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Workplace Sexual Harassment

Understanding The Experiences of LGBTQ Employees

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Research Summary

Why was the research done?

The findings of the National Inquiry into Sexual Harassment in Australian Workplaces suggest that members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer-plus (LGBTQ+) community have a higher risk of being sexually harassed at work than their cisgender, heterosexual colleagues. To better understand this concerning trend, we analysed almost 45,000 responses to the Australian Workplace Equality Index (AWEI) Employee Survey 2022.

What were the key findings?

- LGBTQ+ employees were twice as likely as non-LGBTQ+ employees to have been sexually harassed in the past year (4% vs 2%). They were also more likely to have been sexually harassed more than 12 months ago (32% vs 23%).
- Rates of sexual harassment victimization were higher for employees assigned female at birth (AFAB) compared to those assigned male at birth (AMAB); and for gender non-binary employees compared to cisgender and transgender employees.
- The highest rates of lifetime sexual harassment were experienced by AFAB employees who identified as pansexual (49%), queer (46%), bisexual (45%) and lesbian (39%).
- LGBTQ+ and non-LGBTQ+ employees were equally likely to report harassment to their employer (~29% of those harassed) and to feel satisfied with the handling of their complaints (~58% of those who reported).

What does this mean for policy and practice?

Australian workplaces have a legal responsibility to protect their employees from being sexually harassed at work. Our findings highlight that workplaces must address the specific vulnerability of LGBTQ+ employees:

- Manager and bystander training programs, while broadly effective, should be revised to ensure that they adequately address the unique forms of sexual harassment to which LGBTQ+ people are subjected.
- Strategies for promoting workplaces that are less hierarchical and more collaborative must be augmented with strategies dedicated to fostering the inclusion of LGBTQ+ employees, such as employee/ally networks.

Citation

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INTRODUCTION

Workplace sexual harassment—which includes unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours or other conduct of a sexual nature (AHRC, 2022)—represents one of the greatest challenges facing modern workplaces. Research shows that workplace sexual harassment exerts deleterious consequences on those who experience it, including negative impacts on their mental health, job satisfaction, productivity, career attainment, and economic security (Chan et al., 2008; Hansen et al., 2020; McLaughlin et al., 2017; Shaw et al., 2018; Sojo et al., 2016). Sexual harassment at work also poses significant risks for the organizations where it occurs, eroding workplace culture, accelerating employee turnover, and resulting in unforeseen financial risks (Au et al., 2023).

Scholarship on sexual harassment has gone a long way in the past two decades, revealing not only its impacts on individual and organizational outcomes, but also barriers to victim and bystander reporting, the role of organizational climate, and the efficacy of remedial workplace policies (Cortina & Areguin, 2021). A strand of this research has focused on the socio-demographic traits that place employees at an elevated risk of becoming the target of workplace sexual harassment. While prevalence estimates vary according to the definition of sexual harassment used, studies have consistently documented the disproportionate risks faced by women (McDonald & Charlesworth, 2016). For example, the past-year incidence of workplace sexual harassment in Sweden is 7.5% for women compared to 1.9% for men (Magnusson Hanson et al., 2020). Likewise, studies in Germany (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2015), the UK (Adams et al., 2021), and the U.S. (Edison Research, 2018) found that 17% to 53% of women have ever been sexually harassed at work, compared to 7% to 20% of men. In Australia, where the present study is based, the five-year prevalence of workplace sexual harassment was recently estimated at 41% for women and 26% for men (AHRC, 2022). As we elaborate on below, patriarchal societal, institutional and

organizational norms have been deemed responsible for these gender disparities (MacKinnon, 1979; Minnotte & Legerski, 2019).

Despite binary gender representing a starkly salient factor, it is by no mean the only demographic trait associated with heightened exposure to workplace sexual harassment. Other personal factors, including individuals' age group, race/ethnicity, and disability status have also been shown to play a role (AHRC, 2022; Minnotte & Legerski, 2019; Östergren et al., 2022). More recently, a small number of studies have begun to document an enhanced propensity for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Queer (LGBTQ+) people to become the target of sexual harassment at work. For instance, a recent study from Iceland found that 48% of sexual-minority women had ever experienced sexual harassment at work, compared to 34% of heterosexual women (Jonsdottir et al., 2022). Similarly, but using a broader definition of sexual harassment, the 2022 National Survey on Sexual Harassment in Australian Workplaces reported five-year prevalence rates of workplace sexual harassment of 33% for the general population, compared to 46% for LGBTQ+ people (AHRC, 2022).

While these figures are a cause for concern, research in this space remains scarce and is limited in several ways. For example, the recent study by Jonsdottir et al. (2022) restricted its focus to a single gender (women); collapsed women of different sexual identities into a single "minority" category despite their potentially diverse experiences (e.g., Martin-Storey et al., 2018; Mitchell et al., 2014); and did not consider the role of gender experience (cisgender vs. transgender) and non-binary gender identities. Another recent study (TUC, 2019) focused exclusively on LGBTQ+ people—generating rich data on their experiences, but precluding any comparisons with cisgender, heterosexual employees. Further, research considering the sexual harassment of LGBTQ+ people at work has been largely restricted to comparing the degree to which employees are *exposed* to these behaviors (AHRC, 2022; Jonsdottir et al., 2022). As a result, there is a lack of evidence on other important aspects

surrounding sexual-harassment experiences. This includes the degree to which LGBTQ+ employees feel prepared to report sexual harassment to their organizations, and their satisfaction with the handling of sexual-harassment complaints. Last, but not least, studies to date have failed to propose an encompassing theoretical framework to make sense of any observed disparities in workplace-sexual-harassment experiences between LGBTQ+ employees and other employees.

The current study fills these important gaps in knowledge. Theoretically, it combines various sociological perspectives—principally, Connell's (1987; 1995; 2005) theory of the 'gender order' and Rubin's (1984 [2020]) theory of the 'sexual hierarchy'—to develop a novel conceptual framework to understand the sexual-harassment experiences of LGBTQ+ employees. Empirically, it leverages unique Australian survey data from the 2022 Australian Workplace Equality Index (AWEI) Employee Survey, a large-scale employer-employee survey of diversity and inclusion beliefs, practices and behaviors in Australian workplaces. This survey offers both a large sample overall (n=44,939), as well as a substantial subsample of LGBTQ+ employees (n=9,806), enabling more nuanced and precise analyses than possible in earlier studies. In addition, a dedicated module on sexual harassment at work designed by the authors of the present study was included in the 2022 AWEI Employee Survey, allowing examination of the multiple ways in which LGBTQ+ status and workplace sexual harassment may interplay. Overall, the present study provides a more comprehensive theoretical and empirical picture of the relationships between LGBTQ+ status and sexual harassment at work than currently available, paving the way for future research in this space.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. In the next section, we develop a theoretical framework that conceptualizes the relationships between LGBTQ+ identity and workplace-sexual-harassment experiences. We subsequently introduce the data and methods used to examine the relationships of interest, following by the presentation of new empirical

material. We conclude by discussing the implications of our findings for theory, policy and practice, as well as outlining avenues for further research in this important space.

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

The gender order and sexual harassment at work

Existing scholarship on sexual-harassment victimization has largely focused on differences by binary gender. We take this body of work as a useful conceptual foundation to theorize the experiences of LGBTQ+ individuals. Empirical evidence indicates that most sexual harassment is perpetrated by men against women (ABS, 2023). While lay theorists and public commentators sometimes attribute this to the natural potency of the male libido, prevailing academic discourses progressively embrace the notion that sexual harassment is rarely motivated by attraction or desire (Berdahl, 2007; Cortina & Areguin, 2021). Instead, power, dominance, and structural vulnerability are signaled as being the key drivers (MacKinnon, 1979; Minotte & Legerski, 2019; Uggen & Blackstone, 2004). Connell's (1987; 2005) theory of the gender order provides a useful framework for understanding the processes implicated. Within this perspective, the dominance of men over women is perpetuated and legitimized via the hierarchical ordering of stylized versions of masculinity and femininity. At the top sits hegemonic masculinity, characterized by strength, competitiveness, control, decisiveness, sexual aggression, and dominance. This contrasts with subordinated masculinities and femininities, which are characterized by weakness, nurturance, compliance, incompetence, and sexual receptivity.

Minotte and Lergeski (2019) provide a comprehensive account of how sexual harassment is both enabled by the gender order and used to reinforce it. The vast overrepresentation of men in positions of workplace authority and the masculinization of high-status, high-pay occupations are stubborn legacies of the gender order that serve to reproduce power disparities within the workplace (Charles & Grusky, 2004; Stojmenovska et

al., 2021). The sexual harassment of female subordinates by more powerful men flourishes within these contexts, as made notorious by the Harvey Weinstein case that triggered the global *#MeToo* movement (Nikolova, 2021). In some cases, men use sexual harassment as a way of enacting and defending their masculinity when they perceive it to be under threat—for example, when they fear others view them as incompetent (Halper & Rios, 2019). Sexual harassment can also be a form of gender policing or backlash—a way to punish transgressors of the gender order (Konik & Cortina, 2008; McLaughlin et al., 2012; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Thus, women with a more masculine gender expression or those occupying positions considered the exclusive domain of men ("uppity women", Berdahl, 2007) are more vulnerable to being sexually harassed (McLaughlin et al., 2012).

Ultimately, workplace sexual harassment in any of these forms serves the same function: to reproduce the gender order. It creates a hostile working environment for women (Benya et al., 2018), puts their health, earnings and career trajectories at risk (Chan et al., 2008; McLaughlin et al., 2017), and "perpetuates the interlocked structure by which women have been kept sexually in thrall to men at the bottom of the labor market" (MacKinnon, 1979: p.174).

