



Women's Awareness of Sexual Harassment and Labour Market Preferences

September 2021



ABOUT THIS PUBLICATION

The paper, Women's Awareness of Sexual Harassment and Labour Market Preferences, is a part of the working paper series and has been produced with the help of IWWAGE research fellowship to young researchers in 2019.

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ABOUT IWWAGE

Initiative for What Works to Advance Women and Girls in the Economy (IWWAGE) aims to build on existing research and generate new evidence to inform and facilitate the agenda of women's economic empowerment. IWWAGE is an initiative of LEAD, an action-oriented research centre of IFMR Society (a not-for-profit society registered under the Societies Act). LEAD has strategic oversight and brand support from Krea University (sponsored by IFMR Society) to enable synergies between academia and the research centre.

IWWAGE is supported by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. The findings and conclusions in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to acknowledge, with gratitude, a fellowship from IWWAGE that enabled this study. I thank Sona Mitra and Soumya Kapoor Mehta for continued guidance and support on the project along with the whole IWWAGE team for the edits. I am grateful to receive the IWWAGE fellowship through a competitive process during which the IWWAGE team provided full support. Special thanks to the survey team, especially Pooja, Najma, Rahul, Deeksha and Vandana for their hard work throughout the project. I am grateful to Prakriti Singh and Ayushmita Samal for their excellent research assistance. A warm thank you to the numerous faculty members at the collaborating college for their support while conducting the surveys. To my supervisors, James Fenske and Clement Imbert, I am grateful for your guidance throughout the project. All errors are my own.

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Table of **CONTENTS**

Abstract	0 1
1. Introduction	05
2. Context	08
3. Experimental Design	09
4. Econometric Specification	— 12
5. Discussion and Conclusion	— 17
6. References	— 18

Abstract

Sexual harassment can have strong effects on labour market outcomes, including productivity, absenteeism and turnover besides other psychological and health outcomes. In this paper, a randomised controlled trial (RCT) is implemented with college students in Delhi to understand the effects of a sexual harassment awareness intervention with women on their hypothetical job choices and aspirations. The awareness intervention provided information on the sexual harassment of women at workplace act (2013), principals to detect sexual harassment and also legal redressal procedure for sexual harassment. Results show that women's perception of sexual harassment increases in the short run after the training on two measures of sexual harassment, but these effects do not persist in the medium run. It affects their preference over the gender composition of jobs significantly four months after the intervention. In particular, women are less likely to accept job offers to work in male majority teams. Evidence is also found regarding a fall in women's romantic relationships with all men inside or outside their peer groups. This indicated that the treatment made women avoid men even more. The null effects of the treatment on women's overall labour market experience, search efforts and aspirations cannot be rejected. It can be therefore, inferred that women might under detect sexual harassment in their environment, and that increasing their awareness might make them avoid male majority jobs contributing to occupational segregation between men and women.





While India has witnessed rapid economic growth, expanding education levels and falling fertility rates for women, female labour force participation has remained low and has been declining consistently (Klasen and Pieters (2015); Fletcher et al. (2017)). Both the supply and demand side factors are considered important factors for this. One such factor is the lack of growth in femalefriendly jobs or jobs which traditionally employ a high proportion of women (Klasen and Pieters (2015); Fletcher et al. (2017)). Thus, it is important for policymakers to understand whether some jobs not traditionally chosen by women can be made more desirable for them. The safety of women is claimed to be an important driver of women's labour market participation. Sudarshan and Bhattacharya (2009) point out safety as a significant barrier for both working and nonworking women in urban India. Jayachandran (2020); Chaudhary et al. (2014) emphasise on the safety of women in public transport and within workplaces to improve women's labour force participation in Asia. They claim that women's perception of safety in different types of jobs is an

important factor determining their participation in the labour force. However, given measurement issues and lack of data, the relationship between the two is understudied.

Besides concerns about safety, it is considered a stigma and taboo for women to interact or work with men outside their homes, especially in South Asia (Jayachandran (2015), Miller et al. (2019), Jayachandran (2020)). Fear of facing sexual violence that violates the idea of "purity" is one reason for this stigma. The min was to understand whether perception of sexual harassment connected to interacting with men on the job or otherwise plays a role in women's labour market choices as a cost to female labour force participation in India. Since sexual harassment awareness trainings are becoming increasingly popular and mandatory in many countries, the results of the project will help inform policymakers on their labour market effects as well.¹ Borker (2017) points out that empowerment trainings for women is a potential way to improve female labour force

¹These awareness trainings have been advocated by lawmakers SHWA 2013, EEOC for US and academics (Fitzgerald and Shullman, 1993). These are also mandatory in many countries in Europe, Asia and 21 states in the US and recommended by a majority of the countries.

participation in India. This project tests whether sexual harassment awareness training can act as a potential economic and social empowerment tool for women to improve their labour market outcomes.

The main research question of the paper is to test how higher sexual harassment awareness affects women's labour market aspirations and preferences, in particular, how raising awareness about sexual harassment and redressal mechanisms, sexual harassment trainings can affect their preferences for jobs. A randomised experiment was used to answer this question. A collaboration with a co-educational college in Delhi provided an ideal field set-up to answer the questions. A UN women's study shows that 92 per cent of women surveyed in Delhi have suffered from either sexual, visual or verbal harassment.² This project utilises sexual harassment awareness interventions with the collaborating college's female students to understand the impact on their labour market decisions. Thus, this has helped to study the impact of such trainings even before these women enter the labour market.

The study shows that the awareness intervention has increased women's recall of sexual harassment for themselves and for other women significantly in the short run. However, these effects do not sustain in the medium run around five months after the intervention. But despite this, women's preferences for accepting job offers with male majority teams go down in the medium run. To understand the mechanisms, the women were asked about their relationships with men inside and outside their college. It was found that their romantic relationships with men significantly fell after the intervention. The argument thus, is that avoidance of men after a higher awareness of sexual harassment of women can lead to a higher gender and occupational segregation.

