer at the two forms of employment contract most common amongst people subject to sexual harassment, we can see that unwelcome sexual advances and *quid pro quo* harassment are slightly more frequent amongst individuals on fixed-term contracts than those on permanent contracts. In turn, unwelcome sexual advances and sexual innuendo are most common amongst people on permanent contracts.

In effect, considering only individuals experiencing sexual harassment in the workplace in the two most frequent forms of employment arrangements, we find

that 53.8% of harassment targets employed on permanent contracts and 51% of harassment targets on fixed-term contracts report situations which fall within the dimension of unwelcome sexual advances.

Sexual insinuations are the second largest type of sexual harassment experienced by targets employed on the basis of contracts of these two types: 29.7% for employees on permanent contracts and 27.6% for those on fixed-term contracts.

Unwelcome physical contact is reported in third place, with 15.4% for employees on fixed-term contracts and 17.3% for employees on permanent contracts.

Lastly, *quid pro quo* forms of sexual harassment are of negligible importance, and were most commonly reported by men and women on fixed-term contracts (4.1%).

In order to understand sexual harassment in the workplace we have to take into consideration two dynamics of fundamental and structural importance: gender-organisation and gender-sexuality. The phenomenon of sexual harassment is associated with gender-specific regimens which structure organisations and workplaces. The gender regimes are produced where two fundamental forces intersect and reinforce each other: the hierarchical lines along which work is organised, and the gender ideology, or the wider established gender order, which defines what a male worker or a female worker should be and which restrict the place of one or the other in society and the world of work. In essence, these are two mechanisms that produce and reinforce an unequal distribution of resources and powers between people.

It should also be stressed that sexual harassment in the workplace results, at least in part, from an effect of reproduction or mirroring effect, which imports into the specific interactional setting of employment relation the situation produced at the intersection between gender ideology and sexuality in society in general. In other words, conceptions of how men and women should behave from the point of view of their sexuality are implicit in sexual harassment in the workplace. And the main idea implicit in this harassment is that of the double sexual standard and the normative expectations that, in very general terms, attribute sexual hyperactivity to men and sexual containment to women.

This has two material consequences: the workplace is another of the multiple interactional and social settings in which people live their lives and sexuality is one of the dimensions of this social life marked by inequality and gender ideology. One particular way of seeing how these two vectors act in producing sexual harassment in the workplace is to look at the perpetrators of situations of sexual harassment experienced by men and women in Portugal.

The findings require us to consider the situation most widespread in the employment market which is that of the predominant type of employment contract. This situation, more than the actual setting, might be turning into a factor that encourages harassment by leaving male and female workers more vulnerable to situations of sexual harassment because they are dependent on their hierarchical superiors and managers, who are the most frequent perpetrators of sexual harassment, as shown by our research findings. This creates a vicious circles based on power relations - in an occupational setting - which extends to the power to prevent or discourage, indirectly, the targets of sexual harassment from claiming their rights. In Portuguese society, work is a source of income and of personal satisfaction and self-realisation. Employment contracts which create situations of dependency and subordinate the rights of workers need careful reconsideration.

Contract type is an indicator of job precarity insofar as it reflects situations of fragility in the contractual bond between employer and workers.

The findings reflect the permeability to harassment generated by specific types of employment contracts. Given that situations of sexual harassment are normally connected to situations of bullying, a worker's vulnerability in her job, resulting from a particular type of contract, appears to increase her vulnerability in hierarchical relations within organisations.

4.9. Perpetrators of Sexual Harassment Practices by hierarchical position in organisation

Sexual harassment in the workplace reinforces hierarchical power within organisations. The most frequent perpetrators of sexual harassment are hierarchical superiors or managers (Figure 4-23). These perpetrators (male and female) harass women and men. Around 45% of women identify their hierarchical superiors and/or managers as perpetrators of sexual harassment and around 33% of men also identify as perpetrators of sexual harassment their hierarchical superiors and/or managers. Power exercised through functional hierarchies is therefore connected to approximately 1/3 of cases of sexual harassment.

In the hierarchical scheme of employment relations, hierarchical superiors occupy the top position in organisations; managers, on the other hand, occupy intermediate levels on the hierarchical ladder.

The most frequent perpetrators of sexual harassment in the workplace are hierarchical superiors and/or managers. When the target of sexual harassment is a woman, the perpetrators are her hierarchical superiors or managers in 44.7% of cases. The harasser is a co-worker in 26.8% of cases and suppliers/clients/users in

25.1% of cases. Perpetrators who are other persons in the organisation or hierarchical inferiors present a negligible frequency, at 1.7% of all cases for each.

When the targets of sexual harassment are men, this landscape changes. The first thing to note is that the perpetrators are more dispersed, and much less concentrated in hierarchical superiors than in the case of female targets of sexual harassment. In the case of male targets of sexual harassment, hierarchical superiors or managers are the perpetrators in 33.3% of cases, co-workers in 31.3%, clients, suppliers or users in 29.2% and hierarchical inferiors in 6.3%. Although this last figure is much lower than the others it is interesting to note that hierarchical inferiors are more frequently responsible for the sexual harassment of men than of women..

Figure 4-23. Hierarchical position in organisation of harassers and targets, by sex (%)
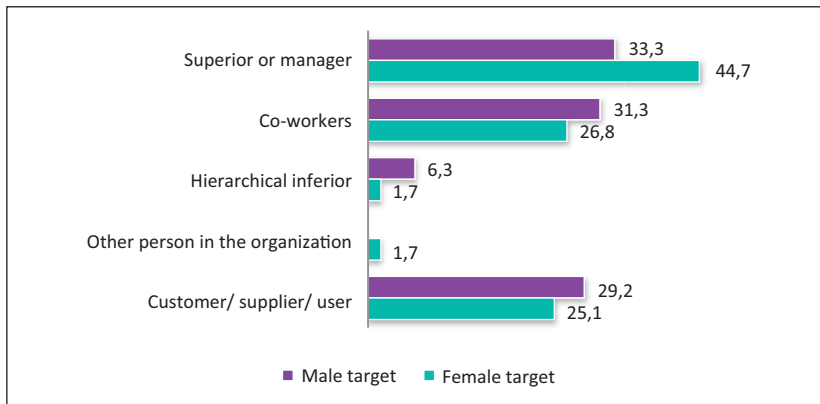
Hierarchical positions in organisations and the relative power associated with this position may give the person in this position the feeling that they can legitimately exert power over their subordinates and are legitimated to harass others - the harasser imagines he or she has legitimacy to harass, a power legitimated by the position he or she occupies (Crain and Heischmidt, 1995).

4.10. The influence of the working environment and trust in relationships over sexual harassment practices

The working environment was assessed subjectively by the respondents. A series of assertions were presented and the respondents were asked to identify their position by using a scale ranging from complete disagreement to complete agreement. In relation to the statement "Closeness to/trust in hierarchical superior(s) is a feature of my working environment", individuals who reported situations of sexual

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harassment perpetrated by hierarchical superiors showed a tendency to assess their working environment by choosing an intermediate position on the opinion scale. A large percentage (34.4%) of respondents neither agree nor disagree with the statement presented when applied to hierarchical superiors or managers. This vagueness in classifying their working environment suggests that relational closeness and/or trust in relationships is more important in relation to co-workers than in relation to hierarchical superiors or managers..

Figure 4-24. Degree of agreement with the sentence "Closeness to/trust in hierarchical superior(s) is a feature of my working environment" of targets of sexual harassment perpetrated by hierarchical superiors or managers (%)
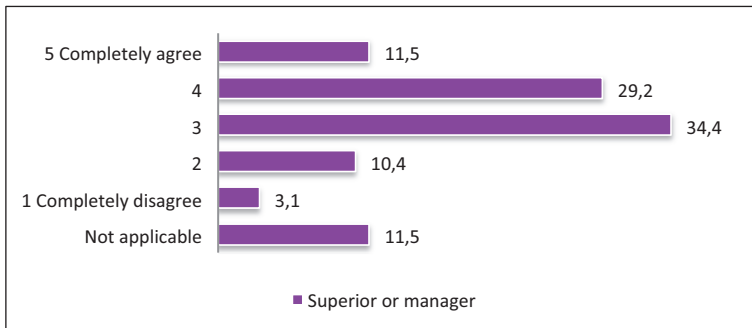
The situation becomes clearer when the respondents assess their working environment in relation to their co-workers. As the graph clearly shows (Figure 4.24), male and female respondent position themselves more explicitly in relation to the same statement, with most agreeing (49.2%) and completely agreeing (30.2%) with the statement – accounting for 79.4% of responses.

Figure 4-25. Degree of agreement with the sentence "Closeness to/trust in co-workers is a feature of my working environment" of targets of sexual harassment perpetrated by co-workers (%)

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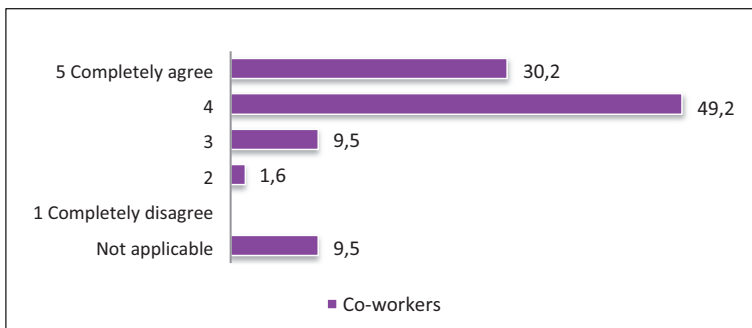
It is interesting to note that, in comparison with the findings of the first national survey of sexual harassment of women in the workplace, relations based on trust and closeness between co-workers appeared to indicate in some way that trust encourage the occurrence of situations of situations of sexual harassment - insofar as most of the perpetrators of harassment identified by women were co-workers, whilst in 2015 they are hierarchical superiors or managers.

4.11. The current workplace as the main locus of sexual harassment

The situations of sexual harassment reported by women occur in their current workplace (in 65.4% of situations), and less than half occurred in a previous workplace (34.6%).

In the case of men, although a large proportion of situations of sexual harassment occur in their current workplace, this cannot be considered as most of such situations as they account for little more than half (52.1%). This is important because it allows us to establish that, proportionally, more female respondents stay in their workplace, even when they experience sexual harassment, in other words, when they have to put up and deal with sexual harassment in their daily lives.

Figure 4-26. Sexual Harassment Practices in the current or previous workplace, by sex (%)
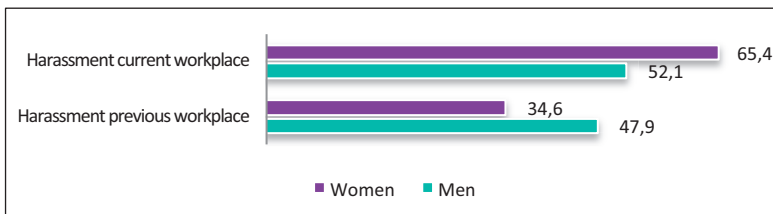
4.12. Reactions to Sexual Harassment

4.12.1. Immediate forms of reaction
Immediate reaction is deemed to encompass a range of possible ways of reacting immediately to a sexual harassment practices experienced as offensive. This means that the forms of immediate reaction presented and analysed here occur in relation to any of the sexual harassment practices and in relation to any perpetrator of these practices.

Forms of immediate reaction vary depending on the sex of the respondent, and the association between these variables is statistically significant ($p<0,05$). Analysis

of the findings by sex show that more women (52%) than men (31.3%) immediate show annoyance at a practice they find offensive; also more women (30.7%) immediately confront their harasser, telling him/her not to do it again; more women (27.4%) than men (10.4%) immediately show they have taken offence; and albeit in this instance to a lesser extent, more women (17.3%) than men (14.6%) display great annoyance. The indicator reported more by men (50%) than by women (22.9%) is to pretend not to notice what has happened. Unlike all the reactions referred to above, this reaction reflects a degree of passivity, although it reveals that the individuals have noticed the situation, perceiving it to amount to sexual harassment. Even so, they do not immediately show they are offended, unlike women (p<0,05).

Interestingly, between men and between women it is more frequent for targets to pretend not to notice the situation of harassment when the perpetrators are co-workers (33.3% of men and 29.3% of women), than when the perpetrators are hierarchical superiors or managers (20.8% of men and 24.4% of women).

Figure 4-27. Immediate reaction to sexual harassment practices, by sex (%)
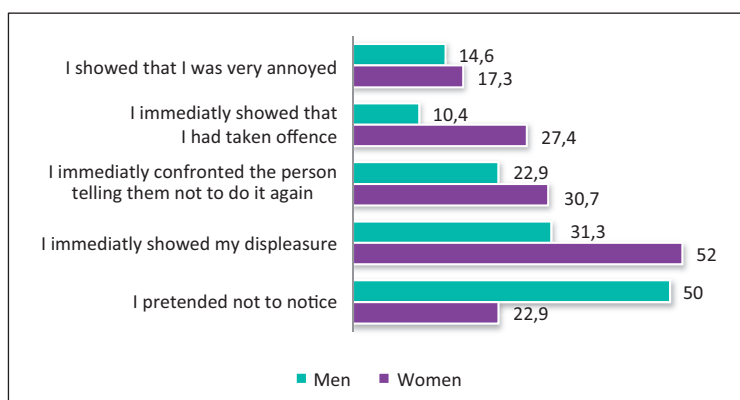
These findings reinforce the comparative analysis in the chronological dimension, between the findings from the 1989 survey and those of the new research, reflecting women's greater awareness of their rights, which may be reflected in behaviour that signals their displeasure in relation to sexual harassment.

In 2015, women are found to be more aware in general in relation to sexual harassment. However, women's awareness does not reflect the lack of awareness displayed by employers concerning the importance of the quality of working relations for compliance with the constitutional principle of dignity in work (Article ... of the Portuguese Constitution), also clearly expressed in labour law.

Of women who immediately express displeasure when targeted by sexual harassment, approximately half are or have been the targets of sexual harassment by hierarchical superiors or managers (46.2%), almost 30% by people with whom they have working relations but do not belong to the workplace (clients, suppliers and users) and 28% by co-workers. It should be noted that their immediate reaction does not appear to be inhibited by their position of hierarchical dependency - at least not so much as a seems to happen in the case of men.

Among men who immediately show their displeasure at the situation, hierarchical superiors or managers are also the most frequent perpetrators, followed by co-workers, clients, suppliers or users, in order of decreasing frequency. However, immediate reaction is less frequent in the case of men. Employment relations and gender relations permeate the type of reaction and whether the reaction is immediate or not. Both women and men confront their hierarchical superiors or manager, but women do so more than men.

There are probably factors at an individual level, reinforced by factors that increase the perception of security. In the case of Carla, an excerpt from whose interview is cited below, her description permits an analysis of how the reaction to sexual harassment appears to be influenced by a combination of factors, and perhaps reinforcement between them. To the question: "How did you react?" she replied:

> *Aggressively, because I am aggressive, although I might not look it at work… I don't know whether I look it or not, but I'm naturally aggressive. (…) I told everyone so they would all know: "Look that one did this and that" (…) If I wasn't that sort of person, if I didn't have support from my family, if I had a houseful of children to support, I don't know how I would have reacted. That's why I think we should sound the alarm, warn women and men not to let themselves be intimidated and to be rude if necessary, but not to let themselves be intimidated, because sometimes we have to be ruder than they are.*
>
> <div align="right">(Carla Antunes, 63 years old,
Hospital administrator, legal adviser).</div>

4.12.2. Non-immediate forms of reaction

Non-immediate forms of reaction differ from immediate forms of reaction because of a time lag between the sexual harassment practice and the reaction by the target. This may be connected to forms of reaction which occur outside the workplace, such as seeking counselling or information. But it may also be connected to forms of reaction which occur in the workplace, but which require time to accomplish and, perhaps, for the target to decide, for example, to apply for a transfer or to leave their job.

A breakdown of data by sex shows that the most frequent reaction for men (47.9%) and women (60.3%) is to hope that it won't happen again. This is a reaction which

involves watching the behaviour of the harasser but without reacting in advance, i.e. without seeking to prevent a future situation of sexual harassment. The data shows that female respondents, more than male respondents, reacted by not holding the harassers to account, by hoping that the situation would not be repeated. In this case the burden of vigilance and expectation (albeit optimistic) is borne by the person harassed (Figure 4-28).

The next most frequent response in the case of men was to do nothing (37.5%), whilst only 11.2% of women gave this response. This finding suggests there are gender constraints, and that men have greater difficulty in reacting explicitly, probably because, in doing so they will have to admit to others, including the harasser, that they are the targets of sexual harassment. Admitting to this may be understood as a manifestation of weakness, affecting their masculinity and even their sexuality. This hypothesis is further reinforced when we see that men are sexually harassed by other men in 35.4% of cases. But this survey also shows that men are more frequently subjected to sexual harassment in the form of jokes about their appearance or body and frequent comments about their personnel lives. It is less frequent for men to talk to others (co-workers, persons with influence in the organisation or shop stewards), which might mean that this would oblige them to admit to a fact they regard as undermining their masculinity.

Figure 4-28. Non-immediate reaction to sexual harassment practices, by sex (%)
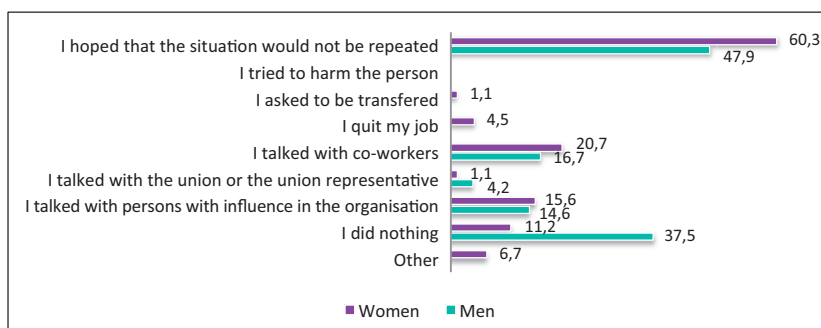
In cases where men speak to people with influence in the organisation, possibly seeking protection in situations of sexual harassment to which they are subject, the frequency of responses differs little from that for women (24.6% for men and 15.6% for women). However, more women (20.7%) than men (16.7%) talk to their co-workers about the situation. These forms of reaction are connected to the trust which men and women say is a feature of their working environment. On the other hand, seeking protection from co-workers may be interpreted as a reaction that serves little purpose, in contrast to seeking support.

Reactions which lead to leaving the job or working elsewhere (transfer), altering the relationship between the harasser and target, occurred only in the case of women, at 4.5% and 1.1% respectively.

The excerpts from interviews of women who report experiences of sexual harassment illustrate each of these reactions, and shed some light on the surrounding process. The following passage from an interview illustrates the situation of a female worker in the health care sector, in an organisation belonging to the national health service. This worker sought transfer to a different workplace after experiencing continuous sexual harassment by the same perpetrator over some time. It should be noted that the worker was able to seek a transfer, because the workplace (in terms of the size of the organisation and economic sector) permitted this.

> *"It was more harassment of them coming over and groping me, there were propositions, I was just a young girl and everyone else in the hospital was older... (...) there were just two of us auxiliaries; there was a male nurse and another male nurse downstairs. There were two doctors in the emergency section, one of the female nurses was in the operating block, and the other was on the men's and women's ward and on the night shift I had a male co-worker who if he caught me there... then if I went to the bathroom we would wait outside the door, that was when I wrote to the management saying I didn't want to continue as a medical auxiliary, either they would transfer me to hospital Y or else in X I didn't want to go on working."*

> (Áurea Fonseca, 29 years old,
> 9th grade of education, Medical auxiliary).

It is worth point out that applying for a transfer is an option which is practically non-existent for workers in small organisations. An organisation with 9 or less workers will tend to be concentrated in one place, with only one person per function or type of occupation. This of course limits the possibility of workers being transferred.

4.12.3. Reasons explaining the reaction to sexual harassment

It is important to understand the reasons for individuals' reactions. Respondents were therefore asked to indicate why they reacted in the way they reported. It emerges that the reasons for reacting differently vary according to sex, with a statistically significant association ($\alpha2 =32,4$; p=0,09) between the form of reaction and belonging to the female sex.

In most cases (33.3%), men report having reacted to sexual harassment in the way they did because they didn't know who to turn to, whilst 19.2% of women gave this reason. This finding confirms the assessment of Eurofound (Giaccone and Di Nunzio, 2015) in relation to Portugal. Portugal is included in a set of Southern European countries (alongside Cyprus and Malta) and Eastern European countries (Estonia, Hungary and Lithuania) precisely because they have in common the fact

that they report a lack of information and little knowledge concerning harassment (in general).

Men and women present more similar frequencies of response when they explain their reactions by referring to fear of suffering professional consequences (25.6% of men and 26.4% of women). This reason points very explicitly to fear of hierarchical superiors and managers (the most frequent perpetrators of sexual harassment, as we have seen). Of the various reasons given, this is the most frequently stated by women, which suggests that fear may be felt most by female workers.

The reasons stated by women differ further from those indicated by men when fear is explicitly named. More women (15.2%) than men (10.3%) mention fear that other people will not believe their account and fear of dismissal (18.4% of women and 12.8% of men). According to Schoenheider (1986), sexual harassment reinforces the economic subordination of female workers. The case of Maria Lopes illustrates subjugation by a hierarchical superior through fear of professional reprisals:

> *"(…) and I was afraid, because of course he was my boss and I was afraid of reprisals, and I was still new there, I had been there less than a month, I still didn't know how it all worked, I was afraid of reprisals and fearful…"*
>
> (Maria Lopes; 25 years old;
> Degree in Media Studies; Sales officer)

The frequency of responses from men and women is closer when the reason stated for their individual reaction to sexual harassment is the advice received from other people for the targets of sexual harassment to keep quiet and do nothing (20.8% of women and 17.9% of men).

This reason points to the vulnerability felt in employment market relations. Personal vulnerability, due to belonging to the female sex, is a factor underlying the target's fear that their account will not be believed, whilst vulnerability in the context of employment relations is clear to see in the fear of suffering reprisals or even of dismissal. It is likely that these elements are mixed together when other people advise the targets of sexual harassment not to react.

Fear of dismissal is the most frequent reason when the perpetrator of sexual harassment is the target's hierarchical superior or manager: in the case of women this occurs in 69.6% of cases and in the case of men in 60%. These results appear to be in agreement with the results of international research that show that a woman who decides to fight against sexual harassment in the workplace can be destined to failure (Crain and Heischmiidt, 1995). Crain and Heischmiidt (1995) add that most of the women subjected to sexual harassment in the workplace, consider that they would only get additional adverse consequences for fighting against harassment.

Figure 4-29. Reasons explaining reaction to sexual harassment, by sex (%)
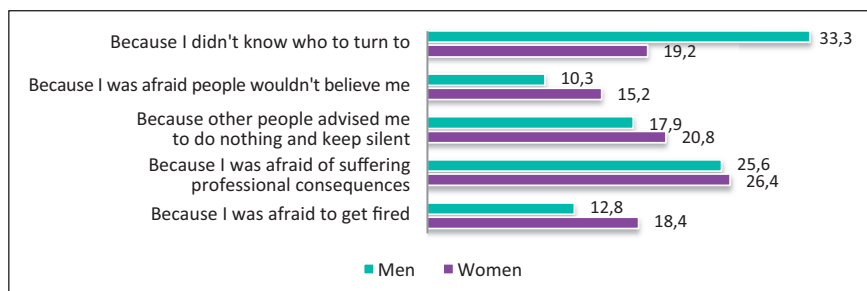
Not knowing who to turn to is most frequent in cases where the sexual harassment is perpetrated by co-workers or others (clients, suppliers or users). This explanation for reactions to sexual harassment is observed indiscriminately among men and women. A lack of knowledge or information appears to be more connected to situations of sexual harassment where the relationship between the harasser and target is not one of functional or hierarchical dependency (in the case of co-workers) or does not exist (in the case of third parties).

It is also worth considering that most organisations do not have clear arrangements for dealing with situations of sexual harassment, an also lack defined or clearly established procedures for reacting to sexual harassment. In view of this reality, the respondents are most likely right in saying they don't know who to turn to. The factor at stake here is the lack of information. To the extent possible, it is also worth comparing the responses from the women in the survey by Amâncio and Lima (1989) and in the present study.

From 1989 to 2015, women clearly shifted their form of reaction to situations of harassment towards immediate and explicit confrontation of the perpetrator. Whilst in 1989, less than 25% of the women surveyed said they immediately showed their displeasure, in 2015 the percentage rose to (slightly) above 50%. Although the changes after 25 years are not so clear in relation to immediate confrontation of the harasser, even so the women who immediately confronted the person harassing them in 1989 represented 21% of the sample, whilst in 2015 they accounted for nearly 31%.