The gender order meets the sexual hierarchy

We have thus far focused on the links between the sexual harassment of women at work and Connell's (1987; 1995; 2005) theory of the gender order. This perspective emphasizes ideas of power and dominance and proposes that sexual harassment manifests due to power differentials between women and men, being used to recursively enact and reinforce the gender order. While this approach offers a solid foundation to depart from, it remains insufficient on its own to understand the sexual-harassment experiences of LGBTQ+ individuals. We therefore expand this perspective by drawing on Rubin's (1984 [2020])

theory of the sexual hierarchy, and the related concepts of heteronormativity and cisnormativity originating in queer theory (Valocchi, 2005; Warner, 1991).

As conceptualized by Rubin (1984 [2020]), a sexual hierarchy is initially created by the drawing of an imaginary line to distinguish 'good' from 'bad' sexual behaviors. On one side of the line sits the 'charmed circle': sexual behaviors that are socially sanctioned as moral, natural, and normal. All other sexual behaviors are relegated to the 'outer limits' and deemed immoral, unnatural, and abnormal. The borders of the charmed circle are contestable and vary across cultures and over time. Crucially though, heterosexual sexual behavior has historically been positioned within the charmed circle, while same-sex sexuality has been positioned outside of it. The drawing of this line and ensuing creation of the sexual hierarchy is not a process of democratic moral judgement (Rubin, 1984 [2020]). Rather, dominant social groups leverage their power to define the sexual hierarchy in a manner that suits and perpetuates their own interests. It is therefore pertinent to examine how the sexual hierarchy—and in particular the privileging of heterosexuality and stigmatization of same-sex sexuality—serve to reproduce the patriarchal gender order. For, as Jackson (2018: p.143) states, "the doing of heterosexuality is not just about its normativity but also, very centrally, about gender division and hierarchy".

Rich (1980: p.637) provides a fulsome theorization of how men, as a dominant social group, benefit from women's "total emotional, erotic loyalty and subservience". By making heterosexuality 'compulsory' for women, men secure unimpeded access to women's bodies and the benefits of their labor. Connell (1987) further illuminates some of the cultural processes through which this scenario is achieved, with hegemonic masculinity constructed as diametrically opposite, superior, and complementary to emphasized femininity in all domains, including sexuality. For example, men are sexually active and pursue women, women gatekeep but are ultimately receptive to men; men penetrate, women are penetrated;

men are sexually entitled, women are sexually responsible. Violations of either role threaten the dominance of men as a social group. Therefore, enforcing heterosexuality and punishing those perceived as violating it is one of the main ways through which gender is policed and the gender order reproduced (Connell, 1987; Konik & Cortina, 2008; Pascoe, 2013). Together, this body of scholarly work outlines how heteronormativity functions "in the service of sustaining a patriarchal gender binary" (Ward & Schneider, 2009: p. 433).

More recently, these ideas have contributed to the popularization of the term 'cisnormativity', which has been used to describe the existing social hierarchy privileging cisgender people (i.e., those with a binary gender identity that 'aligns' with their sex assigned at birth) over transgender, non-binary, and other gender diverse folk (e.g., Collier & Daniel, 2019; Robinson & Stone, 2024). Although not elaborated upon in Connell's (1987) original work in *Gender & Power*, cisnormativity arguably contributes to the legitimation of the patriarchal gender order by reinforcing the 'naturalness' of hegemonic masculinity, emphasized femininity, and heterosexuality (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009; Westbrook & Schilt, 2014), and thus the 'inevitability' of men's dominance over women.

Despite recent social progress, heteronormative and cisnormative cultural principles remain deeply entrenched in modern societies, resulting in tangible and intangible social hierarchies based on sexual orientation and gender identity (Perales & Campbell, 2018; Van der Toorn et al., 2020). These hierarchies operate across multiple levels of the social structure, from interpersonal relations at the micro level through to social policy and legislation at the macro level (e.g., Meyer, 2003; Perales & Todd, 2018). The power differentials between LGBTQ+ and other individuals observed in the broader society also manifest within the workplace, with LGBTQ+ people facing unique stressors at work, such as overt experiences of discrimination, microaggressions (e.g., misgendering or

mispronouncing), identity erasure, and ostracization from colleagues (Donaghy & Perales, 2023; Galupo & Resnick, 2016; Resnick & Galupo, 2019).

The sexual harassment of LGBTQ+ employees is arguably yet another way in which heteronormativity and cisnormativity manifest and reproduce at work. According to the theories just discussed, sexual harassment is a form of 'punishment' used against individuals perceived as transgressing gender and sexual hierarchies to "keep them in their place". It is also a strategy utilized by individuals at the top of the social hierarchy—largely cisgender, heterosexual men—to express their power over and entitlement to individuals lower in the social hierarchy (i.e., LGBTQ+ people and women more generally). Altogether, based on the above ideas, it is easy to see why LGBTQ+ individuals should be theoretically overexposed to workplace sexual-harassment behavior. Combined with the pioneer prior evidence previously discussed (e.g., AHRC, 2022; Jonsdottir et al., 2022), these tenets lead us to expect that—in our analyses—LGBTQ+ employees will report higher rates of sexual-harassment victimization than their cisgender, heterosexual peers.

Beyond victimization: Reporting of workplace sexual harassment

Another important—yet relatively underexplored—aspect of workplace sexual harassment, especially as it is experienced by LGBTQ+ employees, is the reporting process—including the decision to report and the satisfaction with ensuing employer actions. Drawing on Connell's (1987, 2005) theory of hegemonic masculinity, Smith et al. (2023) argued that heterosexual men should be the least likely to report sexual harassment. As the greatest beneficiaries of the gender order, heterosexual men have the most to lose from being perceived as violating gender norms and expectations associated with hegemonic masculinity. As Smith et al. (2023) put it "[t]o come forward and report one's sexual mistreatment would be to show a departure from the gendered identity that affords white, heterosexual, cisgender men power" while "reporting a comrade for sexual misconduct –

behavior that is thought to strengthen male bonds and is typically enacted to encourage, re-affirm or protect hegemonic masculinity […] would be a gross betrayal of the masculine social order". For similar reasons, they also posited that LGBTQ+ people should be more likely than cisgender, heterosexual people to report sexual harassment: they occupy more subordinate positions in the sexual hierarchy and therefore have less to lose from "norm-violating victimization and its reporting" (Smith et al., 2023, p.402).

On the other hand, reporting workplace-sexual-harassment victimization requires a degree of trust in one's organization and the systems that govern the reporting process. Research has consistently demonstrated that, due to their stigmatized identities, LGBTQ+ people have more complex relationships with their employers. These complexities partially stem from previous negative personal experiences in domains such as recruitment, promotion and retention (Cech & Rothwell, 2020; Lewis & Pitts, 2017), as well as organizations' management of workplace-incivility behaviors, such as bullying and microaggressions (Galupo & Resnick, 2016; Resnick & Galupo, 2019). Altogether, LGBTQ+ people may perceive their employers as being ill-prepared and/or unwilling to address workplace sexual harassment, particularly if such harassment explicitly targets their gender and/or sexuality diversity. This set of ideas results in a competing expectation, namely that LGBTQ+ individuals may be less likely to report experiences of workplace-sexual-harassment victimization.

Beyond the propensity to report, satisfaction with the complaint process could also plausibly vary by LGBTQ+ status. In particular, it has been argued that LGBTQ+ employees may be more susceptible to "institutional betrayal" (Smith & Freyd, 2014) upon reporting sexual harassment. Institutional betrayal occurs when employers act in ways that worsen and perpetuate the trauma, distress and harm experienced by victimized employees (Duffy et al., 2023)—for example, by covering up the allegation or retaliating against the victim (Smidt et

al., 2023). As for other marginalized groups (Duffy et al., 2023), preliminary evidence suggests that LGBTQ+ people are more vulnerable to experiencing institutional betrayal after being sexually harassed (Smidt et al., 2021; Smith et al., 2016). This disparity could reflect that harassment is viewed more seriously, and thus dealt with more robustly, when the target occupies a higher status in the sexual hierarchy. It could also be the result of deliberate discrimination against LGBTQ+ people, or a lack of understanding of LGBTQ+ issues leading to inappropriate institutional responses (Smith et al., 2016). The present study will put the different propositions covered within this section to empirical scrutiny.

Unpacking the (LGBTQ+) umbrella

The theoretical notions introduced so far offer some broad guidance on how LGBTQ+ employees—as a whole—may distinctly experience workplace sexual harassment, including exposure rates, reporting patterns, and satisfaction with complaints. However, LGBTQ+ people are not a monolithic group, with their experiences of sexual harassment being plausibly shaped by other aspects of their identities and social locations. While space constraints prevent us from theorizing concrete cases, our empirical application recognizes two theoretically-informed sets of intersecting factors. First, we acknowledge that experiences of sexual harassment may differ between employees who were assigned male at birth (AMAB) and those assigned female at birth (AFAB). The sexual objectification, pursuit, and conquest of the female body is central to the enactment of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987, 1995; Quinn, 2002). People whose bodies are (or are perceived by perpetrators) to be female bodies are at risk of being sexually harassed on this basis. Thus, while all LGBTQ+ people are at risk of sexual harassment as punishment for their perceived violations of heterosexuality and/or cisnormativity, those born with female bodies may be at risk of additional forms of sexual objectification and pursuit.

