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Exploring Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic Women's Experiences of Workplace Sexual Harassment

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Exploring Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic women's experiences of workplace sexual harassment in Wales

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Views expressed in this report are those of the researcher and not necessarily those of the Welsh Government

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Glossary

The 'Workstream'

Blueprint Workplace Harassment Workstream. Welsh Government-affiliated collaborative group comprising specialist membership with the aim of eradicating workplace harassment, including sexual harassment and other forms of gender-based harassment in Welsh workplaces.

RDEU

Racial Disparity Evidence Unit.

ArWAP

Anti-racist Wales Action Plan.

Protected Characteristics

Section 4 of the Equality Act 2010 defines protected characteristics as: Age, Disability, Gender reassignment, Marriage and civil partnership, Pregnancy and maternity, Race, Religion or belief, Sex, Sexual orientation.

Disability

Defined by the Equality Act (2010), which follows the medical model of disability (where people are defined as disabled by their impairment). Welsh Government follows the social model of disability, which views people as disabled by physical, attitudinal, and organisational barriers created by society.

Impairment

Refers to an injury, illness, mental or physical health condition, neurodivergence, a characteristic, or feature someone experiences. May or may not be lifelong and could arise from illness or injury. Can affect a person's appearance, functioning, communication, and may cause difficulties like pain and fatigue.

Ethnic minority people

A shortened term for "Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic people." Both terms are preferred based on discussions from the Anti-racist Wales Action Plan Steering Group. Minority Ethnic has also been used when using the term "Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic people" in full.

Gender

Refers to someone's sense of self, which can include female, male, or non-binary. Gender does not always align with the sex assigned at birth. Can also be used in the context of gender expression or identity

SARC

Sexual Assault Referral Centres

Sex

Attributed to a person on the basis of a range of characteristics including chromosomes, hormone profiles and reproductive anatomy and functions (e.g., genitalia). Currently in the UK, only two sexes can be recorded at birth, male and female, which excludes intersex people.

LGBTQ+

Refers to lesbian, gay, bisexual/bi, transgender/trans, queer or questioning. Additional letters (e.g., I for intersex, A for asexual/aromantic) can be added to include other groups, orientations, and identities. The "+" includes diverse identities and orientations such as intersex, asexual, and aromantic.

Intersectionality

Refers to the combined effect of multiple forms of oppression that result from belonging to multiple stigmatised groups. It shows how these forms of oppression are interconnected. For example, disabled women may experience different discrimination compared to disabled men.

Bawso

Bawso provides practical and emotional prevention, protection and support services to Black Minority Ethnic (BME) and migrant victims of Domestic Abuse, Sexual Violence, Female Genital Mutilation, Forced Marriage, Honour Based Violence, Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking.

EDI

Equality, Diversity and Inclusion

EYST

EYST in a charitable organisation which provides services for ethnic minority young people, families and individuals in Wales, including education, employment, health, family support and community safety.

Diverse Cymru

Diverse Cymru is a Welsh charity which supports people faced with inequality and discrimination because of protected characteristics.

Women Connect First

A charity that provides services to disadvantaged ethnic minority women, young girls and children in Cardiff.

1. Introduction and background

This report provides qualitative insights into the experiences of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic women in Wales who have experienced gender-based sexual harassment in the workplace. The research explores the ways in which gender and racial discrimination can intersect and impact on reporting, response and outcomes. Racial discrimination encompasses race, ethnicity, culture and religion, and in this context other aspects of intersectionality are also relevant, such as class status and job security.

The research was commissioned by Welsh Government's Race Disparity Evidence Unit (RDEU), on behalf of the Violence Against Women, Domestic Abuse and Sexual Violence (VAWDASV) Blueprint Workplace Harassment Workstream (the 'workstream') and Anti-Racist Wales Action Plan (ArWAP). Under both the Anti-Racist Wales Action Plan and the VAWDASV National Strategy, there is a priority to garner evidence from the lived experiences of ethnic minority workers, gaining a clearer understanding of the barriers faced by Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic women, and thus providing opportunity to use an informed approach to develop effective actions to help prevent sexual harassment in the workplace (Appendix A). Under the Worker Protection Act 2023 (which came into effect in October 2024), all organisations now have a clear duty to take all reasonable steps to prevent and respond to sexual harassment in the workplace.

Considering the above recent changes to legislation, this report begins to provide a picture of the challenges currently faced by ethnic minority women in Wales and makes considerations based on those experiences to improve wellbeing, inclusion and workplace cohesion.

1.1. Research context

A short internal and unpublished literature review was undertaken by Welsh Government in 2023 to determine the knowledge base on the topic of sexual harassment as experienced by women of ethnic minority backgrounds in the UK and inform the creation of the research proposal. The literature review findings were as follows:

Research from the women's sector and unions suggests that sexual harassment is common in workplaces in Wales and is part of a wider culture of normalised misogyny and sexual violence. Although all people can be impacted by workplace sexual harassment, most victims are women (Welsh Women's Aid, 2021; TUC, 2016).

At least 40% of women have experienced workplace harassment. Women who experience intersectional oppressions, such as race or disability, are at a higher risk and can experience different forms of harassment (Fawcett Society, 2020, p.5).

Ethnic Minority groups are significantly more likely than White people to experience sexual harassment. The Government 2020 Sexual Harassment Survey found nearly half (49%) of all other ethnic groups combined had experienced sexual harassment in the last 12 months, compared to 42% of White people (Adams et. al., 2021, p. 32).

Gender inequality is a primary factor in workplace sexual harassment, but further forms of discrimination and disadvantage create power dynamics that can compound experiences of harassment (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2020, pp. 18-19).

Due to the compounded nature of racialised sexual harassment, and because experiencing multiple forms of trauma increases the likelihood of psychological harm, Ethnic Minority people may experience workplace sexual harassment differently to White people and may experience different impacts (Buchanan et. al, 2009; Fielden, 2010).

Non- reporting is assumed to be the normal response to workplace sexual harassment. There is therefore a gap in knowledge in terms of understanding what happens to those who do report and try to receive justice (Adams et al., 2021, p. 62).

It is important to note that previous studies examining Ethnic Minority women's experiences of sexual harassment in UK workplaces have reported experiencing difficulties in recruiting women to participate in their research, citing the sensitive nature of the subject matter, fear of reprisals from their communities and feelings of shame associated with the experience as barriers to engagement (Fielden et. al., 2010, p. 32).

