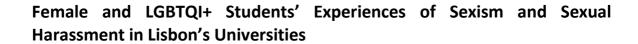


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Female and LGBTQI+ Students' Experiences of Sexism and Sexual Harassment in Lisbon's Universities

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Resumo

O sexismo e assédio sexual são problemas diários nas vidas das mulheres e membros da

comunidade LGBTQI+. A academia também não é livre desse fenómeno, por ser uma

instituição marcada de hierarquias e dinâmicas de poder diferentes.

Esta dissertação de mestrado foca-se nas experiências de estudantes com sexismo e assédio

sexual nas universidades de Lisboa. O grupo alvo foi estudantes femininos e LGBTQI+. Os

dados foram coletados por questionário online durante Março-Agosto em 2020. O método

usado para avaliar as respostas dos participantes foi análise critica feminista do discurso. Três

conclusões foram feitas: (1) Os estudantes experimentam discriminação de género e assédio

sexual de várias formas na sua vida diária no contexto académico, sendo as mais comuns

comportamento verbal, como menosprezo das estudantes femininas, comentários sexistas e

observações sexuais; (2) Os estudantes normalmente não reportam as suas experiências às

universidades, preferindo procurar o apoio de amigos, tentando avisá-los de eventos similares;

(3) Os estudantes acham que as universidades não têm meios suficientes para prevenir e lidar

com os eventos já mencionados. Eles/elas querem consequências mais graves para os

infratores, melhores sistemas de apoio e verdadeira atenção aos relatos.

Palavras-chave: sexismo, assédio sexual, universidade, Portugal

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Abstract

Sexism and sexual harassment are everyday problems in women's and LGBTQI+ peoples'

lives. Academia hasn't been spared from them, as it is an institution marked by hierarchies and

different power dynamics. This master's dissertation focuses on students' experiences of

sexism and sexual harassment in Lisbon's universities. The target group was female and

LGBTQI+ students and the data were gathered by online survey during March-August 2020.

A feminist critical discourse analysis was used to analyse students' experiences. Three main

findings were made: (1) Students experience gendered discrimination and sexual harassment

in various forms in their daily lives in academia, and the most common ones were verbal

behaviours, such as diminishing female students, sexist comments and sexual remarks; (2)

Students usually don't report their experiences to universities, though they rather seek support

from friends and try to warn them for similar events; (3) Students think that universities do not

do enough to prevent and handle above mentioned events sufficiently. They wished for more

serious consequences for perpetrators, better support systems and real attention for reports.

Keywords: sexism, sexual harassment, university, Portugal

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1 Introduction

As it happens in other academic context, sexual harassment and sexism are living problem in the Portuguese academia. A third of university students in Lisbon have experienced sexual abuse in some form (Federação Academica de Lisboa, 2020). In 2020, a professor of a law faculty of the University of Lisbon was suspended by the University Ethic board after he compared feminism to Nazism and attacked verbally female and LGBTQI+ students during classes ("Faculdade de Direito de Lisboa suspende", 2020, October 14, Observador). In 2018, Coimbra UMAR conducted a research at investigating the academic life in Coimbra, and its report reveals that 94% of responded students reported having experiences of sexual harassment in academic environment ("Estudo revela assédio sexual", 2018, May 23, Diário de Notícias). According to Pereira (2017), sexism, sexual harassment and homophobia are normal occurrences in Portuguese academia that are not addressed sufficiently.

Sexism and sexual harassment are societal problems that affect women, gender and sexual orientation minorities every day globally. From my observations as a feminist, I've paid attention how collective actions inside the feminist movement like #MeToo and The Everyday Sexism project have shown how frequently women and gender minorities face them in their daily lives. These actions have given visibility to sexism, sexual harassment, and gender-based violence experienced mostly by women but other genders as well and brought the topic actively in public discussion. They have also demonstrated how hidden the forms of gender discrimination are, how little we talk about them in contemporary societies after all and how they take place in different contexts in the labour market, domestic sphere, etc. (Hillstrom, 2019).

Academia is not an exception. Universities are institutions that are constructed with traditional hierarchy system where often masculinity drives over femininity making academia an easy place for inequal power dynamics in which sexism and sexual harassment are linked to (Whitley & Page, 2015). Sexism, misogyny and sexual harassment have been researched globally in university context and they have revealed systematic, structural problems, especially among scholars, that are for example, undermining gender, feminist and women's studies status in academia (Pereira, 2017), more difficult promotion advancements and constant devaluation of female and LGBTQI+ scholars work in comparison to male scholars' performance (Savigny, 2014). In relationships between students and professors, similar problems exist in clearer way because of the obvious power differences in where students have significantly lower position

in academic hierarchy than their professors/supervisors and under their structural power of guidance and evaluation (Whitley & Page, 2015).