Second, and adding a layer of complexity, an individual's risk of being sexually harassed may also be shaped by the unique intersections between their sex assigned at birth, their gender identity, gender expression, and sexual orientation. Largely due to data limitations, previous studies examining workplace sexual harassment amongst LGBTQ+ populations have failed to engage with this level of nuance. For example, Jonsdottir et al. (2022) combined all women who identified as lesbian, bisexual, not defined, or "other" into a single, coarse sexual-minority category. However, research has demonstrated that workplace experiences differ markedly across finely defined LGBTQ+ subgroups. For instance, querying the notion of 'diversity within diversity', Donaghy and Perales (2023) showed that gay/lesbian employees reported higher workplace wellbeing than employees identifying with plurisexual, gender non-conforming, and smaller diversity groups. These differences were putatively attributed to factors such as greater levels of stigma towards some minority groups, or limited support levels amongst individuals from smaller minorities. In the same manner, we expect exposure to sexual-harassment victimization to differ across concrete gender- and sexual-identity groups—a proposition that, for the first time, we can put to the test.

DATA

The 2022 Australian Workplace Equality Index (AWEI) Employee Survey

To provide novel evidence on the intersections between LGTBQ status and workplace sexual harassment, we use unique data from the 2022 Australian Workplace Equality Index (AWEI) Employee Survey. The AWEI Employee Survey is a large-scale, annual survey collected by ACON Health, Australia's largest not-for-profit organization focusing on LGBTQ+ health and wellbeing. The 2022 AWEI Employee Survey contains information from 44,939 employees working in 182 organizations. Participating organizations are either members of ACON Health's Pride Inclusion Programs, or organizations that choose to participate in the survey. All employees within these organizations are encouraged to complete the online

survey questionnaire. Critically, given its aims, the 2022 AWEI Employee Survey attracted responses from 9,806 employees who self-identify as LGBTQ+. The large subsample of LGBTQ+ employees offers a unique opportunity to compare their workplace experiences with those of other employees, including outcomes that have low prevalence (e.g., rates of past-12-month sexual-harassment victimization).

Measuring sexual harassment at work

The research team, in consultation with ACON Health, prepared and included a dedicated module capturing respondents' experiences in relation to sexual harassment at work within the 2022 AWEI Employee Survey. The questions utilized were similar in their content and wording to those included in recent, major industry reports (AHRC, 2022; TUC, 2019). Measures derived from this survey module serve as the primary outcome variables in our models. In deriving these measures, care was exercised to ensure that the questions were asked in a sensitive and ethical manner. This included: using measures that were trialed and tested in earlier surveys; pointing respondents to appropriate support sources in case of experiencing distress; and ensuring respondents understood participation in the survey was voluntary and could be stopped at any time. The present study receiving ethical clearance by the authors' institutional ethics board (ID 2023/HE001965).

We focus on three sets of questions pertaining to sexual harassment at work. First, employees were queried about their experiences of workplace-sexual-harassment victimization. The question read: *"Have you ever been sexually harassed at work?"*. To ensure appropriate comprehension by all survey respondents, the term 'sexual harassment' was further contextualized as follows: *"Examples of sexual harassment include being the target of unwelcome/inappropriate physical contact, sexually explicit comments or gestures, receiving intrusive questions about your private life, and inappropriate advances or requests*

for sex". Possible responses included *"Yes, within the past 12 months"*, *"Yes, more than 12 months ago"*, and *"No, never"*.

Second, respondents who reported having been victimized within the past 12 months were asked a set of questions about their experiences. These questions were only asked of this subset of respondents because they are more likely to still work in their current employer, and to avoid any biases stemming from the recall of more distal events. Specifically, eligible respondents were asked about the frequency of their harassment experiences and whether they reported these to their employer. Frequency was asked through the following question: *"Approximately how often have you been sexually harassed at work over the past 12 months?"*, with possible responses being *"Once"*, *"More than once, but less than monthly"*, *"Monthly"*, *"Weekly"* and *"Daily"*. Reporting was captured through a question asking: *"Thinking about your most recent experience of sexual harassment at work, did you report this to your employer?"*, with response options being *"Yes, and it was dealt with satisfactorily"*, *"Yes, but it was not dealt with satisfactorily"*, and *"No, I did not report it"*.

Measuring sex, gender and sexuality

A key explanatory variable in our models is individuals' LGBTQ+ status. This is (initially) operationalized as a categorical variable using responses to the following question: *"Are you someone of diverse sexuality or diverse gender (LGBTQ+)?"*. The response options distinguish people who identify as LGBTQ+, people who do not, and people who marked the *"Prefer not to respond"* (PNTR) option. Respondents' sex recorded at birth was measured using the question "*What was your sex recorded at birth*?" and the response options *"Male"*, *"Female"*, *"A term not listed above"* (hereon referred to as *"other"*) and *"Preferred not to respond"*. The 'sex recorded at birth' variable is used as a control variable in all multivariable analyses, as well as a stratifying variable in analyses comparing the outcomes of AMAB and AFAB employees.

The 2022 AWEI Employee Survey enables also the recognition of more nuanced divisions within the LGBTQ+ umbrella. Given the aims of this study, we first construct two variables differentiating (i) sexuality diversity and (ii) gender diversity. Employees scored one in the sexuality diversity variable if they selected a response other than *"Heterosexual"* to a sexual-orientation question (*"How would you best describe your sexual orientation?"*). This means selecting the responses *"Gay, Lesbian (Homosexual)"*, *"Bisexual"*, *"Pansexual"*, *"Queer"*, *"Asexual"*, or *"An orientation not listed above"*. A value of one in the gender diversity variable was assigned to individuals responding *"Non-binary"*, *"Agender"*, or *"A gender identity not listed above"* to a gender-identity question (*"Which of the following would best describe your gender identity?"*). Those who identified as *"Man or male"* (*"Woman or female"*) and reported being AFAB (AMAB) were deemed to have a trans experience. These respondents were therefore assigned a value of one in the gender-diversity variable. The sexuality- and gender-diversity variables are used in multivariable analyses unpacking the LGBTQ+ effects on the outcomes of interest. This is accomplished by replacing the LGBTQ+ variable with each of the diversity variables, one at a time.

Analytic Approach

Model specification

To examine the intersections between LGBTQ+ status and different aspects of workplace sexual harassment, we fit a series of multivariable regression models (for a summary, see Appendix Table A1). The models use the different sexual-harassment variables as the outcomes of interest, and LGBTQ+ status as the key explanatory variable. We order and number these models so that they follow a typical 'timeline' of sexual-harassment experiences, from actual victimization experiences to post-victimization behaviors and outcomes.

Model 1 examines respondents' personal experiences of workplace-sexual-harassment victimization. Given the three available response options ('Yes, within past 12 months', 'Yes, over 12 months ago', 'No, never'), we fit a multinomial logistic regression model and express the results as relative risk ratios (RRRs). Model 2 examines the frequency of sexual-harassment victimization over the past 12 months. This model only uses information on the subset of respondents reporting any such experiences within the past year. We treat the frequency of harassment as an ordered variable and therefore fit another ordered logistic regression model (results are expressed as ORs).

In Models 3 and 4, we delve into respondents' reporting of their most-recent experience of sexual harassment (conditional on any such experiences having occurred within the past year). To enhance interpretation, we partition the survey variable capturing this information into two binary variables, each serving as the outcome of a separate model. In Model 3, the outcome variable captures whether harassment was reported ('Yes', 'No'), whereas in Model 4 the outcome variable captures whether complaints were perceived to be satisfactorily dealt with ('Yes', 'No'). The latter model is only fitted on the subset of respondents who declared that they had reported their sexual-harassment victimization to their employers. Both of these models take the form of binary logistic regression models, with results expressed as ORs. In Models 1 to 4, the key explanatory variable is a categorical variable capturing LGBTQ+ status ('Yes', 'No').

Additional analyses

In addition to the main specifications described before, we fit a series of additional models that yield greater insights into:

- the potential moderating role of respondents' sex recorded at birth (by fitting all models on separate subsamples of AMAB and AFAB employees);

- the independent contributions of sexuality and gender diversity (by iteratively replacing the LGBTQ+ explanatory variable with indicators of sexuality and gender diversity); and
- the *lifetime* sexual-harassment experiences of concrete gender and sexual identity groups (by combining more and less recent sexual-harassment experiences).

Control variables

To account for possible confounding, all regression models were adjusted for an encompassing set of individual- and organization-level factors plausibly related to the sexual-harassment outcome variables of interest (see Table A2). Descriptive statistics on the analytic variables are presented in Table 1 (main variables) and Table A2 (control variables). To maximize the size of the analytic sample, a residual ('No information') category was derived for variables with missing cases and included in the models.

LGBTQ+ Employees and Sexual Harassment at Work: Novel Empirical Evidence

Descriptive patterns

Table 1 contains descriptive statistics on the sexual-harassment measures included in the 2022 AWEI Employee Survey. Concerning experiences of sexual harassment, 2.59% of employees reported having experienced sexual harassment over the past 12 months, while a further 24.82% reported experiences taking place more than 12 months ago (that is, 27.41% reported lifetime experiences). Amongst those respondents who experienced sexual harassment within the past year, harassment was relatively irregular—with 30.53% reporting it happened just once and 53.66% reporting it happened less often than monthly. Within the same subsample, 29.08% of respondents declared having reported their most-recent sexual-harassment experience to their employer. When harassment was reported, more than half (58.16%) of respondents declared this was appropriately handled by their employer. In the

next section, we present the results of regression models comparing responses by LGBTQ+ and non-LGBTQ+ employees.