In line with this, the proportion of women reporting that they immediately showed they were offended also increased. In 1989, 18% of women reported having this reaction, whilst in 2015 this figure had risen to nearly 28%. Proportionally less represented as a reaction, but nonetheless revealing of a change in the reactions of women to situations of sexual harassment from 1989 to 2015 is that of showing great annoyance. Whilst in 1989 10% of women said they had shown great annoyance, in 2015 the proportion had risen to approximately 17%.

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The changes in women's reactions in 2015 show a more explicit response, involving confrontation of the perpetrator of sexual harassment. This type of reaction represented a larger proportion in 2015, just as the findings pointed to a smaller proportion of women pretending not to notice the situation of sexual harassment. Whilst in 1989, 49% of women reported that they pretended not to notice the harassment, in 2015, this figure fell to 23%.

In short, the changes are clear and may be related to the status of women in the employment market and also to their relationship with the workplace. In addition, speaking more generally, the level of educational attainment of female workers in Portugal increased from 1989 to 2015, and the topic of harassment is more commonly spoken of in society. Equality is a value regarded as important by women and men in Portuguese society today, which we have to admit may also influence what is admitted and what is not admitted in interaction.

Another situation that needs to be understood is that raised by situations where professional relationships are mixed in some way with relations of protection and quasi-paternalism. A long-established employment relationship, which starts at an early phase in life, based on ties of trust and loyalty, may also increase vulnerability to harassment and, in addition, also make it harder for the worker in recognising that he or she is being the target of sexual harassment.

The case of Anabela illustrates situations of this type:

> *"When I was working in the restaurant, the boss was always making comments about my body, and making invitations that weren't at all normal… We could meet, we could go out, your life could be better, think about it, when shall we go here and when shall we go there, and the woman, who was his wide, didn't have to know..."*
>
> (Anabela Ferreira, 43 years old,
> 7th grade of education; Waitress in a restaurant).

When asked to rationalise the situation of sexual harassment, the respondents present distinct rationalisations. Disrespect is the most frequent response from women (58.1%), compared to only 37.5% of men who interpret what happens to them by referring to a lack of respect.

The case of Anabela fits into this rationalisation of sexual harassment. In her discourse in the interview she refers to the advice given to her harasser:

> *"I told him to shut up or I'd tell his wife... but I never actually did, I never said a word... I was afraid no one would believe me, I went as far as saying "be careful", but it was no good."*
>
> (Anabela Ferreira, 43 years old,
> 7th grade of school education, waitress in a restaurant).

Around 1/5 of women then report that the sexual harassment occurred because women are subject to these things in the workplace. The men who explain the situation of harassment by saying that women are subject to these things in the workplace represented approximately 6%. So women and men tend to interpret their social position in the market and specifically in the workplace in different ways, the women considering they are in a position of greater vulnerability, and are subject to sexual harassment as a result of being women.

It is interesting to not that more than 30% of men (31.3%) say they are unable to explain the harassment and approximately 8% (8.3%) identify the situation of sexual harassment as bad luck. Proportionally less women than men (8.9%) said they were unable to explain what happened and only 0.6% of women explained it by calling it bad luck. This analysis points to the importance of reflecting on how men and women interpret sexual harassment in the workplace.

It is more frequent for women to consider that abusive relations of hierarchical dependency lie at the root of sexual harassment situations (3.4% of women and 2.1% of men).

The interpretations offered by men and women also differ when personal factors are evoked. Men rationalise the episode of sexual harassment by referring to their own physical appearance and friendliness, in other words, holding the harasser less accountable than women do. Whilst 12.5% of men said the situation of harassment occurred because of their congeniality and good looks, only 6% of women (so less than half the proportion of men) referred to this as an explanatory factor.

In addition, the proportion of men responding that they like to dress attractively was slightly higher than for women.

Figure 4-30. Reasons for sexual harassment, by sex (%)
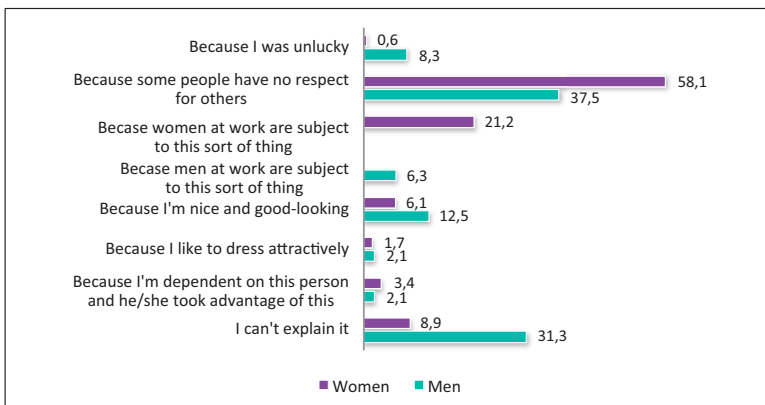
4.12.4. To whom do the targets of sexual harassment in the workplace turn?

Friends and co-workers are the people to whom the victims of sexual harassment turn most for support. In seeking emotional support (someone to talk to), the targets of sexual harassment in the workplace are largely guided by affective ties, and above all by ties of friendship Friends are the people chosen by 37.4% of women and 45.8% of men when they seek to talk about the sexual harassment they have experienced.

It is interesting to realize that in a situation of sexual harassment, women and men most frequently choose co-workers of the same sex to talk about the matter than members of their families - 36.9% of women talk with their co-workers and 35.8% with their family. In the case of men, 37.5% of targets talk to their male colleagues and only 18.8% talk with their family.

More women than men tell their partners about the incident. More men than women opt to keep quiet and talk to no one about the sexual harassment they have experienced.

It is also worth mentioning that the take-up rate for more institutional forms of support was low for both female and male targets of sexual harassment (although higher for men than for women): institutions (CITE, ACT, unions) or lawyers.

Figure 4-31. The persons to whom do the female and male targets of sexual harassment turn (%)

Friends — Women 37,4 / Men 45,8
Family — Women 35,8 / Men 18,8
Partner — Women 22,3 / Men 12,5
Senior company manager — Women 13,4 / Men 8,3
HR Department — Women 3,4 / Men 4,2
Male co-workers — Women 12,3 / Men 37,5
Female co-workers — Women 36,9 / Men 6,3
Institutions (CITE, ACT, unions) — Women 3,4 / Men 6,3
Lawyer — Women 1,7 / Men 4,2
Other — Women 1,7
No-one — Women 19 / Men 25

■ Women ■ Men
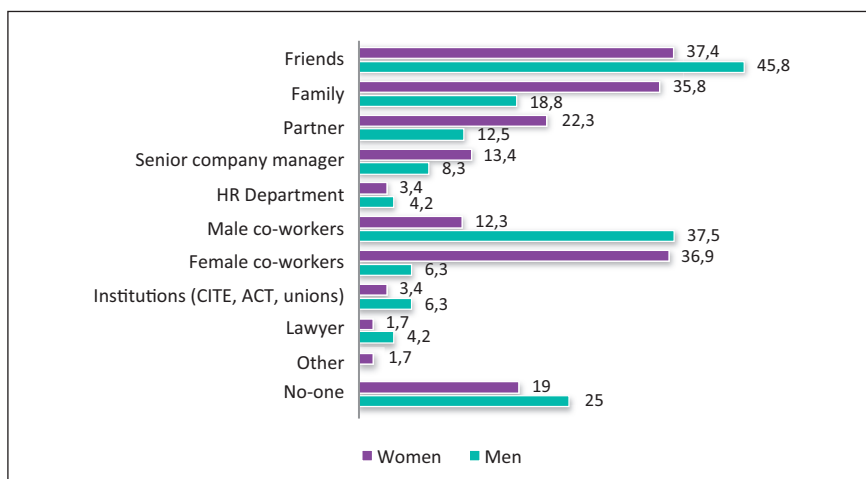
The findings of this survey suggest that personal factors and contextual factors, including situational factors, interfere with how the harassed person reacts and the harm they feel.

This means that people use different strategies to cope with sexual harassment, so the responses to situations of harassment should consider this fact to admit that not everyone enforces the law to protect their rights, not everyone seeks support to cope with the consequences of harassment situations and nor does everyone face up to harassment situations. This difficulty in facing up to harassment situations may represent an even greater exposure and vulnerability.

Despite being recognised as a practice existing within organisations, the issue of sexual harassment is often silenced. The victims of sexual harassment not infrequently display attitudes of shame, as well as ignorance of the legislation and procedures, or even fear of reprisals or losing their jobs (Hearn and Parkin, 2001).

The research findings support the idea that sexual harassment is experienced in silence and in isolation: 20.3% of the sample (women and men) who said they had had at least one experience of sexual harassment also said they had not spoken to anyone about the matter. Analysing this finding by gender we find that 25% of men and 19% of women kept silent about their experience of harassment. This finding suggests that the fear of being stigmatised or of worsening the consequences of sexual harassment, for either their personal life or their professional life, are factors which influence their reaction of not telling anyone about the occurrence.

In short, the research findings reveal a series of characteristics which can be acknowledged as standard, insofar as they have also emerged from studies conducted in other countries. In addition, the findings of this study also confront us with challenging situations, which highlight the need for a response to situations of sexual harassment from the existing systems and procedures.

One of the findings which challenges the classic responses to sexual harassment is the clear perception of the seriousness of sexual harassment, explicitly identifying the component forms of conduct, as well as the need to maintain a relationship with an employer who/which is responsible for the existence of harassment situations in the workplace. This finding points to the crucial need for debate on the dependency existing between employers and workers and reveals the insufficiency of the complaint and investigation procedures supporting the targets of harassment and the employer, so that it can eliminate these situations. Inspections are necessary occasional, brief and focussed on a wide range of areas, meaning that they fail to reveal situations where, due to dependency, people who feel threatened in their job tend not to denounce the problem.

In addition, there is also a time lag between the systems and procedures designed and put into operation in periods of normal economic relations in the market, and acute but shorter-lived situations of economic crisis, triggering unemployment and a tendency for tacit social acceptance of working conditions and/or workplace relations of a lower quality.

Chapter 5

Bullying

In this chapter we shall assess workplace bullying – as defined in chapter 2 – in Portugal, on six distinct levels. In the first place, we are concerned most with people's perceptions of workplace bullying, assessing how clearly women and men identify potential bullying situations. The focus then turns from attitudes to the specific practices constituting workplace bullying, describing the most frequent practices. Thirdly, we set out to describe the uneven basis on which targets are subjected to different types of bullying, depending on their stage in life or in their career. We will then endeavour to describe and understand the intersection between educational attainment and bullying in the workplace. The fifth priority is a description and assessment of workplace bullies. Our analysis of workplace bullying in Portugal closes with an analysis of how the persons harassed react.

However, before moving on to the first of these sections of observation, description and analysis, we should recall that the concept of workplace bullying, as proposed here, breaks down into four major dimensions (social isolation, profession persecution, intimidation and personal humiliation) which, in turn, break down into a number of specific indicators, in a process of operationalisation and analytical orientation to which the proposals of Heinz Leymann (1996), among others, have contributed.

The dimension of social isolation corresponds to the indicators 'isolating or cutting off the target from superiors' and 'isolating or cutting off the target from co-workers'. The first of these, measures the social isolation caused by hierarchical superiors and managers, and the second assesses the isolation caused by co-workers. So one of the indicators measures a specific top-down form of vertical bullying, whilst the other makes it possible to assess horizontal bullying.

The professional persecution dimension breaks down into the following indicators: 'feeling they have been set impossible goals and deadlines', 'feeling that their work has been systematically disparaged' and 'feeling they have systematically and repeatedly been assigned inappropriate duties'.

The dimension of intimidation is assessed through two specific indicators of workplace bullying: 'being systematically threatened with dismissal' and 'being systematically subjected to stressful situations designed to cause them to lose control'.

Lastly, the fourth dimension of bullying has just one indicator, 'being systematically humiliated due to physical, psychological or other characteristics'.

5.1. Attitudes to bullying

Employment settings are arranged in hierarchical levels, each one corresponding to unequal access to power, authority and prestige. At the same time, bullying may be vertical (between different hierarchical levels, exploiting objective and symbolic inequalities) or horizontal (within a single hierarchical level). So it is important to understand whether there are differences in women's and men's conceptions perceptions of what constitutes bullying and concerning the seriousness that attribute to a set of potential bullying practices if they are perpetrated by bullies at different levels in the organisation (hierarchical superiors and managers, or co-workers).

When considering attitudes to workplace bullying, it is important to understand the perceptions not only of the respondents who have experienced this form of harassment, but also of all women and men, irrespective of their having been bullied themselves.

Contradicting the common discourse that reproduces the idea that workplace bullying is to vague, ambiguous or abstract notion, or one that lacks a clear and objective connection with concrete everyday practices and happenings in the world of work, what we find is that women and men actually have a very clear idea of what can constitute bullying in the workplace.

So we may see that for practically all the indicators with which they were confronted, irrespective of the perpetrator associated with them, at least 70% of women and men identified them with workplace bullying practices (Figure 5.1). One of the indicators of professional persecution (setting of unachievable aims and targets) by hierarchical superiors or manager was less widely recognised that the others, but even so it was still regarded as bullying by more than 60% of respondents, male and female.

The uniformity in the attitudes of men and women to workplace bullying is observed irrespective of these bullying practices being connected to social isolation, professional persecution, personal humiliation or intimidation (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5-1. Perceptions of bullying by hierarchical superiors or managers (%)

		Men	Women
Social isolation	Being isolated or cut off from co-workers	80,5	82,5
Professional persecution	Feeling they have been set impossible goals and deadlines	60	62,4
	Feeling that some co-workers' work has been/ is systematically devalued	74,9	80,7
	Feeling they have systematically and repeatedly been assigned duties innappropriate to their occupational category, with the intention to humiliate the worker	74,7	79,6
Personal humiliation	Being systematically humiliated due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation)	84,1	87,9
Intimidation	Being systematically subjected to stressful situations designed to cause them to lose control	76,9	82,1
	Feeling constantly threathened with dismissal	80,3	84,6

■ Men ■ Women

We should add that the clarity with which situations were identified as workplace bullying is not dependent on the potential perpetrators of these practices, or on their hierarchical position within the organisations in which they work. Instead, the respondents (male and female) reveal a vision of workplace bullying consistent with the idea that it can occur vertically or horizontally (Figure 5.2).

Considering only the indicators which make the responses on practices perpetrated by hierarchical superiors or managers compared with those perpetrated by co-workers, we can understand that the pattern of response from women and men is unchanged overall. Top-down social isolation is identified as bullying by 80.5% of men and 82.7% of women; when practised horizontally (by co-workers), it is identified as such by 80.6% of men and 83.7% of women. Professional persecution based on systematic disparagement of work by hierarchical superiors or managers is identified as a form of bullying by 80.7% of women and 74.9% of men; the same situation where the perpetrators are co-workers is classified as bullying by 76.3% of men and 80.1% of women. The indicator for personal humiliation also reveals very similar figures when the perpetrators are hierarchical superiors and when they are co-workers. When practised by the former, 84.1% of men and 87.9% of women had no doubt about classifying this behaviour as bullying; when practised by the latter, the figures are 84.6% for men and 88% for women.

Figure 5-2. Perceptions of bullying by co-workers (%)
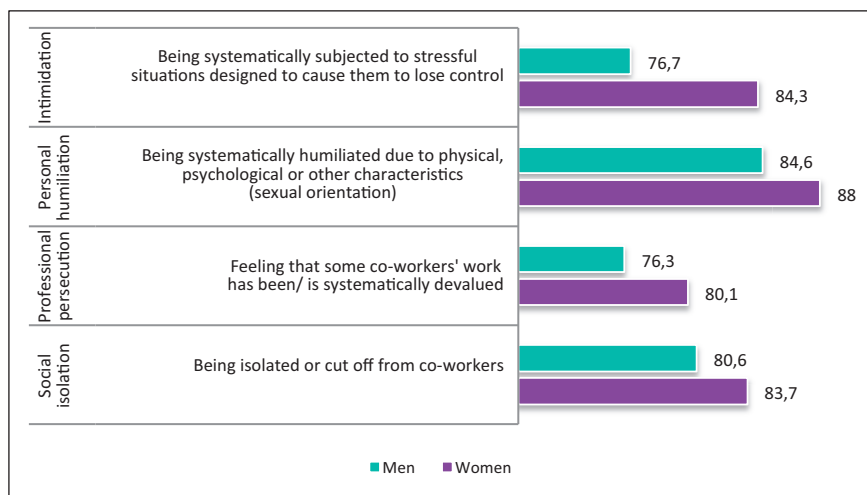
Although the figures for agreement with 'setting unachievable aims and deadlines' as a form of bullying are in the order of 60% for both female and male respondents, we should not neglect the difference in relation to the other indicators. In the first place, this form of bullying is only accessible to people with the power and authority to organise how work is carried out within an organisation. So, the lower figures for identification of this type of occurrence as a form of bullying may be related to the perception that it is, precisely, one of the attributes and powers of hierarchical superiors or managers. Secondly, it may refer to non-controllable or unpredictable dimensions of everyday work: urgent requests and emergencies with which any worker or organisation may have to deal. In the third place, the lower level of agreement may be related to the fact that the situation could point to problems of labour organisation, to issues of time or human resources management, rather than being interpreted as a form of bullying or a form of professional persecution of a specific worker or group of workers.

Women reveal less doubts than men about the type of practices which may constitute active forms of workplace bullying: a higher percentage of women than of men identify the different situations as forms of bullying. Even if these differences are not statistically significant, they are sociologically relevant, in particular because they provide important interpretative and explanatory clues.

In the first place, they appear to reveal a clearer perception by women of their rights as workers and citizens, indicating also that women are less tolerant of these situations of abuse and psychological violence at work.

In the second place, because this tendency is observed irrespective of whether the practices involved consist of social isolation, professional persecution, personal humiliation or intimidation.

And thirdly, because these situations are identified as objective forms of bullying irrespective of being brought about by persons within the professional hierarchy with a special level of authority, power or ability to supervise work (hierarchical superiors or managers) or else by co-workers with whom they establish horizontal working relations.

5.2. Bullying in the workplace: practices

Around one sixth of the Portuguese working population (mainland Portugal, excluding the primary sector of economy has been the target of bullying in the workplace at least once in their working lives. More specifically, 16.5% of the respondents has persistently and repeatedly experienced some sort of unwelcome and abusive behaviour with a humiliating or offensive content.

Comparing these findings with the average figures for other European countries leads to the conclusion, as with sexual harassment, that the numbers in Portugal are very high. The figures for *Bullying and Harassment* recorded by the *European Working Conditions Survey* pointed to an average of 4.1% (Eurofound 2015: 16).

Although most of the targets of workplace bullying are women, the forms of psychological violence which constitute this form of harassment also affect a significant number of men (15.9%), and indeed the difference between the sexes is not statistically significant. In this respect, comparing the findings with those for sexual harassment in Portugal, we should not forget that the incidence of bullying is apparently more equally distributed than that of sexual harassment. In other words, the difference in the incidence of bullying between men and women is less detrimental to women than that detected for sexual harassment. In the case of bullying, the difference is 0.8%, contrasting with a gap (to the disadvantage of women) of 5.8% for sexual harassment.

Figure 5-3. Frequency of bullying, by sex (%)

Total	16,5
Women	16,7
Men	15,9
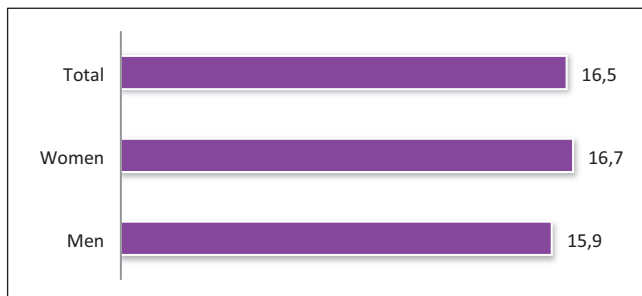
We will now look closer at the women and men who have been the targets of bullying in the workplace, seeking to describe and explain the situations they have experienced. In other words, the analysis will consider the experiences of 297 respondents: 89 men and 208 women.

Using the four major dimensions of bullying (social isolation, professional persecution, personal humiliation and intimidation), we can start portraying workplace bullying in Portugal.

The most frequent situations of workplace bullying in Portugal are intimidation (48.1%) and professional persecution (46.5%). The figures for situations of bullying belonging to the dimension of personal humiliation are relatively low, at 3.7% of the responses; the same happens with situations which are included in social isolation (1.7%), as can be seen in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5-4. Dimensions of bullying (%)
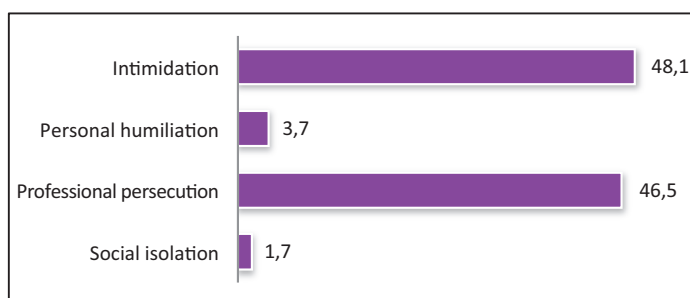
We know that gender has structuring effects on relationships and on the organisation of labour, which has led authors to affirm that work and organisations are gendered (Connell, 1987, 1998 and 2002; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Hearn & Parkin, 2001). It is therefore fundamental to understand whether there are differences between women and men in relation to these types of bullying.

Although the breakdown of figures for workplace bullying appears not to yield any fundamental distinction between women and men, the fact is that the figures reveal how gender acts in organisations, structures employment and working relations and defines forms of workplace bullying.

The proportion of women and men who say they have been the target of intimidation or professional harassment is relatively close. However, more women than men said they have suffered intimidation (49% of women and approximately 46% of men), and attention should be drawn to the fact that around half of all female targets of bullying experienced harassment in the form of intimidation.

We can also point out that the most frequent intimidation practice, for both men and women, is 'being systematically subjected to stressful situations designed to cause them to lose control', which is reported for 41.8% of women and 38.2% of men. Once again, the proximity between male and female targets of bullying hides more than it reveals.

Although these differences may appear mere details, the truth is that they are sociologically relevant. The higher incidence of intimidation, in particular that exerted by creating stressful situations designed to cause people to lose control, against women in comparison to that against men cannot be dissociated from a gender order (Connell, 1987) which prescribes a femininity limited by imperatives or normative expectations which define women as fragile, insecure, emotional and uncontrolled. In addition, being a woman continues to be strongly associated with the frequently naturalised performance of emotional and caring tasks. So the use of this type of bullying (intimidation) against women will, at least in part, be the product of the almost magical juxtaposition of the devalued vision of the other which regards women as incapable of acting or reacting, and the attempt to set boundaries to exclude women and keep them in the universe of caring tasks and the emotional sphere.

We may add that the fact that personal humiliation ('felt systematically humiliated due to physical, psychological or other characteristics') is more frequent among female (4.3%) than among male (2.2%) targets of bullying in the workplace is related to this general vision of womanhood as a place of fragility and resigned acceptance.

In turn, expectations of maleness and masculinity are commonly associated with ideas of reason, self-assurance, strength, self-control and control of others and of the person's setting (Connell, 1987 and 2005; Kimmel, 1994; 1996 and 2005; Seidler, 1997 and 2006), distancing men from an inability to act or react. In addition, to be adequate as a man involves satisfying the requirements of professional success (Connell, 1987, 2002 and 2005; Kimmel, 1994; 1996 and 2005). So in an occupational setting, like in other wider social settings, being a man means not being a woman (Kimmel, 1994). Taken to its logical conclusion, this means that the bullying to which men are subject, rather than excluding and intimidating them, in order to distance them from the locus of production, instead implicitly transforms work into a scenario or arena where men compete over their masculinity. In other words, workplace bullying might be just one more card in the pack used to play the game of being a made (which is not to say it is a game that anyone wants to play, or that bullying is natural, normal or acceptable for men).

So it is not surprising that the number of male targets of professional persecution is higher than that of female targets (approximately 49% of men and 45% of women), accounting for around half of male targets of bullying.