The literature review concluded that there is little research on racialised sexual harassment or the intersections of sexual/racial harassment in the workplace in terms of UK specific research. Some evidence exists around the prevalence and nature of sexual harassment as experienced by Ethnic Minority women. However, less is understood about Ethnic Minority women's experiences of reporting sexual harassment in their workplace, the responses they receive and the outcomes. It is intended that this research will provide qualitative insights into the lived experiences of Ethnic Minority women in terms of experiencing workplace sexual harassment, with a specific focus on reporting sexual harassment in the workplace, response and outcomes where participants' experiences allow. The research will be specific to Wales and the findings of the research will be useful for informing current and future policy and practice actions to ensure that workplaces are safe places for everyone in Wales.

Since the brief literature review was undertaken to inform the original proposal, further evidence on the nature and prevalence of workplace sexual harassment as experienced by ethnic minority women has emerged. New research published by the Trades Union Congress (TUC, 2024) provides an in-depth overview of the literature and presents both survey and focus group data on Black women's experiences and responses to workplace sexual harassment. The report found workplace sexual harassment rates to be continuously

high, with 65% of responses to the study's survey reporting 'experiencing sexual harassment of some form, with high rates of unwelcome verbal sexual advances, unwanted touching, or sexual jokes' (TUC, 2024, p. 5). Although the research presents a contemporary, qualitative insight into current experiences of workplace sexual harassment in the UK, more knowledge about the specific experiences of ethnic minority women not only in Wales but also from a range of sectors is required. For example, most of the survey responses came from the London area and focus groups were comprised of delegates at the Women's Conference and Black Workers' Conference (TUC, 2024, p. 15).

Updated research by Welsh Women's Aid (2025), which expands their previous research into workplace sexual harassment to include a broader spectrum of harassment (Welsh Women's Aid, 2021), highlights the ongoing prevalence of sexual harassment generally, as well as the need for more awareness raising and education in Wales (p.11). Although only 3% of respondents thought that ethnicity had an influence on the sexual harassment that they experienced, this lower number could be reflective of limited diversity in the study sample rather than the broader issue, as ethnicity was not a focus in the report (Welsh Women's Aid, 2025, p. 10).

1.2. Research objectives

The objectives of the research detailed in this report were therefore as follows:

- to provide qualitative insights into the experience of sexual harassment encountered by ethnic minority women which are influenced by gender, race, ethnicity, culture and religion
- to provide qualitative insights into the factors that influence the reporting behaviours
 of ethnic minority women who have experienced of sexual harassment
- to provide qualitative insights into the experience of reporting sexual harassment encountered by ethnic minority women which are influenced by gender, race, ethnicity, culture and religion

2. Methodology

As outlined in the previous section, the research was proposed to gain insights from Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic women in Wales who have experienced workplace sexual harassment. As such, qualitative methods were chosen for this study to elicit accounts reflective of the participants' experiences, their perceptions of their experiences of workplace sexual harassment, and their beliefs about the issues at stake. The sampling

method was self-selection from a call for participants shared through VAWDASV support networks.

Therefore, the project did not aim to be representative but rather capture in-depth personal accounts of harassment. Within the demographic of ethnic minority women who may have experienced workplace sexual harassment in Wales, the following criteria were established to capture a relevant sample via self-selection that would be useful for informing current and future policy and practice:

- you are a woman from a Minority Ethnic background, including Mixed and Multiethnic groups
- you are over 18
- you experienced or witnessed harassment against a Minority Ethnic woman while working in any part of Wales and in any industry/sector
- the harassment took place within the last 5 years
- you reported or not it does not matter
- the harassment came from anyone in the workplace, e.g. colleague, customer
- you are not involved in any ongoing legal proceedings

2.1. Planning and revising the research approach

The process of planning the research began with revising an original outline proposal that had been shared with the researcher by the 'workstream'. Discussions within the workstream', which involved consultation on the topic with academic, public and third sector experts (both members and non-members) resulted in an approach combining focus groups and follow-up interviews being agreed upon. Focus groups (approx. 90 min) were planned to bring together participants to discuss workplace sexual harassment, gauge understandings of the phenomenon with communities and among individuals, to discuss reflections on the impact of identity on experiences, and to share ideas on recommendations for improving practice. Participants that had disclosed that they reported their experiences would then be invited to a follow-up semi-structured interviews (approx. 60 min) to gain a deeper understanding of reporting experiences specifically. Draft questions for both forms of engagement were included in this first draft of the proposal, and from this early version of the proposal, there was a greater emphasis on understandings and impacts than recounting details of harassment experiences that could be distressing.

The researcher then proceeded to revise the proposal, refining the questions in dialogue with the RDEU team which were then approved. Although the research was originally designated as *lived experience research*, there was no definition or discussion of this term in the original brief. As Casey (2023) has noted, the notion of lived experience has become somewhat of a buzzword in many English-speaking research and policy contexts, but it can either be held up in uncritical regard or dismissed as too subjective. For the purposes of this research, this report aligns with Casey's definition of lived experience as capturing events with a "view from the inside" – from an immediate, embodied, first-person perspective' (2023, p. 290). Lived experience research might therefore be understood as a focus on the nuances of an individual's recounting of their experiences and their perspectives on their

own experiences. Casey (2023, p. 293) notes that lived experience as a form of knowledge, and indeed the concept of sexual harassment itself, stem from women's collective actions to explore, share and document their existence and campaign for better rights. However, lived experience accounts are not fixed and complete, or a flawless record of events. Whilst it is not within the scope of this report to fully explore the tensions and surrounding lived experience theories and methodologies, it is important to note that although lived experience is privileged in this research as an approach that can give insight into minoritised perspectives, it is not done so in a way that creates a record that might not be interpreted or critiqued.

Furthermore, although participants were invited to share their experiential narratives about workplace sexual harassment, there was also a desire on the part of the research specification to investigate specific details, for example around reporting. The resulting interview questions were therefore a mix of more specific and open-ended questions, and the conversations were drawn back to certain events or details to ensure that requirement was met. Lived experience in this report therefore represents a participant perspective that is also shaped by the needs and interests of the research specification, in addition to all of the other unknown factors surrounding the events and the limited scope of the research.