[TABLE 1 HERE]

Differences in sexual-harassment experiences between LGBTQ+ and other employees

Panel A in Table 2 presents the results of a main set of regression models. Model 1, focusing on personal experiences of sexual harassment, shows that LGBTQ+ employees are statistically significantly more likely to have been victimized within the past 12 months (RRR_{LGBTQ+}=2.650, p<0.001) as well as in earlier periods (RRR_{LGBTQ+}=1.779, p<0.001), *ceteris paribus*. The magnitude of this estimated effect is seemingly large, as denoted by the predicted probabilities shown in Figure 1. All else being equal, LGBTQ+ employees' sexual-harassment-victimization rates within the past 12 months and over 12 months ago are 4.2% and 32.3%, respectively, compared to 2% and 22.8% for other employees. In contrast, the results for Models 2 (harassment frequency; OR_{LGBTQ+}=1.120, p>0.1), Model 3 (actual reporting; OR_{LGBTQ+}=1.031, p>0.1), and Model 4 (complaints dealt with; OR_{LGBTQ+}=0.849, p>0.1) showed no statistically significant differences by LGBTQ+ identification.

[TABLE 2 & FIGURE 1 HERE]

The role of sex

To contrast the relationships of interest by employees' sex recorded at birth, we repeated the models discussed above for AMAB (Panel B) and AFAB (Panel C) employees separately. The results show similarities as well as differences in the pattern of effects for the two groups. Here, we focus on the points of disparity. Interestingly, the models capturing victimization experiences signal greater disparities amongst LGBTQ+ AMAB than AFAB employees. For example, in the model for AMAB employees, the LGBTQ+ parameters on the 'Harassment over 12 months ago' and 'Harassment within past 12 months' categories of the outcome are 2.867 (p<0.01) and 3.165 (p<0.01), respectively. In the model for AFAB

employees, these are still statistically significant but visibly closer to the neutral threshold of one, at 1.397 (p<0.01) and 2.302 (p<0.01), respectively. This difference, nevertheless, does not mean that LGBTQ+ AMAB employees experience greater levels of harassment than LGBTQ+ AFAB employees overall, as the base levels in the AMAB and AFAB models differ. To ascertain this, Figure 2 compares the predicted probabilities for the different groups across models using marginal predictions. This visualization demonstrates that, for both LGBTQ+ and other employees, sexual-harassment-exposure rates are always greater for AFAB compared to AMAB employees. Of all groups, it is LGBTQ+ AFAB employees who experience the highest rates for recent (5.5%) and distal (38.3%) harassment.

[FIGURE 2 HERE]

Separating sexuality and gender diversity

Next, we ascertain the estimated effects on the outcomes of sexuality diversity (Panel A in Table 3) and gender diversity (Panel B)—as opposed to the broader LGBTQ+ indicator used in the main models. The results reveal some differences in the relative contributions of these two identity markers. In particular, in the model for harassment experiences, the coefficients on the sexuality-diversity indicator (RRR_{SD}=1.728, p<0.01 & 2.431, p<0.01) are greater in magnitude than those on the gender-diversity indicator (RRR_{SD}=1.197, p<0.05 & 1.952, p<0.01). This suggests greater relative exposure to workplace-sexual-harassment victimization amongst sexuality-diverse employees (compared to other employees) than amongst gender-diverse employees (also compared to other employees). The predicted probabilities from these models are displayed in Figure 3. Interestingly, while gender-diverse employees exhibit comparatively higher exposure to recent harassment experiences than sexuality-diverse employees (5.5% vs. 5.1%), the reverse holds true for more distal harassment experiences (33.9% vs. 29.1%).

[TABLE 3 & FIGURE 3 HERE]

Unveiling the experiences of specific subgroups

In a final set of analyses (Table 4), we compare exposure to sexual harassment across concrete and more nuanced sexual-identity (Panel A) and gender-identity (Panel B) groups, considering also individuals' sex recorded at birth. Given the small sizes for some groups, these models use a measure of *lifetime* sexual harassment that combines experiences taking place within the past 12 months and experiences taking place before that.[1]

Relative to the reference category comprised by heterosexual AMAB employees, all other sex/sexual-identity groups are statistically significantly more likely to report lifetime experiences of workplace sexual harassment, *ceteris paribus* (Panel A). The magnitude of these disparities can be grasped by inspection of Figure 4, which shows the model's predicted probabilities. A clear sexual hierarchy is apparent in this visual, with the highest rates of lifetime sexual harassment experienced by pansexual (49.2% of the group), queer (46%), bisexual (44.5%) and lesbian (38.9%) AFAB employees. In contrast, lifetime sexual-harassment experiences are least prevalent amongst AMAB groups, particularly heterosexual (10.6%), bisexual (23.2%) and gay (25.1%) AMAB employees.

Concerning gender identity (Panel B), and relative to the reference category of 'cisgender man', most groups are statistically significantly more likely to report lifetime workplace-sexual-harassment victimization experiences. The only exception is trans men, for whom the relevant parameter is not statistically significant. The distribution of lifetime sexual-harassment victimization by gender identity is depicted in Figure 5. This shows that victimization rates range from as low as 13.7% for cisgender men to as high as 38.9% for

[1] For parsimony, the analyses interacting employees' sex assigned at birth and sexuality(gender) do not incorporate an interaction with their gender(sexuality). As a result, some small subgroups may be subsumed within broad categories. For example, the vast majority of employees in the 'bisexual AMAB' group are bisexual cisgender men, but this group may also contain a small subset of bisexual trans women and bisexual non-binary people.

non-binary AFAB employees and 36.9% for cisgender women, underscoring the importance of considering 'diversity within diversity'.

[TABLE 4, FIGURE 4 & FIGURE 5 HERE]

Discussion and Conclusion

In this study, we have provided a novel theorization and unique empirical account of the role of employees' LGBTQ+ status in both exposing individuals to workplace-sexual-harassment victimization and influencing the ensuing reporting process. Combining sociological perspectives on the gender order (Connell, 1987; 1995; 2005) and the sexual hierarchy (Rubin, 1984 [2020]) and the allied notions of heteronormativity and cisnormativity (Valocchi, 2005; Warner, 1991), we arrived at the principal expectation that individuals who identify as LGBTQ+ would be overexposed to workplace sexual harassment. Consistent with this proposition, our analyses revealed that LGBTQ+ employees are indeed significantly and substantially more likely to experience workplace-sexual-harassment victimization. Specifically, in contemporary Australia, lifetime sexual harassment was uncomfortably prevalent amongst non-LGBTQ+ employees—having been experienced by 32% and 10% of (cisgender) men and women, respectively. Alarmingly though, rates were even higher for their LGBTQ+ colleagues: 38% higher for AFAB employees and 22% higher for AMAB employees. These disparities are sizeable in magnitude. Furthermore, they emerged in the presence of a comprehensive set of model controls capturing individual- and organization-level confounds, pointing to LGBTQ+ status *per se* as a key factor eliciting victimization.

Short of stopping by demonstrating this uncomfortable empirical reality, the advantageous properties of the 2022 AWEI Employee Survey enabled us to generate additional empirical insights beyond those provided by the handful of 'pioneer' studies in the field (AHRC, 2022; Jonsdottir et al., 2022; TUC, 2019). Importantly, we were able to query heterogeneity within the LGBTQ+ group, with the results clearly demonstrating the value of

this exercise. For example, recognizing the experiences of individuals who identify outside the gender binary, we found that gender non-binary employees experienced the greatest rates of sexual-harassment victimization, peaking at 38% for non-binary AFAB employees and 23% for non-binary AMAB employees. Therefore, studies that fail to recognize gender beyond the binary, often due to data limitations, will miss an important part of the "workplace-sexual-harassment puzzle"—namely, the subordination of non-binary identities within the gender order. Likewise, as previously found for other workplace processes and outcomes (Donaghy & Perales, 2023), we unveiled compelling evidence that not all minority sexual-identity groups are equally exposed to sexual-harassment victimization. A case in point are pansexual employees, who were consistently over-exposed to lifetime victimization in both the AMAB and AFAB samples. It is possible that the pluri-sexuality characterizing this group remains misunderstood and hyper-sexualized by coworkers, resulting in lewd jokes and/or unwanted sexual advances (see e.g., Watson et al., 2021). The 'charmed circle' (Rubin, 1984 [2020]) may be progressively incorporating monosexual same-sex sexual behavior, while plurisexual sexual behavior remains less socially acceptable. Indeed, overexposure to harassment amongst pansexual employees may occur due to perpetrators perpetrating harassment to "police and punish" perceived deviance (Konik & Cortina, 2008; Pascoe, 2013). Future research examining the specific mechanisms placing this and other subgroups at a heightened risk of victimization is warranted.

Intersecting sex assigned at birth with LGBTQ+ status also proved useful in revealing a hierarchy of victimization invisible in earlier studies. Consistent with our theoretical propositions, individuals who have (or may be perceived to have) male bodies were discernibly less likely to be victimized than all other groups: when considering sexuality diversity, the six groups with the lowest lifetime victimization rates were all AMAB and the six groups with the highest were all AFAB. Similarly, when considering gender diversity,

two of the three groups with the lowest lifetime victimization rates were AMAB and the two groups with the highest were AFAB. This overexposure of individuals born with female bodies to workplace-sexual-harassment victimization is not unexpected, as it confirms well-established sociological knowledge pointing to societal sanctioning of the sexual objectification, pursuit, and conquest of the female body (Connell, 1987, 1995; Quinn, 2002). Most strikingly, lifetime victimization rates for heterosexual AMAB employees, in particular, sat as low as 11% (less than half than those for the next group, bisexual AMAB employees, at 23%). This finding serves as a reminder of the markedly privileged position occupied by heterosexual people born male within both the gender order and sexual hierarchy, and how their privilege may be reinforced by remaining safe from workplace sexual harassment.