The fact that the frequency of situations of systematic disparagement of work is higher for women (31.3%) than for men (27%) subject to bullying in the form of professional persecution reinforces the idea that workplace bullying corresponds, at least in part, to calling on a non-egalitarian gender ideology based on a doctrine of separate spheres which exclude women from the universe of production and the world of work. For women, bullying in the form of systematic disparagement of their work signifies reproduction and exposure to others in the world of work (all workers, male and female) of the idea that women are unsuited to the world of work and are incompetent due to their inherent irrationality. In the case of male targets of this form of bullying, the aim is to bring them objectively closer to the feminine universe, belittling them on two counts: professionally and in the competitive arena of masculinity.

The forms of bullying through professional persecution where men can be found more frequently than women cause men to lose status in the competitive framework of work and masculinity. Setting unachievable deadlines and targets, which affects 15.7% of male targets of bullying and 9.1% of female targets, immediately limits the man's capacity to claim professional success and thereby achieve prestige professionally and in the field of masculinity. The same appears to happen with the allocation of tasks unsuited to the target's occupational group, which affects 6.7% of male targets of bullying and 4.8% of women, insofar as this form of harassment signifies objective and symbolic demotion which is visible in the organisation, visible to the eyes of all the target's male and female co-workers or people with whom he or she has working relations.

In brief, underlying the types of bullying to which women and men are most commonly subjected in the workplace is the general view that to be a woman points to a place of fragility and resigned acceptance. In contrast, to be a man is more generally associated with an aggressive and competitive stance.

Figure 5-5. Dimensions of bullying, by sex (%)

130
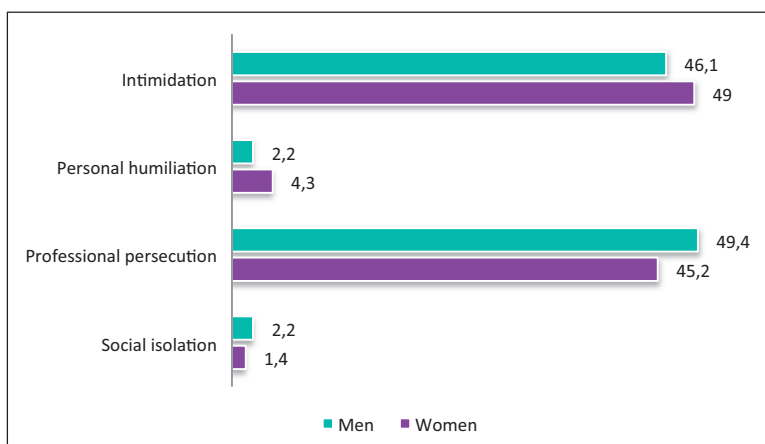
It is surprising to find that, of the four dimensions of bullying, social isolation is the least significant, insofar as these forms of bullying are those which are often the most visible to society through the media because they are all too often accompanied by turbulent and violent processes, which are ultimately intended to bring about the termination of the worker's employment contract, causing his or her rights to be either lost or diminished.

> *"The management…, this company doesn't accept sick leave, doesn't accept maternity leave, doesn't accept anything like that... I was off for 2 months because of an accident at work, and when I came back they leaned on me heavily for 2 months for me to leave, the pressure was intense for me to go and they didn't want to give me anything, just unemployment benefit, it's what often happens here". (…) I started to hear things I never imagined I would: "your dismissal's been ordered", so what this means is that someone ordered my dismissal, but without spending money, without wanting to take responsibility for this (...) they fired loads and loads of people like that, in a way that allowed them to claim unemployment benefit, it was that or nothing, that was the line they took and most people accepted it".*

<div align="right">

(Manuel Cristo.
Health and safety officer).

</div>

Forms of bullying that involve social isolation are more frequent among men than among women. Even so, it should be noted that isolation by co-workers (horizontal), preventing or hindering contact by male or female workers with their superiors is a situation experienced only by women.

Figure 5-6. Indicators of bullying, by sex (%)
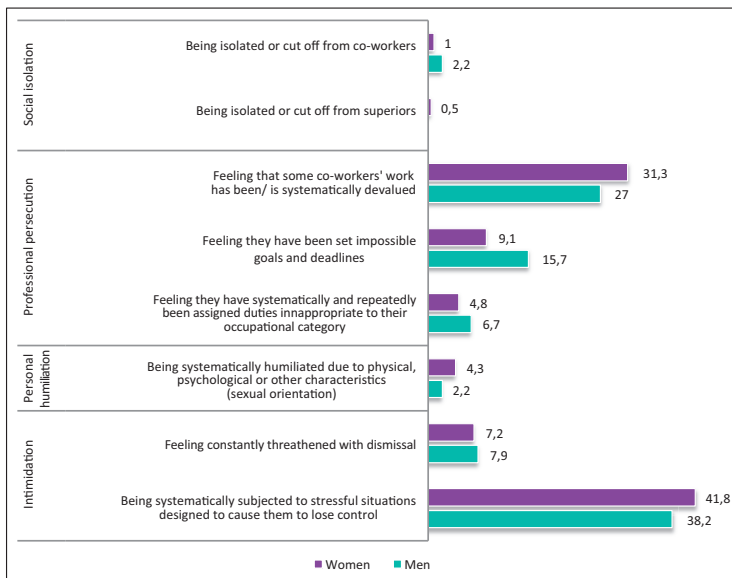
5.3. Bullying, age and work

We will now seek to understand when workplace bullying occurs. In other words, our analytical focus will now shift to the location of bullying situations within the targets' lifetime, identifying the age at which this occurs and connecting events and biographical factors (Mills, 2000). This type of analysis is all the more relevant if we bear in mind that different ages in life (age groups) correspond to stages in professional careers, so that this location helps us to identify possible critical moments for the occurrence of bullying over the course of an individual's working life. In general terms, and imposing (for the sake of analysis) a linear form on life and occupational courses which are increasing complex and post-linear, characterised by insecurity and successive steps forward and back (Pais, 2001 and 2009), we can consider the youngest age group (24 years and under) as corresponding to the phase of transition to the world of work and professional life, the group aged between 25 and 34 as the phase of settling in, the group aged between 35 and 44 as the phase of professional growth and, lastly, the oldest age group corresponding to the phase of professional consolidation.

By starting with this very general picture we are able to highlight two fundamental points. Firstly, we can see that the age group in which workplace bullying most frequently occurs is between 25 and 34 years, in other words, the phase of settling into the world of work.

Secondly, it should be underlined that situations of workplace bullying in Portugal are found at early stages of people's occupational path, ie during the transition to the world of work or during the phase of settling into working life. Workplace bullying situations occur up to the age of 34 years, representing 51.5%.

Taking place during the phases of transition and settling into the world of work, it can easily be envisaged that bullying functions as a factor not only constraining the individual's occupational present, but also pointing to an uncertain future. In other words, at these stages in a person's occupational path, bullying will be an additional source of instability with objective effects and with a potentially structural impact for the future of the worker, insofar as it will affect her or his growth and career development.

Combined analysis of these two age groups is justified insofar as they correspond to career path phases with a number of shared features.

Transition to the employment market and the phase of settling into the employment market have in common the instability resulting from a mismatch between the possibilities for integration in the employment market and personal expectations constructed over prolonged educational paths. These are ages and occupational

phases which still share the instability generated by the progressive deregulation of the employment market and labour legislation, resulting in insecure employment arrangements. Lastly, they are ages and phases in career paths which are particularly vulnerable to unemployment, in particular to the pressure from high rates of youth unemployment.

However, we should note that the young age at which bullying situations occur in Portugal contrasts with the tendency revealed by other international studies, including that of Hirigoyen, which point to the percentage of bullying increasing in precise proportion to age, the highest levels being recorded among individuals aged over 45 years (Hirigoyen, 2002:83) – the age group where the frequency of bullying is lowest in Portugal (18%). This difference should also be viewed in the context of the historic moments to which the studies refer: Hirigoyen's research was conducted during a period especially characterised by processes of restructuring and cuts in resources in large companies in France, and these are process which affect older workers in particular.

Figure 5-7. Frequency of bullying, by age group (%)
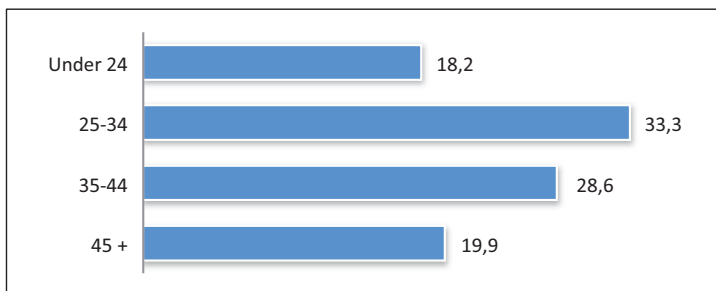
If we take this analysis further, it may be observed that half the women (51.9%) and men (50.5%) who suffer bullying in the workplace belong to the two younger age groups, i.e. aged 34 years or less. In other words, workplace bullying affects the majority of women and men at a relatively early phase of their career paths: during the phase of transition to or installation in the world of work.

The phase of transition to the labour market, i.e. the age group of individuals aged 24 years of less, is that which records the lowest frequency of bullying of women. The occurrence of bullying in the transition to the labour market phase is more common among men (24.7%) than among women (15.4%) who have at some point experienced workplace bullying. At the age of transition to the labour market, bullying only takes the forms of professional persecution and intimidation. A majority of men in this age group are affected by intimidation practices (54.5%). In contrast, a majority of women who experience bullying in the phase of transition to the labour market are subject to professional persecution (56.3%).

The phase of settling into an occupation (age group from 25 to 34 years) corresponds to the modal age for the occurrence of bullying directed against women, and accounts for 36.5% of all women who have at some point experienced workplace bullying. Of the women experiencing bullying in the age group and at this phase of their career path, the majority are subject to bullying based on intimidation practices (57.9%). For their part, a majority of men in the same age group are subject to episodes of professional persecution (56.5%), reversing the situation observed in the age group immediately below this one. We should also add that the frequency of bullying in the form of personal humiliation is low at the phase of settling into an occupation, accounting for 3.9% of situations experienced by women at this career path phase and 4.3% of bullying episodes experienced by men of the same age.

The modal age for the occurrence of bullying in men corresponds to the professional growth phase: this phase accounts for 31.5% of all cases of workplace bullying experienced by men (Figure 5.8). Half the men targeted by bullying between the ages of 35 and 44 are subjected to situations of professional persecution, 42.9% to situations of intimidation and 7.1% to social isolation. Women in the same career path phase experience bullying in the form of professional persecution (47.4%), intimidation (43.9%), personal humiliation (7%) and social isolation (1.8%).

We should not lose sight of the idea that bullying may function as a force blocking career growth and development for the women and men affected. This explanatory and interpretative clue becomes even more relevant if we take into consideration that (as we shall see below) the perpetrators of bullying are fundamentally hierarchical superiors and managers. In other words, individuals who have the resources, authority and power to block and unblock the professional growth of other individuals.

Lastly, the age group containing individuals aged 45 years or more is that where the least bullying occurs, accounting for only 18% of the total targets of bullying (Figure 5.8) or 20.7% of the women and 18% of the men who have at some point experienced workplace bullying (Figure 5.9). In this age group, half the men complain of having experienced situations of intimidation, 43.8% professional persecution and the others personal humiliation. These two main forms of bullying are also those which most affect women in the same age group and the same career path phase: 46.5% experience professional persecution and 44.2% intimidation.

Figure 5-8. Bullying, by age group (%)

Age group	Women	Men
Under 24	15,4	24,7
25-34	36,5	25,8
35-44	27,4	31,5
45 +	20,7	18

■ Women ■ Men
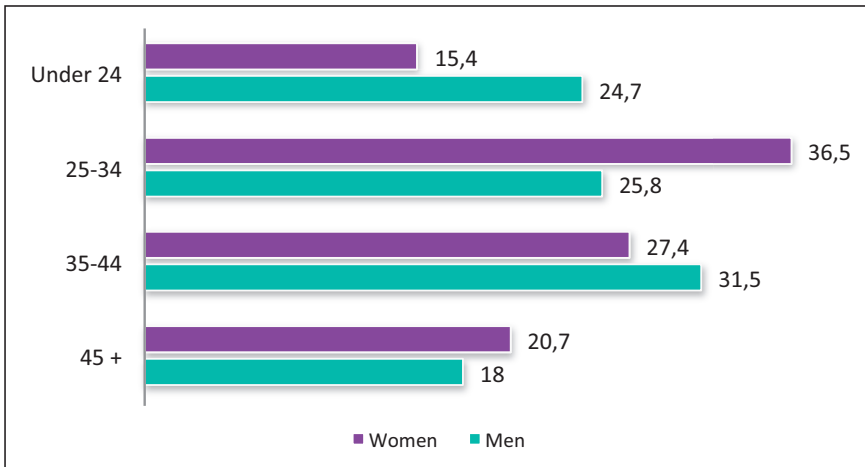
Figure 5-9. Bullying by age group, sex and type

Age group	Sex	Social isolation	Professional persecution	Personal humiliation	Intimidation
45 +	Men		43,8	6,3	50
45 +	Women	4,7	46,5	4,7	44,2
35-44	Men	7,1	50		42,9
35-44	Women	1,8	47,4	7	43,9
25-34	Men		56,5	4,3	39,1
25-34	Women		38,2	3,9	57,9
Under 24	Men		45,5		54,5
Under 24	Women		56,3		43,8

■ Social isolation ■ Professional persecution ■ Personal humiliation ■ Intimidation
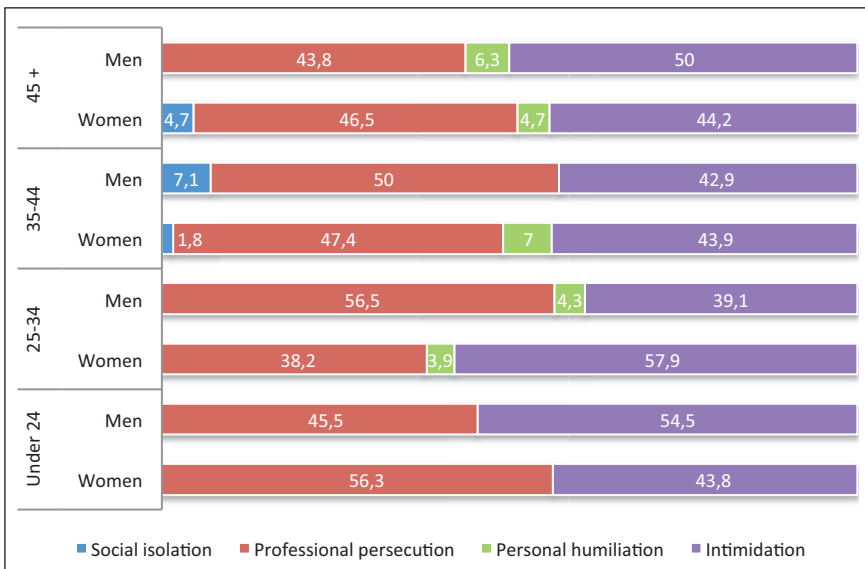
When seeking to analyse bullying, locating it at a time which is the product of a match between a given age group and a particular career path phase, it becomes necessary to describe and characterise in rather greater depth the objective conditions of this occupational life phase in which workplace bullying occurs.

This requires us to characterise and assess each of these phases which are simultaneously biographical, occupational and bullying phases, taking into account the lack of security in employment arrangements.

In keeping with tendencies detected in international studies that show that, in Europe, workers contracted on a permanent basis are less subject to abusive behaviour and harassment than those employed on fixed-term contracts (Eurofound, 2015), we can observe in the first place that a majority of female and male targets of workplace bullying are employed on a less secure basis, in other words: fixed term contracts (48.8% of men; 52.3% of women), no contract (2.3% of men; 1% of women) of paid internships (1.2% of men and 2.5% of women).

Figure 5-10. Bullying, by type of employment contract and sex (%)
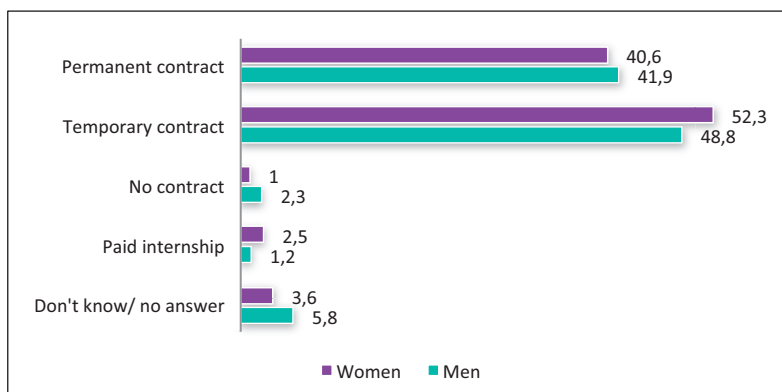
In the second place, it is clear that being subject to bullying at different ages has very different objective meanings, because as we turn our gaze from older age group towards younger groups, the proportion of individuals employed on an insecure basis increases.

In fact, the oldest age group (45 years or older) is the only group where bullying is mostly experienced by men in a phase of career consolidation characterised by secure permanent contracts (64.3%). In the case of women in the same age group, the percentage drops to 48.8%. In all other age groups, women and men experience bullying in career path phases - growth, installation or transition to the employment market - underscored by job precarity. For half (50%) of the women and men in the career growth phase (35 to 44 years), bullying occurs when they are employed on a fixed term basis. We can also add here the 1.9% of women with no contract, and approximately 7% of women and men who responded don't know/no answer, where the possibilities point to forms of severe under-employment and precarity. In the case of women and men at the phase of settling into an occupation (between 25

and 34 years), bullying occurs in a scenario where the majority enjoy little security, being employed on the basis of fixed term contracts (54.5% of men, 57.7% of women), paid internships (4.2% of women) or unpaid internships (4.5%). We should also not forget in each age range the women and men who either didn't know or didn't answer as to their employment basis at the time of being bullied. Lastly, job precarity is at its highest in the youngest age group, at the phase of transition to the labour market. For an overwhelming majority of these young women and men, workplace bullying occurs while they are experiencing job precarity, due to being employed on the basis of fixed-term contracts (45.2% of women and 59.1% of men), paid internships (6.5% of women), no contract (4.5% of men) or possible forms of underemployment or undeclared employment (which are consequently more vulnerable to abuse or harassment), which may be concealed among the 6.5% of women and 4.5% of men who either didn't know or didn't answer when asked about the contractual basis on which they were employed when they experienced bullying.

The situation is particularly serious in the case of younger age groups, because it is these which present the most situations of workplace bullying (50.5%aged 34 and under), as this scenario of hostility in the world of work and attack on their dignity coincides with the experience of belonging to a misled generation (Bourdieu, 1979). Misled, because their expectations of the future and of integration in the world of work, created over the course of long and successful educational paths, are not matched by the real possibility of transition to work or settling into the labour market. Misled because, as well as experiencing the hostility of bullying at early stages in their professional lives, and having to manage this experience when living with a situation of job precarity, these women and men have to cope with the paradox that they are the most highly qualified of all the age groups in which bullying occurs (Figure 5.12). We should point out that more than 60% of women and men in these two age groups (24 years and under and 25 to 34) have completed at least secondary education.

Figure 5-11. Bullying by age group, sex and type of employment contract (%)

Age	Sex	Permanent contract	Temporary contract	No contract	Paid internship	Unpaid internship	Don't know/ no answer
45 +	Men	64,3	21,4	7,1			7,1
45 +	Women	48,8	51,2				
35-44	Men	42,9	50				7,1
35-44	Women	40,4	50	1			7,7
25-34	Men	36,4	54,5			4,5	4,5
25-34	Women	35,2	57,7	1,4	4,2	1,4	
Under 24	Men	31,8	59,1			4,5	4,5
Under 24	Mulheres	41,9	45,2	6,5			6,5

- ■ Permanent contract
- ■ Temporary contract
- ■ No contract
- ■ Paid internship
- ■ Unpaid internship
- ■ Don't know/ no answer

Figure 5-12. Bullying, by age group, sex and educational attainment (%)

Age	Sex	None	Basic education	Secondary education	Higher education
45 +	Men		75	18,8	6,3
45 +	Women	2,3	58,1	18,6	20,9
35-44	Men		64,3	14,3	21,4
35-44	Women	1,8	36,8	36,8	24,6
25-34	Men		26,1	47,8	26,1
25-34	Women	1,3	26,3	36,8	35,5
Under 24	Men		31,8	54,5	13,6
Under 24	Women		37,5	21,9	40,6

- ■ None
- ■ Basic education
- ■ Secondary education
- ■ Higher education
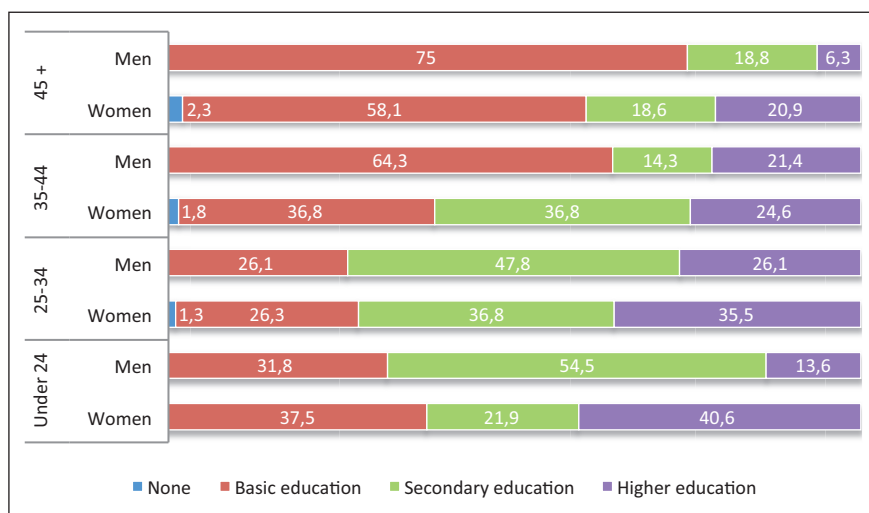
Workplace bullying is often associated with the power inequalities characteristic of personal and professional relationships, normally reinforcing the resourcelessness of individuals in weakest situations and with the least authority. In these cases, bullying is top-down. However, vertical bullying (between people occupying professional positions at different hierarchical levels in the organisation) can also occur in the opposite direction: bottom-up bullying.

The data shows that workplace bullying in Portugal is predominantly top-down, i.e., perpetrated on persons lacking any powers connected to positions of supervision, management or coordination. More precisely, 83.2% of targets of bullying had no supervisory responsibilities in their work, meaning that only 16.5% occupied positions of responsibility in the organisations in which they worked or work. We should add that these targets of bullying account for 11.2% of the total female and male workers who have responsibility for supervising or coordinating work teams.

Of male targets of bullying, 14.6% occupied positions with responsibility for coordination or supervision, whilst among female targets, this percentage rose to 17.3% (corresponding to 8.2% of male workers and 12.9% of female workers and respondents with these professional responsibilities). This difference reinforces the idea that bullying can be used as a practical means of penalising women in the world of work, with the effect of excluding them. This accords precisely with our observation that women are more frequently the target of situations of intimidation than men. We may now understand that bullying serves to distance women from positions with supervisory responsibilities. At least in part, these women are targets of bullying because they occupy positions which are not recognised as being legitimately theirs (McLaughlin, Uggen &Blackstone, 2012). Observing these characteristics of bullying is to a significant extent like looking at the reverse side of the vertical segregation established in the world of work: bullying as a factor in the glass ceilings that affect and block the professional careers of women.

It should also be noted that, although most of the women and men in these circumstances are in charge of teams of up to 10 workers, it is more common to find these female targets of bullying supervising smaller teams than the male targets. Likewise, the percentage of women responsible for supervising teams of between 11 and 20 or more than 20 workers and who are the targets of workplace bullying is approximately double that of male targets of bullying who occupy similar positions at work.

**Figure 5-13. Targets of bullying responsible for teams of workers,
by sex and size of team**
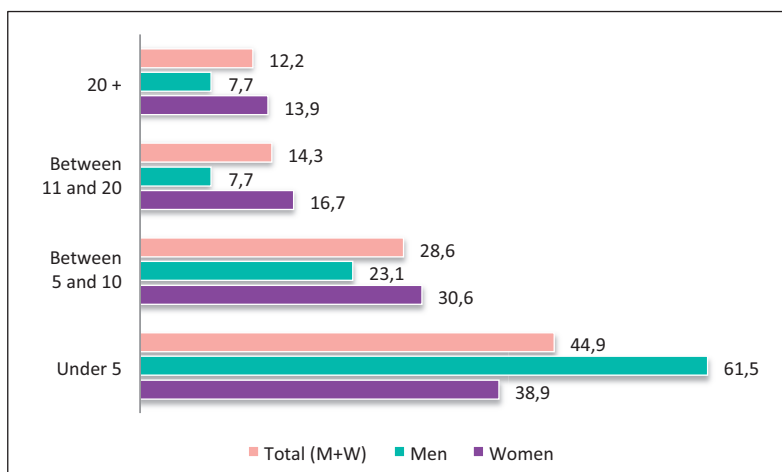
Overall, we can say that workplace bullying occurs more frequently in economic sectors belonging to what we could call the service economy. In other words, the highest figures for the frequency of bullying are recorded in the wholesale and retail sector, and in the hotel, catering and similar sector.