This paper contributes to two main strands of literature—first, to the literature on female labour force participation in India in both rural and urban India (Klasen and Pieters (2015); Fletcher et al. (2017); Afridi et al. (2018)); and secondly, to the extensive literature that has studied how sexual harassment affects women's outcomes like job quits, satisfaction and compensating differentials for sexual harassment (Folke and Rickne (2020); Hersch (2011); Hersch (2018); Antecol and Cobb-Clark (2006)).

This study, thus has a focus on the urban context of Delhi where the risk of sexual violence has been documented to be high along with a falling labour force participation (Klasen and Pieters (2015), Sudarshan and Bhattacharya (2009), Field et al. (2016), Fletcher et al. (2017)). Sudarshan and Bhattacharya (2009), which points to safety as a significant barrier for both working and nonworking women in urban India. At the same time, the lack of growth in female-friendly jobs or jobs which traditionally employ a high proportion of women (Klasen and Pieters (2015); Fletcher et al. (2017)) is also considered to be a reason for the stagnation in the participation of women in the labour market. Much of the previous and ongoing works (Florence Kondylis and Vyborny (2019), Field and Vyborny (2019), Erica Field and Jawaher-Al-Sudairy (2019)) focus on safe public transportation and its effects on female labour market outcomes. However, these primarily focus on street harassment indicating that perceived risk of street harassment leads to avoidance behaviours among women that can affect their labour market outcomes. Crucially, street harassment represents a different dynamic than sexual harassment in inter-personal environments, such as educational institutions or within workplaces. This paper focuses on sexual harassment within a repeated interaction environment and its effects on women's labour market preferences or choices.

The second contribution is to the extensive literature on how sexual harassment affects women's outcomes like job quits, satisfaction and compensating differentials for sexual harassment (Folke and Rickne (2020); Hersch (2011); Hersch (2018); Antecol and Cobb-Clark (2006)). In the developing country context, there have been studies that provide evidence that actual risk and fear of sexual harassment can negatively affect women's human capital accumulation Borker (2017) and labour market engagement (Chakraborty et al. (2018); Siddique (2018)). This paper attempts to add to this literature by studying how perceptions of sexual harassment affect women's labour market aspirations, entry decisions and job preferences even before they enter the workforce. The focus is on women who are pursuing higher education and are likely at the cusp of making their first labour market participation decision.

Workplace attributes like flexible working hours and location/distance of the job have been

shown to affect women's labour market choices significantly (Mas and Pallais (2017); Banerjee and Chiplunkar (2018); Nivedhitha (2019); Wiswall and Zafar (2017)). For South Asia in particular, stigma against opposite gender interaction is considered an important variable in this exercise as well (Jayachandran (2015 & 2020), Miller et al. (2019)). Nivedhitha (2019). The gender of the supervisor matters for college-going women in Pakistan when they apply for job opportunities. It is attributed to social norms and the stigma against opposite gender interaction. This project, however, studies whether and how perception of sexual harassment affects the preference of a particular job attribute: the probability of interaction with men.

The study goes further to study women's own perception of safety rather than stigma. Evidence has been provided on one channel through which awareness training can affect tastes over these attributes: comfort or discomfort of women in interacting with the opposite gender.







The study uses the context of urban Indian college students in the 18–22-year age group. In Table 1, the data collected from women in the collaborating college at the baseline shows that only 18 per cent of them aspired to work after college. In contrast, all the others wanted to pursue higher studies. However, nearly 46 per cent wanted to attend a job or internship interview if it was organised by their college placement cell. In practice, however, only 5 per cent of them ever sat through an interview in college, and only 4 per cent were ever employed in an internship or a job. In line with their aspirations, very few had actually attended any interview for a job or an internship.

At the baseline, around 43 per cent of the women reported that they faced mild sexual harassment. These were mostly non-physical incidents like sexual remarks, jokes, online stalking or sexual texts. Nearly 34 per cent of the women reported being physically harassed (ogled, groped, fondled and other forms of physical contact without consent) in the two months preceding the baseline. Data on awareness reveals that a majority of the women could identify instances of sexual harassment where there was a power imbalance (for instance, a hypothetical sexual harassment incident between a professor and a student), but were not able to identify nonphysical forms of harassment. Clearly there is lack of knowledge about sexual harassment which brings out the importance and necessitates sexual harassment awareness training. Only 19 per cent of the women knew about their internal complaints committee set up for redressal purposes.³

Table 2 provides the correlations between labour market characteristics and sexual harassment exposure at the baseline. It shows that labour market aspirations of women are negatively correlated with sexual harassment exposure of intermediate and high intensity type, but the correlation is small. However, the study shows that women who have worked before, or those who plan to sit for interviews report a higher exposure to low intensity events. The other important point is that women who have been employed through a job opportunity via their college's placement cell also have a lower likelihood of facing low- and medium-intensity events of sexual harassment.





3.1 A. Surveys

The study uses a randomised controlled trial with women in the 18-22 age group of two collaborating colleges. College A served as the pilot and the survey was carried out in January 2019. This report shows only the results of the final experiment carried out in College B in November 2019.

For the study, 758 randomly selected women distributed across 18 courses were made aware of sexual harassment as detailed below. The survey team undertook interventions with the selected women in January 2019 for college A and in November 2019 for college B.

The survey was completed individually by the women on tablets. In particular, women were randomised into receiving the treatment or control survey instrument.

In consultation with Safecity, the partnering NGO, and other legal experts, the following information on sexual harassment was provided to the randomly selected women on tablets:

- The legal definition of sexual harassment as per the Sexual Harassment of Women in the Work place Act, 2013.
- Principles for detecting sexual harassment developed in consultation with legal awareness experts on sexual harassment in the University.
- Situation-based exercises where they had to identify if a particular situation was sexual harassment or not. They were given hints if they did not answer the questions correctly. Women in the control group proceeded without any hints.

Although the information above is a standard curriculum of a sexual harassment awareness training course delivered by Safecity to corporate bodies, it was modified and tailored to suit the college context.