The fact that LGBTQ+ AFAB employees have greater victimization rates than both LGBTQ+ AMAB employees and non-LGBTQ+ AFAB employees aligns squarely with an intersectional lens (Cech & Rothwell, 2020). Indeed, the concatenation of two disadvantaged statuses (i.e., being born female and identifying as LGBTQ+) was observed to exert a multiplicative, negative effect on personal experiences and outcomes. At the same time, though, differences in victimization rates by LGBTQ+ status were more pronounced in the AMAB sample (+15.4 percentage points) than in the AFAB sample (+8.9 percentage points). This finding fits well with the theoretical depiction of a hegemonic (cisgender and heterosexual) masculinity sitting at the top of a power hierarchy, and from which other masculinities deviate (Connell, 1987; 1995; 2005). These deviations and ensuing power differentials mean that, amongst individuals who identify as LGBTQ+ and compared to those who do not identify, there is more room for those born male to become exposed to sexual harassment at work than amongst those born female. For AFAB employees, in comparison, victimization rates were higher across the board, but differences were less marked. In other words, all employees born female are dangerously exposed to workplace sexual harassment,

regardless of their LGBTQ+ status. In the jargon of intersectional perspectives (Cech & Rothwell, 2020), one subordinate status (being born female) proves sufficient to trigger harassment victimization, with the second status (identifying as LGBTQ+) having only a marginal additive effect.

An additional contribution of the present study was to consider the processes involved in sexual-harassment cases more holistically than previous studies. To this end, we not only theorized and examined victimization experiences, but also their reporting and employee satisfaction with the handling of ensuing complaints. Somewhat surprisingly, we found little evidence that LGBTQ+ and other employees differed in their rates of reporting, or in their declared satisfaction with how the reporting process unfolded. The lack of disparities in harassment reporting by LGBTQ+ status could occur because two competing processes offset each other. On the one hand, LGBTQ+ individuals—particularly those AMAB—may anticipate smaller social penalties stemming from heteronormative expectations when reporting harassment, making them more inclined to report (Smith et al., 2023). On the other hand, and at the same time, LGBTQ+ individuals may be more distrustful of heteronormative workplace cultures and practices and more likely to expect 'institutional betrayal', which would make them less prone to reporting (Duffy et al., 2023; Smith & Freyd, 2014). The lack of disparities in reporting (and satisfaction with the reporting process) could also be the product of small cell sizes, as these analyses were based on a smaller subset of individuals experiencing and/or reporting recent workplace-sexual-harassment experiences (approximately 300 to 1,000 individuals, depending on the model).

Notwithstanding the significance and timeliness of our findings, certain shortcomings of the present study must be acknowledged. These shortcomings point to avenues for future theoretical and methodological refinement. First, the analyses presented here leverage a unique and under-utilized resource: the 2022 AWEI Employee Survey. Despite its multiple

strengths, this survey relies on a non-probability sampling approach. Due to this, our results cannot be directly extrapolated to the general population and inferential statistics are to be interpreted with a degree of caution. Future studies should aim to replicate our empirical approach using probability-based surveys. The latter, however, tend to feature low numbers of LGBTQ+ individuals, particularly for smaller subgroups (Perales, 2021), which may preclude analyses of a relatively rare event such as sexual harassment. Second, the data at hand are silent about the nature and seriousness of workplace sexual harassment. It is possible that LGBTQ+ employees are exposed to different, more serious, and/or more harmful types of sexual harassment (e.g., harassment targeted specifically at erasing or invalidating their "socially deviant" identities) (Mitchell et al., 2014). Future studies, including studies based on rich qualitative methodologies, should empirically engage with this possibility to add greater nuance to our appreciation of LGBTQ+ employees' experiences. Third, prospective studies may theoretically advance the field by addressing the relational way in which sex, gender and sexuality permeate social relations, including those within the workplace (see e.g., Richardson, 2007). Specifically, theoretical and empirical accounts that incorporate perpetrators' sex, gender and sexuality, and how these traits align with those of their victims, would further illuminate the synergistic influences of the gender order and sexual hierarchy on workplace sexual harassment. Consideration of perpetrators' views on and perceptions of victims' sex and gender may also yield novel insights, particularly in relation to the harassment of trans and non-binary people. Finally, while our study has offered a first-time account of how victimization differs across concrete subgroups of the LGBTQ+ umbrella, a dedicated, conceptual toolkit to understand and explain these disparities is needed (see Donaghy & Perales, 2023). This could be the aim of future research.

Despite the potential for expansion and refinement, our findings provide a timely and illuminating empirical account of how LGBTQ+ individuals remain exposed to an enhanced

risk of workplace-sexual-harassment victimization. Furthermore, the results suggests that this over-exposure occurs *because of* their gender and sexual identities, and can thus be attributed to prevailing hetero- and cis-normative work environments. If this is the case, then fully mitigating workplace sexual harassment against women and LGBTQ+ employees requires structural changes that challenge the established gender order and sexual hierarchy (Cortina & Areguin, 2021; MacKinnon, 1979). In the interim, our results hint at the importance of adopting concrete preventive and remedial workplace policies. While there is a lack of systematic evidence on the most effective means for preventing and addressing the sexual harassment of LGBTQ+ employees specifically, promising general strategies include bystander and manager training (Dobbin & Kalev, 2019; Saguy & Rees, 2021). In contrast, training that treats employees as potential perpetrators and utilizes a "forbidden-behavior curriculum" can result in backlash and other negative outcomes (Dobbin & Kalev, 2019; Saguy & Rees, 2021). Future research should investigate whether existing manager and bystander training programs adequately address the unique forms of sexual harassment to which LGBTQ+ people are subjected (see e.g., TUC, 2019). In addition, the promotion of workplace cultures characterized by less rigid hierarchies and greater levels of social support, respect, collaboration and cooperation between coworkers may help reduce the overall incidence of sexual harassment (Saguy & Rees, 2021). Augmenting this course of action with strategies dedicated to fostering the inclusion of LGBTQ+ employees, such as employee/ally networks (Perales, 2023), might prove most effective in reducing sexual-harassment targeting of LGBTQ+ employees.

Given the negative health and career effects associated with workplace-sexual-harassment victimization (Chan et al., 2008; Hansen et al., 2020; McLaughlin et al., 2017; Shaw et al., 2018; Sojo et al., 2016), our findings are a cause for concern. Disproportionate exposure to sexual-harassment victimization likely compounds with other workplace

stressors experienced by women and LGBTQ+ employees, dampening their career prospects and entrenching existing social hierarchies and injustices. Consistent with the theoretical tenets of the gender-order and sexual-hierarchy perspectives, workplace sexual harassment acts a mechanism to perpetuate the *status quo*. Neither workplace sexual harassment nor the oppression of LGBTQ+ employees has a place in modern organizations. Ensuring this situation stops requires profound, immediate action. We hope that the present study paves the way for further attention to this timely social issue and as a proverbial theoretical and empirical 'stepping stone' for future scholarly inquiry.

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Table 1. Descriptive statistics for key analytic variables

	Mean / %	Frequency
Sexual harassment variables		
Personal experience of sexual-harassment victimization, %		
No, never	72.59	39,081
Yes, more than 12 months ago	24.82	
Yes, within the past 12 months	2.59	
Frequency of sexual harassment [a], %		
Once	30.53	1,012
More than once, but less than monthly	53.66	
Monthly	8.10	
Weekly	5.34	
Daily	2.37	
Sexual harassment was reported to employer [a,b], %		
Yes, reported	70.92	1,011
No, not reported	29.08	
Sexual harassment was appropriately dealt with [b,c], %		
Yes, appropriately dealt with	58.16	294
No, not appropriately dealt with	41.84	
Sex, gender and sexuality variables		
Sex recorded at birth, %		
Male	41.65	44,939
Female	57.38	
Other	0.07	
PNTR	0.90	
LGBTQ+ identity, %		
Not LGBTQ+	76.13	44,939
LGBTQ+	21.82	
PNTR	2.05	
Sexuality diversity, %		
Heterosexual	82.31	44,939
Diverse sexuality	17.34	
PNTR	0.35	
Gender diversity, %		
Cisgender	96.66	44,939
Diverse sexuality	2.26	
PNTR	1.08	

Notes: Data from the 2022 Australian Workplace Equality Index Employee Survey. LGBTQ+: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans or Queer. PNTR: Prefer Not to Respond. [a] Conditional on having experienced sexual harassment within the past 12 months. [c] In relation to most recent instance of sexual harassment. [c] Conditional on having experienced sexual harassment within the past 12 months and having reported it to one's employer.