Gender related behaviours and attitudes are flexible and depend on the society and context (De Judibicus & McCabe, 2001). Feminist scholars have noted that talking about these issues is perceived as "overreacting" or "self-serving feminism" (Calder-Dawe & Galey 2016, 1.) In Portugal, feminist scholars have noted that sexism and sexual harassment are difficult to discuss in today's atmosphere where gender equality is taken for granted (Santos & Pereira, 2013). Contemporary Portuguese gender stereotypes are characterized by an apparently contradictory combination of 'modernist' beliefs and more traditional values. The first one emphasises the importance of gender equality mostly in employment and household tasks and the latter one bases on women's traditional family roles in child-rearing and domestic labour (Aboim, 2010; Santos & Pereira, 2013). Thus, Portugal has been considered as one of the most progressive societies in terms of production of legislative material in gender equality which seems to create ideal conditions for development of equal society (Oliveira & Villas-Boas, 2012) but in practice development is not ready.

As bias against gender equality is growing, according to UN's latest study (2020), there is even greater importance to discuss gender equality issues, especially in countries like Portugal where gender equality is not so mature. It is, also, important to continue this debate in the academic context where power dynamics operate in everyday norms and in where this topic is not very often addressed. Therefore, it is fundamental to discuss sexism and sexual harassment towards women and LGBTQI+ people in academia as its hierarchical and, traditionally, male dominated culture is a fruitful place for hidden gender inequalities, sexist practices and sexual harassment (Whitley & Page, 2015).

This masters' dissertation studies sexism and sexual harassment in university context in Portugal. It aims to understand what kind of experiences female and LGBTQI+ students have about sexism and sexual harassment in their universities in Lisbon, what kind of coping strategies they have developed and their perceptions on how universities could prevent them from happening and handle already existing cases. The purpose is to raise awareness of everyday gender inequalities that occur in forms of sexism and sexual harassment in society. Through this approach, this study wishes to contribute to Portuguese gender research and perhaps also have an impact on improving gender equality in academia.

In order to do so, gender inequality is discussed in light of the experience of women and LGBTQI+ community's: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersexed subjects. While, nowadays, the definition of lesbian, gay and bisexual people are familiar in our current

society, the same is not true for transgender and intersexed. These gender expressions and identities challenge the gender binarism that we have societally constructed, which includes expectations of what is masculine and feminine through, e.g., behaviour, clothing, make up and activities that a person likes to do (Boustani & Taylor, 2020). Person whose identity is align with his/her birth sex is often referred as cisgender (Boustani & Taylor, 2020), whereas transgender is someone who live in a gender expression that differs from the one they were assigned at birth based on their anatomical sex, and intersexed (The Center website; Amnesty International USA.) regards to person who is between genders or a combination of them. In general, any person that does not fall in the binary gender category, thus, as male or female, can be referred as non-binary.

In the first section is presented theoretical framework for this study and selected literature on the topic. Gender is discussed by theories of Pierre Bourdieu and Judith Butler. Additionally, I discuss gender inequality in the forms of sexism and sexual harassment. Further, it includes debate of Portuguese society and gender inequality in it. Second section is dedicated to presenting the methodological choices for this research, in which I explain the research process and briefly feminist critical discourse analysis as my data analysis method. It is followed by results and discussion part where the data for this research is presented and analysed. Last section will conclude and draw together the whole dissertation.

2 Everyday inequality: gender and sexual orientation

Inequalities based on gender and sexual orientation derives from the power dynamics between genders that has led to male domination (Bourdieu, 2001). Bourdieu (2001) explains how male domination is a social construction that has become so natural that we cannot easily see it anymore. Male domination over women has become the 'order of the things', something almost inevitable allowing for gender inequalities, discrimination, sexism and sexual harassment towards marginalised groups, such as women and LGBTQI+, continuing to exist in our society.

For Bourdieu (2001), gender is constructed in individual and societal levels in social relations. In individual level, gender is incorporated in one's body, as well as in actions, perceptions and thoughts, thus 'habitus'. It is expressed continuously in bodily functions, such as the way of walking, standing, talking, and that also affects the way of feeling and thinking. In societal level, gender is constructed in how it is used to organize social world. Spaces are gendered, as well as the functioning of the whole societal system. Social construction of genders has led to rules that both dominant and dominated reproduce by their naturalization in our daily societal dynamics.