The women were then asked to recall any sexual harassment incidents over the preceding two months for themselves⁴ and their perception of other women's exposure to sexual harassment. The details of the questions asked are in Appendix A. In college B, individual randomization of women was combined with a class-level randomization of the proportion of treated women. In 50 per cent of the classes, 25 per cent of women and in other 50 per cent, 75 per cent of the women were randomly selected to receive intervention. This was designed to understand the effects of treatment on women in the control group and men within the same class, and also whether the proportion mattered for the effects of individual level treatment with women.⁵

The same women were surveyed in May-June 2020 for college B. Although the main outcomes remained the same for both colleges A and B, there were some additional questions for college B to better understand the effects on the labour market aspirations of women.⁶ The end line was conducted about 4-5 months after the intervention.

3.2 Data

Sexual harassment data

Due to the stigma and sensitivity of reporting sexual harassment, the study undertook a number of precautions to collect information as per the ethical protocol approved by the University of Warwick and IFMR. The following shows the various factors taken into consideration when collecting sexual harassment data.

- Selection of sample: This was reduced because students were not sure of their class schedules and therefore, could not commit to a specific date or time slot for the survey team. Hence, concerns about which women fill the survey was minimised.
- Questionnaire: The study was conducted with three pre-registered questions: the first was on whether they had been sexually harassed in the previous two months; the second was about being sexually harassed in different environments; and lastly, the different types of sexual harassment, which

were adapted from the sexual harassment experiences questionnaire (Fitzgerald et al. (1995)). Separate indices were created for each category of questions to reduce the risk of false positives and to improve statistical power to detect effects (Anderson, 2008). The questions are provided in appendix A.

• Under-reporting: Due to its sensitive nature and the stigma in treatment classes, there is a high chance of women under-reporting sexual harassment. (Cullen (2020) shows that there is no statistically significant difference in reporting of non-partner sexual violence when elicited through a list method and a more direct but tablet-based method, which is closer to the method used for this paper. Comfort and privacy of female respondents: Consistent with what discussions with NGOs revealed, women answer questions much more truthfully in isolation from men. The survey team ensured that all the respondents were placed in isolated rooms together where they could answer the questions on individual tablets in privacy, away from college authorities and other students. Figure 6 depicts the surveys in progress. A team of trained female surveyors was always present in the room to answer respondents' questions. Female surveyors helped in making women participants more comfortable when answering sensitive questions (Aguilar et al. $(2020).^{7}$

While these measures may not be fool proof in ensuring the complete truth from the respondents, they are stricter, more comprehensive and complementary to those seen in the literature on sexual harassment (Aguilar et al. (2020), Folke and Rickne (2020), Florence Kondylis and Vyborny (2019)). However, these measures were more comprehensive than those used in collecting sexual violence data in Demographic Health Surveys.

⁵ In what follows, the results are shown without class-level variation since the results were noisier than expected. Another reason for this is that these endline surveys were done during the COVID-19 pandemic over the phone giving much more noisy estimates.

⁶ Due to the pandemic and lockdown, there was a change in the survey methodology between college A and B. The endline data for college B was undertaken after the lockdown. Also, due to the lockdown, the surveys to collect long-term outcomes were moved online completely. These self-administered surveys were links to online surveys which were shared with each class using their class WhatsApp groups with incentives of phone charges top-ups for completing the survey. The survey team followed up with students who did not fill in the survey. For college A, tablets were used for both baseline and endline.

⁷All women were also told that they had the right to withdraw their data if they wanted to even after submission and that they had the first right over the data they gave to us. They were all provided with a contact number and that of a resource person at the University of Warwick in case they wanted to ever get their data deleted. This helped to further increase the students' trust in data privacy. As of now, there have been no retraction requests from any of the respondents.

The respondents were also asked about the likelihood of other women being sexually harassed in a different frequency. In particular, the likelihood with which they think other women in their class would have faced sexual harassment, once in a month, once in two weeks, once in three weeks, once every week, or not at all. This helped to understand whether the intervention changed their perception of safety for other women in their peer groups.

Data on other outcomes

To study the short-run effects of the awareness intervention on women's labour market preferences, the women were asked to rank the following characteristics with the least rank to the most preferred characteristic, and the highest rank to the least preferred: salary, wage growth, location, timings, proportion of men in the job, work from home, travelling for the job and proportion of women on the job.8 Even though this elicitation was not incentivised, this may not be a big concern. For example, (Banerjee and Chiplunkar (2018)) suggest that incentivisation for elicitation of preferences in a sample of workers in an Indian firm did not make a difference in the preference distribution.

To collect data on job market preferences, the women were randomised into different groups using the endline survey instrument. They were asked to choose between two hypothetical jobs, A and B. Both jobs were the same in all respects except that one had a male majority team and the other had a balanced gender ratio of team members. For the first step, the salaries of the two types of jobs were kept exactly the same. Once women had chosen a particular job (A or B), the salary level of that job was reduced and they were asked to make the choice again. This was done until the respondents switched between the jobs or made three choices. The gender of the manager of the team was also varied, but this was a between-subjects variation. In particular, the female respondent either saw a female manager across all hypothetical job choices or a male manager.

Other than the preferences over hypothetical job choices, the focus was on three labour market outcomes: labour market aspirations, effort, and search. For labour market experience, the respondents were asked about their own labour market experience in the four months preceding the endline. This included their applications for internships, if any, or taking up a job even if it was temporary. The question on labour market aspirations asked the respondents if they were planning to apply for a job through the placement cell of their college or the university. For the labour market search, the respondents were asked if they had created any online profiles on job platforms and searched for jobs themselves. To measure the relationships of women with men, the respondents were asked about their romantic relationships and friendships with men inside or outside their classroom.

Finally, to collect data on awareness about sexual harassment, the respondents were asked a combination of hypothetical questions and some multiple-choice questions. These were piloted questions in the form of hypothetical sexual harassment scenarios in which they were asked to recognise the sexual harassment. The scenarios were developed in consultation with NGOs and legal experts working on sexual harassment to make them relevant to the respondents' context. The detailed questions are in appendix.





4.1. Econometric specification

For short-run effects of the intervention, the following regression is estimated:

(1) Yic = αc + $\beta 0Tic$ + $\beta 1J$ Xic + ϵic

where *i* is a female student in class c. Yic is the outcome for student *i* in class c as listed above. αc are class level fixed effects. Xic are socio- economic characteristics collected in the baseline. These were selected by the post double selection LASSO method (Belloni et al. (2014)). Robust standard errors will be reported to account for heteroscedasticity. The results are shown for sexual harassment recall for both short- and medium-run, and medium-run results for awareness, sexual harassment, labour market aspirations and hypothetical job choices.