Practically, it was decided that all research engagement would take place via Microsoft Teams to reduce costs and make participation easier. The support service Bawso, who specialise in working with Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities and domestic abuse, confirmed their support for the research plan. An agreement was made that a support worker would be available and paid should a participant require support before, during or after the research participation. It was agreed that participants would be offered a £20 One4All voucher as a thank you for taking part. The research proposal then went through another round of scrutiny from the "workstream" members and other relevant colleagues before being finalised.

Following the approval of the research proposal and the development of the Participant Information Sheet and Privacy Notice, the call for participants was shared through the 'workstream' members' networks and through individuals, professional networks and organisations in relevant sectors, e.g. VAWDASV sector, Welsh Government, and ethnic minority advocacy/support organisations. The call was not permitted to be shared on social media but limited to circulation within professional networks and relevant groups to exercise some control over how the call would be seen.

Following the initial sharing of the call, the response rate was very low, with only one person coming forward. After one month, the research approach was discussed and revised with the RDEU team, and the focus groups were removed from the plan. A pre-screening tool that had been created to capture demographic information for the organisation of focus groups and the role of the focus groups in identifying potential interview participants were removed from the plan. Participants would instead be able to self-select for an interview on the basis of the eligibility criteria. There had previously not been concerns about the focus group method in the hope that it might create a sense of shared experience and support, but it was later discussed that the prospect of sharing complex experiences in front of unknown people might be intimidating for potential participants in comparison to the relative

privacy of an interview (Jim and Waterfield, 2019). It was also acknowledged that only using only one method would lessen the requirement of the invitation, i.e. potentially taking part in both a focus group and an interview with the thank you voucher arguably only reflecting one instance of research engagement. The call for participants was therefore revised to reflect the change to interviews only, and the interview questions were combined to create one set with two avenues for questioning: one more general for those who did not report, and one more specific reporting-focused route for those that did.

2.2. Piloting

The revised interview questions were piloted with the first participant that came forward. However, due the previous rigorous revision of the topic guide when the research approach was changed, no further changes were made to the topic guide following the first interview and it was decided that the first interview should be included in the data. The interview schedule is included in this report (Appendix B).

2.3. Final sample and study limitations

Following the revision of the call for participants to reflect methodological changes, the response rate increased. By the end of June 2025, a total of eight people had come forward via email, but one withdrew their expression of interest, one was not reachable for a period and then withdrew interest once they were contacted, and one person was not eligible following their own review of the criteria. The total number of interviews undertaken was five.

Most of the incidents reported had taken place roughly in the last five years, but Participant Three described a workplace culture and examples of harassment from more than ten years ago in the mid-2000s. The sample represents a range of workplaces in the Welsh labour market sectors, including the arts and education (Participant One), public sector (Participants Two and Five), working across public, third and the private sector (Participant Three) and retail (Participant Four). Of the individuals interviewed, three described attempting to formally report workplace sexual harassment: Participants One, Four and Five.

The study has several limitations. A small range of identities and ethnicities were spoken to, and the reach across Wales was not comprehensive. Questions arose within the research team as to why the response rate was low, and if the call would have reached more people via social media. However, the range of respondents in terms of sector and profession, including those that were not eventually included in the research for various reasons, suggests that the call was in fact well circulated and reaching a broad range of relevant individuals during the research period. As noted in the report introduction, there are a range of barriers that could be at play, which could extend to a lack of trust in Government interventions (Paul et. al, 2022).

There are other limitations in the study that are important to note. For example, despite the clear criteria on the Call for Participants, Participant information Sheet and associated circulation emails, some participants' accounts did not exactly match the eligibility criteria. For example, in some cases, the harassment was experienced longer than five years ago,

or the harassment was described as more heavily inflected by gendered and cultural factors, such as religious dress and customs, but was not described as explicitly sexual in nature. The focus on impacts and outcomes in the questions to respect the participants' preferences on disclosure meant that although responses might not have been described as overtly sexual, there could have been unreported details and furthermore, considering the research focus on experience, the harassment could still be perceived as sexual. Furthermore, although the ACAS definition of sexual harassment is 'unwanted behaviour of a sexual nature which must have either violated someone's dignity [...] or created an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment for them' (ACAS), there are broader definitions and models of sexual harassment that include and acknowledge harassment related to gender/sex (Fitzgerald et. al, 2018; EHRC, 2020). Therefore, the range of accounts collected were included as they help to create a picture of the experience of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic women over the life course and a whole career, how the nature of harassment has changed, and what participants think should be done to improve experiences and outcomes in terms of workplace sexual harassment but also in terms of inclusion in the workplace more generally for minoritised women.

2.4. Data presentation and analysis

A transcript was produced for each interview by correcting the automated transcript produced by MS Teams. Transcripts were anonymised and then reviewed by each participant to ensure they were happy with the level of detail remaining in the transcript pertaining to, for example, general geographic location, profession, sector and their personal experiences. In some but not all instances, further changes were requested to ensure participants were happy with the information remaining in the transcript. Once the transcripts were approved, a process of analysis commenced to determine links between and trends within the experiences. As agreed at the start of the contract, anonymised transcripts have been shared with the RDEU to inform their work based on lived experience.

3. Findings

3.1.1. Experiences of workplace sexual harassment

3.1.1.1. Specific forms of harassment

Although participants described experiencing forms of harassment that women from majority ethnic backgrounds might also experience, such as inappropriate questions, unwanted touching, sexual gestures, sharing of non-consensual images with colleagues, jokes and innuendo, experiences were also described that were explicitly linked to ethnicity, culture and religion. In some cases, this was perceived as being a stereotype that underlies perceptions of certain backgrounds:

'Yeah, I definitely think the intersecting identity of being a woman of colour definitely played into perhaps sometimes when I encountered what I would describe as sexism and potentially, you know, behaviour that I would describe as sexual harassment, because people had these stereotypes of this is how, you know, the Asian women are quite exotic and, you know, that kind of perception from the South, or they are submissive, and they will, I don't know, just tolerate certain behaviour.' (Participant Two)

In other examples, the links were more explicit. For example, hair touching, or comments about hair, which have been theorised as a particularly important aspect of ethnic minority women's identities and a vulnerability for harassment (Dabiri, 2019; TUC, 2024, p. 20):