Table 2. Regression models of sexual harassment, estimates on LGBTQ+ identity, full-sample and sex-stratified models

	Experience of harassment *(ref. Never)*		Harassment Frequency[a] (1 – 5)	Whether harassment reported[a,b] (yes/no)	Whether report satisfactorily dealt with[a,b] (yes/no)
	Over 12 months ago	Past 12 months			
Model / Parameters	MNL / RRR		Ologit / OR	Logit / OR	Logit / OR
Panel A – Full sample					
Sexual identity *(ref. not LGBTQ+)*					
LGBTQ+	1.779***	2.650***	1.120	1.031	0.849
Observations	*39,081*		*1,012*	*1,011*	*294*
Pseudo R^2	*0.09*		*0.04*	*0.06*	*0.19*
Panel B – AMAB sample					
Sexual identity *(ref. not LGBTQ+)*					
LGBTQ+	2.867***	3.165***	0.872	1.425	N/A
Observations	*16,134*		*327*	*325*	*N/A*
Pseudo R^2	*0.07*		*0.08*	*0.15*	*N/A*
Panel C – AFAB sample					
Sexual identity *(ref. not LGBTQ+)*					
LGBTQ+	1.397***	2.302***	1.381	0.777	0.544
Observations	*22,658*		*665*	*666*	*213*
R^2 / Pseudo R^2	*0.04*		*0.05*	*0.08*	*0.20*

Notes: Data from the 2022 Australian Workplace Equality Index Employee Survey. LGBTQ+: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans or queer. AMAB: Assigned male at birth. AFAB: Assigned female at birth. MNL: Multinomial logistic regression model. RRR: Relative Risk Ratio. Ologit: Ordered Logistic regression model. OR: Odds ratio. Logit: Logistic regression model. [a] In relation to sexual harassment over the past 12 months. [b] In relation to most recent sexual-harassment victimization experience over the past 12 months. Models are adjusted for respondents' sex (full-sample-model only), education level, age group, Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) status, Indigenous status, disability status, religiosity, neurodiversity, self-identification as a person of color, state of residence, area remoteness, contract type, job level, job tenure, and employers' sector and size. N/A: The model parameters could not be estimated due to small cell sizes. For parsimony, coefficients on the 'Prefer Not to Respond' (PNTR) category of the LGBTQ+ variable are omitted. Statistical significance: * $p<0.05$, * $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$.

Table 3. Regression models of sexual harassment, estimates on sexuality diversity and gender diversity, full-sample models

	Experience of harassment *(ref. Never)*		Harassment frequency[b] (1 – 5)	Whether harassment reported[b] (yes/no)	Whether report satisfactorily dealt with [b] (yes/no)
	Over 12 months ago	Past 12 months			
Model / Parameters	MNL / RRR		Ologit / OR	Logit / OR	Logit / OR
Panel A – Estimates on sexuality diversity					
Sexual identity *(ref. not diverse)*					
Diverse	1.728***	2.431***	1.096	0.948	0.981
Observations	*39,081*		*1,012*	*1,011*	*294*
Pseudo R^2	*0.09*		*0.04*	*0.06*	*0.19*
Panel B – Estimates on gender diversity					
Gender identity *(ref. not diverse)*					
Diverse	1.197*	1.952***	1.536	1.401	1.632
Observations	*39,081*		*1,012*	*1,011*	*294*
Pseudo R^2	*0.08*		*0.04*	*0.06*	*0.20*

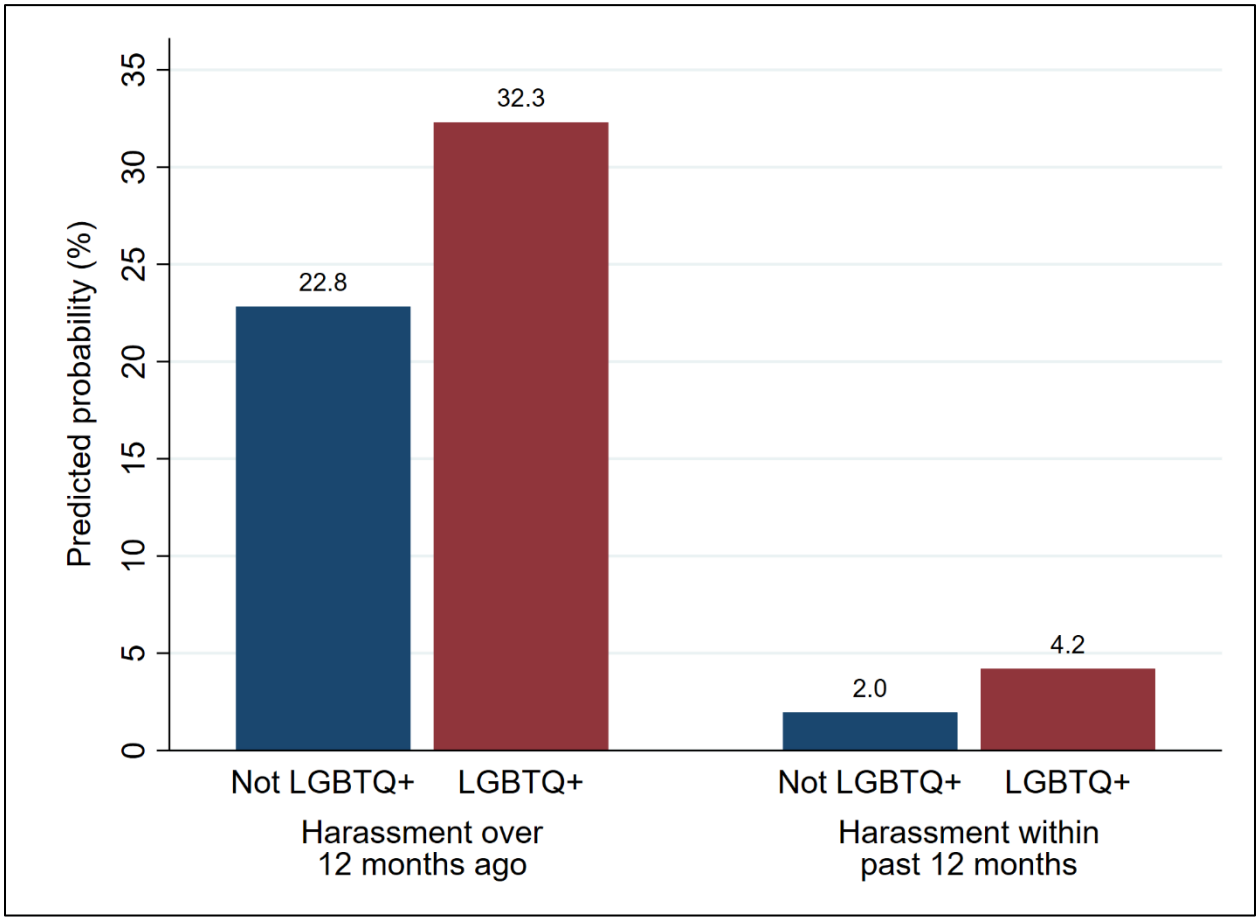
Notes: Data from the 2022 Australian Workplace Equality Index Employee Survey. LGBTQ+: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans or queer. AMAB: Assigned male at birth. AFAB: Assigned female at birth. MNL: Multinomial logistic regression model. RRR: Relative Risk Ratio. Ologit: Ordered Logistic regression model. OR: Odds ratio. Logit: Logistic regression model. [a] In relation to sexual harassment over the past 12 months. [b] In relation to most recent sexual-harassment victimization experience over the past 12 months. Models are adjusted for respondents' sex (full-sample-model only), education level, age group, Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) status, Indigenous status, disability status, religiosity, neurodiversity, self-identification as a person of color, state of residence, area remoteness, contract type, job level, job tenure, and employers' sector and size. For parsimony, coefficients on the 'Prefer Not to Respond' (PNTR) category of the LGBTQ+ variable are omitted. Statistical significance: * $p<0.05$, * $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$.

Table 4. Logistic regression models of lifetime sexual-harassment experiences, distinct sexual- and gender-identity groups intersected with sex assigned at birth

	Odds ratios
Panel A – Sex × Sexual identity	
Sexual identity *(ref. Heterosexual AMAB)*	
Gay AMAB	2.875***
Bisexual AMAB	2.586***
Queer AMAB	3.228***
Pansexual AMAB	4.069***
Asexual AMAB	3.971***
Heterosexual AFAB	4.824***
Lesbian AFAB	5.564***
Bisexual AFAB	7.058***
Queer AFAB	7.488***
Pansexual AFAB	8.564***
Asexual AFAB	4.516***
Observations	*39,081*
Pseudo R^2	*0.09*
Panel B – Sex × Gender identity	
Gender identity *(ref. Cisgender man)*	
Trans man	1.589
Non-binary AMAB	1.908***
Cisgender woman	3.801***
Trans woman	3.032***
Non-binary AFAB	3.984***
Observations	*39,081*
Pseudo R^2	*0.08*