4.1.1 Balance tests

To check that covariates are balanced for students across treatment and control, the following regression is estimated:

Xic = αc + $\beta 0 Tic$ + ϵic

where i is the student surveyed at the baseline and c is the class she is in. Xic are the socioeconomic variables collected at the baseline by post double selection LASSO method (Belloni et al. (2014).

4.2 Summary statistics

Table 3 presents the balance tests for the sample of women covered under the female intervention. The sample is balanced on all the characteristics collected. The key features to note for this sample of women is that a majority have highly educated parents, and are more likely to be Hindus and from the general caste.¹ Nearly 71 per cent of them use public transport to get to college and more likely (around 77 per cent) to be living with their families. Nearly 23 per cent of them report having a working mother, which is similar to the overall female labour force participation rate for India.

² However, I cannot have the same hypothesis for results in the medium run survey since women's behaviour may change that might induce difference in exposure to sexual harassment for them.

¹ In India, the caste system consists of general, OBC and SC/ST castes. The last two are historically disadvantaged castes in India, and have traditionally been discriminated against, and are thus, generally eligible for the Indian government's affirmative action policy. General castes are traditionally the upper castes.

4.3 Short-run effects on sexual harassment recall

This section shows the short-run effect of female intervention on women's recall of sexual harassment by type and intensity of the incident. This allows the study of how female sexual harassment awareness training affects women's recall of sexual harassment. Since this was asked immediately after the intervention, the recall information for all women post the intervention is without spill overs or attrition.

Questions on type-based index (sexual harassment experiences questionnaire) help to understand the actual incidence of different types, but covers limited types of sexual harassment incidences which should not vary between the treatment and the control groups. It is expected that if women's reporting of type-based sexual harassment differs between treatment and control, then it is likely to reveal a demand or salience effect in the short run.² However, if women's recall for the first two indices or types of questions (direct question or environmentbased recall) increases, then it captures the effect of sexual harassment awareness intervention on recall of a much wider set of incidences that are not captured through the Sexual Harassment Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ). The SEQ is helpful in understanding whether actual incidence changes in the study of long-run effects of the intervention on women.

Table 4 shows that female intervention increases women's recall of sexual harassment in their environment, especially if asked direct yes or no questions. Column 1 show that there is an increase in the recall of sexual harassment exposure for self by 13 p.p., while column 2 shows that women's recall of sexual harassment according to environment-based recall increased by 0.13 sd. A null effect on the adapted SEQ index cannot be rejected. This confirms that at least for the questions in the adapted SEQ, there is no difference in recalled exposure, which also shows that for women, the increase in exposure in columns 1 and 2 comes from the recollection of incidences that are not covered in the typebased recall index (SEQ).

Apart from sexual⁷ harassment exposure for self, it is important to understand if awareness trainings change women's perception of other women's exposure to sexual harassment. To test this, all the respondents were given a hypothetical situation: Imagine that there are 100 women in your class. How many of them do you think will face sexual harassment for different frequencies? The results for this are in table 5. It shows that treatment decreases the perception that other women do not face sexual harassment. The treatment increases the likelihood that women think that other women face sexual harassment by 5 p.p. The treatment. thus, increases treated women's recall of their own exposure to sexual harassment and the perception of sexual harassment for other women in their environment.

4.4 Short run effects on labour market

This section documents the results for any short run changes in the preferences of different characteristics of jobs and the gender composition of the job. Figures 2 and 3 show the results for the effects⁸ of the awareness intervention on women's preferences. The results suggest that salary and growth prospects of the job remain important characteristics. For salary, there is slight shift away from it being ranked in the top two to lower ranks, but it is not significant. Similarly, there is no significant effect of the treatment intervention on growth prospects in the job, travelling to and from work, or the proportion of women. There is, however, a slight increase in the importance of the

⁷ All women were also told that they had the right to withdraw their data if they wanted to even after submission and that they had the first right over the data they gave to us. They were all provided with a contact number and that of a resource person at the University of Warwick in case they wanted to ever get their data deleted. This helped to further increase the students' trust in data privacy. As of now, there have been no retraction requests from any of the respondents.

proportion of men on the job and to some text for work from home.

However, these are not statistically significant effects. This could be because these questions were asked immediately after the treatment, and the women may have needed more time to adjust their preferences.

4.5. Medium run effects

Women from the baseline were re-interviewed approximately four months after the intervention. As a key mechanism, the results on opposite gender relations between men and women were used to understand if the treatment affects women's relationships with men due to higher awareness, and also perceptions (refer to results in section). The specifications used for the short run analysis were used here as well.

A caveat of this sample is that the endline happened after the lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic. As a result, the methods used for the survey were different for the baseline and the endline. The surveys in the endline were undertaken only via the phone. Students were reached via their contact numbers and class WhatsApp groups. Students were asked to click on the survey links, which took them to an online survey. Hence, all respondents filled in their surveys on their own phones. They were requested to ensure that they answered the survey in isolation from others in their surroundings. It must be mentioned here that the coverage rate for men was particularly low since many of them went back to their hometowns (mainly in rural areas in India where internet connectivity is weak) due to pandemic and subsequent lockdown. Therefore, the analysis provided in this paper covers only the female respondents.

4.5.1 Labour market aspirations

The key aim of the project was to understand

the medium run effects, if any, of changed perceptions about sexual harassment on women's labour market aspirations. The focus is on three outcomes in particular: labour market aspirations, effort, and search and have been detailed in Table 6. The coefficients for all dependent variables are positive but statistically indistinguishable from zero. For labour market experience and search effort, the coefficients are similar to each other, but statistically insignificant and small in magnitude. However, the coefficient on labour market aspirations is almost double that of the other two. Thus, if anything, the treatment may have shifted women's willingness to work and made them aspire more work for themselves but the experiment is not able to distinguish this effect from a null effect.9

4.5.2 Opposite gender relations

AAs discussed in the introduction, one of the key mechanisms through which intervention can affect labour market aspirations, efforts, etc., is due to an avoidance versus a comfort channel. If the treatment makes women feel more empowered with information about possible redressal mechanisms for complaint and being able to detect sexual harassment, then they may be willing to work more, or work in jobs where the possibility of opposite gender contact is higher than before. If women start detecting more sexual harassment in their environment, they may also exercise more caution about interacting with men or reduce their willingness to work in jobs where the likelihood of interaction with men is high. This has been explored using direct survey measures on women's relationships with men in their own college and using a hypothetical job experiment.