Also at a relatively generic analytical level, we find that, considering the economic sectors in which workplace bullying occurs in Portugal, it is possible to understand that a (non-statistical) relationship exists between what is called horizontal segregation of labour and bullying. In other words, in traditionally female-dominated sector, we find more bullying of women (administrative and supporting services, or in the education sector). In contrast, in male-dominated sectors, bullying is more frequent among men (for example: construction or manufacturing industry).

The economic sectors most representative of bullying experienced by women are: hotel, catering and similar (16.9%); wholesale or retail (16.4%); administrative activities and supporting services (9.7%). The sectors where bullying is most frequent among men are: wholesale or retail (17%); hotel, catering and similar (15.9%); construction (12.5%).

Considering only the economic sectors most relevant for characterising the bullying experienced by women and men, we can take this analysis further and assess how age, career phase and economic sector intersect. The youngest age group still at the phase of transition to the labour market is most frequently subject to bullying

in the hotel and catering sector (45.5% of men and 32.3% of women). Of those who experience workplace bullying when still at the phase of settling into the labour market, we find that construction and wholesale/retail are the sectors where bullying occurs most frequently among men (17.4% in both sectors). In the case of women in this age group, hotel and catering is the sector where bullying is most frequent, accounting for 18.4% of women bullied between the ages of 25 and 34 years. For the group of women and men who experience bullying during the career growth phase (35 to 44 years), we find that the most common sectors for the occurrence of bullying are wholesale (19.3% of women and 14.8% of men), whilst in the case of men, construction is another relevant sector (14.8%). Lastly, amongst targets of bullying aged 45 years or over, at the career consolidation phase, a difference can be detected between women and men. Women experience bullying most frequently wholesale/retail and in administrative and supporting services (11.9% in each of these sectors).

Figure 5-14. Surveyed population, by economic sector and sex (%)
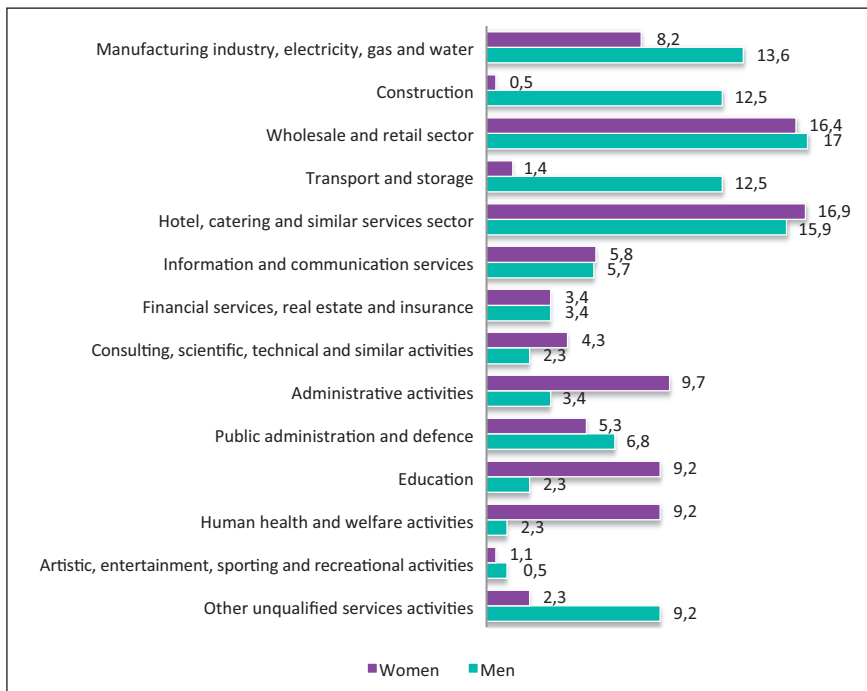
Figure 5-15. Bullying by age group, economic sector and sex (%)
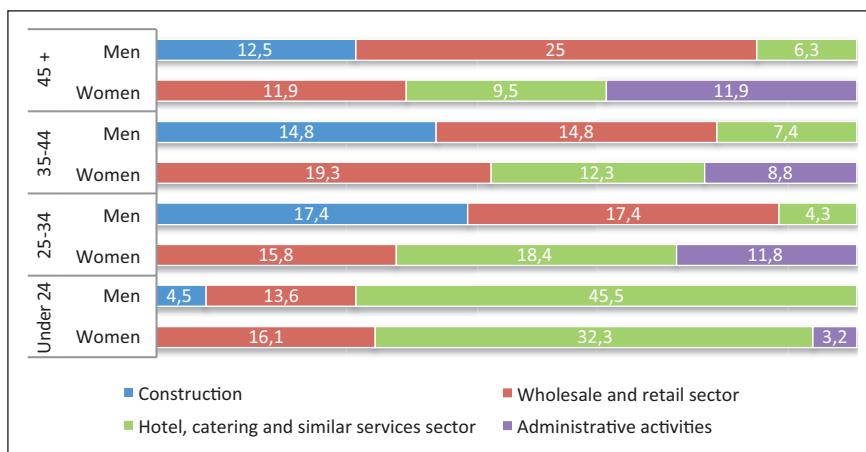
5.4. Bullying and educational attainment

To consider educational attainment when analysing workplace bullying in Portugal requires an analysis to be conducted on two distinct levels. In the first place, it is necessary to identify the level of educational attainment at which bullying occurs most frequently among male and female workers in Portugal. It is then necessary to characterise more precisely and in greater detail the level of educational attainment of the individuals (women and men) who have experienced situations of bullying.

Considering four levels of educational attainment (no educational qualifications and completion of basic, secondary and higher education levels), our overview showed us that education - completion of education at a higher level - does not act as a factor protecting individuals from bullying or exposing them to it. In other words, workplace bullying presents itself as a phenomenon which cuts across different groups, and is recorded with very similar frequencies at different levels of educational attainment amongst the female and male respondents. Specifically, female and male workers who have experienced workplace bullying at some point account for approximately 18% of the total individuals who have completed higher education or secondary education; the figure falls to 14.9% in the case of people who have only completed basic education. The apparently high frequency of bullying amongst female workers without any educational qualifications is explained if we consider that the figures refer to 14 women in the total sample and 3 female targets of bullying (Figure 5.16).

Figure 5-16. Proportion of individuals targeted by bullying by level of educational attainment (%)

	Was bullied	Wasn't bullied
Higher education	18	82
Secondary education	17,6	82,4
Basic education	14,9	85,1
None	21,4	78,6
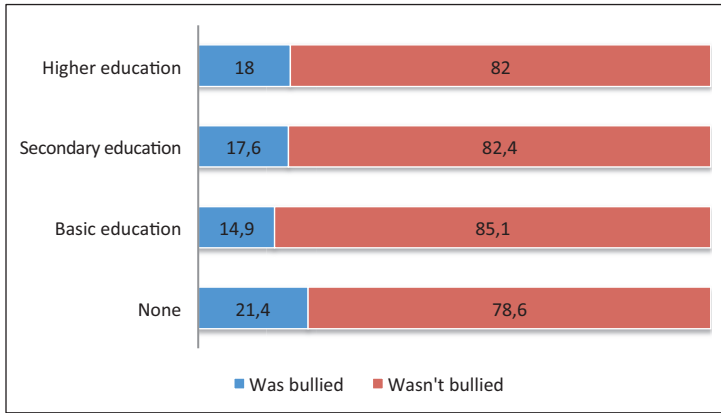
In view of the extremely significant proportion of bullying experiences represented by the dimensions of professional persecution and intimidation, it is no surprise that these two dimensions are the two main situations of bullying suffered by women and men irrespective of their level of educational attainment. It should also be noted that the distribution of types of bullying varies in accordance with level of educational attainment. For example, graduates from higher education are more frequently targeted by professional persecution than other workers. The exception is found in women without any educational qualifications, whose experiences of bullying are divided between intimidation and personal humiliation (Figure 5.17 and Figure 5.18).

Figure 5-17. Bullying by educational attainment and type of bullying

	Social isolation	Professional persecution	Personal humiliation	Intimidation
Higher education	1,3	51,9	2,5	44,3
Secondary education	2,1	47,9	4,3	45,7
Basic education	1,7	43	33	52,1
None			33,3	66,7
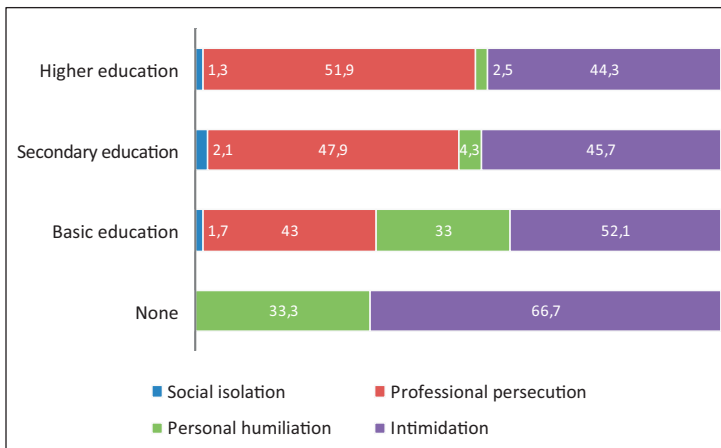
Figure 5-18. Targets of bullying by educational attainment, sex and type of bullying
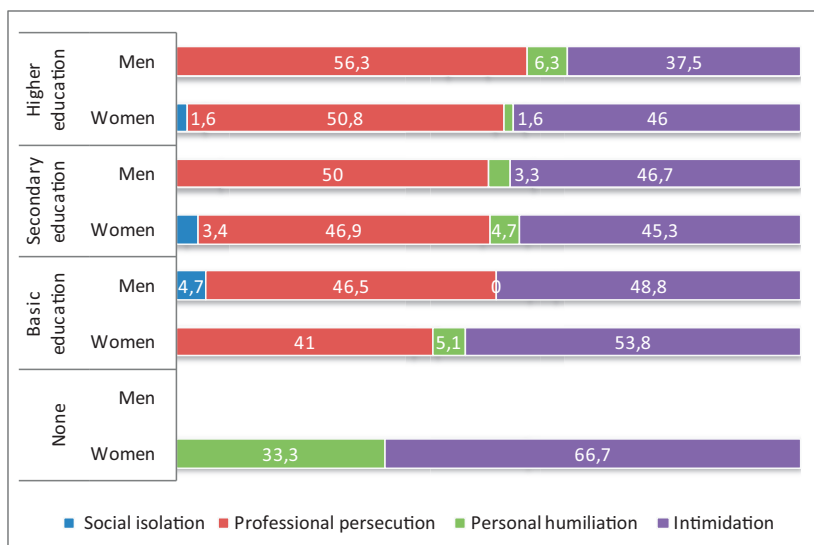
5.5. Perpetrators of workplace bullying

Whilst it is important to characterise the incidence of bullying, it is no less relevant to understand who are the people who bring about situations of workplace bullying. Who are the bullies? What hierarchical position do they occupy within the organisation or as employer? Are they men or women?

A preliminary reading of the data allows us to affirm that hierarchical superiors and managers are the main and most important perpetrators of workplace bullying in Portugal. These findings are in line with other research conducted into bullying in Portugal, albeit with more limited scope, which point to hierarchical superiors and managers as the main perpetrators of bullying (Roque, 2014).

The hierarchical position of the male and female perpetrators of workplace bullying reveals that bullying accentuates inequalities, including inequalities in socio-professional standing. Hierarchical and direct superiors are the main perpetrators of workplace bullying in Portugal. This fact is consistent and there is no fundamental distinction between women and men. In the case of women, 82.2% suffer bullying by their hierarchical or direct superiors, whilst in the case of men the proportion rises to 83.1%. The clear identification of hierarchical superiors and managers as the main perpetrators of bullying reinforces what we have already said about top-down bullying being the dominant form in Portugal.

Although with a much lower frequency than for bullying by hierarchical or direct superiors, co-workers are also perpetrators of workplace bullying, accounting for 12.4% of cases involving male targets and 13.9% of cases with female targets.

Hierarchical inferiors and other people working in the organisation or customers, suppliers or users are identified as the perpetrators of bullying in a negligible number of cases, for both male and female targets. The negligible frequency of this last type of bullying is inevitably associated with the fact that this type of perpetrator occupies a relatively peripheral position in the workplace, in principle limiting the possibilities for exercising certain specific forms of bullying. For example, it is difficult to imagine a hierarchical inferior or someone outside the organisation (client, supplier, use) being the perpetrators of bullying which involve assessing the target's professional performance, the capacity to intimidate or undermine the target's professional self-assurance.

Figure 5-19. Perpetrators of bullying, by sex of target (%)
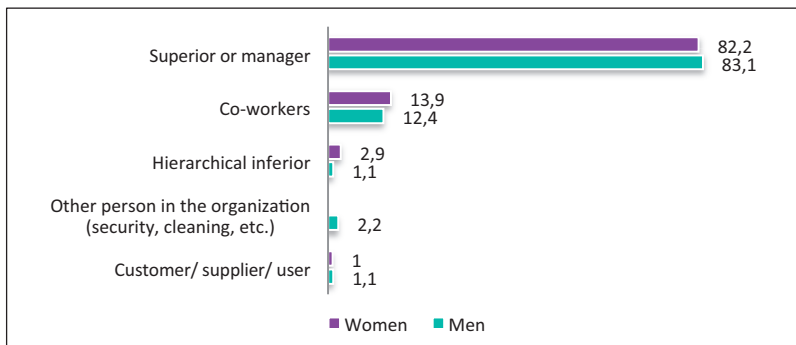
When analysing workplace bullying in Portugal it is important not to neglect that the identity of the perpetrator varies in accordance with the four main dimensions which constitute bullying.

Intimidation and professional persecution dimensions, which account for most cases of workplace bullying, are perpetrated primarily by hierarchical and direct superiors, in more than 80% of cases (rising to almost 86% in the professional persecution dimension). This is followed, with much lower figures, by co-workers as the second main perpetrators of bullying practices included under intimidation or professional persecution (representing 15.4% of all perpetrators using intimidation and 9.4% using professional persecution) (Figure 20 and 21).

It is important to recall that the nature of bullying practices involved in the dimensions of intimidation and professional persecution require the existence of a

relationship within a hierarchy in order to exist. This is the case, for instance, of systematic threats of dismissal, the setting of unachievable targets and deadlines and the systematic setting of tasks inappropriate to the target's occupational group. So it should be stressed that - either because of the relative importance of intimidation or persecution practices, or else because of the identity of the perpetrators of these forms of bullying - workplace bullying reinforces, and is reinforced by, inequalities in access to power and authority within organisations. In simple terms, positions within organisations which provide access to power and authority over others and their work authorise the use of bullying practices, and the restricted and exclusive access to these practices ends up reinforcing the dominant position of those using them.

Figure 5-20. Identity of bullies: professional persecution dimension (%)
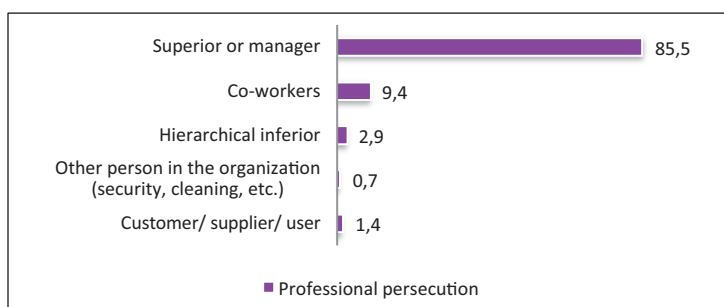
Figure 5-21. Identity of bullies: intimidation dimension (%)
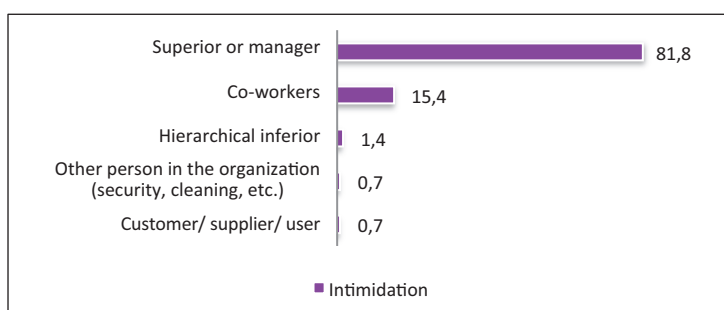
The social isolation and personal humiliation dimensions differ from the previous two dimensions.

Within social isolation, we find that hierarchical superiors continue to be the main perpetrators of bullying, but co-workers now account for 40% of situations (Figure 5.22). In the personal humiliation dimension, hierarchical superiors are, once again, the

main perpetrators (63,6%) and co-workers account for 27,3%. The main difference in this dimension, is that now hierarchical inferiors are identified in 9,1% of the cases, showing a figure that is much higher than in the other dimensions (Figure 5.23).

Figure 5-22. Identity of bullies: social isolation dimension (%)
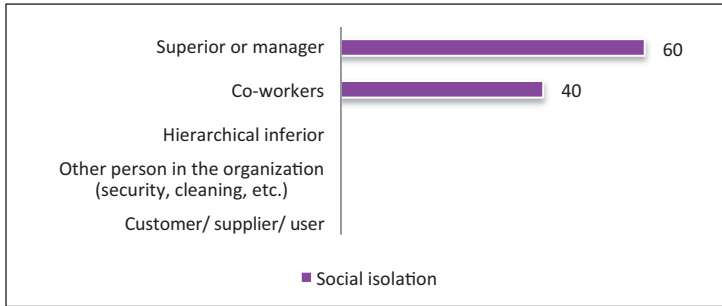
Figure 5-23. Identity of bullies: personal humiliation dimension (%)
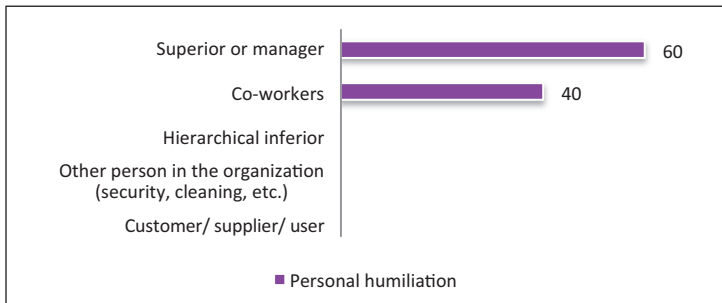
The gender perspective when analysing the perpetrators of workplace bullying is relevant because it helps to describe the phenomenon and the sociological relationship between two power structures (hierarchy and gender) concentrated in organisations with the ability to generate inequalities.

In a majority of cases (69.7%), workplace bullies are male. Women are the perpetrators of bullying in 30.3% of cases, less than half of those where the perpetrators are men (Figure 5.24).

Figure 5-24. Perpetrators of bullying, by sex (%)

Men — 69,7

Women — 30,3
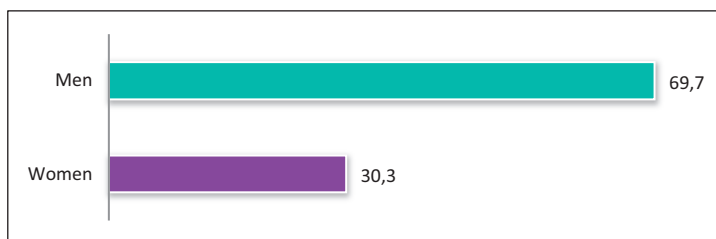
In the cases of female targets of bullying, we find that 62% of were victims of situations perpetrated by men, and only 38% of situations perpetrated by other women. In the main, women are the victims of bullying by men (Figure 5.25).

Men, on the other hand, are found to be the targets of bullying by other men (87.6%). So it may not be misplaced to consider that the bullying that affects men is largely related to the transposition of specific gender orders to the world of work. For instance, it is impossible not to understand these figures in the light of the dynamics for constructing and consolidating masculinity, involving the construction of a competitive field between men, setting criteria for establishing distinctions and a hierarchy. We can also observe the crossover between these specific dynamics relating to masculinity, and the associated competition and struggle for power, prestige and leadership and the specific forces of competition, productivity and professional success inherent in the way work is organised.

Figure 5-25. Perpetrators and targets of bullying,
by sex of perpetrators and targets (%)

Male perpetrator — 62 / 87,6

Female perpetrator — 38 / 12,4

■ Female target ■ Male target
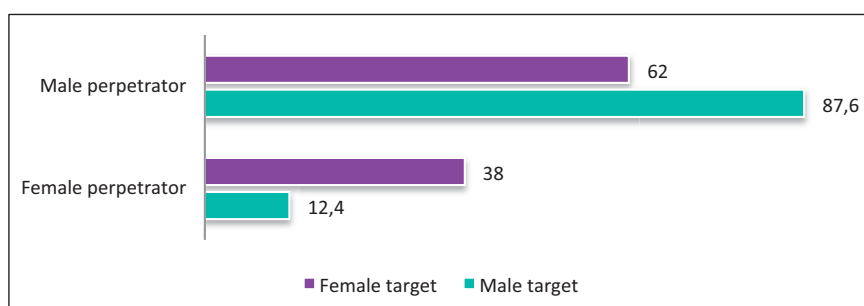
The most frequent perpetrators of workplace bullying are men and hierarchical superiors (both sexes). The connection between hierarchical position in organisations and gender tends to create vulnerabilities and inequalities which reinforce each other. It is therefore important to look more deeply to understand

how bullying manifests itself when the perpetrators are male hierarchical superiors and when they are female hierarchical superiors.

It should be stressed that male hierarchical superiors and managers represent the perpetrators of more than 75% of all instances of workplace bullying, except for the indicator systematic disparagement of work, where they account for almost 62% of all instances.

Despite this dominant tendency, we should not neglect the fact that female hierarchical superiors and managers are more frequently the perpetrators of bullying (although the respective percentage is always much less than for men) in cases of systematic disparagement of the work of others or systematic humiliation of others due to their physical, psychological or other characteristics.

Female hierarchical superiors or manager are most often represented in situations of systematic disparagement of the work of others (38.4%) and of systematic humiliation of others due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (28.6%). Thirdly, but still accounting for around one quarter of situations, it is women who systematically create stressful situations designed to cause the other person to lose control (24.5%) (Figure 5.26).

Figure 5-26. Indicators of bullying when perpetrators are male or female hierarchical or direct superiors, by sex (%)
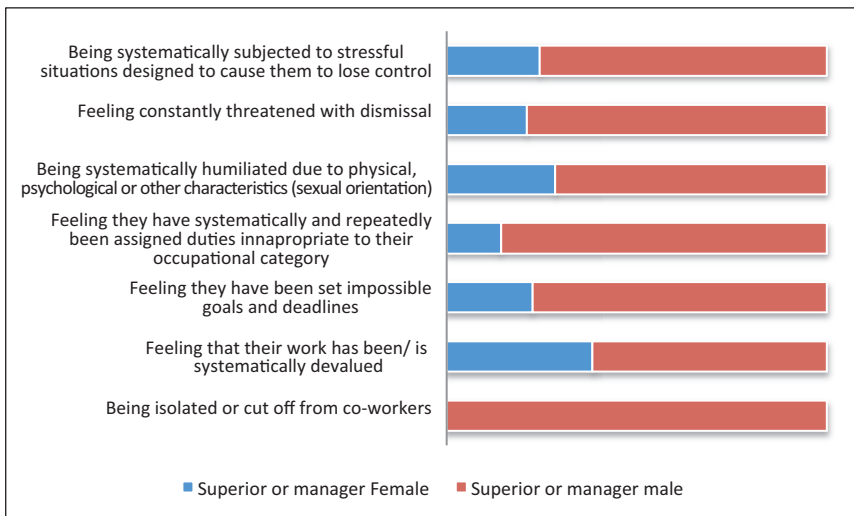
We are now is a position to add a further layer to the cascade of factors penalising the female targets of bullying. In effect, in addition to the reproduction of a gender

ideology that excludes women from the world of work inherent in the forms of bullying most commonly used against women (intimidation), to the experience of bullying at earlier stages in their career paths and to the high proportion of women (much higher than for men) with high levels of qualifications who are subjected to bullying, we can now add the fact that the overwhelming majority of bullies are men, occupy senior positions within their organisations (hierarchical superiors or managers) and choose women as their preferential targets.