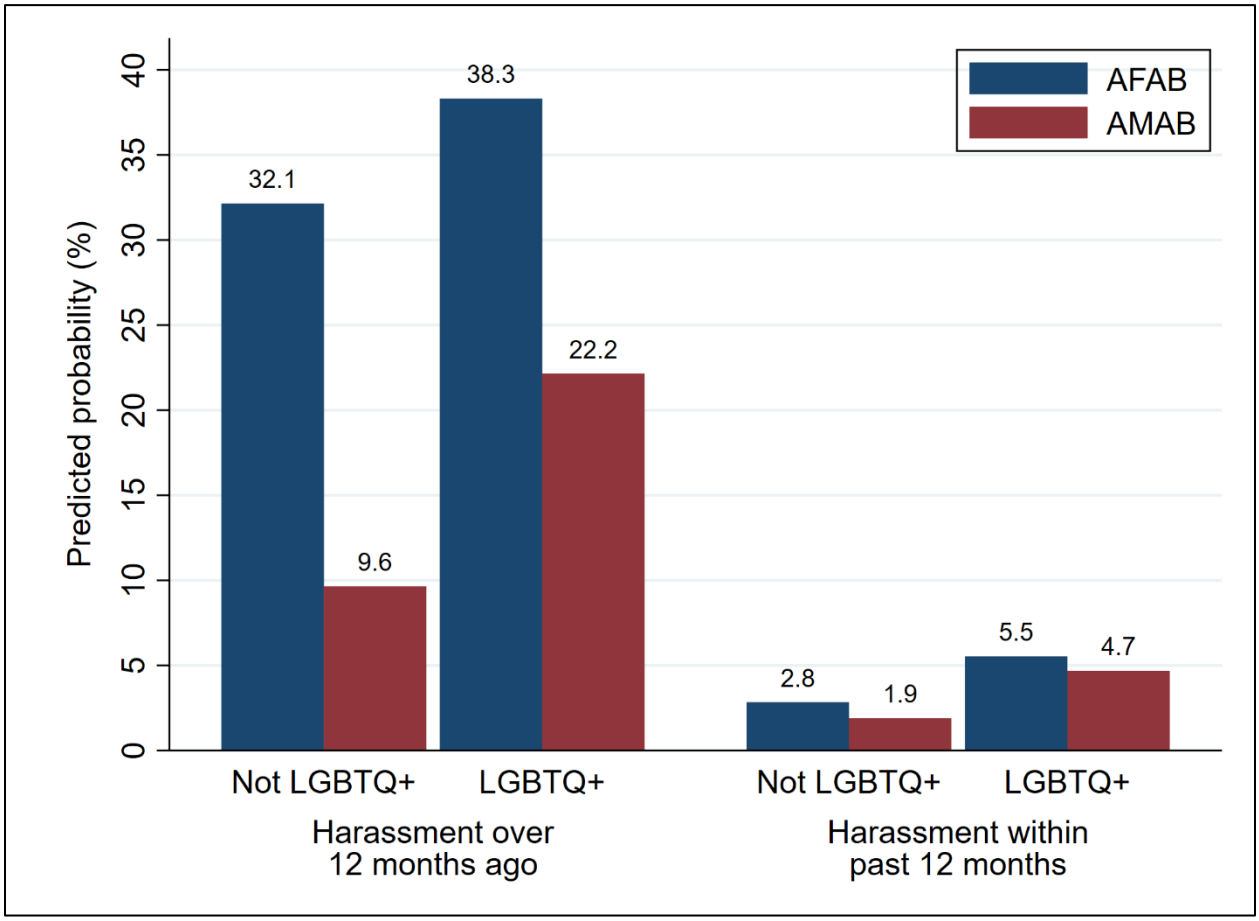
Notes: Data from the 2022 Australian Workplace Equality Index Employee Survey. AMAB: Assigned male at birth. AFAB: Assigned female at birth. Coefficients for smaller groups (including 'PNTR' and 'Missing') not shown. Models are adjusted for respondents' education level, age group, Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) status, Indigenous status, disability status, religiosity, neurodiversity, self-identification as a person of color, state of residence, area remoteness, contract type, job level, job tenure, and employers' sector and size. Statistical significance: * $p<0.05$, * $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$.

Figure 1. Predicted probability of sexual-harassment victimization, full sample



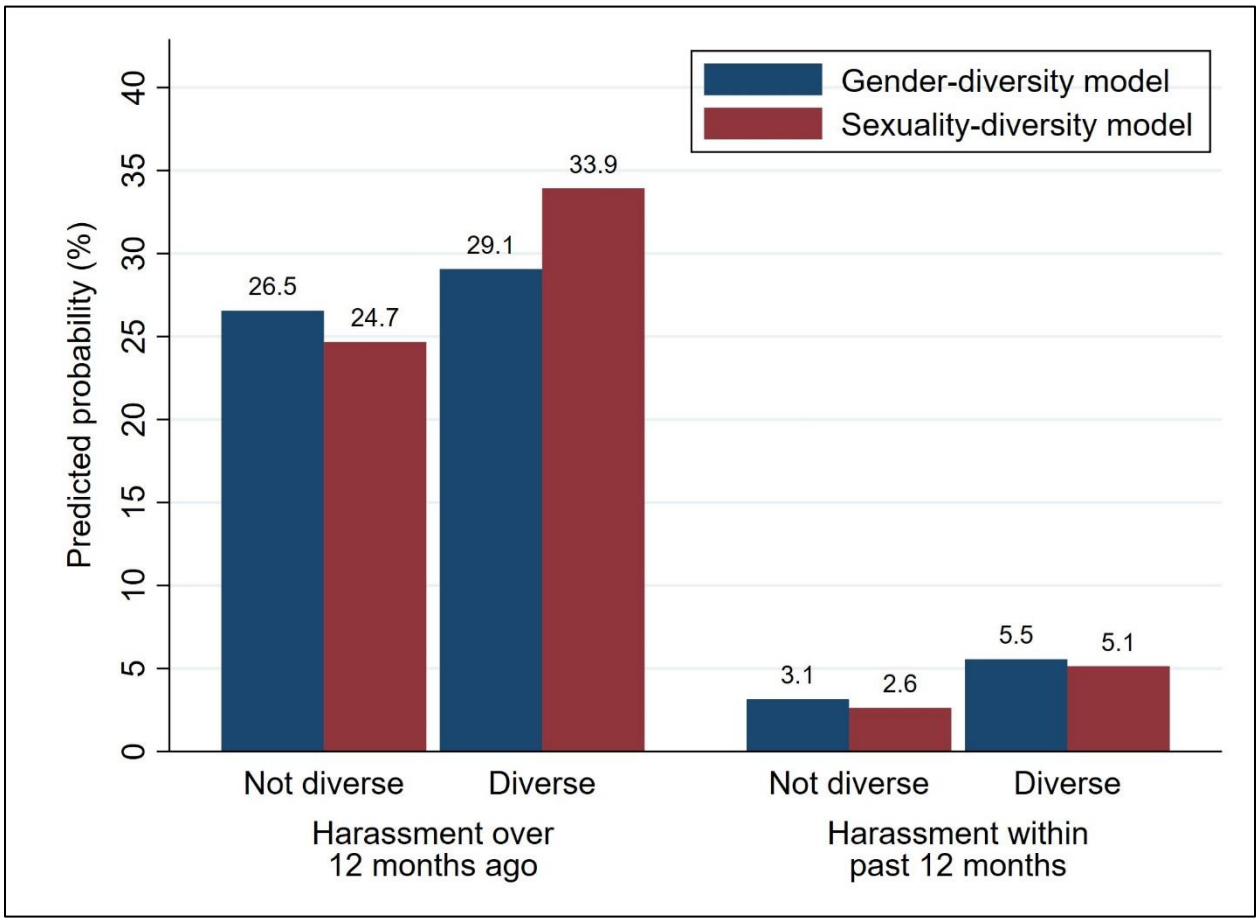
Notes: Data from the 2022 Australian Workplace Equality Index Employee Survey. Based on results presented in Panel A within Table 2. Marginal predictions holding covariates at their actual values.

Figure 2. Predicted probability of sexual-harassment victimization, by sex assigned at birth



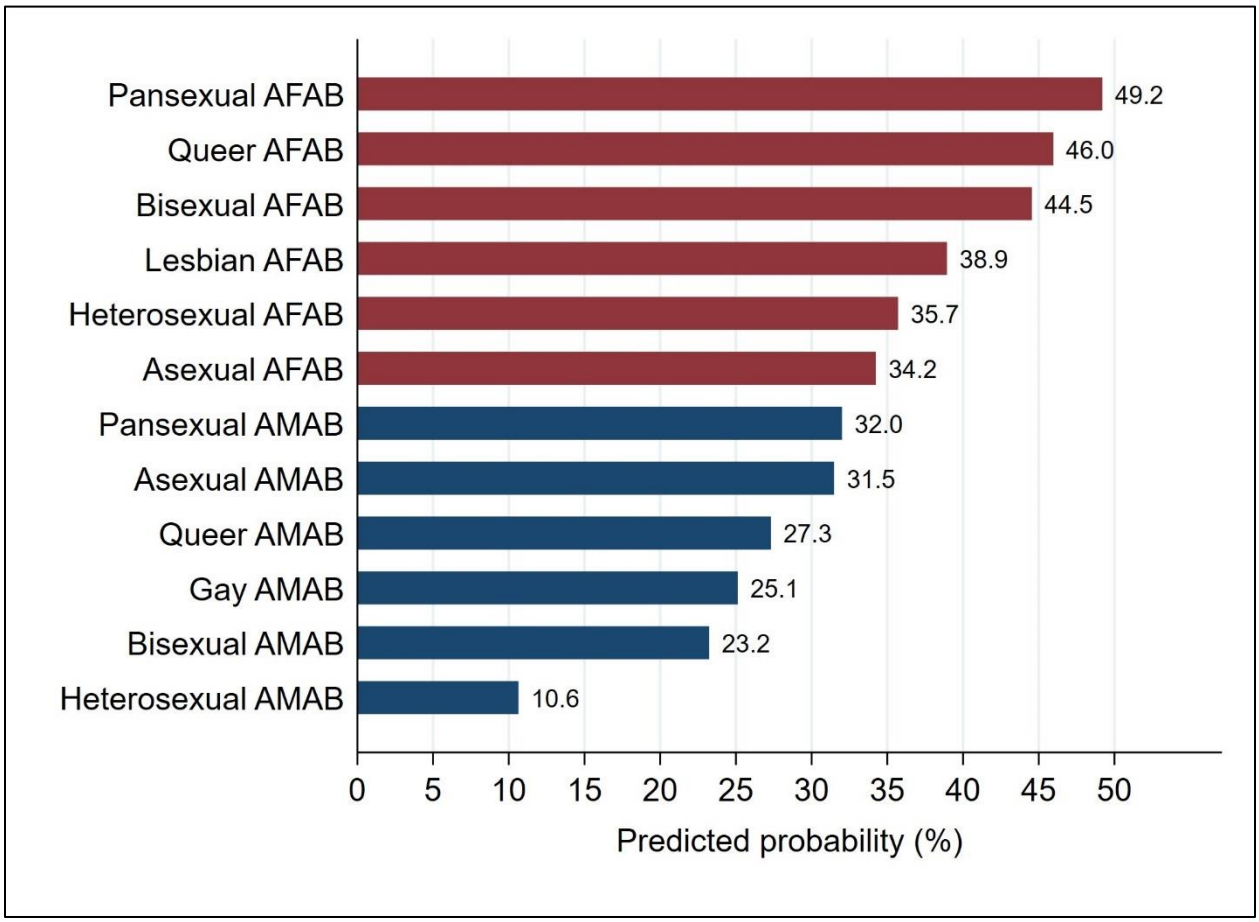
Notes: Data from the 2022 Australian Workplace Equality Index Employee Survey. Based on results presented in Panels B and C within Table 2. Marginal predictions holding covariates at their actual values. LGBTQ+: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans or Queer. AMAB: Assigned male at birth. AFAB: Assigned female at birth.