To understand labour market repercussions on this, a hypothetical experiment was conducted with the women. The results in Table 7 show that the demand for gender balanced jobs is very high (93 per cent) in the control group, which makes it seem that women prefer to be in gender balanced jobs relative to male dominated jobs. This is not surprising given that occupation segregation is high for India. This also shows that the treatment further increases demand for gender balanced jobs versus male majority jobs by approximately 5 percentage points. This was the first stage of the job choice when the wages for both jobs was taken to be the same. A female manager on the job reduces demand for gender balanced jobs for treated women although a null effect cannot be rejected (coefficient of -0.051). Thus, the treatment seems to be making women prefer gender balanced jobs over male majority jobs. This effect is robust to inclusion of socioeconomic controls collected at the baseline. This result is important. The awareness intervention women significantly affects women's for preferences for gender balanced jobs nearly four months after the intervention pointing towards higher gender segregation. This is consistent with women becoming more cautious about interacting with men possible since the costs of such interactions increases when women realise that probability of sexual harassment is higher than they thought.

Once women chose one of the two jobs in the first step, the wages of the chosen job were reduced against the job they did not choose. The women were presented the options with revised wages to understand whether women stuck with the same choice or switched.

Table 8 shows the result of the controls for the relative wages of the two types of jobs. Using the same outcome as above, I regress the dummy that takes a value 1 if women choose the gender balanced job and 0 if they choose the male majority job, on the relative wage offered for the male dominated job to gender balanced job conditional on the choice that they made in the first step (results in table 7). Reassuringly, it

finds that the relative wages of male-dominated jobs decrease in demand for gender -balanced jobs by approximately 21 per cent when the relative wages of male-dominated job increase by 100 per cent. In the first two columns, the effect of relative wages is robust to adding controls, almost the same in magnitude, and statistically significant at the 10 per cent level. The next two columns show the results of adding the treatment and its interaction with relative wages for male-dominated jobs. The regression shows that for the women in the control group, a 100 per cent increase in the relative wages for male-dominated jobs reduces demand for gender-balanced jobs by 15 per cent. For the treatment group, this decreases by 8 per cent overall, although the results are not statistically significant.

As additional evidence for the caution-based theory, the results for women's relationships with men at the time of the survey are also presented. This will help to check whether women's preference for gender-balanced jobs relative to male-dominated jobs is due to their preference of avoiding men or not. The results presented in Table 9 show the overall opposite gender relationships of women. There is evidence that romantic relationships between men and women decreased significantly. Women's self-reported relationships decline not just with men in their own class, but with all men. This shows significant gender segregation effects of the treatment. It shows that women's romantic relationships reduced with men in their own class, and that they are also more likely to be single (column 2). That is, women are not substituting romantic relationships with men in their own class with men outside the class. This shows a negative, but insignificant effect on friendships for women and complements the earlier evidence which indicates that intervention increased women's take-up of gender-balanced jobs over maledominated jobs by nearly 5 percentage points.

4.5.3 Sexual harassment and awareness

Table 10 provides results for the effects of the intervention on awareness in the long run. Overall, there is no change in awareness about sexual harassment for women in the four to five months after the intervention. This comes from the fact that some women made mistakes in tagging non-sexual harassment situations in column 1 as sexual harassment. There are close to zero effects on other hypothetical situations. Although they correctly identify an ambiguous situation (situation 3) as sexual harassment, it is however, not strong enough to translate into higher overall awareness for women. Situation 2 was a sexual harassment scenario but there was practically no difference between the treatment or the control groups in recognising it. This is also not due to a lack of attention because the women were all given a control check question to examine if they were paying attention to the questions in the survey. About 90 per cent of the women answered the control check question correctly. This also points to the fact that female

awareness about sexual harassment can create an increased perception of sexual harassment for women which translates into a greater avoidance behaviour, as mentioned in the previous section. However, their overall awareness remains unchanged.

The same indices used to study the shortrun effects were used here for the results on the effects of the treatment on women's own exposure to sexual harassment. Table 11 shows that the effects on the recall of sexual harassment dissipate in the medium run for all the indices even though all the coefficients are positive. The dependent variable in all three columns is standardised using the control group mean and standard deviation. The coefficients are also much lower than that of the short run. However, it is important to note that since this was a withincollege intervention, there is a possibility of dissipation of the effects due to spill overs. Later work will use network information to understand whether spill overs from treatment to control women could help explain this dissipation.



Discussion and conclusion



Sexual harassment has come to the forefront of policy debates since the #MeToo movement started. With one of the highest rates of crimes against women, India does not fare well on other parameters of women's agency. The rate of women's labour force participation in India has not only remained low, but is also seen to be falling. This report analyses the effects of a sexual harassment awareness intervention with women of a college in Delhi on their self-reported exposure to sexual harassment and the subsequent labour market outcomes. In the short run, the intervention raises women's self-reported exposure to sexual harassment. However, there is no effect in the medium run. That is, the training increased women's ability to recognise their previous sexual harassment experiences but it did not change their exposure to it after the treatment. The overall awareness of sexual harassment does not change

even though they understand the ambiguous aspects of sexual harassment much better in the medium run. The null effects on women's labour market aspirations, search efforts or their labour market experience cannot be rejected here. Finally, the studies find that the treatment increases women's demand for gender-balanced jobs relative to male-dominated jobs. However, the demand for these jobs reduces by 21 per cent when the relative wages for male-dominated jobs increases by 100 per cent, indicating a sticky demand. There is even less demand of gender-balanced jobs by women when they are given the treatment, meaning that the intervention reduces the slope of the demand curve. In terms of mechanisms, the treatment makes women avoid men more for romantic relationships and friendships. This shows that the treatment induces more avoidance of men for women.