In short, bullying amounts to reproducing inequalities in working relationships, and inequalities, in general, are based on one form of power, male power.

5.6. Consequences and forms of reaction

When asked about how they reacted to workplace bullying, the pattern presented by men and women is relatively similar. The most common reaction for both male and female victims of bullying was to hope that it wouldn't happen again: 42.7% of men and 40.9% of women have this reaction. Another common form of reaction is markedly passive: 22.1% of women and 21.3% of men say they did nothing. And talking to their co-workers: 24.7% of men and 20.2% of women. In fact, co-workers can take a central place in a support network for the targets of bullying (as we shall see below).

As the frequency of responses was very close for men and women, it should be pointed out that more women than men (respectively 18.3% and 12.4%) feel comfortable talking directly to influential people at work.

The form of reaction that points most clearly to an assumption of guilt or acceptance of bullying as an individual problem, which only the person involved can resolve, presents patterns of response. One the one hand, the most radical way of the target resolving the problem herself or himself, when there are no prospects for internal change in the organisation, will be to escape the workplace by quitting the job. This is a common reaction, displayed by 13.5% of men and 10.6% of women subject to bullying. On the other hand, only a negligible proportion of targets apply for a transfer (1.1% of men and 2.4% of women). We should add that the low frequency of transfer applications is unlikely to be unconnected to the fact that companies' internal policies have moved hardly at all towards zero tolerance of bullying, and that there are no guides to good practice or easily accessible suggested procedures for preventing and resolving bullying.

Figure 5-27. Action taken to deal with bullying, by sex (%)

Action	Women	Men
I hoped that the situation would not be repeated	40,9	42,7
I tried to harm the person	0,5	1,1
I asked to be transfered	2,4	1,1
I quit my job	10,6	13,5
I talked with co-workers	20,2	24,7
I talked with the union or the union representative	8,2	5,6
I talked with persons with influence in the organisation	18,3	12,4
I did nothing	22,1	21,3
Other	8,2	5,6
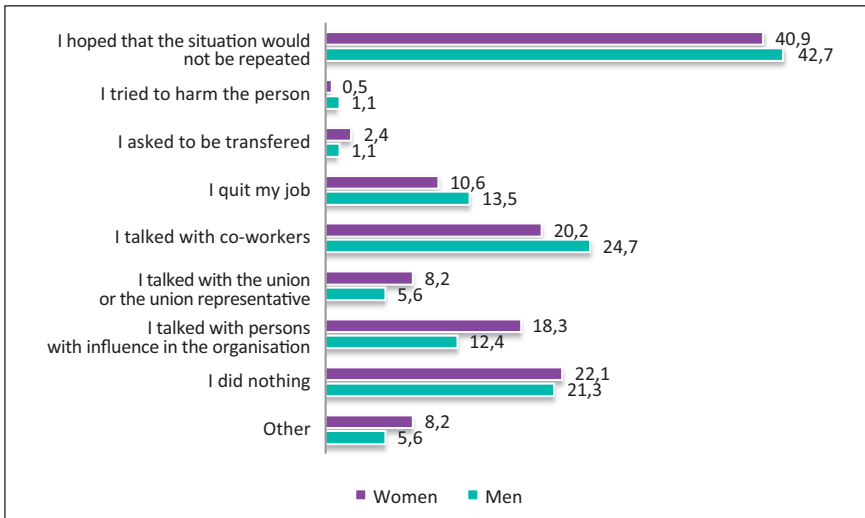
■ Women ■ Men

Fear of the professional consequences and even fear of being fired are the reasons most frequently referred by both men and women, to explain their failure to take action or react in these hostile environments.

The importance of the support network is fundamental, not least because this network is responsible for the 22.2% of women and 12.5% of men who are advised not to say anything about their experience.

The lack of any guidance or information means that many women and men do not know who to turn to when they experience bullying; this explanation for the action taken accounts for 15.1% of women and 16.1% of men.

Figure 5-28. Reasons for reaction to a situation of bullying, by sex (%)

Reason	Men	Women
Because I didn't know who to turn to	16,1	15,1
Because I was afraid people wouldn't believe me	7,1	8,7
Because other people advised me to do nothing and keep silent	12,5	22,2
Because I was afraid of suffering professional consequences	39,3	47,6
Because I was afraid to get fired	48,2	42,9

■ Men ■ Women
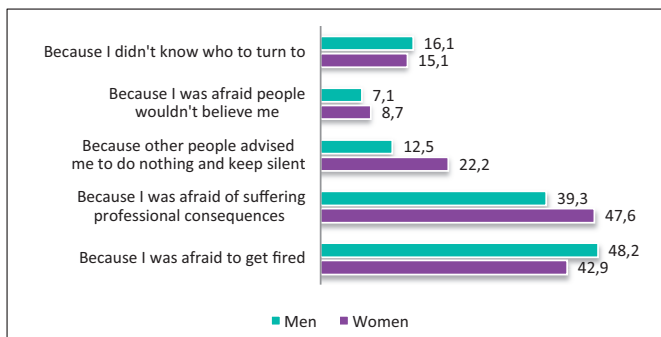
When we analyse the persons or institutions to whom women and men spoke or turned, we find that the expressive and emotional dimension of their lives is highly relevant.

It is to people close to them, with whom they have affective and emotional ties, that women and men first turn for support. However, there are important differences between women and men as to the choice of who to talk to about bullying. Male targets of bullying seek out homo-sociabilities. In other words, other men with whom they have ties of closeness, friendship and affection. This suggests a willingness to support between peers but also a watchfulness geared to avoiding potential damage to their masculine image in the eyes of women, be they co-workers, family members or lovers. In short, men seek out primarily their male friends (37.6%) and male co-workers (34.8%).

In turn, women chose mostly to talk to their family (42.8%) and also their male or female partner (34.1%). These figures provide further confirmation that the workplace and working relationships are significantly structured by gender relations and by the social norms and expectations that govern them socially.

Figure 5-29. Who they spoke to about bullying, by sex (%)
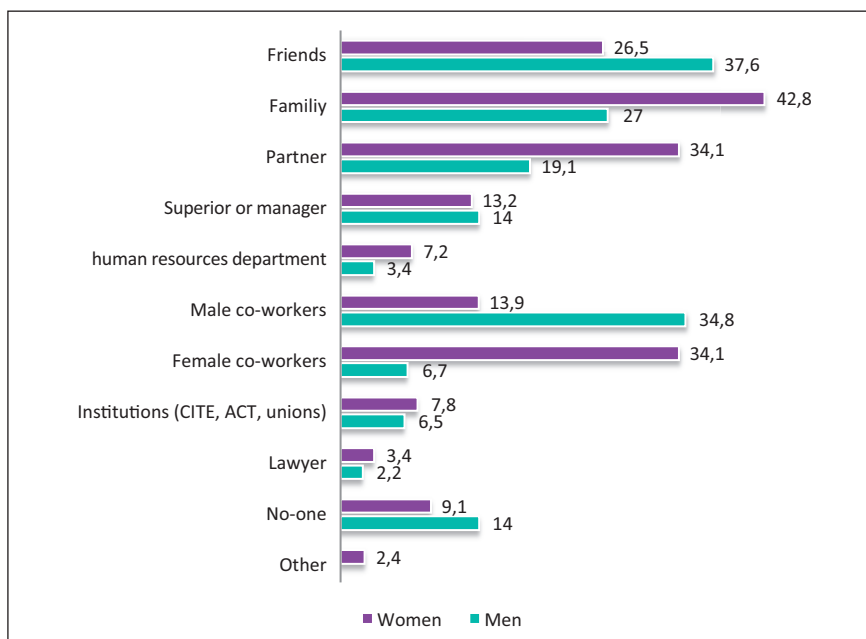
Chapter 6

Sexual Harassment and Bullying in a comparative perspective

6.1. Methodological issues in data comparison

The frequency of situations of sexual harassment (12.6%) and bullying (16.5%) in the workplace, established by this research for Portugal, is higher than the figures presented in supranational reports which focus their analysis on a comparison between countries. The most important of the supranational reports include the study conducted by Eurofound (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions) into workplace violence and harassment in Europe (Eurofound, 2015), because it is recent and presents in some detail the limits of the comparative analyses; and that of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA, 2014), because it is the first European Survey of violence against women, with a sample of 42,000 women in the European Union, dealing with experiences of violence from the age of 15 years onwards. The FRA sample is large in size and broad in scope, as regards women's life stages, but excluded men. In addition to this characteristic, despite being a fairly broad study, it is devoted overall to the topic of violence, dealing with specific types, locations and timings.

A comparison between the findings obtained in the various studies will therefore be subject to some of the limits we will specify below. In addition, in the European Union (the regional block of greatest interest in this case) has established a series of directives, referred to in chapter 2[27], which reflect a clear concern to proclaim, repeatedly a clear conceptual definition both of sexual harassment and of bullying, so that when Member States transpose the provisions into their national law they adopt a common definition. But this is not always what finds its way into national legislation and the definitions established by national authorities (Milczarek, 2010).

Eurofound (2015) presents the findings of the sixth European survey of working conditions, although the figures for Portugal are those from the fifth European survey of working conditions, conducted in 2010. The figure of 8.5% stated for Portugal refers to the indicator assessing adverse social behaviour. In reality, this is an index (a measurement comprising various indicators), developed, for the first time, for the fifth European survey of working conditions. The index which measures adverse social behaviour is constructed on the basis of six questions, including whether the person, in the course of her/his work, was subject to verbal abuse, unwelcome sexual advances, threats or humiliation, during the last month or during the 12 months prior to application of the survey.

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[27] Consult in particular directives 2002/73/EC and 2006/54/EC of the Parliament and the Council.

Being an index, it combines indicators for bullying (verbal abuse) and sexual harassment (unwelcome sexual advances). In addition, there is a lack of clarity as to the continuous, persistent or repeated nature of the experiences, and also as to their unwelcome character, nuisance value and offensiveness to the target of the conduct. In addition, the time period defining the mental framework within which the respondent is required to recall whether she or he was the target of adverse behaviour is fairly short when it refers to one month. Memory is more recent, but when short periods of time are involved, the likelihood increases of events being displaced within time, being recalled as if they had happened longer ago or remembering and locating events which, in fact, happened longer ago (a month and a half ago, for instance) within the short period referred to in the survey (Schneider, 1981). These are cognitive aspects, not always intentional because they are connected to emotional reasons which often lead people to assert and believe "it feels like it was yesterday..." The construction of indexes (complex measurements) and relying on people's capacity to remember, especially over short periods may generate inaccurate data.

The FRA Report explicitly refers to these limits when it agrees, for example, that cultural factors at national level and occupational factors, connected to the profession and the economic sector, affect the way that male and female workers perceive their situations, classifying them as socially adverse behaviour (Eurofound, 2015: 6). Thus, since the behavior is repeated, makes its target feel offended and is unwelcome leads to the interpretation that harassment is among adverse social behaviours. The broad and wide-ranging concept of adverse social behaviour is more exposed or is more permeable to cultural differences than the concept of harassment, which, we repeat, refers to behaviours which the person experiences as unwelcome, even if they are on the borderline of socially accepted and culturally tolerated behaviours.

In addition, the figures for the frequency of sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace, obtained in the survey supporting the research presented here, are borne out by the accounts of some of these situations in the interviews with the persons involved. The interviews reveal situations where the limits to what is admissible in working relationships appear rather unclear, but also reveal explicit situations of harassment, verging even on violence and violation of physical integrity.

Having presented these more general considerations which may affect the rigour of comparisons between the data from different studies and different countries, affecting the interpretation of the figures for sexual harassment and bullying in Portugal, we will now focus on analysis of the actual findings of Eurofound (2015) and the FRA research for Portugal.

This explanation is rather detailed, but it helps to interpret the differences between the figures without detracting from the importance of comparative studies such as Eurofound (in its most recent report) and the survey conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA).

6.2. Portugal in perspective in the Eurofound Report

In the Eurofound report, the figure of 8.5% for Portugal, in the index measuring adverse social behaviour, places the country in a group of countries (alongside Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Malta, Poland, Romania and Spain) with similar characteristics. These are countries where violence and harassment are not regarded as a major issue (Eurofound, 2015: 54), where awareness of violence and harassment is low or increasing, where there are low levels of reporting or denunciation of violence or harassment by male and female workers, and, in general, where the policies developed by governments and social partners are not developed to the level observed in the set of countries which scored higher figures in this index. The set of countries with the highest scores in the index measuring adverse social behaviour comprises Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Holland, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom. The similar characteristics shared by these countries are the existence of systematised and established policies, i.e. with long periods of implementation, designed to prevent and deal with violence and harassment, adoption of these policies by governments and social partners, possibly including tripartite initiatives and consistent social dialogue practices concerning these issues, and the fact that action, defined in policy, extends to companies.

Even in classifying these countries, aggregating them in sets in order to find a degree of uniformity, Eurofound uses the findings from the fifth European survey of working conditions (2010) and the indicators, available at the Hofstede Centre (which measure social values, by country or culture, which may be consulted at http://geert-hofstede.com/). This means that the reference years of the data do not coincide and nor do the indicators used to construct the index.

National surveys are mostly devoted to one issue or topic, separating harassment from violence, for example, and specifying two manifestations of harassment: sexual harassment and bullying. This is one of the reasons why national surveys tend to present higher figures. In addition to this substantive reason, we shall address other reasons why it is important to bear them in mind when comparing findings.

National surveys are devoted to a single topic, as we said before. So the conceptual definition is considered in depth, making it possible to identify the dimensions of the concept and, on the basis of these dimensions, to define indicators which can be used to measure the concept, which is more abstract. The indicators are more

concrete and reflect practices or behaviours, opinions or ways of thinking which sustain individual positions, attitudes and perceptions. Efforts are therefore made move from the more general to the more specific. Specificity in itself increases the likelihood of individuals identifying certain behaviours as having happened to them. The way the question is posed (in the national survey used in 2015) positions the individuals within the question: "Has it ever happened to you...?"

Methodological reasons should therefore not be underestimated. In most cases, national surveys, including sociological surveys, make use of legal or administrative concepts. The legal definition and the definitions used by the administrative authorities make it possible to define the concept, clearly identifying the perpetrators of harassment, the victims, the behaviours in question, and, sometimes, defining their seriousness and their effects. These definitions also facilitate comparison between data. Although the legal framework and legislation varies from country to country (even when considering only member States of the European Union), the comparison is more easily made on the basis of indicators such as the number of cases tried, the number of incidents reported, among others, which appear objective and unambiguous. In Eurofound, most of the sources used are administrative. Although the report identifies no specific countries, it tells us that in eight countries the data source is the ministry of labour or welfare, in seven countries it is the employment inspectorate, and in three countries the health and safety at work authorities. Other sources used are the courts, considering the number of cases tried, in five countries, and criminal statistics, in one country.

Strictly speaking, it is only possible to compare data between countries which use identical or very similar national surveys, as in the case of the European working conditions surveys. Even so, comparison is only rigorously possible between the country findings in the European working conditions survey for the same year.
It is also known that a history of regular application of surveys to assess the frequency of workplace harassment influences the probability of individuals reporting situations of harassment to which they are or have been subject. Countries with a tradition of conducting surveys on this issue, and which consequently have long data series are Finland and Norway (Eurofound, 2015). This factor helps to explain the higher figures reported in these countries.

In addition to methodological reasons, we may also point to more general factors of a legal and political nature. It is particularly important here to consider changes in legislation, the emergence of new institutions or the abolition of old ones, because areas of competence disappear or are eliminated, and also the social impact of cases brought to public attention through the media.

The case of Portugal is interpreted in the Eurofound Report as that of a country where there are several factors which deter people from reporting/denouncing

situations of workplace harassment. The reasons mentioned in the report include legislative limitations, citing a lack of precision in the definition of behaviour constituting harassment, and the fears of harassment targets as to how their employers, co-workers and society in general will react. The findings of the research conducted by CIEG (2015) point to the particular importance of this aspect: uneasiness about reporting sexual harassment and/or bullying in the workplace, due to the fear of reprisals - underlining Eurofound's interpretation.

This report also refers to the low level of confidence, in general, that proceedings brought against an employer will be successful and result in a decision in the victim's favour. This is in fact a generally held idea which reinforces the perception that it is not worthwhile for an individual to invest in defending his/her rights. This perception is in fact clearly belied by the figures published by organisations which defend workers' rights and even by judicial statistics, which show that there are cases which are settled in the (male or female) worker's favour (see, for example, Amante, 2014). In other words, the problem posed here is the successful cases lack visibility, even in the media.

The number of official complaints made is therefore lower than the figures presented by sociological surveys. We should recall that sociological surveys guarantee anonymity for respondents and confidentiality for their responses, which makes individuals more confident about reporting instances of harassment, even when they have kept them secret.

In view of the diversity of national data (diversity of sources, of reference years, of data collection instruments, of indicators and the difference concepts to which the indicators refer, as explained above), Eurofound prepares a comparative analysis, taking as its point of reference the fifth European working conditions survey (2010) and national surveys indicated by specialists in each country - in the case of Portugal, all surveys are partial because they are limited to certain economic sectors, as may be seen in the tables presented at the end of this chapter.

Continuing to explain the figures presented in the Report, Eurofound uses the findings from the fifth working conditions survey and calculates an average figure for adverse social behaviour for the European Union and Norway: 14.9%, for harassment and bullying, and 2% for sexual harassment. These are average numbers, which means they are affected by the possible existence of very low minimum figures and very high maximum figures. As a means of measuring core tendencies, averages are highly sensitive to values (minimum and maximum) which may in fact be isolated, and even somewhat extemporaneous.

Taking these average figures as a reference, countries are grouped into sets of above-average and below-average countries, with most countries belonging to the

above-average group (except for Bulgaria, Slovenia, Norway and Spain for sexual harassment only. For further exploration of this issue, see Eurofound (2015: 16). Two key aspects should be borne in mind. Firstly, the European average calculated on the basis of the fifth European working conditions survey is out of step with what is recorded in most countries, suggesting very low values. And secondly, the values in the fifth European working conditions survey are in all cases lower than those resulting from application of national surveys (Eurofound, 2015:16). This makes it easier to accept - socially - that the figures for sexual harassment (12.6%) and bullying (16.5%) in the workplace, in 2015 in Mainland Portugal, are a little higher than would be expected on the basis of the data for Portugal in the Eurofound report and the FRA survey.

6.3. Portugal in perspective in the FRA survey

In the survey conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA, 2014) of a sample of 42 000 women in the European Union (UE-28), an estimated 45% to 55% of women said they had experienced sexual harassment at least once in their lives, considering their adult lives from the age of 15 upwards. Of these situations, 18% occurred in the workplace and 10% online. In 13 % to 21% of the cases, the situation occurred in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Of the women who reported experiences of sexual harassment at least once since the age of 15 years, 32% said that the harasser was a person in a working context, including co-workers, employers or clients (FRA, 2014: 95).

The analysis concludes that sexual harassment is more frequent among women with higher education qualifications and among women belonging to top-of-the-scale occupational groups. Of women with a management career, 75% had at least one experience of sexual harassment since the age of 15 years, and 25% in the year preceding the survey. Women employed on a casual or insecure contractual basis are also identified in the survey as having an increased risk of experiencing sexual harassment at work. Of women working in the service sector, 61% had been the targets of sexual harassment at least once since the age of 15 year[28].

The survey asks questions about the women's experiences of physical, sexual and psychological violence, including questions about stalking and sexual harassment. These experiences are contextualised by the women as having occurred in their physical presence or through technology. The survey also includes experiences of violence during childhood. The experiences refer to the 12 months prior to application of the survey, i.e. the last year, and also the women's lives since the age of 15,

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[28] http://fra.europa.eu/en/news/2016/gender-equality-become-reality-sexual-harassment-must-stop accessed on 30 March 2016.

for questions not concerning violence in intimate relations. As the first survey of violence against women covering all the member States of the European Union, the wide range of the questions is understandable, but the dispersal in terms of topics included within the definition of violence is subject to differences of interpretation between researchers and the women interviewed. In addition, the question relating to sexual harassment is worded so that the interviewees say how many times as a whole they have experienced sexual harassment in the past 12 months and since the age of 15. The experiences are not contextualised, by referring to the workplace or to relations with (male or female) friends or to situations of interaction with strangers, thereby encouraging interviewees to think more widely. In addition, the interviewees were asked to think about two distinct time periods. To isolate the past year is a delicate exercise, sensitive to personally decisive events, which individuals tend to displace in time (Schneider, 1981), and recollections of events since the age of 15 vary in accordance with factors such as present age (for instance, for someone aged 70, this might be difficult) or social desirability (replying in accordance with an image which has since been constructed for the individual herself and which is presented to the interviewer, which may highlight particular experiences, or gloss over others she would prefer not to remember).

Identification of situations as sexual harassment may be influenced by the level of educational attainment, as stressed by the Eurofound Report, cultural influences and circumstances relating to the individual's working life. The high frequency of experiences of sexual harassment among women in senior positions may be influenced by these factors. The frequency of situations identified by the FRA survey may also be explained by gender reasons. Some of these reasons are advanced (FRA, 2014: 112) but without the interpretative gender framework being clearly identified. Mention is made of the added risk of exposure to sexual harassment run by women in senior management positions because they travel more frequently in their work, because in interpreting situations they lay greater stress on intolerance of certain behaviours, felt to be offensive, and because they work more in male-dominated sectors, such as the financial and business sectors. The explanation presented by FRA is supported by a comparison between groups of women (defined by differences in educational attainment, professional situation and in occupational sector) which may hinder a broader analysis considering social relations between men and women and between women and between men.

This is a further reason for considering that a comparison between the findings for Portugal in the FRA study and those of the national survey presented here would be rather artificial. Even so, the findings of the FRA survey are worth examining, if only briefly.

In the FRA survey for Europe, an average of 55% of women had experienced some form of sexual harassment since the age of 15 (on the basis of 11 items included in

the survey). For Portugal the figure is 32%. For Europe, an average of 21% of women had experienced some form of sexual harassment in the 12 months preceding the survey. For Portugal the figure is 15%[29].

6.4. Sexual Harassment and Bullying: Portugal seen from a European perspective

The figures for sexual harassment and bullying in a comparative perspective between countries or other units, such as regional blocks, make it possible to gain a perspective on the particular situation in one country in relation to others. This comparative analysis should however be conducted with caution so as not to compare the incomparable. The following table (Table 6.4.1) presents the findings of surveys of the prevalence of bullying conducted only for Portugal, using data collection instrument dedicated to this topic. As may be seen in the middle column for the sample size for each of the surveys, the workplace, i.e. the context in which the surveys are conducted, differs. On the one hand, the specific nature of the contexts is very interesting, revealing particular features in certain economic sectors or workplaces. On the other hand, the diversity of contexts undermines direct comparisons between the findings. We should also note that most of the findings are drawn from the study of small samples in highly specific working contexts.

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[29] http://fra.europa.eu/en/publications-and-resources/data-and-maps/survey-data-explorer-violence-against-women-survey accessed on 30 March 2016.

Table 6-1. Studies of the prevalence of bullying in Portugal

Authors	Sample	Prevalence (percentage)
Ferrinho and Biscaia (2003)	Workers in the health system N= 277	16.5% (bullying/mobbing) 27.4% (verbal abuse) 8% (discrimination)
Pereira de Almeida (2007)	Different health and social services organisations (Lisbon, Setúbal, Santarém) N= 732	On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means never and 5 every day, the highest frequency occurs in the indicators: Symbolic violent bullying (1.35%); Control bullying (1.28%) and Functional and pressure bullying (1.24%)
Araújo, Sá, Mcintyre and Mcintyre (2007)	Different organisations N= 1203	7,7% (bullying)
Araújo (2009)	Public and private organisations N =787	21.4% (6 months/once a week) 15.5% (target of bullying/6 months)
Verdasca (2010)	Banking sector N= 561	Severe subjective bullying 5.9% Behavioural-objective bullying 39.8%
Gomes (2010)	Public organisations N=78	12% (12 months) 26.9% (more than 24 months) 7.4% (12 to 24 months) 20.4% (several months, without time limits)
Constantino (2010)	Local authority organisation N= 100	9%
Barros (2013)	Vocational Training N= 98	20.75% (bullying with daily frequency and duration of less than 6 months) 39.62% (bullying with daily frequency and duration of at least 6 months) 11.32% (situations of bullying with a frequency of no less than once a week over 6 months)

Source: Ferrinho and Biscaia (2003); Pereira de Almeida (2007); Araújo, Sá, Mcintyre and Mcintyre (2007); Araújo (2009); Verdasca (2010); Gomes (2010); Constantino (2010); Barros (2013).