Male domination harms both women and men (Bourdieu, 2001). It keeps women objectified and to function only for the purposes that men choose to them. Men, on the other hand, are subjects of unfair, one-sided, and singular visions of gender. Bourdieu (2001) elaborates that the worst thing that a man can be is feminine. Man is supposed to be strong and remain his honour constantly by showing his manliness, whereas women are weak and to be protected. Demonstrating weakness, as demonstrating emotions and feelings, is femininity (Bourdieu, 2001). These visions of genders create societal and structural expectations and stereotypes that lead to a general perception of how genders are supposed to be and if they are not, there is something wrong with them.

Butler (1990/2006¹) sees gender constructed within discourses and it forms itself as a visible category by performance – gender doesn't exist, it is done. Behind the performance of gender does not exist any base that would be independent of those cultural factors and societal power structures that define gendered actions. Therefore, gender is more of a consequence than a reason for certain behaviours and attitudes. From Butler's point of view, gender is a result of doing and repeating the performance over and over by established gestures and linguistical

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¹ First published in 1990/the edition I used.

choices. The author does not agree with the idea of natural gender or gender as a natural fact. She does not seek the original form or reason of gender but instead focuses on those discursive structures that make gender as a phenomenon possible. These structures limit gender in narrow imagination (Butler, 1990/2006). Butler especially challenges the division of biological sex and social gender and, also, the concept of woman (Butler, 1990/2006). For her women as a concept is unstable and subjective, as it has its own history which has been produced normatively within certain structures.

Butler also criticizes the ideas of gender differences and gender binary. She argues that the purpose of the concepts of gender, man and woman, is to maintain the idea of the naturalness and the primality of heterosexuality. Therefore, according to her (1990/2006), behind gender construction lies "heterosexual matrix", often generally referred as heteronormativity, the power structure that produces gender binary, that being man or woman are the only two possible ways to be. This power is coercive, as those who do not manage to present their gender and/or sexual orientation in a normative way are left without social recognition and therefore, need to hide themselves. Butler, thus, argues that normative heterosexuality includes the negation of homosexuality (1990/2006).

Following the idea of heteronormativity, LGBTQI+ people suffer from discrimination in many situations during their lives. Discrimination against LGBTQI+ community may be based on "sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression or sex characteristics" (Boustani & Taylor, 2020, p. 16). The phenomenon can be called homophobia and transphobia, which both refer to negative beliefs and attitudes and irrational fear towards homosexual, transgendered and transsexual people (Ozamiz-Etxebarria, 2020).

Herek (2000) identifies discrimination against sexual orientation minorities as sexual prejudice: negative attitudes (hostility and dislike, even violence) against individual based on their sexual orientation. According to the author, individual factors, such as fundamental religiousness and conservative political ideology exacerbates one's sexual prejudice. Hence, people who have negative attitudes towards homosexuals are more likely to have sexist attitudes and to enhance traditional gender roles (e.g. Brown & Henriquez, 2008; Costa et al., 2014). Studies show that these prejudiced attitudes towards gay men are stronger than towards lesbian women, and that heterosexual men express more negative attitudes towards LGBTQI+ community than heterosexual women (Ozamiz-Etxebarria, 2020). Also, sexual prejudice and interpersonal contact are connected in two-ways. People who have contact with sexual orientation minorities display less prejudice towards them and, as well to other direction, people

who have low levels of prejudice are more likely to have personal contact with gay, lesbian and bi individuals (Herek, 2000).

Gender discriminative behaviour is, indeed, difficult to recognise because it is deeply internalised in most of the people because of its rooted nature in our society, cultural habits and education (Bocher et al., 2020). Globally women and the LGBTQI+ subjects suffer from harder access to power positions in jobs and political level, lower salaries, less time for leisure time in families and bigger risk for violence and sexual harassment than men (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2019). Further, the LGBTQI+ people, however, are more likely to go through these experiences than cisgender and heterosexual individuals (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2020). Gender-biased behaviour, sexism and sexual harassment happens everywhere in people's daily lives.