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Figure 1: Female surveys







The table gives the frequency distribution of ranking given to different characteristics of the jobs. The x-axis for each figure is the ranking which varies from 1 to 8. The lower the rank, the more important that job characteristic is for women. The red histograms are for treated women and white for control women.



Figure 3:

The table gives the frequency distribution of ranking given to different characteristics of the jobs. The x-axis for each graph is the ranking which varies from 1 to 8. The lower the rank, the more important that job characteristic is for women. The red histograms are for treated women and white for control women.

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max	N
Plan to work	0.18	0.39	0	1	692
Plan to sit for interviews	0.46	0.50	0	1	667
Worked/interned previously	0.04	0.19	0	1	709
Any Low intensity event	0.43	0.50	0	1	443
Any Intermediate intensity event	0.28	0.45	0	1	443
Any Extreme intensity event	0.34	0.47	0	1	443
Identify complaints committee	0.19	0.39	0	1	758
Identify low intensity	0.60	0.49	0	1	606
Identify events with power imbalance	0.88	0.32	0	1	652
Identify ambiguous events	0.50	0.50	0	1	593
Proportion answered correctly	0.51	0.28	0	1	758

Table 1: Baseline characteristics (Labour market and sexual harassment exposure)

Note: The table reports the prevalent rate of sexual harassment of different intensities and past labour market outcomes at the baseline survey. Female students were asked about their exposure in the two months prior to the survey. Mild events include sexual remarks, jokes, being repeatedly asked out on a date, intermediate events include physical intimidation, stalking, staring, online sexual harassment; and extreme events include sexual assault, physical contact without permission like groping, pinching, fondling, etc. These questions were adapted from SEQ (Fitzgerald et al., 2010). Summary statistics for sexual harassment exposure is only presented for the control group and therefore, the number of observations is much lower than for the other variables.

Table 2: Correlations between labour market characteristics and sexual harassment exposure

	Low intensity events (1)	Medium intensity events (2)	High intensity events (3)
Labour market aspiration	-0.0117	-0.0065	0.0002
Has done a job before	0.137*	0.0778	0.0520
Plans to sit for interviews	0.152**	-0.0361	0.0443
Has experience with interviews	0.0568	-0.0262	-0.0398
Has ever been employed through p-cell	0.005	-0.104	0.0060

Note: This table gives the correlation coefficients between the variables for sexual harassment exposure (as defined in Table 1) and labour market aspirations for women in the control group. Labour market aspirations refers to whether the female student aspires to go to the labour market after completing college; and /or has worked /been employed before. 'Plans to sit for interviews' refers to whether she plans to attend interviews organised by the college's placement cell. 'Ever employed before' refers to whether she has ever been employed or has interned through the college placement cell before. Asterisks denote significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.05 and ***p<0.01.

Control variable	β1	Control mean	N	p-value
Father's education primary	-0.001	0.11	734	0.98
Father's education secondary	-0.019	0.27	734	0.60
Father's education higher	-0.020	0.53	734	0.60
Mother's education primary	-0.041	0.20	728	0.16
Mother's education secondary	-0.048	0.32	728	0.21
Mother's education higher	0.058	0.36	728	0.12
Proportion of SC/ST/OBC*	-0.030	0.38	758	0.43
Proportion general caste	0.040	0.57	758	0.29
Proportion other groups	-0.009	0.01	758	0.33
Proportion of Hindus	0.020	0.87	739	0.43
Proportion of Muslims	-0.010	0.08	739	0.64
Proportion of other religions	-0.010	0.04	739	0.50
Proportion of public transport	-0.052	0.71	743	0.17
Proportion of private paid	0.023	0.10	743	0.38
Proportion of self-transport	0.029	0.19	743	0.38
Living in PG/hostel/flat	0.025	0.13	703	0.39
Living with family	-0.015	0.77	703	0.13
Working mother	-0.045	0.23	551	0.32

Table 3: Balance tests for baseline characteristics of women

Note: The table specifies regression coefficient in a regression of the variables above on treatment status. This consists of all women who were covered in the baseline survey and for female intervention. β1 represents coefficient on treatment status of the woman. Robust standard errors are reported. *SC/ST/OBC represent castes in India.

Table 4: Sexual harassment prevalence at baseline

Dependent variable	Sexual harassment in last two months (1)	Sexual harassment index (Environment based) (2)	Sexual harassment index (Adapted SEQ) (3)
Without controls			
Women treatment	0.130*** (0.042)	0.109** (0.057)	-0.011 (0.047)
With controls			
Treatment	0.130*** (0.042)	0.109** (0.057)	-0.011 (0.047)
Ν	692	736	750
Control mean	0.00	N(0,1)	N(0,1)

Note: Regression results from estimating equations for dependent variables on class level intervention for men. Dependent variable in column 1: women's answer to the question "Were you sexually harassed in the previous 4 months?" is a dummy equal to 1 if the answer is yes and 0 if the answer is no; column 2 (3) is an index using Anderson 2008 to type based (environment-based) recall questions. Type-based recall question: "Did XXX happen to you in the past 4 months?" Environment-based recall question: "Were you sexually harassed during XXX?" Robust standard errors are reported in all specifications. Class fixed effects are included. PDSLASSO is used for selecting controls. Asterisks denote significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.05 and ***p<0.01.

Dependent	Once a week (1)	Once in two weeks (2)	Once in three weeks (3)	Once a month (4)	Not at all (5)
With class FE					
Treatment	0.024 (0.015)	0.003 (0.010)	0.015 (0.010)	0.010 (0.013)	-0.053** (0.021)
With class FE and contro	ols				
Treatment	0.024 (0.015)	0.003 (0.010)	0.015 (0.009)	0.010 (0.012)	-0.054*** (0.021)
Ν	758	758	758	758	758
Control mean	0.198	0.165	0.172	0.195	0.275

Table 5: Perception of other women's exposure to sexual harassment

Note: Regression results from estimating equations for a perceived number of women who suffered from sexual harassment in the preceding two months on own awareness treatment status. Question to women: "How many women out of 100 do you think have faced sexual harassment with XXX frequency in the preceding two months?