Table 6-2. Prevalence of bullying in European countries[30]

País	Anos	Fontes Nacionais
Belgium	2004	14,4% (bullying/harassment/mobbing)
	2010	14,2% (bullying/harassment/mobbing)
	2013	9,6% (bullying/harassment/mobbing)
Bulgaria	2010	3,5% (bullying/harassment)
	2012	4,8% (bullying/harassment)
Czech Republic	2007	16% (different types of mobbing/harassement)
	2009	27,5% (different types of mobbing/harassement)
	2011	19,3% (different types of mobbing/harassement)
	2013	20,7% (different types of mobbing/harassement)
Denmark	2010	12,5%
	2012	12,1%
Estonia	2009	6% and 9% (M and W) (harassment)
Finland	2009	6% (bullying)
	2012	4% (different types of mobbing/harassement)
France	2009	22.3% (hostile behaviour)
	2010	4.9% (verbal aggression: at least once)
		15.1% (more than once)
Hungary	2008-2012	12,8% (bullying)
Ireland	2007	76.7% (verbal abuse)
		30.7% (threats)
		62.5% (intimidation)
		57.9% (humiliation)
Italy	2010	9.5% (bullying)
		4.3% (isolation)
Latvia	2006	2% (mobbing)
	2010	9% (mobbing)
	2013	4% (mobbing)
Luxembourg	2010	31% (verbal aggression)
		Harassment 5%
Netherlands	2011	16% (psychological violence - in Country or region)
Norway	2013	2% (bullying/teasing)
		6% (threats)
Poland	2012	17.3% (bullying)
Slovenia	2010	2.9% (intimidation)
		8.5% (verbal abuse)
		6.6% (humiliation and threats)
Spain	2019	2.9% (verbal aggression, social exclusion)
	2011	11% (exposure, discrimination)
Sweden	2009-2011	14% (verbal and physical violence, abuse, intimidation)
	2009	9% (bullying, harassment/mobbing)
	2011	8% (bullying, harassment/mobbing)

Source: Eurofound (2015), Violence and harassment in European workplaces: causes, impacts and policies, Dublin. pp. 86, 87.

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[30] For some countries the figures do not show the type of violence and bullying broken down into categories; instead, these are general figures for all types of physical or psychological violence, bullying and sexual harassment.

Table 6-3. Prevalence of sexual harassment in European countries

País	Anos	Fontes Nacionais
Belgium	2004 2010 2013	2.1% (sexual harassment) 3% (sexual harassment) 2.2% (sexual harassment)
Bulgaria	2010 2012	1.5% (unwelcome sexual advances) 0.2% (sexual harassment) 2.7% (unwelcome sexual advances) 0.3% (sexual harassment)
Estonia	2013	6% (sexual harassment)
Finland	2009 2012	1.9% (sexual harassment) 3.5% (sexual harassment)
France	2010	8.8% (sexual harassment)
Ireland	2007	4,7% (sexual harassment)
Italy	2010	1,3% (sexual harassment)
Latvia	2006 2010 2013	0% (sexual harassment) 3% (sexual harassment) 2% (sexual harassment)
Norway	2013	3.4% (unwelcome sexual advances: once a month)
Poland	2012	3,9% (sexual harassment)
Slovenia	2007	27.1% (verbal sexual harassment) 15% (non-verbal sexual harassment) 14.8% (verbal harassment with physical contact)
Spain	2007 2011	0.7% (sexual harassment) 0.6% (sexual harassment)
Sweden	2009-2011	8% (gender-based harassment)

Source: Eurofound (2015), Violence and harassment in European workplaces: causes, impacts and policies, Dublin. pp. 86, 87.

Chapter 7

Prevention and Intervention

Prevention of bullying and sexual harassment is a priority for societies today. Supranational political guidelines on this issue, especially in Europe (Council of Europe and the European Commission), has found acceptance in Portugal. However, systematic efforts to prevent sexual harassment and bullying in an employment setting, and to offer support for victims, are a relatively recent development in Portugal.

By means of a nationwide survey using a representative sample of the Portuguese working population, backed up by interviews, this research has clearly shown that action is needed to prevent sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace. Comparative analysis with other countries, as seen in chapter 6, also shows that the figures for harassment and bullying in Portugal remain above the European average, clearly illustrating the need to tackle this issue.

This chapter presents a number of strategies for preventing sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace, indicating the bodies with responsibility for promoting equality and dignity in employment relations, including powers of inspection and intervention in situations of harassment. A range of measures are also suggested for implementation by the different organisations, and in particular by employers.

7.1. Prevention and formal support in workplace harassment situations

The literature suggests that workplace harassment remains a serious issue (Schoenheider, 1986; Paludi; Paludi & DeSouza, 2011) and attracts the concern of political organisations such as the United Nations, the Council of Europe and the European Commission. Accordingly, national governments have gradually accepted responsibility for preventing harassment and providing support in situations of workplace harassment. In Portugal, this responsibility is materialized, among other actions, in the creation of institutional mechanisms which have sought to highlight the responsibility of employers for preventing situations of workplace harassment The efforts of institutions of this type, such as CITE (Commission for Equality in Work and Employment) and ACT (Working Conditions Authority), has been accompanied by the work of employers' organisations and unions (which are better placed to direct action to prevent harassment in particular sectors where the workforce is less skilled, tends largely to be female and is employed on a less secure contractual footing). Responsibility for preventing and remedying situations of

workplace harassment is therefore divided between formal institutional arrangements, belonging to the central public administrative authorities, trade unions and employers' organisations. It is the responsibility of employers to take effective steps to ensure that the rights of female and male workers are enforced and to provide a decent non-hostile workplace, free of harassment. This is an unambiguous conclusion reached by the literature, and echoed by the legal authorities.

But how can situations of harassment be prevented and support be provided? CITE operates a telephone and email helpline and provides the help of specialized staff, available for people seeking support at its offices. These channels make it possible to determine whether the individual interpretation of practices points to harassment as defined in law. These front line services offer institutional support and can help people to prepare legally stronger case. This stage often involves helping people who have experienced workplace harassment to understand exactly what is happening to them and supporting them through the process of self-recognition or self-acceptance as the targets of harassment.

The theory of belief in a just world (Correia and Vala, 2003) helps us to a better understanding of the dynamic of guilt developed in situations of victimisation or extreme social vulnerability, with individuals in a situation of dependency in relation to others, against their will. The targets of harassment seek, rationally, to reject the situation, and so tend to reject the identification of themselves as victims.

This process of de-identification with a situation socially considered as negative and stigmatising, may underlie the reaction of some men, who state they hope the situation will not be repeated. As if the world, being just, would return them to the fold of people to whom unjust things do not happen. In the case of women, often brought up to resign themselves to situations of intolerable domination, processes may be generated which devalue situations of harassment, or which blame the women themselves for these situations - might it have been my fault?

These are some of the processes which may cause people to take some time to recognise that they are the targets of harassment, questioning whether the harassment is actually happened and what she or he might have done to cause it to happen.

At the same time, people who witness or, somehow, know of situations of workplace harassment seek to rationalise the situation by ascribing a meaning to it. They sometimes end up looking for behaviour, personality factors or ways of relating to people which allow them to understand what has happened. This process sometimes leads to an interpretation which blames the way the other (male or female) dress, walks, relates to co-workers or hierarchical superior(s).

The fact that, in most Portuguese companies, institutions and organisations, issues of harassment are practically invisible, and virtually no efforts are made to combat the phenomenon, obviously helps these practices to be understood as individual or personality issues, and not as social phenomena found in workplaces around the world.

The findings of this survey also show that, more often than not, people do not know where (organisation) or who (professional) to approach for information and/or where to go in their employer organisation to make a formal complaint.

It may also be the case that the person becomes aware of being the target of harassment when she or he is already in a state of great emotional fragility and vulnerability in relation to their harasser. This vulnerability may be exacerbated in situations where the harasser is also their hierarchical superior or where the target is employed on a contractually insecure basis.

In cases where the target of harassment feels up to facing an inquiry process, their emotional or psychological fragility may make them more excitable under questioning, which can undermine the credibility of what they say.

7.2. Prevention of Harassment at a transnational level

Harassment is one of the manifestations of gender violence and violence in the workplace . Gender violence refers to all situations where violence is gender-based, using strategies of devaluation, subordination and/or de-powering one gender in relation to the other, and in relationships with the other. In the Recast Directive (2006/54/EC, of the European Parliament and the Council) on equal opportunities and equal treatment of women and men in employment and occupation[31] ethe European Union has for example established that: "(…) employers and those responsible for vocational training should be encouraged to take measures to combat all forms of discrimination on grounds of sex and, in particular, to take preventive measures against harassment and sexual harassment in the workplace and in access to employment, vocational training and promotion, in accordance with national law and practice"[32] (recital 7).

But violence and harassment in organisations, whether or not assumed as gender based violence, has attracted the concern of various transnational bodies. We may recall the framework agreement on harassment and violence at work, referred to in

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[31] http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:204:0023:0036:en:PDF

[32] Tradução livre de «7 (...) employers and those responsible for vocational training should be encouraged to take measures to combat all forms of discrimination on grounds of sex and, in particular, to take preventive measures against harassment and sexual harassment in the workplace and in access to employment, vocational training and promotion, in accordance with national law and practice».

chapter 2, which was signed by ETUC, BUSINESSEUROPE, UEAPME and CEEP, on 26 April 2007[33]. This framework agreement, involving European cross-industry social partners, is intended to prevent and, whenever necessary, to manage problems of intimidation, sexual harassment and physical violence in the workplace. The agreement amounts to clear condemnation of all forms of harassment and violence and reaffirms the duty of employers to protect their workers against this type of occurrence.

The framework agreement pursues two other aims: to raise awareness and understanding among employers, workers and their representatives of the issues of harassment and violence in the workplace, and to provide employers, workers and their representatives at all levels an active framework allowing them to identify, prevent and manage problems of harassment and violence in the workplace.

It is also established as an assumption in this agreement than "raising awareness and appropriate training of managers and workers can reduce the likelihood of harassment and violence at work". The same section adds that "enterprises need to have a clear statement outlining that harassment and violence will not be tolerated". This text will specify the procedures to be followed in the event of any incidents. The procedures may include an informal phase, during which someone who enjoys the trust of management and the workers is available to provide advice and help. Appropriate procedure may already be in place for dealing with situations of harassment and violence.

The procedure in question should take into account that it is in the interest of all the parties to act with the discretion necessary to protect the dignity and privacy of each person, and that no information should be disclosed to persons uninvolved in the case. Complaints should be considered and handled swiftly; all the parties involved should be heard impartially and be fairly treated; complaints should be supported by detailed information; false accusations will not be tolerated, and may lead to disciplinary proceedings; external assistance may be useful.

If harassment or violence is proven, appropriate measures will be taken against the perpetrators. These measures may range from disciplinary penalties to dismissal. Victims will receive support and, if necessary, will have help in the process of reintegration. In consultation with workers and/or their representatives, employers will institute these procedures, and then review and monitor them, to ensure they are effective in preventing and dealing with any problems. It is also worth pointing out that, under this framework agreement, harassment and violence can also occur amongst "colleagues, between hierarchical superiors and subordinates, or by third parties, such as clients, patients, pupils, etc..

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[33] http://resourcecentre.etuc.org/linked_files/documents/Framework%20Agreement%20on%20Harassment%20%-26%20Violence%20-PT.pdf

The framework agreement invites Europe's enterprises to adopt a zero tolerance policy in relation to behaviour comprising intimidation, sexual harassment and physical violence in the workplace and to design procedure to deal with possible cases of harassment and violence.

In accordance with the principle of the autonomy of the social partners, this framework agreement will be applied by the national organisations of the social partners (signatories), in keeping with the processes and practices of the social partners and the Member States.

As to when it takes effect, it is only established that it should be effectively applied within three years, i.e. by 2010. However, no provision was made for any monitoring arrangements or reporting system. The closing paragraph of the Communication states that "while giving precedence to the monitoring undertaken by the social partners themselves, the Commission will conduct its own monitoring to assess the extent to which the agreement has contributed to achieving the Community's objectives." It also adds that "Member organisations will report on the implementation of this agreement to the Social Dialogue Committee."[34]

7.3. Preventing workplace harassment: action and measures

The prevention of harassment need to be wide-ranging and integrated. This requires a raft of measures and actions involving organisations, the organisational environment and culture, and also the social context, which defines the context in which organisations function by defining the dominant social norm which, in turn, influences relations in the workplace. In other words, it requirements measures to be developed and applied inside and outside organisations. Inside organisations, comprehensive prevention of harassment means involving women and men, harassers and the harassed, managers with decision-making responsibilities and female and male workers.

In exchanges between organisations and the social context in which they function, preventing harassment on an integrated basis requires coherent planning of action at the socio-cultural, political and legal level, including matters relating to inspections and penalties, education and training. At the same time, the factors underlying the occurrence of harassment and its effects suggest a comprehensive and integrated approach. On the other hand, to take action with regard to only one of these aspects will always be unbalanced and could potentially lay the blame/fault on one of the parties (society in general or organisations, in particular).

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[34] http://resourcecentre.etuc.org/linked_files/documents/Framework%20Agreement%20on%20Harassment%20%-26%20Violence%20-PT.pdf

7.3.1. Measures to be adopted by employers

Employers can take action at two levels to prevent and correct any situation of workplace harassment: on a proactive or curative basis. Pro-active prevention consists of primary prevention measures, whilst curative action consists of secondary prevention, i.e., when harassment has already occurred, and tertiary prevention, repairing the damage or harm caused to the organisational climate, to work processes and to the target of harassment.

Primary prevention may take the form of planning information measures, specific training on the subject, preferably making this training compulsory for all individuals with authority over others in the organisation, including the topic of gender equality, provided by an external entity or training officer, to help deconstruct gender stereotypes and foster the creative emergence of practices to be developed in the workplace. This form of prevention avoids the occurrence of harassment situations and prevents them from continuing, or being repeated. It also prevents the continued existence of an organisational climate that tolerates harassment and the perpetrators of harassment.

Training on the topic "Sexual harassment in the workplace or in working relations" helps people to understand the factors which make it difficult to report situations, the consequences of harassment in different areas of life, including family and social life, the most frequent reactions of the targets of workplace harassment and how people deal with harassment practices.

On a pro-active level, the first step is to recognise harassment as a social problem existing in the workplace, in Portugal, in 2015 - without denying evident truths (revealed by this research) and also without underestimating the negative impact of harassment on the targets, on the organisational climate and on employment relations. Also on a pro-active level, organisations may designate or create a new body, department or officer to be responsible for identifying situations of harassment, stipulating what the reaction will be to people who, through harassment, fail to respect others in the workplace.

The pro-active measures which employers can adopt include:

– **unambiguous and explicit condemnation of harassment in working relations**, including this value in the employer's fundamental principles, in its ethics statement or code, or even in the text of the employment contract;
– **publication and dissemination** of an anti-harassment in the workplace policy, which should be wide-ranging and easy to access, and involve regular activities, such as annual or six-monthly poster campaigns, publication of information on the organisation's website and distributing information leaflets to female and male employees, at all hierarchical levels in the organisation;

- **design and implementation of effective reporting systems** for harassment situations, providing for advice and information, referral and effective intervention, as required in each individual case. This system should allow for anonymous complaints, immediately followed by protective action in which confidentiality is assured;
- **aprocedures or a template for action c**an be designed, defining rapid response times, provision of victim support, and the process for holding harassers to account;
- **developing a system for recording** harassment situations in the individual files of the perpetrators, with information on instances of harassment as offensive conduct in breach of the organisation's policy, with an impact on individual performance assessments;
- **inclusion of questions on harassment situations** in questionnaires or similar instruments for assessing employees' satisfaction with their working environment;
- **provisions about malicious misreporting**, which should also be defined as disrespectful in itself and offensive to the dignity of actual victims of harassment[35]. The aim is to promote responsible reporting while creating a climate of ethical accountability in which people accept responsibility for their acts, reporting problems but also acting responsibly when they do so, using the possibility of anonymity in an appropriate and ethically responsible way and not in order to prejudice another person or organisation. (Levin, 1992; McCann, 2005; Ceplenski, 2006).

These measures are important in themselves, but implemented in isolation they may prove ineffective. For example, the existence of a policy in the organisation penalising harassment without establishing a procedure or a clear and strict template for action, and/or without professionals with the skills needed to handle reports, may serve little purpose. Similarly, if procedures and measures are implemented but are slow in their response, with measures being put into practice long after a situation of harassment is reported, this may also serve little purpose.

Intervention has to be far-reaching, unambiguously conveying that neither society, nor the organisation in particular, will tolerate harassment. According to the ILO (2011, xii) "[he experiences of many countries have shown that effective action against sexual harassment in the workplace requires a combination of legal framework, reinforced application of laws, adequately funded institutions and increased awareness".

In working relations, abuse of power amounts to abuse of authority conferred professionally through an employment relationship. Professional authority is clearly

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[35] https://library.cgiar.org/bitstream/handle/10947/2716/Harassment%20and%20discrimination.pdf?sequence=1

distinct from authoritarianism, because it is exercised responsibly and without disrespecting others. Although the conceptual distinction is clear, in professional practice responsible and appropriate exercise of authority is sometimes confused with the abuse of power over another person.

This distinction becomes more complex when, in the context of professional relationships a hierarchy exists in the workplace which tends to be rigid and is structured in various levels of management.

Large organisations and multinationals operating in Portugal are apparently better able to develop a coherent system for preventing and intervening in situations of workplace harassment. Some large companies and multinationals belong to organisations geared precisely to promoting equal rights and to combating gender discrimination. An example of this is IGen, a corporate forum for gender equality[36]. Even without joining organisations of this type, some multinationals apply in Portugal mandatory company-wide practices established by their head office or parent company. These practices include the existence of a Code of Ethics, a copy of which is given to all employees, male and female, when joining the organisation.

The economic field in Portugal is predominantly made up of small and medium-sized organisations. With small numbers of employees, all of whom tend to know each other very well, it is very difficult to assure anonymity or even confidentiality. What it more, smaller organisations tend to regard harassment as a problem which does not affect them. Family or family-style businesses feel they are immune to this type of problem (Crain and Heischmidt, 1995). Significantly, in our research sample, 37.5% of respondents work in organisations with no more than 9 workers and 23.9% in companies or organisations with between 10 and 49 workers. Taken together, these two groups account for 61.4% of the sample.

Curative measures to regulate harassment behaviours can involve a wide range of strategies, including:

1) Social disapproval, which is more difficult to mobilise and more dependent on information and attitudes which regard sexual harassment as intolerable. The way to regulate harassment practices is through self-regulation, i.e. through the harasser who starts to control his behaviour on learning and accepting that it is inadmissible. Self-regulation is encouraged through information that defines harassment, practices constituting harassment and the consequences on targets, on organisations and on society in general.

Self-regulation is easier to promote when organisations are willing and interested in changing internal practices and changing their organisational

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[36] http://www.cite.gov.pt/pt/acite/iGen.html

culture. Self-regulations also benefits from the existence of a monitoring system, especially in situations where harassment practices are better established (when they are typical) or more resistant to change (when they are frequent).

2) Workplaces should be monitored by peers, in other words, by other organisations. Peer monitoring can serve to share experiences and can use benchmarking and benchlearning, in which some organisations change internal procedures after comparing themselves to others and recognising advantages in the procedures of other organisations. There have been some interesting experiments in Portugal in developing this strategy (for example, Cite's *Guia 50/50* and *Guia Prático sobre RSO*, drawn up by Rede Grace).

3) Regulation, imposing or recommending change. The most obvious form of regulation involves legislation. The most recent legislation in Portugal relevant to the topic of workplace harassment includes the recent change to the Penal Code (September 2015); the recent change to the Employment Code (Law 120/2015, of 1 September, making the ninth amendment to the Employment Code) and, at the international level, the Istanbul Convention (in force in Portugal since 01 August 2014); European Commission Decision (2006) defining the European Framework agreement on violence at work.

Most secondary and tertiary prevention initiatives are focused on legislative measures that prohibit harassment and protect the rights of the persons involved in harassment situations - perpetrators and victims (McCann, 2005). However, statute-book prevention is not enough, and it is debatable whether it has any general preventive effect (deterring the potential perpetrator of harassment). In addition, such legal protection as exists is not sufficiently far-reaching and it is debatable whether it can actually protect the rights of witnesses to workplace harassment, including witnesses who are employees in the organisation and also third parties (users, clients or suppliers). Thirdly, the Employment Code does not deal with working relations with third parties - although sexual harassment in these circumstances presents a frequency of 25% in the case of women and bullying of 1.1% in the case of men and 1% in the case of women.

This analysis in no way detracts from the significant improvement in the legal frameworks and the procedures for preventing and criminalizing situations of workplace harassment in Portugal. Attention is simply drawn to the importance of ensuring that the law is enforced and that the procedures created actually function, and to the importance of expanding the framework of rights or subjects covered.

Regulation also serves to set penalties for the perpetrators of harassment. It can also go further by setting penalties for organisations that fail to take effective action to prevent workplace harassment, as is the case in France, for example (Eurofound,

2015). But regulation also has a remedial dimension, focussing on the targets of harassment. The needs of the targets of harassment are defined in the legal domain, and in the professional and personal domain.

The consequences of harassment may by psychological, somatic and relational, affecting physical and mental health, with an impact on different spheres of the lives of those subject to harassment (Crain and Heischmidt, 1995; Schoenheider, 1986). This shows that intervention has to be tailored to the specific needs of each individual case.

Many companies and organisations have been slow to react to the issue of sexual harassment, failing to take the initiative of designing internal policies to combat and prevent the problem (Crain and Heischmidt, 1995). In Portugal, most organisations are unprepared to prevent and intervene in situations of harassment.

Chapter 8

Final Notes

In these final notes we summarise some of the main findings of our research into sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace in Portugal.

The first aim was to establish the reality concerning sexual harassment and bullying in Portugal in 2015, by conducting a survey using a questionnaire applied to a representative sample of the Portuguese working population, excluding the primary sector, and through interviews of people who have suffered sexual harassment or bullying in the workplace.

The survey provided us with a picture of reality and an extensive diagnosis which seeks to understand in general terms how sexual harassment and bullying affect the lives of women and men. The voice of male and female workers who have suffered harassment gave us access to a deeper and more private perspective on how these situations were experienced in the first person.

8.1. Social, generational and general asymmetries in the labour market

Survey results gave us a full perspective of the main trends in the employment market and on the characteristics of male and female workers. We are dealing with a population with an average age of 44.1 years, in which the majority has completed only basic education (45%), but also with above-average groups which have completed secondary education (around 30%) and higher education (24%)[37]. It has also become clear that there are now more women than men in the working population with higher education. A clear generational and gender gap exists with regard to educational attainment and contractual arrangements. Although most male and female workers are employed on a precarious basis, with a majority on fixed-term contracts or no contract at all, or else employed on another form of precariousness (around 53%), the tendency is for the older and less well-qualified to enjoy more stable contractual arrangements than younger and better educated workers. Women are in all cases more likely to be employed on a precarious basis than men.

Concerning economic and occupational sectors, the employment market is dominated by the service sector and presents clear gender inequalities: significant occupational segregation, horizontal and vertical, insofar that women occupy less management positions than men.

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[36] The sample excluded the primary sector.

As regards objective and subjective working conditions, 52% of the respondents said that it is difficult or very difficult to live on their income from work, underlining the already well known hardships of life in contemporary Portugal. But overall, the respondents express satisfaction with their working environments and professional relations, above all among co-workers.

8.2. Sexual harassment and bullying: the role of social movements and legislation in the USA and the EU

In order to learn more about the object of study, we sought to explore the situation existing today, within the framework of previous research, into the two types of harassment. We looked at the history of the emergence of the two concepts - sexual harassment and bullying - identifying advances made in the past thirty to forty years' research, fundamentally in the USA, Canada, Australia, Europe and in Portugal. This review helped us to develop a specific theoretical perspective to guide our analysis. The central analytical axes were identified to address these realities in the workplace: power issues, social gender relations and organisational contexts.

The study of transnational and national legislation drawn up over recent decades was similarly illuminating. The history of how the concept of sexual harassment emerged in the USA is quite distinct from what has happened in Europe.

In the US, denunciations by the feminist movement since the mid-1970's, combined with the important role of the courts and the tradition of litigation, resulted, from the 1980's onwards, in court rulings which served as examples and persuaded organisations and companies to move fast to adopt codes of ethics in order to prevent these phenomena. Therefore, in the United States, this change came about through a combination of grassroots and court actions. In contrast, the situation in the EU lacks the same tradition of litigation and the pressure from movements calling for gender equality, and is felt more keenly in supranational legislation at European level rather than in national legislation, which is more dependent on the particular features of the specific cultural, institutional and political context.