2.1 Sexism

Sexism is intentional or unintentional attitudes and actions that discriminate people based on their gender. It is built from prejudice and stereotypes that are marked by different attitudes on wrong beliefs or generalisations about gender (European Institute for Gender Equality (1), n.d.). Traditionally sexism is described as a prejudice against women that is characterized by promotion of strict, unilateral gender roles, belief of women's status as lower than men and different treatment between men and women (Swim et al., 1995). According to Savigny (2014, p. 797), sexism is normalized through its "regular expressions" that occur every day "within masculinised hegemonic structures which interact with and create cultural norms and values". Sexism is one of the base reasons why gender discrimination and inequality exist in every society, nation and state in some level (Santos & Amâncio, 2014).

In practice, sexism has different forms, and it is perceived differently and shown by different actions and behaviour towards women. Glick & Fiske (2001) classifies sexism as: hostile, benevolent and ambivalent. Hostile sexism is constructed with antipathy towards women based on a view that women are seeking to gain power over men by controlling them through sexuality or feminism (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Men seek to maintain their privilege by patriarchy and exaggerative gender differentiation, and this creates hostility towards women (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Glick & Fiske, 2001). They authors (2001, p. 112) have identified three factors that typically appear within hostile sexism that affect male-female relations:1) *power*

relations in society that men typically hold over women and are afraid to lose for through women's empowerment movements, 2) making *gender differences* visible and emphasising them (e.g. women are weak) and 3) *sexuality* as women's tool to control men by seducing them and then refusing them.

Benevolent sexism, on the other hand, is "subjectively positive orientation towards women" that views women stereotypically, in narrow roles in society and as inferior (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p. 491). These sexist terms tend to come out as prosocial and intimacy seeking behaviour, hence "subjectively positive", such as helping and defending women. It involves attitudes related to protective paternalism for example, views that women should be rescued first in emergency situations (Glick & Fiske, 2001). It may be functional for men to maintain their "self-image as protectors and providers" who are ready to make sacrifices to take care of the women in their lives (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 111). Glick et al. (2000) suggest that benevolent sexism has an important role in keeping sexism alive even in egalitarian societies. Benevolent sexism can contribute to legitimizing hostile sexism for sexist men who perceive themselves as women's "benefactors" and their hostility is directed only at women who "deserve" it (Glick et al., 2000, p. 765.). According to Glick et al. (2000), benevolent sexism also may enhance traditional gender roles and diminish women's reprehension towards men's greater power by rewarding them for their actions that support these structures.

Ambivalent sexism as a definition contains both forms of prejudice, benevolent and hostile (Costa et al., 2015). Glick & Fiske (1996, p. 491) have argued that it has perhaps always been a "special case of prejudice" labelled by strong contradiction, rather than only an antipathy towards women. Glick et al. (2000) argues how hostile sexism and benevolent sexism are complementary forms of sexism in societal level.

Swim et al. (1995), on the other hand, discuss sexism by distinguishing old-fashioned and modern forms of sexism. According to them authors, old-fashioned sexism is more of an open way to treat women differently, endorse traditional gender roles and express stereotypes about women's lower competence. Whereas modern sexism is denial of the existence of continuous discrimination combined to dislike of women's equality demands and lack of support to policies towards greater equality in societies, work and education (Swim et al. 1995). Douglas (2010) calls similar perception enlightened sexism that is constructed by the assumption that women have already accomplished all the rights and equality they have been asking for and there is no more need for active feminism. These latter forms of sexism are more subtle than old-fashioned sexism because they exist hiddenly in an environment and time where negative attitudes towards women are not allowed to be expressed in public (Swim et al., 1995; Douglas, 2010).

In Swim et al.'s research (1995) where the authors compared old-fashioned and modern sexist attitudes among university students in the USA, respondents who resulted high in modern sexism were more likely to have traditional views about women and perceive working life more equal than it actually was. In addition, these respondents also put more responsibility about sex segregation on individual reasons than to overall discrimination against women (Swim et al., 1995).

Sexism is also related to microaggressions that are generally understood as subtle, often unintentional indignities and insults that aim to maintain oppressive systems in societies (Sue et al., 2010). Microaggressions are "the brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioural, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial, gender, sexual-orientation, and religious slights and insults to the target person or group" (Sue et al, 2010, p. 5). Microaggressions may appear interpersonally or in societal level through policies and norms, typically, these actions are so subtle and ordinary in their occurrence that the recipient starts second-guessing their own experience and feelings, which in a long term can lead to stress increase, lower self-esteem, anxiety or depression (Gartner et al., 2020). Gender microaggressions "occur frequently and they devalue women's contributions, objectify them as sex objects, dismiss their accomplishments, and limit their effectiveness in social, educational, employment, and professional settings" (Sue, 2010, p. 12).