Robust standard errors are in parenthesis. Asterisks denote significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.05 and ***p<0.01.

Table 6: Medium run effects on labour market aspirations, search, and experience

Dependent	Labour market experienc (1)	Labour market aspirations (2)	Labour market search effort (3)
A: Without controls			
Treatment	0.033 (0.059)	0.109 (0.079)	0.066 (0.052)
Ν	636	568	631
B: With controls			
Treatment	0.024 (0.057)	0.108 (0.076)	0.066 (0.050)
Ν	612	561	623
Control mean	N(0,1)	N(0,1)	N(0,1)

Note: Regression results from estimating equations for dependent variables on females. The dependent variable in each column is a weighted index to the questions under each category. Q1 asks about the student reporting taking up a job or internship through the placement cell. Q2 asks whether the student will participate in the placement procedures of the placement cell. Q3 asks whether the student made any effort to look for jobs through the placement cell and/or online on her own. The indices use the Anderson method (2008). PDSLASSO is used for selecting controls in Panel B.

Robust standard errors are reported.

Asterisks denote significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.05 and ***p<0.01.

Control variable	(1)	(2)
Treatment	0.053* (0.031)	0.055** (0.029)
Female manager	0.025 (0.027)	0.026 (0.026)
Female manager X treatment	-0.051 (0.043)	-0.052 (0.039)
Controls control mean	0.93	Yes 0.93
N	639	631

Table 7: Medium run effects on demand for gender balanced versus male majority jobs (step 1)

The dependent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the respondent opted for the gender-balanced job and if she chose the male-dominated job. Manager gender is a dummy equal to 1 if the hypothetical job has a female manager and 0 if it is a male manager. Robust standard errors are in parenthesis. Class fixed effects are included in all specifications. PDSLASSO is used for selecting controls in column 2. Asterisks denote significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.05 and ***p<0.01.

Table 8: Medium run effects on demand for gender balanced versus male majority jobs

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Wmm/Wmf	-0.214* (0.125)	-0.220* (0.119)	-0.151 (0.149)	-0.154 (0.143)
Treatment			0.249 (0.258)	0.250 (0.243)
Treatment X Wmm/Wfm			-0.177 (0.205)	-0.181 (0.192)
Ν	639	639	639	639
Controls control	Ye	S	Y	es

Regression results from estimating equations for demand for all-female jobs versus mixed-gender ratio jobs on own treatment status, relative wage and the interaction of the two. Dependent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the respondent chose to opt for the genderbalanced job, and 0 if she chose the male dominated job. Robust standard errors are in parenthesis. Class fixed effects are included. Asterisks denote significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.05 and ***p<0.01.

Table 9: Medium run effects on opposite gender relations as reported by women

Dependent variable	Dating in same class (1)	Dating in same class Dating anyone (1) (2)	
All women			
Female treatment	-0.044*** (0.013)	-0.052* (0.032)	-0.016 (0.021)
Ν	504	514	587
Control mean	0.045	0.170	0.230

The dependent variable in (1) is a dummy variable which asked female respondents whether they were dating anyone in their own class or not, in (2) whether they were dating anyone outside their own class, and in (3) the proportion of opposite gender friends from the same class. Robust standard errors are in parenthesis and class fixed effects are included in all specifications. PDSLASSO is used for selecting controls. Asterisks denote significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.05 and ***p<0.01.

	Awareness index	Situation 1	Situation 2	Situation 3	Situation 4	Situation 5
Panel A						
Treatment	-0.0070 (0.0363)	-0.0608** (0.0281)	-0.0094 (0.0222)	0.0939* (0.0519)	0.0297 (0.0413)	-0.0047 (0.0261)
Ν	631	555	545	475	493	631
Control mean	0.00	0.94	0.94	0.48	0.22	0.13

Table 10: Medium run effects on awareness of sexual harassment

Note: Regression results from estimating equations for dependent variables on individual level interventions for women. Each outcome variable in situation 1 to 5 is a dummy, that is, 1 if the respondent's answer is correct and 0, if not. Columns 2, 3 and 4 asked students to recognise three situations as sexual harassment separately. Column 2 asked about a dating scenario which was not sexual harassment, and 3 asked about physical sexual harassment. Column 4 asked about an ambiguous situation that was legally sexual harassment. Column 5 asked them to identify acceptable courtship behaviours. The dependent variable is coded as 1 if the respondent identifies even a single sexual harassment behaviour as an acceptable courtship behaviour in column 5. Column 6 asked them to identify formal legal complaints committees. Column 1 is a weighted index of columns 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 using the Anderson 2008 method. PDSLASSO is used for selecting controls. Robust standard errors are in parenthesis and class fixed effects are included. Asterisks denote significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.05 and ***p<0.01.

Dependent variable	Last two months (1)	Sexual harassment index (Environment based) (2)	Sexual harassment index (AdaptedSEQ) (3)
All women			
Treatment	0.063 (0.092)	0.048 (0.063)	0.077 (0.057)
Ν	624	611	599
Control mean	0.00	0.00	0.00

Table 11: Medium run effects on sexual harassment for self

Note: Regression results from estimating equations for dependent variables on class level intervention for men. The dependent variable in column 1 is dummy equal 1 to question: "Were you sexually harassed in the previous 4 months?", in column 2 is an index using the Anderson 2008 method to for environment based recall questions and in column 3 is an index using the Anderson 2008 method for type based recall questions. Type-based recall questions include: "Did XXX happen to you in the past 4 month?" Environment-based recall asks: "Were you sexually harassed during XXX?" These are elaborated in Appendix A.1, A.1.1, A.1.2. Robust standard errors are reported in all specifications. Class fixed effects are included in all specifications. PDSLASSO is used for selecting controls. Asterisks denote significance: *p<0.1, **p<0.05 and ***p<0.01.