'There's just always been a really clear sense that as a young female, and particularly for me as a young female who has a foreign surname and has the hair that I have, like that has always just meant that men have treated me in a certain type of way. Like even from school like people have had an obsession with my hair and men will always ask to touch my hair. Sometimes they won't even ask. Sometimes they'll just touch it, and they'll like pull my curls.' (Participant One)

'And I can remember going to a call. And we were sat at the table and he just started touching my hair. And I was just like. What do you think you're doing? And he goes, "Oh, you've just got really nice hair. I just wanted to touch it." (Participant Three)

Specific instances linked to religious and cultural dress were also described

'He would ask me things like, "Oh, so when you go in the shower, do you take that off," you know [raises hijab]. He was just so arrogant, you know, and ignorant. I just didn't want to even speak with him.' (Participant Four)

'Yeah, it wasn't a sari because I have worn saris before, but it was one of those where you have this kind of legging things underneath, and it was a bit pale. And just grabbed my bottom and just said, "Oh, you've got a lovely bottom." And it was a female who did that, and I did not like that at all. I said that that could be considered inappropriate and that could be considered harassment and racially

unacceptable. I did say that at the time, and they carried on as if I hadn't said anything.'

Forms of unwanted touching, such as unwanted hugging, are understood to be a form of sexual harassment, but for some women of an ethnic minority background, unwanted hugging is also a violation of cultural and religious boundaries. In contexts where hugging and shaking hands is normal, ethnic minority women reported having to constantly reinstate boundaries:

He came in for a hug, I went, "I can't do a hug!" And he was like, "Just give me a hug! You know, you're my mate." I'm like, "No, I really can't give you a hug!" I said, "It's against my religion." And he was coming at it from a really nice, genuine, caring, caring nature. He's not like that at all [...] And I was like, "I can't give you a hug," and I literally put my hand out like that to say no, stop. Can't hug you. And he's like, "Why, tell me, explain to me." And then I explained to him, I said, "I cannot shake hands with you." And I said, "I can't hug you and I can't kiss you either. And you can't kiss me and you can't hug me." And he was like, "Right, I get it now." And it's that education piece.' (Participant Three)

Although not described here as an incident of harassment but more of a moment of cultural misunderstanding, the description of the commonality of hugging and expectations to hug highlights a potential area where sexual harassment could be missed or underplayed for ethnic minority women.

Finally, rumours were also mentioned as a specific form of harassment, particularly linked to ethnic minority identities amongst colleagues:

'But I did have a rumour go around when I was in that, that I was over familiar or I was having an affair with people, because I was going through the divorce. So if I spoke to any male, especially if they were from the BAME community, it was assumed I was having an affair with them.' (Participant Five)

3.1.1.2. Sheltered upbringing's influence initial response

A particular factor that some participants felt impacted their initial understanding of and response to sexual harassment was what was described as a sheltered upbringing. This meant that when sexual harassment was first encountered there was a lack of understanding as to what was going on and a subsequent acceptance of behaviours, which could in turn wrongly give the impression that a woman from an ethnic minority background finds the behaviour acceptable:

'Because I'd literally had a sheltered upbringing, I didn't have a clue. Do you know what I mean? They could be saying stuff and I wouldn't know what they're saying because I just didn't know what the language was at the time, what innuendo was at the time, and things like that, so I would just be in my own little bubble working away and they would be there all just going off on one and you know, and then I understand why the girls used to separate themselves [...] After about a year I've been there because then I started picking it all up and they were

like, "Do you not know? Are you really that you really that naive?" I'm like, "Yeah, probably am. Tell me, teach me, what do I need to know? I really don't have a clue." (Participant Three)

3.1.1.3. Shame around the experience

Some participants described negative feelings associated with the harassment related to their own work supporting other people. A sense of pride was linked to understanding different vulnerabilities in communities and supporting others which was in direct conflict with experiencing harassment themselves:

'I used to think to myself, my work is to support other people who are victims, and yet I can't support myself. It was just the irony of it and its impact on my work.' (Participant Two)

'And then I actually like had to nip it in the bud because it was getting too much. It was really affecting like, you know, mental health and my well-being and being. Like a person who tries to teach the youth about equality and inclusion, I thought, oh my God. I never knew what it was like to be on the receiving end.' (Participant Four)

3.1.2. Barriers to and experiences of reporting

3.1.2.1. Impact of racism and discrimination

Participants described simultaneous or prior experiences of discrimination which had a range of impacts on reporting. In some cases, the racism was felt more immediately in the workplace and there were managerial structures that prevented reporting:

'The difficulty is I also had issues conflated with racism. So for me, racism almost pipped the sexism because of racism coming from White female colleagues was a lot more overt and a lot more intimidating. And the person who sexually harassed me was the person who I had to report the racism to, so it made it a bit more complicated to say I'm encountering racism from these female colleagues, but at the same time I'm encountering this inappropriate behaviour, so effectively I did leave the organisation. I did leave. I did resign from my role and move on to a different role.' (Participant Two)

Discrimination was also felt in terms of not being listened to regarding inequality concerns and receiving different treatment, which resulted in ethnic minority women being excluded from workplace alliances:

'So when I first brought this up. So you know when Black Lives Matter came in back in 2020. So there was a big, big hype about that. So I remember there was like, sort of like packed meetings and there was like, people, organisations wanted feedback on the experience in the workplace and I was the one that initially wrote so many things of how I can see how other people are being treated. So say for example like, you know, if like I don't know, a White employee walked in 10 minutes late, no problem. But if I walked in 10 minutes late, why am

I called to the office, you know? Where I've never been late before, but the White employee comes in late every weekend because she was out the night before, which they clearly know. But she had that I don't know, like, exclusive treatment, basically. You know, where I didn't, because I wasn't going out with them drinking or anything, you know? But that's my culture. So why? Why is it different?' (Participant Four)

The ongoing impact of historical, familial experiences of discrimination was also described as a subconscious barrier to not wanting to stand out or speak up:

'Before I was born when they just had moved down to where my parents live and Mum had gone to get my sisters from primary school and they'd come back and someone had graffitied on my mum's car "f*** off back to where you come from" and had smashed the front of the house. My sisters were called "the foreigners" in primary school. So, I think from a really young age, it's something I've been like acutely aware of. And I think that awareness doesn't go away. And I think it is, I would say in the past something subconsciously that I would be aware of that my identity and ethnicity would definitely affect people's perception of me should I kick up a fuss and I'd say now it's something that I'm very much consciously aware of [...] I think it has and would definitely be something that I would think about and be aware of should I ever choose to report anything.' (Participant One)