As for bullying, the pattern is clearly different: the strong tradition of a regulated labour market, with collective bargaining and strong protection of the rights of workers has enabled faster development on these issues, despite the low level of litigation. In the US, civic movements are less effective in fighting bullying, and employment relations are regulated more at an isolated individual level

8.3. Sexual harassment and bullying: men are the main perpetrators

Returning to the findings of the survey, it is important to recall that the sexual harassment data from the questionnaire survey was compared with that obtained in the 1989 survey, also undertaken by CITE and directed by Lígia Amâncio and Luísa Lima, focussing on the sexual harassment of women (1994).

This comparison yielded very significant findings. The great changes which have taken place in Portuguese society over the 25 years which elapsed between the two surveys are reflected in the awareness that women of working age now have of their rights as women, citizens and workers.

Although the comparative analysis is restricted to sexual harassment of women, the findings of this study define two trends: women now show greater clarity in identifying situations of sexual harassment, and women who suffer sexual harassment are now better able to react (from doing nothing to immediately showing their annoyance). Indeed, immediate reactions to harassment, in 2015, involve confronting the perpetrator and immediately showing annoyance (52%), demonstrating that the situation is intolerable, offensive and not to be repeated, whilst in 1989 the most common reaction was to pretend not to have noticed (49% of women).

In 2015, sexual harassment was reported by 12.6% of the respondents, corresponding to 14.4% of women and 8.6% of men, and bullying was reported by 16.5% of the respondents, corresponding to 16.7% of the female respondents and 15.9% of the male respondents.

The most frequent types of sexual harassment in the workplace in Portugal are unwelcome sexual advances and sexual insinuations and the most frequent forms of workplace bullying in Portugal are intimidation and professional persecution. Sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace occur at relatively early ages for both female and male workers, and the majority of targets are aged 34 years or under. In other words, harassment affects people at early stages of their professional lives: in the transition to the employment market or while they are establishing themselves in this world.

In Portugal, bullying and sexual harassment in the workplace are most commonly perpetrated by men against women - making it a manifestation of male dominance and turning the workplace into a locus for reproducing beliefs and gender discrimination practices prevalent in Portuguese society. These phenomena evince clear gender and power inequalities and the inequality vis-à-vis sexuality in which women are the principal victims.

If we look at people's relative position in the organisation, we find that harassment is most frequently perpetrated by hierarchical and direct superiors against persons at a lower hierarchical level in the organisations - making them a manifestation of the abuse of power and instilling social vulnerability in the workplace, because of the dependency that is created and maintained by the people benefiting and/or taking advantage of it.

Sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace are an affront to human dignity at work, and cannot be dissociated from more general forms of inequality in access to resources, power and prestige. Firstly, the hierarchical way in which labour is organised and the hierarchical nature of organisations provide fertile ground for situations of bullying and sexual harassment. Secondly, the transference into the domain of work relations of a gender order and a gender ideology which reproduces inequalities between men and women, is a fundamental factor in promoting situations of harassment, since it permits the symbolic and objective devaluation of the place occupied by women.

In 2015, probably reflecting economic conditions affecting work with negative repercussions for employment, we find that sexual harassment and bullying in the workplace are related to poor employment conditions, poor organisational practices and hostile environments, all of which contribute to the occurrence of extremely severe forms of psychological violence that undermine the health and well-being of male and female workers, producing a setting in which situations of harassment can easily arise and be perpetuated. In 2015, we find that most male and female targets of sexual harassment and bullying are employed on an precarious and unstable basis, which can influence how they react and whether or not their reaction is immediate. In the worst cases, there is no reaction at all, and the harassment continues and gradually ceases to be contested, until it becomes typical or characteristic. A hostile environment is therefore a factor which makes harassment more likely, and also an obstacle to change: well-being is undermined and human dignity is not respected in the workplace.

8.4. Harassment from a comparative perspective

It has been concluded that the frequency of sexual harassment in Portugal in 2015 is high (12.6%) when compared with the average European rate of 2% recorded by the European Working Conditions Survey (Eurofound, 2015: 16). The same is true of bullying. Although women are also the main victims (16.5%), these forms of psychological violence in the workplace also affect a significant number of men (15.9%). Comparing these findings with the average figures for other European countries leads to the conclusion that the numbers in Portugal are very high, since the figures for *Bullying and Harassment* recorded by the *European Working Conditions Survey* pointed to an average of 4.1% (Eurofound 2015: 16).

It is also concluded in detail that, in most countries, the surveys similar to our present higher figures than Eurofound, which asked general questions about working condition and included only a few questions (not always methodologically comparable) concerning the topic of violence. National surveys are mostly devoted to one issue or topic, separating harassment from violence, for example, and specifying the manifestations of harassment: sexual harassment and bullying.

The conceptual definition is therefore considered in depth, making it possible to identify the dimensions of the concept and, on the basis of these dimensions, to define indicators which can be used to measure the concept, which is more abstract. The indicators are more concrete and reflect practices or behaviours, opinions or ways of thinking which sustain individual positions, attitudes and perceptions. These are some of the reasons why national surveys tend to present higher figures. However, it is also because of the greater care taken in specifying the concept and indicators that these figures are regarded as more reliable, closer to reality, more consistent and sound. Researchers in this field agree on this assessment (Eurofound:2015: 16).

8.5. To Prevent and Intervene

Commission), has found acceptance in Portugal. However, systematic efforts to prevent sexual harassment and bullying in an employment setting, and to offer support for victims, are a relatively recent development in Portugal.

We have seen in these conclusions that the targets of harassment often have difficulty in recognising and obtaining recognition that they are victims of sexual harassment or bullying. In addition to the isolation and distress that these situations cause, it was also concluded that people are unsure who to turn to.

The fact that, in most Portuguese companies, institutions and organisations, issues of harassment are practically invisible, and nearly no efforts are made to combat the phenomenon. This, obviously helps these practices to be understood as individual or personality issues, and not as social phenomena found in workplaces around the world. But there are various institutional resources available and, above all in the case of bullying, several examples of victims successfully obtaining redress through the courts.

The question of engagement by social partners and in particular by companies and their senior and middle management, and a commitment to creating healthy working environments free of these practices, is a matter of citizenship and social responsibility. In addition to series of suggestions for measures to be taken by employers, presented in chapter 7, the research team has developed a training manual, ready for use and adaptable to different settings.

This study has presented a picture of sexual harassment and bullying in Portugal in 2015. Like any other diagnosis, knowledge concerning a phenomenon serves to show the importance of taking measures to deal with it. This has led to an understanding that sexual harassment and bullying should be combated on various fronts: at the cultural level, by ensuring that these practices are not tolerated socially, and at the political and organisational level by calling on the social partners, employers and unions, as well as social partners at the transnational level, to comply with the directives of the European Parliament and Commission. Legislative and legal measures are also needed to clarify the rules and speed up procedures. At all these levels, action can be concerted with an effective impact on the lives of individuals and so as to tackle this social problem. Thanks to the research presented here, these endeavours can now proceed on a more informed and scientifically secure basis.

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ANEX

ANEX

QUESTIONNAIRE

ADDRESS:_____

LOCALITY:_____

ZIP-CODE:_____ - _____ _____ PHONE NUMBER:_____

Good morning/Good afternoon/Goodnight My names is…,I´m the interviewer from Consulmark, a market research company that along with Interdisciplinary Centre for Gender Studies (CIEG) and Commission for Equality in Work and Employment (CITE) is developing a study on working relationships in Portugal.

This study aims to capture the aspects of working life and the situations that might occur in that context. It is on this topic that we want to ask you some questions.

MODULE A | SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

A.1. Sex

Woman	
Man	

To confirm the previous questions:

A.2. What year were you born in? _____

A.3. What is the economic activity of the company / organization where you work, that is, what does your company/ organization does/produce?

_____

A.4.1. What is the size of the company / organization where you work at, in terms of the number of employees? If your company / organization has several delegations / offices, please, consider all of them.

A.4.2. And considering just where you work, how many people work there?

	A.4.1.	A.4.2.
9 or less workers		
Between 10 and 49 workers		
Between 50 and 249 workers		
250 or more workers		
Don't know		

A.5. What is your profession? If you have more than one job, respond with your main activity in mind. If you are retired, please respond according to the last job you had.

_____

A.6. What is your employment situation?

Employer (with employees)		GO TO A.8
Self-employed		GO TO A.8
No contract		GO TO A.8
Employed		GO TO A.7
Family worker		GO TO A.8

A.7. What is your type of employment contract?

Permanent contract	
Temporary contract	
No contract	
Paid internship	
Unpaid internship	
Grant	
Don't know/ no answer	

A.8. Do you have any supervisory responsibility at your work?

Yes		GO TO A.9
No		GO TO A.10
Don't know/ no answer		GO TO A.10

A.9. How many persons do you supervise?

Under 5	
5-10	
11-20	
20 +	

A.10. What is the highest level of educational attainment that you completed?

ISCED 0	
ISCED 1	
ISCED 2	
ISCED 3-4	
ISCED 5	
ISCED 6	
ISCED 7	
ISCED 8	

A.11. How many full years of school did you complete? _____ years

A.12. Which of the following statements come closest to what you feel about your income?

The current income from work allows to live comfortably	
Can live with the current income from work	
It is difficult to live with the current income from work	
It is very difficult to live with the current income from work	
Don't know/ no answer	

A.13. Please, indicate if you had difficulty performing any or several of the following activities over, at least, the last 6 months:

	Didn´t have	Had great difficulty	Wasn´t able to perform	Don't know/ no answer
	1	2	3	4
To see, even wearing glasses				
To hear, even using a hearing aid				
To walk or climb stairs				
To concentrate or memorize				
To care for their own personal (for instance, take a bath or get dressed alone)				
To understand others or make themselves understood				

MODULE B | WORKING CONDITIONS

B.1. I will now ask you a few questions about your working conditions. In a scale from 1 to 5, in which 5 corresponds to very good and 1 corresponds to very bad, how do you evaluate your working relationships with … [SHOW CARD 1].

	Very bad				Very good	Not applicable
	1	2	3	4	5	99
Boss, Manager, Administrator						
Immediate superior or direct superior						
Co-worker						
Hierarchical inferior						
Other person in the organization (security, cleaning, etc.)						
Customers/ suppliers/ users						

B.2. Still about your working atmosphere and considering a scale from 1 to 5, in which 5 corresponds to totally agree and 1 corresponds to totally disagree, in what measure would you say that…[SHOW CARD 2].

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree	Not applicable
	1	2	3	4	5	99
My working environment is characterized by proximity and trust towards my hierarchical superiors						
My working environment is characterized by proximity and trust towards my co-workers						
I have the autonomy to organize my work day.						
I have the power to influence the decisions within the organization / company						

B.3. What is your job satisfaction degree? Please, answer, considering this scale from 1 to 5, in which 5 corresponds to extremely satisfied and 1 corresponds to extremely dissatisfied. [SHOW CARD 3]

Extremely dissatisfied				Extremely satisfied
1	2	3	4	5

C.1.1. I will now read a list of situations that can occur in the workplace in relation to **immediate superiors or direct superiors or boss; manager; administrator**. I would like to know which ones you consider **bullying**. Thus, in your opinion, in the relationship with an immediate superiors or direct superiors… (READ SENTENCE) is it or is not bullying? (Rotate the sentences reading order)

	Yes	No	Don´t Know	No answer
Systematically devalued the work done	1	2	3	4
Repeatedly assign duties inappropriate to the occupational category with the intent to humiliate the worker	1	2	3	4
Isolating a worker and cutting him/her off from co-workers	1	2	3	4
Systematically humiliate the worker due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.).	1	2	3	4
Systematically subject the worker to stressful situations designed to cause him/her to lose control	1	2	3	4
Set impossible goals and deadlines	1	2	3	4
Constantly threaten the worker with dismissal	1	2	3	4

[FOR THE SITUATIONS CONSIDERED AS BULLYING, THAT IS, ALL OF THE ANSWERS "1" IN THE C.1.1.]

C.1.2. Using a scale from 1 to 5, in which 5 corresponds to extremely severe and 1 corresponds to not severe, what severity do you assign to… (READ SENTENCE), when this situation occurs with **immediate superiors or directs superiors or boss; manager; administrator)**. [SHOW CARD 4]

	Not severe	Somewhat severe	Severe	Very severe	Extremely severe
Systematically devalued the work done	1	2	3	4	5
Repeatedly assign duties inappropriate to the occupational category with the intent to humiliate the worker	1	2	3	4	5
Isolating a worker and cutting him/her off from co-workers	1	2	3	4	5
Systematically humiliate the worker due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.).	1	2	3	4	5
Systematically subject the worker to stressful situations designed to cause him/her to lose control	1	2	3	4	5
Set impossible goals and deadlines	1	2	3	4	5
Constantly threaten the worker with dismissal	1	2	3	4	5

[TO ALL]

C.1.3. Still on this subject, what situations coming from a **co-worker** do you consider as **bullying**. Thus, in your opinion, in the relationship with a coworker… (READ SENTENCE) is it or is not bullying? (Rotate the sentences reading order)

	Yes	No	Don´t Know	No answer
Systematically devalued the work done by some co-workers	1	2	3	4
Systematically subject some co-worker to stressful situations designed to cause them to lose control	1	2	3	4
Isolating a co-worker or cut off from the work group	1	2	3	4
Systematically humiliate some co-workers due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.).	1	2	3	4

[FOR THE SITUATIONS CONSIDERED AS BULLYING, THAT IS, ALL OF THE ANSWERS "1" NA C.1.3.]

C.1.4. Using the same scale from 1 to 5, in which 5 corresponds to extremely severe and 1 corresponds to not severe, what severity do you assign to … (READ SENTENCE), when this situations occurs with a **co-worker**. [SHOW CARD 4]

	Not severe	Somewhat severe	Severe	Very severe	Extremely severe
Systematically devalued the work done by some co-workers	1	2	3	4	5
Systematically subject some co-worker to stressful situations designed to cause them to lose control	1	2	3	4	5
Isolating a co-worker or cut off from the work group	1	2	3	4	5
Systematically humiliate some co-workers due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.).	1	2	3	4	5

[TO ALL]

C.2.1. Which of these situations have already occurred to you in the workplace in relation to **immediate superiors or direct superiors or boss; manager; administrator**. Please, respond considering your entire professional career (since you started working until today). [SHOW CARD 5]

1- Being isolated or cut off from co-workers	1
3- Feeling that my work has been/ is systematically devalued	2
4- Feeling I have been set impossible goals and deadlines	3
5- Feeling I have systematically and repeatedly been assigned duties inappropriate to my occupational category	4
6- Being systematically humiliated due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.)	5
7- Feeling constantly threatened with dismissal	6
8- Being systematically subjected to stressful situations designed to cause me to lose control.	7
None	99 → GO TO C.2.4

[FOR THE SITUATIONS EXPERIENCED IN C.2.1.]

C.2.2. How often did these situations occur? (READ SENTENCES)

	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Being isolated or cut off from co-workers	1	2	3
Feeling that my work has been/ is systematically devalued	1	2	3
Feeling I have been set impossible goals and deadlines	1	2	3
Feeling I have systematically and repeatedly been assigned duties inappropriate to my occupational category	1	2	3
Being systematically humiliated due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.)	1	2	3
Feeling constantly threatened with dismissal	1	2	3
Being systematically subjected to stressful situations designed to cause me to lose control.	1	2	3

C.2.3. What is the **severity** that you attribute to the situations you have experienced? (READ SENTENCES) [SHOW CARD 4]

	Not severe	Somewhat severe	severe	Very severe	Extremely severe
Being isolated or cut off from co-workers	1	2	3	4	5
Feeling that my work has been/ is systematically devalued	1	2	3	4	5
Feeling I have been set impossible goals and deadlines	1	2	3	4	5
Feeling I have systematically and repeatedly been assigned duties inappropriate to my occupational category	1	2	3	4	5
Being systematically humiliated due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
Feeling constantly threatened with dismissal	1	2	3	4	5
Being systematically subjected to stressful situations designed to cause me to lose control.	1	2	3	4	5

[TO ALL]

C.2.4. Which of these situations have already occurred to you in the workplace in relation to your **co-workers**? Please, respond considering your entire professional career (since you started working until today). [SHOW CARD 6]

Being isolated or cut off from superiors	1
Feeling that my work has been/ is systematically devalued	2
Being systematically humiliated due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.)	3
Being systematically subjected to stressful situations designed to cause me to lose control.	4
None	99 → GO TO NOTA AFTER C.2.6

[FOR THE SITUATIONS EXPERIENCED IN C.2.4]

C.2.5. How often do/did these situations occur? (READ SENTENCES)

	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Being isolated or cut off from superiors	1	2	3
Feeling that my work has been/ is systematically devalued	1	2	3
Being systematically humiliated due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.)	1	2	3
Being systematically subjected to stressful situations designed to cause me to lose control.	1	2	3

C.2.6. What is the **severity** that you attribute to the situations you have experienced? [SHOW CARD 4] (READ SENTENCES)

	Not severe	Somewhat severe	Severe	Very severe	Extremely severe
Being isolated or cut off from superiors	1	2	3	4	5
Feeling that my work has been/ is systematically devalued	1	2	3	4	5
Being systematically humiliated due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
Being systematically subjected to stressful situations designed to cause me to lose control.	1	2	3	4	5

[NOTE:

NOTE: IF THE INTERVIEWEE DIDN'T LIVE ANY SITUATION OF BULLYING (ANSWERS "NONE" IN C.2.1. E C.2.4.) → GO TO C.4.1. IF "99" IN BOTH C.2.1. AND C.2.4. → GO TO C.4.1.

IF THE INTERVIEWEE HAD MORE THAN ONE SITUATION OF BULLYING → GO TO C.3.1. IF MORE THAN "ONE ANSWER" IN C.2.1. AND C.2.4. → GO TO C.3.1.

IF THE INTERVIEWEE HAD ONLY ONE SITUATION OF BULLYING → GO TO C.3.2. IF JUST "ONE ANSWER" IN C.2.1. AND C.2.4 → GO TO C.3.2.

C.3.1. From the situations that you have mentioned that happened to you **which one affected you the most**? (READ SENTENCES) SINGLE; ONLY THE SITUATIONS REFERRED IN C.2.1. AND C.2.4. SHOULD APPEAR.

Being isolated or cut off from co-workers	1
Being isolated or cut off from superiors	2
Feeling that my work has been/ is systematically devalued	3
Feeling I have been set impossible goals and deadlines	4
Feeling I have systematically and repeatedly been assigned duties inappropriate to my occupational category	5
Being systematically humiliated due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.).).	6
Feeling constantly threatened with dismissal	7
Being systematically subjected to stressful situations designed to cause me to lose control.	8

C.3.2. Who was the **perpetrator**? SINGLE

Boss, Manager, Administrator	1
Immediate superior or direct superior	2
Co-worker	3
Hierarchical inferior	4
Other person in the organization (security, cleaning, etc.)	5
Customers/ suppliers/ users	6

C.3.2.1. How old were you when the bullying incident occurred? OPEN ENDED

_____

C.3.3. Did this situation happened at your current workplace? SINGLE

Yes	1
No	2

C.3.4. The perpetrator of this bullying incident was a … SINGLE

Woman	1
Man	2

C.3.5. When the bullying incident occurred what was the economic activity of the company / organization where you worked at, that is, what did your company/ organization make/produce? OPEN ENDED

_____

C.3.6.1. What was the dimension, of the company/ organization where you worked when the bullying incident occurred, regarding the number of workers? Please consider all the delegations/ offices of the company/ organization, in case there was more than one. SINGLE

C.3.6.2. And considering just where you worked, how many workers were there? SINGLE

	C.3.6.1	C.3.6.2
9 or less workers	1	1
Between 10 and 49 workers	2	2
Between 50 and 249 workers	3	3
250 or more workers	4	4
Don't know	5	5

C.3.7. What was your profession at the moment of the bullying incident? OPEN ENDED

_____

C.3.8. What was your employment situation at the moment of the bullying incident? SINGLE

Employer (with employees)	1	GO TO C.3.10.
Self-employed	2	GO TO C.3.10.
No contract	4	GO TO C.3.10.
Employed	5	GO TO C.3.9.
Family worker	6	GO TO C.3.10.

C.3.9. What was your type of employment contract at the time of the bullying incident described? SINGLE

Permanent contract	1
Temporary contract	2
No contract	3
Paid internship	4
Unpaid internship	5
Grant	6
Don't know/ no answer	7

C.3.10. At that time did you have any supervisory responsibility at your work? SINGLE

Yes	1	GO TO C.3.11.
No	2	GO TO C.3.12.
Don't know/ no answer	3	GO TO C.3.12.

C.3.11. How many persons do you supervise? SINGLE

Under 5	1
5-10	2
11-20	3
20 +	4

C.3.12. How did you **react** to the bullying incident experienced in the workplace? Choose the answers that best suit your case. [SHOW CARD 7] MULTIPLE

I hoped that the situation would not be repeated	1	GO TO C.3.13.
I tried to harm the person	2	GO TO C.3.14.
I asked to be transfered	3	GO TO C.3.14.
I quit my job	4	GO TO C.3.14.
I talked with co-workers	5	GO TO C.3.14.
I talked with the union or the union representative	6	GO TO C.3.14.
I talked with persons with influence in the organisation	7	GO TO C.3.14.
I did nothing	8	GO TO C.3.13.
Other. What? OPEN ENDED	9	GO TO C.3.14.

C.3.13. Why did you react in that way? [SHOW CARD 8] Choose the answers that best suit your case.. MULTIPLE

Because I was afraid to get fired	1
Because I was afraid of suffering professional consequences	2
Because other people advised me to do nothing and keep silent	3
Because I was afraid people wouldn't believe me	4
Because I didn't know who to turn to	5

C.3.14. Who did you **talk** to about the bullying incident? Choose the answers that best suit your case. MULTIPLE

Friends	1
Family	2
Partner; Girlfriend/Boyfriend; Husband/Wife	3
Senior company manager	4
Human Resources Deparment	5
Male co-workers	6
Female co-workers	7
Institutions (CITE, ACT, unions)	8
Lawyer	9
No-one IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	10
Other. Which? OPEN ENDED	11

C.3.15. How do/did you **feel** about the bullying incident? Choose the answers that best suit your case. [SHOW CARD 9] MULTIPLE

Sad/ depressed	1
Unable to act	2
Offended	3
Humiliated	4
Angry	5
Intimidated	6
Other. How? OPEN ENDED	7
Don't know IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	8
Doesn't answer IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	9

C.3.16. How did you feel about your work? SINGLE, PER LINE

	Nothing	Somewhat	Partially	Considerably	A lot
Discouraged	1	2	3	4	5
Difficulties in concentrating	1	2	3	4	5
Wanting to not go to work	1	2	3	4	5

C.3.17. What consequences did this bullying incident have in your professional and personal life? [SHOW CARD 10] Choose the answers that best suit your case.MULTIPLE

You had problems with co-workers	1
You had problems in the company	2
It jeopardized your job	3
It had negative consequences in your professional career	4
It had positive consequences in your professional career	5
You had problems with your partner	6
You had problems with other family members	7
No consequences	8
Other. What? OPEN ENDED	9
Don't know IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	10
Doesn´t answer IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	11

➔ GO TO D.1.

[TO INTERVIEWEES THAT DIDN'T HAVE ANY SITUATION OF BULLYING] JUST FOR THOSE WHO ANSWERED "99" IN BOTH C.2.1. AND C.2.4.

C.4.1. Did it come to your knowledge that some of these bullying incidents had occurred in the company/organization in which you´ve worked for the past 5 years? [SHOW CARD 11] Choose the answers that best suit your case. MULTIPLE

The superiors promoted the isolation of some workers	1
Some co-workers promoted the isolation of other co-workers	2
The superiors systematically devalued the work/performance of some workers	3
The co-workers systematically devalued the work/performance of other co-wokers	4
The superiors set impossible goals and deadlines	5
The superiors systematically and repeatedly assigned duties inappropriate to occupational category of some workers.	6
The co-workers systematically humiliated other co-workers due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.)	7
The superiors systematically humiliated some workers due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.)	8
The superiors constantly threatened some workers with dismissal	9
The superiors systematically subjected some workers to stressful situations designed to cause them to lose control.	10
The co-workers systematically subjected some co-workers to stressful situations designed to cause them to lose control.	11
Not aware IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	99 → GO TO C.4.4.