A.1 Self-reported sexual harassment

In particular, women were asked about sexual harassment in the following broad categories:

- Were you sexually harassed in the preceding three months? (Yes/No)
- Environment-based recall: Here women were asked to state whether they faced sexual harassment over the preceding two (or three) months in different types of environments detailed below.
- Type-based recall (SEQ): Here women were asked to state whether a particular incident 'XXX' happened with them. They were asked questions on unwanted sexual attention, gender harassment and sexual coercion. (adapted SEQ, Fitzgerald et al., 1995)

The measure in 3 gives the actual incidence of different types of sexual harassment which can be used to understand what types of sexual harassment may be affected by the intervention. On the other hand, 2 gives us a broader environmentbased recall of sexual harassment incidents information which is useful to the collaborating colleges too. The differences between 2 and 3 can help to understand what happens to actual incidences of different types of sexual harassment versus only recall. Type-based recall questions are adapted from SEQ questionnaire (Fitzgerald, 1995) that covers three broad types of sexual harassment offenses: Unwanted sexual attention, gender harassment, and sexual coercion. This questionnaire was adapted to the context of the project. The same questions were asked again over the endline. For each question, respondents had the option of selecting 'I prefer not to answer this question'.

A.1.1 Environment-based recall

The general questions asked were:

"How many times do you think you have been sexually harassed:

- 1. on your way to college?
- 2. by someone of your college?

3. by someone from the university but outside of your college?

4.during any event/fest/seminar organised by your college or its societies?

5.during any event/fest/seminar organised by another college or its societies in the university?

All these questions were in the same reference period as the first question on sexual harassment.

The options were: zero times, 1-2 times, 3-4 times, 5-6 times, more than 6 times. The items were converted into a binary variable.

The answers were used in two ways: First, an environment-based recall index was created using the Anderson 2008 method, which uses the mean and standard deviation of respondents in the control group. It requires that the answers be positively coded. Hence, answers greater than 0 times were coded as 0, and 1 if the answer was 0 times. Next, the maximum of all the responses were used for a more intuitive interpretation. Each item was first converted into a binary variable taking a value of 1 if the respondent reports harassment greater than 0, and 0 otherwise (and if not missing). If any significant effects are found for overall environment-based recall index or the maximum. then the impact on individual components listed in the questions will be used to understand where or when treatment helps the most in identifying sexual harassment. The Anderson 2008 method is used to create a weighted index of the responses.

A.1.2 Type-based recall

The specific questions that were asked:

- 1. Did anyone comment flirtatiously, make direct or indirect remarks/jokes of sexually suggestive or sexist in nature that made you feel uncomfortable?
- 2. Did anyone try to make unwanted attempts to establish a date (repeatedly asking you out

despite you showing no interest or saying no), romantic or sexual relationship with you despite you trying to discourage it?

- 3. Did anyone try to get too close to you/try to invade your physical space/brushing against you/cornering you physically in an intimidating, and uncomfortable manner?
- 4.Did anyone try to watch you, follow you from a distance, stare at you repeatedly making you uncomfortable?
- 5.Did anyone try to use or display sexual/ inappropriate/suggestive material or post vulgar /pornographic/ offensive pictures on messages/email WhatsApp, made some sexual remark or spread rumours about you?
- 6.Did anyone try to or attempt to create unwelcome physical contact like pinching you, touching you, groping you or fondling you (touching you in areas like thighs, arms, private parts, waist, back, breasts, or hips) without your permission or consent?
- 7.Was anyone able to or attempt to fondle, kiss, or rub against private areas of your body, tried to remove your clothes, or put/insert something into your private body parts without your consent?

The items in 1 and 5 represent the gender harassment component of SEQ, while the items in 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 are part of unwanted sexual harassment. It will be referred to as sexual coercion if any respondent reports that any of this was done by an administrative authority in college. For each of these questions, respondents were also asked about the broad category of the perpetrator. The options given were: someone in your class, someone in the same college but not in the same class, stranger, administrative member of the college, someone near home, other, and I prefer not to answer this question.

For the college in this report, women were asked about their exposure over three months after the intervention.

A.2 Questions for sexual harassment awareness

Men and women were asked to classify the three situations given below as sexual harassment or not. Their answer options were Yes, No, and I prefer not to answer.

- Harish asked Yashika out on a date. She said yes and went out on a date with him. He asked her to go out with him again, but she said no without giving him a reason. Harish got upset about it and asked her why she refused. Yashika told him that she did not think it was fun. Harish agreed and did not ask Yashika out again. Do you think Harish sexually harassed Yashika by calling her to enquire again?
- Naina and Rahul went out for drinks on a date. Rahul asked Naina if she would like to go dance with him. Naina did join him for the dance. He started touching her physically during the dance but she thought it was because there was not enough space on the dance floor. So she started to dance a bit further from him but he would still end up coming close to her. Do you think Rahul was sexually harassing Naina?
- Ramit, Arun and Ankur were sitting in class cracking sexual jokes. The jokes were not pointed at anyone. Rita and Smriti who were sitting in the same room having their lunch but could clearly hear what the guys were talking about. Both of them felt embarrassed and uncomfortable with the conversation but did not say anything. Were Ramit, Arun and Ankur sexually harassing Rita and Smriti?

There were two more questions I asked students to test their awareness about the legal complaints committee and also their awareness about sexual harassment used during courtship.

-Suppose a young man likes a young woman. They do not have too many common friends. Which of the following behaviours, according to you, are acceptable ways for him to approach her or get to know her? (Please select as many as you find acceptable)

- Get her WhatsApp number from common groups and write to her at least 2 or 3 times until she replies.
- Stand outside her class (alone or with friends) to hint that he likes her through indirect comments.
- \cdot Send one of his friends to go and talk to hers
- Find her profile on social media (FB, Instagram, Twitter, etc.,) and leave her messages until she replies.
- Find out where she hangs out (clubs or college societies) to understand her schedule on a usual college day.
- Find out about her by talking to her friends or classmates so that they can tell her that he is interested.
- Talk to her directly.

Which of the following is the internal complaints committee of your college?

- Disciplinary committee
- Department teacher in-charge
- Women development cell
- Internal complaints committee
- Student Union
- Principal
- Administrative office
- Gender sensitisation committee
- Other members of faculty
- Other

For the courtship question, the answer was coded as correct if the respondent did not select options a, b, d and e.

For 2, the correct answer is Internal complaints committee.

30



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