3.1.2.2. Inaccessible policies and a lack of workplace accountability

Participants described not being able to easily find guidance or someone that they could speak to. For example, in situations where the head of an organisation is involved in the harassment or friendly with the harasser, individuals such as the Board of Trustees or other neutral senior colleagues should be accessible but were described as the opposite:

The organisation did have a Board of Trustees I think it's called. Yeah, but we were never permitted to access or speak to them. So I was never able to speak with them and when they came in, they went straight to this individual's office and basically, meeting over, they would just leave. They would just kind of, you know, come in and come out with intent, but they would never engage with staff. So it was, you know, it was quite purposeful, and we weren't permitted effectively to engage with them anyway. And I feel as well, genuinely, in my head, I had thought, I will speak to one of these individuals, but I didn't. It felt like they were more invested in supporting that individual anyway.' (Participant Two)

'And my manager, so I was the deputy manager, the manager above me, she was a female. And I don't even think I thought about telling her because [the harasser] and her were quite close. And she'd also been quite tricky to deal with a couple of times. So I think I just thought there's no point in saying anything because it was just going to make life really difficult for everyone involved. And like I said, we were a really small team.' (Participant One)

'At that point you're fragile. And I'm just thinking about SARC. You know, sexual assault kind of stuff. You know, you're taken to a place, you're given a lot of

psychological support before you go ahead. [In my workplace there was] None of that. Especially if you're working in a team and you're having to report somebody who's your line manager or somebody you work closely with, which usually it would be, who do you turn to, because you can't contaminate the rest of the team.' (Participant Five)

In addition to a lack of access to individuals who should hold management to account, participants described not feeling able to access the right policies and procedures to understand what they need to do:

'The first thing I would say, it is not easily accessible. You know they put it in a place and they won't tell you where it is or anything until you have to hunt down a manager, sit down and ask for it, you know. So I wasn't told about that on my first meeting when I brought it up. I was told about that way after, it was actually by one of my colleagues saying that there is a policy you should look into it and see what the procedure is. That's when I asked my manager. I need a hard copy. Because he told me you can go the computer and you can access it. I said, Yeah, but with our job, when do we have time to sit on the computer?" (Participant Four)

3.1.2.3. Not feeling the harassment is severe enough

A key barrier to reporting was feeling that the harassment was not bad enough, worthy of support, or that there was not enough evidence to advance a complaint:

'It's hard to evidence. And people will say subjective. You're maybe projecting something that isn't even there, but I know I wasn't projecting because of the women in the office. I mean, ideally what would have been brilliant was the other women in the office who had encountered it, we came together and made a case, but they weren't willing to. They weren't willing to do that.' (Participant Two)

'Like the kids that we were dealing with had a range of quite intense issues, like we'd have armed police, we'd be dealing with police and social services all the time. Like the kids would kick off. They'd be fighting. They'd fight us. There was just a lot of stuff going on that I think probably at the time I went, "Oh, is this really something that anyone wants to deal with?" (Participant One)

3.1.2.4. Job insecurity

Participants described the impact of job insecurity, fixed-term contracts and concerns about progression on creating a culture where employees do not feel confident to report. If racism from senior colleagues was also involved, participants felt they had no one to turn to:

'And I spoke to one of the colleagues to explain to her, you know, what was happening to me and again she said, yes, she has seen that behaviour. But again, she was just employed on a contract and didn't want to jeopardise her role and the other person who was working around supporting vulnerable people, who I would have spoken to, but she was the one who was exhibiting the overt racism, racist behaviours towards me, so I couldn't go to that individual.

Externally, no, I know obviously you can pick up a phone and, you know, speak to a helpline. But for me, that was like in a way just pointless. I just didn't want to. You know, I wanted action, and I think I knew I wasn't able to prove it. Do you know what I mean? Just prove this insidious behaviour because it's not overt. It's not overt.' (Participant Two)

'It won't be believed. Secondly, what's the point? Thirdly, I'm shooting myself in the foot. I knew at this point I wouldn't get any career progression. I wouldn't get any recognition further than what I'd already got. And I'd push myself to the limit and it was either I raised this as a concern and say right, let's do some cultural change. Let's do some work together or I walk, which I did.' (Participant Five)

Even in situations where reporting did take place, there was an awareness that this may not be possible for others in a similar situation. For instance, Participant One described taking forward a complaint about inappropriate sexual comments and gestures made by two of her students. This was at a different school to the one previously described above, where the harasser was a colleague who she did not report. Participant One noted that, in this second scenario, it was 'the severity of it' and the fact that two 'incidents happened within the same week' that eventually drove her to report the students' behaviour. Although at the time she was already wanting to leave her employer, the precarity of her situation was a factor to consider when making a decision about reporting, and could easily be for others working in Wales today:

'But yeah, at that time I think I was very aware that I was a newly qualified teacher on a one-year temporary contract. You know that there was no job stability or job security there. And I think that thought definitely did cross my mind, but I think by that point I kind of knew it wasn't a school I wanted to stay in anyway. And I knew that because it was a one-year contract, I was going to have to apply for other jobs at the end in other schools anyway. But yeah, that is the thought that crossed my mind. And I think like as I've been having conversations since, I think that is behaviour that probably happens to quite a lot of female teachers, and I don't think I know of anyone else that has reported stuff like that when it happened as a teacher.' (Participant One)

3.1.2.5. Unhelpful, minimising or resistant responses to events

Connected to the perception that the harassment is not bad enough is the experience of minimising responses. Some participants described trying to have conversations with colleagues about what they were experiencing and receiving unhelpful initial responses to their disclosures that minimised the experience or deflected responsibility:

'I did actually speak to another man at the partner office about his behaviour. And his reaction to me, I was just disappointed. His response was, "Oh, ew, that's not very nice is it?" That was his response. [...] Whereas I was kind of expecting him to come to my defence and basically say that is absolutely appalling. That should not happen. But I didn't get any of that support.' (Participant Two)

In another instance, although the reporting did progress through an e-mail summarising what was being experienced, the initial reaction was not acceptable and the victim had to encourage her superior to speak to the harasser:

'What he said to me was, "If I go to [the harasser] and say this is what you said, he might feel like that you're dobbing him in or you're causing some sort of trouble for him because he needs this job as we know." I said, "Yeah, I know what you're saying, but how am I dobbing him in, on what? Because this is his reaction. This is how he is. It should come from you." So then he reluctantly said, "OK, I'll have a word with him." (Participant Four)

In the presence of unhelpful responses from senior staff, Participant One's experience highlights the importance of male allies and alternative support structures to help reporters feel confident in their position:

'I ended up going to the Union in the school at the time when I first was told that the headmaster's response was essentially, look, they were having a laugh. If they say sorry, she kind of just needs to suck it up and let them come back in her class. And I did go to the Union Rep and just kind of be like, "Look, where do I stand? Like, do I have any grounds here to push back and say no, or am I kind of going to get railroaded? And, you know, I'm going to cause a fuss and cause myself some more stress for nothing?" [...] I think if it wasn't for the Union Rep and the head of the year who were both male and White Welsh men.' (Participant One)

3.1.3. Reporting outcomes

3.1.3.1. Lack of communication of outcomes

For participants who did try to escalate their complaint to more of a formal reporting procedure, there were descriptions of not being told the outcome of conversations with the harasser and having to chase the outcome themselves:

'I think there were a couple of times that I had to chase the head of the year and be like, "Look what is happening?" Because obviously every time I had that class on my timetable, I'd be dreading it and thinking, are they going to be in my class? Are they not going to be in my class? Are the class going to listen to me?' (Participant One)

'So then when I spoke to my manager, and I said, "Oh, so what happened? What was the outcome of that meeting?" He said, "Oh, he didn't take it too well and he said that [you were] exaggerating. I was exaggerating and that they should think nothing of it. But he will watch what he says to me from now on." So I wasn't happy with that response.' (Participant Four)

In Participant Four's case, the lack of concern from management was disappointing. Her manager expressed concern that a meeting with the manager present would 'look so formal'

to the harasser, and so the participant proceeded to have a conversation with the harasser alone. The process was described as 'long-winded' and not in her favour:

'So I haven't seen him yet again. So I was glad that I was able to, like, just tell him because I thought at one point in my life that I wouldn't be able to face like a bully or face somebody who's you know, like treating you like that. So I think that made me feel so much more better. And I feel like if it does happen again, I'll be able to say much more quicker. Whereas now it took me 4-5 months.' (Participant Four)

Although there is a sense of relief expressed by this particular participant at being able to have the conversation with the harasser herself, the lack of involvement from supervisors could leave another victim in an unsafe and vulnerable situation moving forward.

3.1.3.2. Lack of tangible repercussions

Furthermore, for those who did report, it was not felt as though there were any repercussions for those that had caused harm:

'So [my manager] had a word with him. But then when I saw him come out of the room, he seemed happy as Larry. You know, I was like, OK, he doesn't seem like he got told off or anything. And then he just carried on. But that day he didn't speak to me. So, which is weird because in work you would say, oh, like just general things work stuff, you know nothing. He didn't speak to me.' (Participant Four)

'When I hadn't heard anything, I would chase it and he was always very responsive but with regards to anything formal happening, there wasn't, like the boys were never made to apologise to me. I had no contact, nothing from parents. My head of department then did get brought in and she was very supportive and was like, "Yeah, look, we're not going to let them back in your class." But yeah, I think if I'd have had a different head of the year. And if I maybe hadn't asked for updates [...].' (Participant One).

'The outcome was very much like, "Well, we can't change the position of that consultant on the ward. You'll have to change. You'll have to go and work in the community." And I was in [closer health board area] and they sent me to [health board area further away]. And I said "No way, all my health appointments, [closer health board area] works for me. No, I refuse." I put my foot down and I said, "What was the rationale behind that?" And they said, "Well, it was service provision." (Participant Five)

3.1.4. Considerations

The above findings detail a range of barriers to reporting and unhelpful or minimising responses to disclosure and support seeking. Within those findings are clear considerations for improving responses, such as:

Not minimising initial responses and acting right away to support disclosures

- Ensuring there is someone specialised that employees could speak to or be supported by if they are restricted by their management structure, toxic workplace culture or lack of workplace alliances, e.g. someone impartial in charge of wellbeing
- Communicating clearly with complainants following any form of conversation related to reporting, no matter how formal/informal

The final point, namely the practice of reporting outcomes to those who have brought forward a complaint, is a topic of debate and point of recommendation from research on sexual harassment in specific sectors, for example higher education (The 1752 Group, & McAllister Olivarius, 2020; DiSantis, C., Prince, K., Munro, V., Bull, A., & Cowan, S., 2024).

The following further considerations for improving practice are based on the responses from participants when asked what they would like to see change. Taking the step to ask participants what they wanted to see in their workplace cultures corresponds to research approaches in other sectors and the importance of embedding lived experience into guidance and practice (Bull, 2024).

3.1.4.1. Avoid generalising policies

Several participants expressed urgency around not wanting new sexual harassment prevention policies to generalise experiences and potentially miss opportunities to protect people with marginalised identities:

'Obviously a lot of organisations are writing sexual harassment policies and procedures. They do treat all women the same. I think they need to be aware of intersectionality, and again, it doesn't need to be just because it's a woman of colour or a woman from a migrant background. It could be a woman or, you know, a man who's disabled. You know, an LGBTQ identifying individual who may also be, you know, subject to sexual harassment. So I think they need to not just have a generic sexual harassment and think that this will fit all, everybody, because it doesn't. I think they just need to kind of consider the differences between people's, you know, diverse backgrounds. And they would need to, I'd say, approach it case by case. Just 'cause something's working for one person doesn't mean it's going to work for someone else.' (Participant Two)

'I'd love to see us move away from just your generic stuff in policies of being like if you've experienced sexual harassment, which could, you know, for example, be XYZ, then, you know, report to your line manager. I don't feel like anything is embedded enough as it is. I don't think it's kind of spoken about enough as it is, and I don't think workplaces do enough to differentiate for women and ethnic minority or marginalised genders, members of staff. I think there's still definitely like an air that we don't talk about, it doesn't exist, so to speak.' (Participant One).