Figure 3. Predicted probability of sexual-harassment victimization, comparing the estimated effects of sexuality diversity and gender diversity



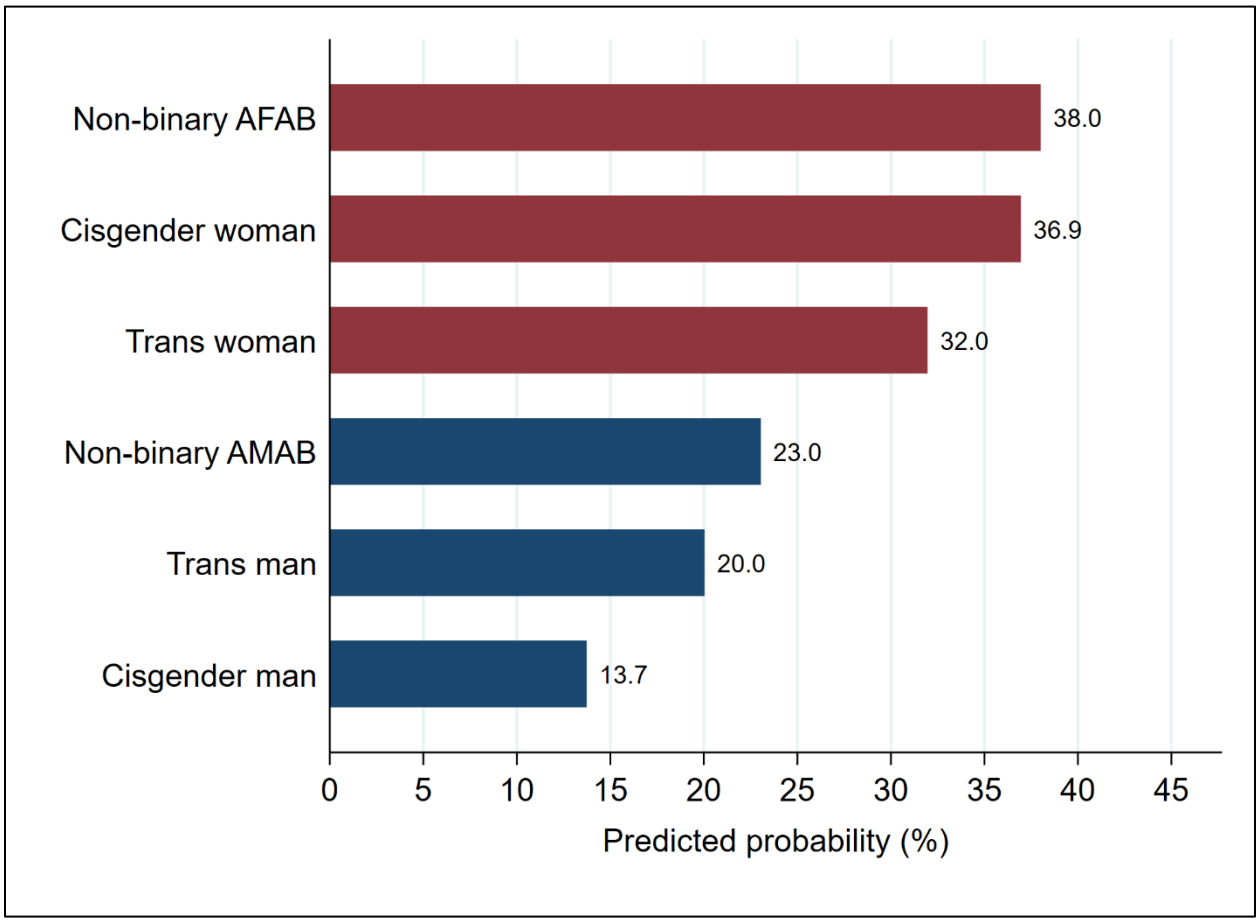
Notes: Data from the 2022 Australian Workplace Equality Index Employee Survey. Based on results presented in Panels A and B within Table 3. Marginal predictions holding covariates at their actual values.

Figure 4. Predicted probability of lifetime sexual-harassment victimization, concrete sexual diversity groups intersected with sex assigned at birth



Notes: Data from the 2022 Australian Workplace Equality Index Employee Survey. Based on results presented in Panel A within Table 4. Marginal predictions holding covariates at their actual values. AMAB: Assigned male at birth. AFAB: Assigned female at birth.

Figure 5. Predicted probability of lifetime sexual-harassment victimization, concrete gender diversity groups intersected with sex assigned at birth



Notes: Data from the 2022 Australian Workplace Equality Index Employee Survey. Based on results presented in Panel B within Table 4. Marginal predictions holding covariates at their actual values. AMAB: Assigned male at birth. AFAB: Assigned female at birth.

Table A1. Summary of model specifications

Model	Outcome variable	Response options	Modelling approach	Coefficients expressed as…	Sample
1	Personal experience of sexual-harassment victimization	1. Never 2. Over 12 months ago 3. Within past 12 months	MNL	RRRs	Full sample
2	Frequency of sexual harassment	1. Daily 2. Weekly 3. Monthly 4. More than once, but less than monthly 5. Once	Ologit	ORs	Employees reporting having experienced sexual harassment within the past 12 months
3	Sexual harassment was reported to employer	0. No, not reported 1. Yes, reported	Logit	ORs	Employees reporting having experienced sexual harassment within the past 12 months (most-recent experience within the period)
4	Sexual harassment was appropriately dealt with	0. No, not appropriately dealt with 1. Yes, appropriately dealt with	Logit	ORs	Employees reporting having experienced sexual harassment within the past 12 months and who reported it to their employers (most-recent experience within the period)

Notes: MNL: Multinomial Logistic regression model. RRR: Relative Risk Ratio. Ologit: Ordered Logistic regression model. Logit: Logistic regression model. OR: Odds ratio.

Table A2. Descriptive statistics for other analytic variables

	Mean / %	Frequency
Education level, %		
Degree or higher	67.03	44,939
Certificate or diploma	21.20	
Lower or other qualification	11.77	
Age group, %		
<34 years	30.50	44,939
35-54 years	54.93	
55+ years	13.40	
PNTR	1.17	
CALD background, %		
Yes	73.47	44,939
No	8.31	
No info	18.22	
Indigenous status, %		
Yes	80.02	44,939
No	1.76	
No information, %	18.22	
Disability		
Yes	77.72	44,939
No	4.06	
No information	18.22	
Religious/person of faith, %		
Yes	72.24	44,939
No	9.54	
No information	18.22	
Neurodiversity, %		
Yes	76.92	44,939
No	4.86	
No information	18.22	
Self-identification as a ‘person of color’, %		
Yes	74.30	44,939
No	7.48	
No information	18.22	
State of residence, %		
New South Wales	30.59	44,939
Victoria	23.38	
Queensland	15.09	
Australian Capital Territory	11.30	
Western Australia	12.22	
South Australia	4.27	
Tasmania	0.92	
Northern Territory	0.64	
Overseas office	1.60	
Area remoteness, %		
City/Metropolitan	82.40	44,939
Regional/Rural	13.41	
Remote	4.20	
Contract type, %		

Full-time	83.53	44,939
Part-time	9.68	
Fixed-term	4.23	
Temporary/casual	2.23	
Another employment type	0.33	
Job tenure, %		
Less than 1 year	20.37	44,939
1-3 years	19.50	
3-5 years	13.48	
More than 5 years	46.64	
Job level, %		
Senior/executive management	8.32	44,939
Middle management	34.52	
Regular employee	47.56	
Other	9.59	
Employment sector, %		
Private Sector	55.01	44,939
Public Sector	36.16	
Not-for-Profit	2.65	
Higher Education	6.18	
Employer size, %		
Small (<500 employees)	4.46	44,939
Medium (501-1,999 employees)	19.73	
Large (2,000-8,000 employees)	42.57	
Significant (>8,000 employees)	33.24	

Notes: Data from the 2022 Australian Workplace Equality Index Employee Survey. CALD: Culturally and Linguistically Diverse.