JUST FOR THE PHRASES MENTIONED IN C.4.1.

C.4.2. How often do/did these situations occur/occurred? (READ SENTENCES) SINGLE, PER LINE

	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Don´t no
The superiors promoted the isolation of some workers	1	2	3	4
Some co-workers promoted the isolation of other co-workers	1	2	3	4
The superiors systematically devalued the work/performance of some workers	1	2	3	4
The co-workers systematically devalued the work/performance of other co-wokers	1	2	3	4
The superiors set impossible goals and deadlines	1	2	3	4
The superiors systematically and repeatedly assigned duties inappropriate to occupational category of some workers.	1	2	3	4
The co-workers systematically humiliated other co-workers due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.)	1	2	3	4
The superiors systematically humiliated some workers due to physical, psychological or other characteristics (sexual orientation, religion, etc.)	1	2	3	4
The superiors constantly threatened some workers with dismissal	1	2	3	4
The superiors systematically subjected some workers to stressful situations designed to cause them to lose control.	1	2	3	4
The co-workers systematically subjected some co-workers to stressful situations designed to cause them to lose control.	1	2	3	4

C.4.3. When you knew of these situations how did you **react**? [SHOW CARD 12] Choose the answers that best suit your case. MULTIPLE

I didn't want to interfere, afraid of the consequences	1
I did not want to get involved because the issue did not concern me	2
Waited for the person (victim) to approach him/her for help.	3
Offered help and support to file a complaint or resolve the situation	4
Offered to testify	5
Filed a complaint	6
Other. How? OPEN ENDED	7
Don't know IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	8
Doesn't answer IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	9

C.4.4. How would you **feel** if a similar situation had happened to you? [SHOW CARD 9] Choose the answers that best suit your case. MULTIPLE

Sad/ depressed	1
Unable to act	2
Offended	3
Humiliated	4
Angry	5
Intimidated	6
Other. How? OPEN ENDED	7
Don't know IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	8
Doesn't answer IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	9

C.4.5. Who would you **talk** to if a bullying incident happened to you? Choose the answers that best suit your case. MULTIPLE

Friends	1
Family	2
Partner; Boyfriend/ Girlfriend; Husband/ Wife	3
Senior company manager	4
HR Department	5
Male co-workers	6
Female co-workers	7
Institutions (CITE, ACT, unions)	8
Lawyer	9
No-one IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	10
Other. Who OPEN ENDED	11

C.4.6. What **consequences** would an incident of this nature have in your life? [SHOW CARD 13] Choose the answers that best suit your case. MULTIPLE

Have problems with co-workers	1
Have problems in the company	2
Jeopardize your job	3
Have negative consequences in your professional career	4
Have positive consequences in your professional career	5
Have problems with your partner	6
Have problems with other family members	7
None IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	8
Other. What? OPEN ENDED	9

TO ALL

MODULE D | Sexual Harassment

D.1. | Representations on Sexual Harassment

D.1.1. I will now read a list of situations that can occur in the workplace. I would like to know which ones you consider sexual harassment. Thus, in your opinion, … (READ SENTENCE) is it or is not sexual harassment? (Rotate the sentences order) ROTATE PHRASES; SINGLE, PER LINE

	Yes	No	Don´t know
Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1	2	3
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	1	2	3
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	1	2	3
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	1	2	3
Invitations to unwanted dates	1	2	3
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	1	2	3
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	1	2	3
Insinuating and offensive looks	1	2	3
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	1	2	3
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	1	2	3
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	1	2	3
Requests for sexual favors associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	1	2	3

[FOR THE SITUATIONS CONSIDERED BULLYING, THAT IS, FOR ALL ANSWERS "1" NA D.1.1.] JUST FOR THE PHRASES CODED "1" IN D.1.1. IF NONE, GO TO D.2.

D.1.2. Using a scale from 1 to 5, in which 5 corresponds to extremely severe and 1 corresponds to not serious, what severity do you assign to… (READ SENTENCE), when this situation occurs with **immediate superiors or direct superiors or boss; manager; administrator**. [SHOW CARD 4] SINGLE, PER LINE

	Not severe	Somewhat severe	Severe	Very severe	Extremely severe
Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Invitations to unwanted dates	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	1	2	3	4	5
Insinuating and offensive looks	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	1	2	3	4	5
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	1	2	3	4	5
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	1	2	3	4	5
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	1	2	3	4	5

D.1.3. What is the severity that you attribute to… (READ SENTENCE), when this situation occurs between c**o-workers**? [SHOW CARD 4] SINGLE, PER LINE

	Not severe	Somewhat severe	Severe	Very severe	Extremely severe
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Invitations to unwanted dates	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	1	2	3	4	5
Insinuating and offensive looks	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	1	2	3	4	5
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	1	2	3	4	5
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	1	2	3	4	5
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	1	2	3	4	5

D.1.4. What is the severity that you attribute to… (READ SENTENCE), when this situation occurs with **suppliers, clients or users** of your workplace? [SHOW CARD 4] SINGLE, PER LINE

	Not severe	Somewhat severe	Severe	Very severe	Extremely severe	Not applicable
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	1	2	3	4	5	6
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5	6
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5	6
Invitations to unwanted dates	1	2	3	4	5	6
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5	6
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	1	2	3	4	5	6
Insinuating and offensive looks	1	2	3	4	5	6
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	1	2	3	4	5	6
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	1	2	3	4	5	6
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	1	2	3	4	5	6
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	1	2	3	4	5	6

D.1.5. What is the severity that you attribute to… (READ SENTENCE), when this situation occurs with **subordinates**? [SHOW CARD 4] SINGLE, PER LINE

	Not severe	Somewhat severe	Severe	Very severe	Extremely severe	Not applicable
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	1	2	3	4	5	6
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5	6
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5	6
Invitations to unwanted dates	1	2	3	4	5	6
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5	6
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	1	2	3	4	5	6
Insinuating and offensive looks	1	2	3	4	5	6
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	1	2	3	4	5	6
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	1	2	3	4	5	6
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	1	2	3	4	5	6
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	1	2	3	4	5	6

D.1.6. And what severity do you attribute to … (READ SENTENCE), when this situation occurs with **other people who work in your organization** (security, cleaning, etc.)? [SHOW CARD 4] SINGLE, PER LINE

	Not severe	Somewhat severe	Severe	Very severe	Extremely severe	Not applicable
Offensive jokes or comments about their looks	1	2	3	4	5	6
Offensive jokes or comments about their body	1	2	3	4	5	6
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5	6
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5	6
Invitations to unwanted dates	1	2	3	4	5	6
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5	6
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	1	2	3	4	5	6
Insinuating and offensive looks	1	2	3	4	5	6
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	1	2	3	4	5	6
Intrusive and offensive questioning about their private life	1	2	3	4	5	6
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	1	2	3	4	5	6

[TO ALL]

D.2.1. Which of these situations have occurred to you at work, in your relationship with **immediate superiors or direct superiors or boss; manager; administrator**? Please reply considering your entire professional career (since you entered the workforce until today). [SHOW CARD 14] MULTIPLE

Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	2
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	3
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	4
Invitations to unwanted dates	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	6
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	7
Insinuating and offensive looks	8
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	9
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	10
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	11
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	12
NONE IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	99 → GO TO D.2.4

[JUST FOR THE PHRASES MENTIONED IN D.2.1.]

D.2.2. How often do/did these situations occur? (READ SENTENCES) SINGLE, PER LINE

	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	2	3	4
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	2	3	4
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Invitations to unwanted dates	2	3	4
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	2	3	4
Insinuating and offensive looks	2	3	4
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	2	3	4
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	2	3	4
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	2	3	4
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	2	3	4

D.2.3. What is the severity you attribute to the situations you have lived? [SHOW CARD 4] SINGLE, PER LINE

	Not severe	Somewhat severe	Severe	Very severe	Extremely severe
Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Invitations to unwanted dates	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	1	2	3	4	5
Insinuating and offensive looks	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	1	2	3	4	5
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	1	2	3	4	5
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	1	2	3	4	5
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	1	2	3	4	5

[TO ALL]

D.2.4. Which of these situations have occurred to you, at work, in the relationship with your **co-workers**? Please reply considering your entire professional career (since you entered the workforce until today). [SHOW CARD 14] MULTIPLE

Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	2
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	3
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	4
Invitations to unwanted dates	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	6
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	7
Insinuating and offensive looks	8
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	9
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	10
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	11
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	12
NONE IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	99 → GO TO D.2.7.

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[JUST FOR THE PHRASES MENTIONED IN D.2.4.]

D.2.5. How often do/did these situations occur? (READ SENTENCES) SINGLE, PER LINE

	Rarely	Someti mes	Often
Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	2	3	4
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	2	3	4
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Invitations to unwanted dates	2	3	4
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	2	3	4
Insinuating and offensive looks	2	3	4
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	2	3	4
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	2	3	4
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	2	3	4
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	2	3	4

D.2.6. What is the severity you attribute to the situations you have lived? (READ SENTENCES) [SHOW CARD 4] SINGLE, PER LINE

	Not severe	Somewha t severe	Sever e	Very severe	Extremely severe
Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Invitations to unwanted dates	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	1	2	3	4	5
Insinuating and offensive looks	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	1	2	3	4	5
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	1	2	3	4	5
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	1	2	3	4	5
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	1	2	3	4	5

[TO ALL]

D.2.7. Which of these situations have occurred to you, at work, in your relationship with your **customers, suppliers or users**? Please reply considering your entire professional career (since you entered the workforce until today). [SHOW CARD 15] MULTIPLE

Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	2
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	3
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	4
Invitations to unwanted dates	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	6
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	7
Insinuating and offensive looks	8
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	9
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	10
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	11
Requests for sexual favors associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	12
NONE IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	99 → GO TO D.2.10.

[JUST FOR THE PHRASES MENTIONED IN D.2.7.]

D.2.8. How often do/did these situations occur? (READ SENTENCES) SINGLE, PER LINE

	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	2	3	4
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	2	3	4
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Invitations to unwanted dates	2	3	4
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	2	3	4
Insinuating and offensive looks	2	3	4
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	2	3	4
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	2	3	4
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	2	3	4
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	2	3	4

D.2.9. What is the **severity** you attribute to the situations you have lived? (READ SENTENCES) [SHOW CARD 4] SINGLE, PER LINE

	Not severe	Somewhat severe	Severe	Very severe	Extremely severe
Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Invitations to unwanted dates	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	1	2	3	4	5
Insinuating and offensive looks	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	1	2	3	4	5
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	1	2	3	4	5
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	1	2	3	4	5
Requests for sexual favors associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	1	2	3	4	5

[TO ALL]

D.2.10. Which of these situations have occurred to you, at work, in the relationship with your **hierarchical inferiors**? Please reply considering your entire professional career (since you entered the workforce until today). [SHOW CARD 15] MULTIPLE

Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	2
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	3
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	4
Invitations to unwanted dates	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	6
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	7
Insinuating and offensive looks	8
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	9
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	10
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	11
Requests for sexual favors associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	12
NONE IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	99 → GO TO D.2.13.

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[JUST FOR THE PHRASES MENTIONED IN D.2.10.]

D.2.11. With what **frequency** do/did these situations occur? (READ SENTENCES) SINGLE, PER LINE

	Rarely	Someti mes	Often
Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	2	3	4
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	2	3	4
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Invitations to unwanted dates	2	3	4
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	2	3	4
Insinuating and offensive looks	2	3	4
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	2	3	4
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	2	3	4
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	2	3	4
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	2	3	4

D.2.12. What is the **severity** you attribute to the situations you have lived? (READ SENTENCES) [SHOW CARD 4] SINGLE, PER LINE

	Not severe	Somewha t severe	Sever e	Very severe	Extremely severe
Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Invitations to unwanted dates	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	1	2	3	4	5
Insinuating and offensive looks	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	1	2	3	4	5
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	1	2	3	4	5
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	1	2	3	4	5
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	1	2	3	4	5

TO ALL

D.2.13. Which of these situations have occurred to you, at work, in the relationship with your **other people who work in your organization (security, cleaning, etc.)**? Please reply considering your entire professional career (since you entered the workforce until today). [SHOW CARD 15] MULTIPLE

Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	2
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	3
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	4
Invitations to unwanted dates	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	6
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	7
Insinuating and offensive looks	8
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	9
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	10
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	11
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	12
NONE IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	99 → GO TO **NOTA** AFTER D.2.15

[JUST FOR THE PHRASES MENTIONED IN D.2.13.]

D.2.14. How often do/did these situations occur? (READ SENTENCES) SINGLE, PER LINE

	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	2	3	4
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	2	3	4
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Invitations to unwanted dates	2	3	4
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	2	3	4
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	2	3	4
Insinuating and offensive looks	2	3	4
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	2	3	4
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	2	3	4
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	2	3	4
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	2	3	4

D.2.15. What is the **severity** you attribute to the situations you have lived? (READ SENTENCES) [SHOW CARD 4] SINGLE, PER LINE

	Not severe	Somewhat severe	Severe	Very severe	Extremely severe
Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Invitations to unwanted dates	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	1	2	3	4	5
Insinuating and offensive looks	1	2	3	4	5
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	1	2	3	4	5
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	1	2	3	4	5
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	1	2	3	4	5
Requests for sexual favors associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	1	2	3	4	5

NOTE:

NOTE: IF THE INTERVIEWEE DIDN'T LIVE ANY SITUATION OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT (ANSWERS "NONE" IN D.2.1., D.2.4., D.2.7., D.2.10., AND D.2.13.) → GO TO D.4.1.

IF THE INTERVIEWEE HAD MORE THAN ONE SITUATION OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT → GO TO D.3.1.

IF THE INTERVIEWEE HAD ONLY ONE SITUATION OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT → GO TO D.3.2.

JUST FOR THE PHRASES MENTIONED IN D.2.1., D.2.4., D.2.7., D.2.10. E D.2.13. (IF MORE THAN ONE SENTENCE; IF JUST ONE SENTENCE REFERRED IN D.2.1., D.2.4., D.2.7., D.2.10. AND D.2.13. GO TO D.3.2.)

D.3.1. Of all the situations you mentioned, that happened to you, which **affected you the most**? (READ SENTENCES) SINGLE

Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	2
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	3
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	4
Invitations to unwanted dates	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	6
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	7
Insinuating and offensive looks	8
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	9
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	10
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	11
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	12

D.3.2. Who was the **perpetrator**? SINGLE

Boss, manager, administrator	1
Superior or manager	2
Co-worker	3
Hierarchical inferior	4
Other person in the organization (security, cleaning, etc.).	5
Customer/ supplier/ user	6

D.3.2.1. How old were you when the harassment incident occurred? OPEN ENDED

_____

D.3.3. Did this situation occur in your current workplace? SINGLE

Yes	1
No	2

D.3.4. The perpetrator of this incident was… SINGLE

Woman	1
Man	2

D.3.5. When the harassment incident occurred, what was the economic activity of the company/ organization where you worked, that is, what did your company/ organization make/produce? OPEN ENDED

_____

D.3.6.1. What was the dimension, of the company/ organization where you worked when the incident occur, regarding the number of workers? Please consider all the delegations/ offices of the company/ organization, in case there was more than one. SINGLE

D.3.6.2. Considering just where you worked, how many workers were there? SINGLE

	D.3.6.1	D.3.6.2
9 or less workers	1	1
Between 10 and 49 workers	2	2
Between 50 and 249 workers	3	3
250 or more workers	4	4
Don't know	5	5

D.3.7. What was your profession in the moment of the harassment incident? OPEN ENDED

_____

D.3.8. What was your employment situation in the moment of the harassment incident? SINGLE

Employer	1	GO TO D.3.10.
Self-employed	2	GO TO D.3.10.
No contract	4	GO TO D.3.10.
Employed	5	GO TO D.3.9.
Family worker	6	GO TO D.3.10.

D.3.9. What was your type of employment contract in the moment of the harassment incident described? SINGLE

Permanent contract	1
Temporary contract	2
No contract	3
Paid internship	4
Unpaid internship	5
Grant	6
Don't know/ no answer	7

D.3.10. Did you have any supervisory responsibilities at work at that time? SINGLE

Yes	1	GO TO D.3.11.
No	2	GO TO D.3.12.
Don't know/ no answer	3	GO TO D.3.12.

D.3.11. How many persons do you supervise? SINGLE

Under 5	1
Between 5 and 10	2
Between 11 and 20	3
Over 20	4

D.3.12. Which of these **reasons** explains what happened to you [SHOW CARD 16] SINGLE

Because I was unlucky	1
Because some people have no respect for others	2
Because women at work are subject to this sort of thing	3
Because men at work are subject to this sort of thing	4
Because I'm nice and good-looking	5
Because I like to dress attractively	6
Because I'm dependent on this person and he/she took advantage of this	7
I can't explain it	8

D.3.13. How did you **react** to the harassment situation at the moment of the incident? Choose the answers that best suit your case. [SHOW CARD 17] MULTIPLE

I pretended not to notice	1
I immediately showed my displeasure	2
I immediately confronted the person telling them not to do it again	3
I immediately showed that I had taken offence	4
I showed that I was very annoyed	5

D.3.14. How did you **react** to the incident of harassment experienced in the workplace? Choose the answers that best suit your case. [SHOW CARD 7] MULTIPLE

I hoped that the situation would not be repeated	1	GO TO D.3.15.
I tried to harm the person	2	GO TO D.3.16.
I asked to be transferred	3	GO TO D.3.16.
I quit my job	4	GO TO D.3.16.
I talked with co-workers	5	GO TO D.3.16.
I talked with the union or the union representative	6	GO TO D.3.16.
I talked with persons with influence in the organisation	7	GO TO D.3.16.
I did nothing	8	GO TO D.3.15.
Other. How? OPEN ENDED	9	GO TO D.3.16.

D.3.15. Why did you react in that way? [SHOW CARD 8] SINGLE

Because I was afraid to get fired	1
Because I was afraid of suffering professional consequences	2
Because other people advised me to do nothing and keep silent	3
Because I was afraid people wouldn't believe me	4
Because I didn't know who to turn to	5

D.3.16. Who did you **talk** to about the incident? Choose the answers that best suit your case. MULTIPLE

Friends	1
Family	2
Partner; Boyfriend/ Girlfriend; Husband/ Wife	3
Senior company manager	4
HR Department	5
Male co-workers	6
Female co-workers	7
Institutions (CITE, ACT, unions)	8
Lawyer	9
No-one IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	10
Other. Who? OPEN ENDED	11

D.3.17. How **did/do you feel** about the harassment incident? Choose the answers that best suit your case. [SHOW CARD 9]   MULTIPLE

Sad/ depressed	1
Unable to act	2
Offended	3
Humiliated	4
Angry	5
Intimidated	6
Other. How? OPEN ENDED	7
Don't know IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	8
Doesn't answer IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	9

D.3.18. Which of these **symptoms** did you feel in the situation you lived? Choose the answers that best suit your case. [SHOW CARD 18] MULTIPLE

Headaches	1
Sexual problems	2
Sleep problems/ insomnia	3
Nightmares	4
Nervousness	5
Depression	6
Other. What? OPEN ENDED	7

D.3.19. How did you feel about your work? SINGLE, PER LINE

	Nothing	Somewhat	Partially	Considerably	A lot
Discouraged	1	2	3	4	5
Difficulties in concentrating	1	2	3	4	5
Wanting to not go to work	1	2	3	4	5

C.3.20. What **consequences** did this incident have in your professional and personal life? Choose the answers that best suit your case. [SHOW CARD 10] MULTIPLE

You had problems with co-workers	1
You had problems in the company	2
It jeopardized your job	3
It had negative consequences in your professional career	4
It had positive consequences in your professional career	5
You had problems with your partner	6
You had problems with other family members	7
No consequences IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	8
Other. What? OPEN ENDED	9

➔ GO TO E.1.

[TO INTERVIEWEES THAT DIDN'T HAVE ANY SITUATION OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT] JUST FOR THOSE WHO ANSWERED "99" IN ALL THE FIVE D.2.1., D.2.4., D.2.7., D.2.10. AND D.2.13.

D.4.1. Which of these **reasons** explains that you were never a victim of sexual harassment? Choose the answers that best suit your case. [SHOW CARD 19] MULTIPLE

Because I've been lucky	1
Because with my personality, the other person would not dare.	2
Because I work with people who respect others	3
Because women in the workplace don't have to be subject to these issues	4
Because men in the workplace don't have to be subject to these issues	5
Because I dress adequately for work	6
Because this would never go on with my superiors	7
I can't explain	8

D.4.2.A. Did you **know** of the occurrence any of the following situations of sexual harassment, in the company/ organization you work in, within the last 5 years, involving **immediate superiors or direct superiors or boss; manager; administrator**? Choose the answers that best suit your case. [SHOW CARD 20] MULTIPLE

Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	2
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	3
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	4
Invitations to unwanted dates	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	6
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	7
Insinuating and offensive looks	8
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	9
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	10
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	11
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	12
DOESN'T KNOW IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	13

D.4.2.B. Did you **know** of the occurrence any of the following situations of sexual harassment, in the company/ organization you work in, within the last 5 years, involving co-workers? Choose the answers that best suit your case. [SHOW CARD 20] MULTIPLE

Offensive jokes or comments about your looks	1
Offensive jokes or comments about your body	2
Offensive jokes or comments of a sexual nature	3
Offensive phone calls, letters, emails, text messages or images of a sexual nature	4
Invitations to unwanted dates	5
Unwelcome explicit propositions of a sexual nature	6
Unwelcome propositions of a sexual nature made by email, text message, on websites or social networks	7
Insinuating and offensive looks	8
Unwelcome physical contact (touching, stroking, groping, kissing or attempted kissing)	9
Sexual assault or attempted sexual assault	10
Intrusive and offensive questioning about your private life	11
Requests for sexual favours associated to promises of obtaining work or improving work conditions	12
DOESN'T KNOW IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	13

[IF YOU KNOWE OF ANY SEXUAL HARASSMENT SITUATION] IF CODE "13" IN BOTH D.4.2.A AND D.4.2.B GO TO D.4.4.

D.4.3. When you knew of these situations, how did you **react**? Choose the answers that best suit your case. [SHOW CARD 12] MULTIPLE

I didn't want to interfere, afraid of the consequences	1
I did not want to get involved because the issue did not concern me	2
Waited for the person (victim) to approach him/her for help.	3
Offered help and support to file a complaint or resolve the situation	4
Offered to testify	5
Filed a complaint	6
Other. How? OPEN ENDED	7

D.4.4. How **would you feel** if such a situation had happened to you? Choose the answers that best suit your case. [SHOW CARD 9] MULTIPLE

Sad/ Depressed	1
Unable to act	2
Offended	3
Humiliated	4
Angry	5
Intimidated	6
Other. How? OPEN ENDED	7
Doesn't know IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	8
Doesn't answer IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	9

D.4.5. If a situation of harassment were to occur to you, who would you **talk** to? Choose the answers that you consider most likely. MULTIPLE

Friends	1
Family	2
Partner; Boyfriend/ Girlfriend; Husband/ Wife	3
Senior company manager	4
HR Department	5
Male co-workers	6
Female co-workers	7
Institutions (CITE, ACT, unions)	8
Lawyer	9
No-one IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	10
Other. Who? OPEN ENDED	11

D.4.6. What **consequences** would an incident of this nature have in your life? Choose the answers that you consider most likely. [SHOW CARD 13] MULTIPLE

Have problems with co-workers	1
Have problems in the company	2
Jeopardize your job	3
Have negative consequences in your professional career	4
Have positive consequences in your professional career	5
Have problems with your partner	6
Have problems with other family members	7
None IF SELECTED, NO OTHER ANSWER CAN BE ACCEPTED	8
Other. What? OPEN ENDED	9

TO ALL

E.1.1. We are about to end this questionnaire. I have only one more question. About the division of labor in your family, please tell us what opinion below is closest to your own. Choose only one answer [SHOW CARD 21] SINGLE

In a family, the ideal is that both members of the couple have a professional activity and both share the domestic chores and childcare activities.	1
In a family, the ideal is that one of the members of the couple has a professional activity less absorbent, in order to secure the majority childcare activities and domestic chores.	2
In a family, the ideal is that only one of the members of the couple has a professional activity, in order for the other to secure childcare activities and domestic chores.	3

One last request. The researcher's team of CIEG-ISCSP (Interdisciplinary Centre for Gender Studies, Institute of Social and Political Sciences), wishes to undergo interviews to some of the respondents of this questionnaire, deepening some subjects that were approached here.

Would you be available to be a part of this study?   YES………. 1   NO……… 2

IF YES: FILL IN THE SPACES – OPEN ENDED

Name:_____ Phone number:_____

E-mail address:_____