3.1.4.2. Acknowledge the changing nature of work and workplaces in the creation of policies

Participants described the changing nature of some workplaces since the Covid-19 pandemic and how this has the potential to change the nature of harassment in many workplaces. In some ways, online working was seen as a protective measure, but it has not mitigated harassment entirely:

'I think that because of the pandemic, the sexual harassment, you know, overt or indirect, I think the pandemic, again people working from home has slightly mitigated that. I mean, I still do hear sexist comments about, you know, what women can do and what women can't do and around, you know, the menopause or "they must be on their periods." You know, that kind of low-level kind of sexism. But the sexual harassment in the other sense, because I'm not of that age anymore either. I think it's changed a little bit.' (Participant Two)

However, harassment can still happen online or on the more occasional visits to the office, and it will be important for new protection policies to reflect the hybrid workplaces that many now experience.

3.1.4.3. Improve Equality, diversity and inclusion overall in workplaces

Participants described feeling like a 'tick box exercise' in their workplaces (Participants Three and Four) and that they take personal responsibility for EDI matters in their workplaces where there is still a general lack of understanding about inclusive practices. Although it was acknowledged that much has changed in Wales, day-to-day experiences and not feeling acknowledged has led to ethnic minority women taking responsibility for inclusion matters themselves:

'Our last meeting was in a rugby club, and we were in the bar area. And I said to HR, the lady, did it not occur to you that you've got Muslims in the team? And we're sat next to a bar to have a staff meeting, and she said, "I really didn't think so myself." Well, maybe you should consult next time with me, and I can help you. I have said I'm here to support. So use me, use me. I just didn't like it because I was just like, oh, the floor was sticky and I had to clean my shoes when I came home. It just wasn't ideal.' (Participant Three)

'So like it was highlighted like when it's Christmas, we all know, when it's like Easter, which is coming up, we all know. But then I feel like, you know, I even said that we should have a diversity calendar, so that should be shared on our like team chats so everybody is aware. That has never been done.' (Participant Four)

Although participants described wanting to be listened to, Participant One noted the importance of not solely relying on experts by experience to provide all the answers as the result of an incident:

'I also think there's always this thing of the onus is on us, and you have to wait until something's happened and you have to hope that that person feels like they want to report, and then you have to hope that they know how to report. And then you have to hope that the person they report to responds appropriately, knows how to deal with it. And then you have to hope that something comes of it. Whereas I feel like if employers were just a bit more open and transparent in having these conversations, in checking in, you know.' (Participant One)

3.1.4.4. Ensure provision of appropriate spaces for conversations about concerns

In addition to ensuring access to someone to speak to, concern was expressed about having to have conversations with supervisors or managers about workplace sexual harassment in ordinary work environments, some of which might be inappropriate or uncomfortable:

'And even the meeting spaces were horrible. They were tiny little spaces, no signage, no posts, no sign posting. No cups of tea. No nothing. It's literally my union Rep who had to say, "Can we have a break?" [...] You know, do they have a box of tissues ready? Simple things, simple things. Do they have access to beverages? Do they have access to quiet spaces? Not just some random room where everyone can hear you.' (Participant Five)

4. Conclusions

Despite changes in the Welsh landscape in terms of representation and support, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic women continue to experience discrimination and inappropriate behaviour in a range of workplaces in ways that compound gender, race, religion and culture. There is an ongoing need to create useful and inclusive policies and procedures that protect minoritised individuals based on their needs, to train staff and the public on cultural inclusion and sensitivity, and to ensure that those who do report are listened to, responded to and communicated with clearly and respectfully.

In future research, more resource would allow for community partners and stakeholders to be involved in consulting on, designing and promoting the research within their communities to improve the response rate and response accuracy. While Bawso endorsed the research, offered to provide support if it was required and shared the call for participants, they were not an integrated partner in the research despite the benefits this potentially would have had. In future, other organisations who have access to communities and individuals could also be consulted and involved in the research in a meaningful way, such as EYST, Diverse Cymru and Women Connect First, in addition to the 'workstream' members. To ensure representative responses from across Wales, it is considered that partnership/gatekeeper organisations in each region are linked with to ensure access to and response from victims. Investigations could also take place within certain sectors or employer types to create more granular findings and recommendations. Rather than circulating a call and relying upon individuals to come forward, future research would benefit from being linked with organisations that could afford access to groups of women or individuals in spaces they frequent or feel comfortable.

The higher response rate to the research detailed in the recent TUC (2024) report suggests the importance of trusted organisations and spaces in the opening up of conversations about the topic of workplace sexual harassment among ethnic minority women. For the qualitative aspects of their study, groups connected to the TUC were spoken to at the TUC conference, and the survey was also 'carried out among women who, in 35% of cases, were union reps or who were sufficiently close to the unions to have responded to the survey' (2024, p. 36). As noted earlier in the report, although these connections slightly skew the response towards those associated with unions and the labour movement, who in turn are more likely to have a higher awareness of workplace sexual harassment and be more likely to report, they also create an environment in which women feel safe to speak out. There are likely to be many other factors that could influence research participation, in addition to solutions to those barriers, that could be discovered in a Patient and Public Involvement (PPI) consultation period with organisations prior to any future research. For example, Fielden et al. (2010, p. 32) also suggest that research should involve 'far more by the highranking men within the different [ethnic minority] communities in order to break down the current barriers to research.'

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Annex A: Relevant strategic priorities

Wales National Violence Against Women and Girls, Domestic Abuse, and Sexual Violence Strategy 22-26, specifically,

Objective 5: Relevant professionals are trained to provide effective, timely and appropriate responses to victims and survivors.

Objective 6: Provide all victims with equal access to appropriately resourced, high quality, needs-led, strength-based, inter-sectional and responsive services across Wales.

Wales National Violence Against Women and Girls, Domestic Abuse, and Sexual Violence Blueprint 22-26, specifically,

Workplace Harassment Workstream High Level Action 1: Establish and maintain a robust evidence base, including capturing lived experiences of workplace harassment, so that we better understand the scale of workplace harassment and the actions which help prevent it.

VAWDASV Blueprint Workplace Harassment Workstream High Level Action 2: Develop a whole system approach to support the effective prevention and response to workplace harassment towards women and girls and so tackle workplace harassment in all workplaces across Wales.

VAWDASV Blueprint Workplace Harassment Workstream High Level Action 3: Use and enhance existing tools and levers to raise awareness, promote excellent practice and support active change to eliminate workplace harassment towards women and girls, and to improve workplace responses to all forms of violence against women and girls, domestic violence and sexual abuse.

Anti-racist Wales Action Plan (ArWAP 2024), specifically,

Prioritising lived experience across ArWAP work packages.

Goal: to embed anti-racism into our social partnership structures and our approach to increasing the prevalence of fair work.

Action: Seek out qualitative research, including a literature review, and listen to the lived experiences of ethnic minority workers. We will use this to inform social partnership and fair work policy development and interventions.

Annex B: Interview topic guide

Research instruments

Revised interview guide

For all participants – questioning pattern will vary whether participant has reported.

Initial intro (5 min)

[Interviewer introduces herself and any support worker from Bawso who is present]

Before we begin the interview, I would like to introduce the project and clarify how the session will go.

The aim of our project is to investigate lived experiences of workplace sexual harassment experienced by Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic women in workplaces in Wales. Although we are interested in your experiences of sexual harassment and reporting, you do not have to share any detail about what happened to you if you do not want to.

This interview structure is flexible to allow you to tell the story of what happened to you. I do have questions that are structured into sections based on topics such as experiences, understanding, identity, reporting and outcomes. The questions I ask will also depend on whether or not you reported your experiences of harassment.

I will ask for more detail based on what you say and follow this order of questioning, but you do not have to share anything you do not want to, and we can discuss any other topics you feel are relevant.

When referring to your identity as a woman of an ethnic minority, you can consider the impact of race, ethnicity, culture and religion on your experience, choices, and how others have treated you.

We really appreciate your support with this project and that you have taken the time to participate. Any responses you give will be de-identified and we will not report anything specific about you or your place of work. If we use any quotations in our report or publications, this will be done in a manner that ensures anonymity.

If you become upset or uncomfortable during this interview, please let me or the support worker know and we can organise any support you need. You are free to stop the interview at any time if you need to for your wellbeing.

As noted in the Privacy Notice and Information Sheet, this session will be recorded if you are happy for me to do so, but no personal names or information will be shared externally.

Do you have any questions about the project? [Answer any questions]

Is it OK that I start the recording?

General Questions

Introduction Questions – ALL PARTICIPANTS

- 1. Please introduce yourself and tell me a bit about yourself
- 2. Please tell me a bit about your area of work, your role, and your location within Wales.
- 3. Do the topics we will be discussing today relate to a current or previous employment setting?
 - a. What is/was your workplace culture like?
 - b. What is the diversity of staff like at your level and in terms of senior management roles?

Understandings of Workplace Sexual Harassment – ALL PARTICIPANTS

- 4. At the time, did you feel confident in your own understanding of the term *workplace* sexual harassment and that what you experienced could be defined as such?
- 5. Do you feel that you were aware of and understood your employer's policies at the time?
 - a. What was your understanding of the policy/procedure, how accessible is it e.g., language, terminology, online/printed version, extent it is promoted)
- 6. What did you do after the harassment did you tell anyone or report it to your employer?
- 7. Were you aware of any alternative routes to disclosing, reporting, or seeking support for workplace sexual harassment, e.g. support from a third sector organisation? If so, did you access any of these options?

If answer is YES to QUESTION 6 – move to reporting section

Impact of Minority Ethnic Identity – FOR THOSE WHO DID NOT REPORT

When referring to your identity as a woman of an ethnic minority, you can consider the impact of race, ethnicity, culture and religion on your experience, choices, and how others have treated you.

- 8. Do you think your identity as a woman of an ethnic minority impacted upon your experience?
- 9. Do you think someone of another background would have been treated differently?
- 10. Do you think your identity as a woman of an ethnic minority impacted upon your decision about what to do because of the harassment?

11. Do you think someone of another background would have acted differently or would be more likely to report?

Recommendations for Improving Practice

- 12. Are there any changes you would like to see to your organisation's workplace sexual harassment policies? Why?
- 13. Are there any changes you would like to see in terms of the support available? Why?
- 14. Is there anything else you would like to see in terms of raising awareness about workplace sexual harassment?
- 15. Anything else to add?

Reporting Questions – FOR THOSE WHO ANSWERED YES TO QUESTION 6

Experience

1. Could you please tell me the story of what happened to you at your workplace and your experience of reporting workplace sexual harassment.

Detailed prompts if necessary:

- how did you expect your employer to respond
- how did they actually respond?
- did they employer investigate?
- if not, why not?
- did you expect your employer to suspend the alleged perpetrator?
- did they? if not, why not?
- how did you employer expect you to evidence your allegations? What help and support did they provide for on this (if any)?
- did you expect your employer to discipline the alleged perpetrator?
- did they? if not, why not?
- do you think the alleged perpetrator still poses a risk of harassment to you (or your colleagues) after the action the employer took, (if any)?
- How did you feel about reporting?
 - did you have concerns or fears linked to your employment

- were there hesitations, concerns or fears linked to cultural or societal expectations, about reporting workplace sexual harassment
- 3. Were there any enabling factors at play to make you feel more able to report?
- 4. To what extent do you feel your identity as a woman of an ethnic minority, your culture or your religion influenced the response you received when initially reporting workplace sexual harassment?

Detailed prompts if necessary:

- do you think a person not from an ethnic minority would have been treated differently by the employer in response?
- do you think you were taken less seriously compared to someone who has reported this or similar who was not an ethnic minority?
- how are ethnic minorities treated more broadly by the employer?
- did you encountered any stereotypes or biases related to your gender and race?
- 5. To what extent did you feel that your identity as a woman of an ethnic minority influenced the support you received from colleagues, supervisors, or the organisation following reporting workplace sexual harassment?

Outcomes (20 min)

- 6. After making the report of workplace sexual harassment, how satisfied were you with the outcome of your report/case?
- 7. Do you feel that your report of workplace sexual harassment was managed in a fair and just way?
- 8. What positive outcomes (if any) did you experience as a result of reporting workplace sexual harassment?
- 9. Did you experience any negative outcomes or consequences as a result of reporting workplace sexual harassment? If so what were they?
 - (prompts: i.e., physical health, wellbeing, safety, social stigma, employment, professional consequences, financial, legal burden, reprisal, retaliation, loss of trust, etc.)
- 10. How were decisions following the reporting of your experiences communicated to you, and did you feel as though you understood the outcome in a satisfactory way?
- 11. Is there anything else you think it is important for us to know?