2.2 Sexual harassment

According to the definition of the European Institute for Gender Equality sexual harassment is "any form of unwanted verbal, non-verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person, in particular when creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment" (European Institute for Gender Equality (2), n.d.). It is estimated that every other European woman has been or will be a victim of sexual harassment at least once in their lifetime (Múrias et al., 2015). It often happens in context of power – power that is gained in institutional or gendered structure (MacKinnon, 1979; Vohlídalová, 2011). Sexual harassment is a grave social problem that "reinforces gender power dynamics that perpetuate systems of violence" (Gartner & Sterzing, 2016, p. 494). It has also been understood as "male behaviour forced on women" (Lee, 1998,

p. 301) because of the traditional power dynamics that historically men have over women (Bondestam & Lundqvist, 2020). It is a common trait of our patriarchal cultures that sees women as sexual objects and exploits power inequalities in gendered social relations.

In practice, sexual harassment can be an isolated or a continuous event (MacKinnon, 1979) and it can involve, for example, catcalling, sexual related insinuation, sexual jokes or suggestions, flashing intimate body areas without consent, sexually explicit text messages or emails, unwanted touching, groping or stalking. Sue (2010) also connected sexual harassment to the concept as microassaults. Whereas microaggression is often perceived as unconscious behaviour, microassaults can be blatant and intentional actions, such as offenses and purposeful hate speech to make a person controlled and diminished.

Sexual harassment is a form of female objectification that is functional in sustaining systems of male dominance. It also aims to maintain gender expression in their traditional, hegemonic forms (Hand & Sanchez, 2000; Epstein, 1997; Robinson, 2005, as cited in Gartner & Sterzing, 2016). To maintain the traditional power dynamics, experiences of sexual harassment are often diminished or the blame is turned to the victim — by alleging that the victim provoked the harassment by their behaviour, the way of dressing or did not say no with enough emphasis (Vohlídalová, 2011). Fear of retaliation, due to power asymmetry, makes victims often rather choose not reporting the events than confronting the perpetrator (Savigny, 2014; Bocher et al., 2020). In Vohlídalová's study (2011) about students' perceptions of sexual harassment, men, indeed, find sexual harassment situations less harassing than women and they also judge ambiguous harassment situations lighter than women.

Sexual harassment does not concern only women but also individuals of the LGBTQI+ community suffer from it. Multiple researches show that the groups more exposed to sexual harassment are students, younger women, women with uncertain employment conditions and certain ethnic and sexuality minorities (e.g. Fedina, Holmes & Backes 2018; Vladutiu, Martin & Macy 2011). In EU-wide survey, 58% of LGBTQI+ respondents reported being sexually harassed and threated over the past five years in different situations in their daily life – at work, on the street, on public transportation, in shops or on the internet (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2020). Invisibility of LGBTQI+ discrimination and prejudice experiences in the academia also contributes to this problem as it is less documented and studied.

Sexual harassment and problems related to it, however, have gained more room in public conversation in the last years. One of the challenges is the persistent difficulty for individuals to understand when some actions are actually sexual harassment, as it became evident in the international #MeToo movement discussions in 2006 and 2017. The movement collected

women's stories about sexual harassment and violence, and these stories encouraged them to talk about their experiences but also to identify situations as sexual harassment. Because of the movement, several women recognized themselves as being victims of sexual harassment and several perpetrators were confronted in public and in court (Hillstrom, 2019).

2.3 Gender and sexual orientation equality in academic context

Sexism and sexual harassment in universities is a real phenomenon. Even though academia often is presented as a place for potential empowerment and liberation for all individuals, it is proven that women and LGBTQI+ are underrepresented in certain study fields (Boustani & Taylor, 2020) and position, and face discrimination, sexism and sexual harassment during their academic careers since starting their studies in university (Benson & Thomson, 1982). It is no wonder when, historically, universities have been led by heterosexual, white males (Stockdill & Danico, 2012). Benson & Thomson (1982) suggest that sexual harassment might be a way to discriminate women when they cannot be denied entering the traditionally male dominated universities. While a vast majority of research about sexism and sexual harassment in academic context is from the USA, it is spread around other countries (Whitley & Page, 2015). In fact, Whitley and Page (2015, p. 35) argue that sexual harassment and violence has been called "a normal part of university life" among students in the UK.

Even though female students are starting to be the majority enrolled in European universities, progressing in academic career as a woman is still hard. In 2016, women represented 54% of higher education students, but only 24% of higher researcher position holders (Borrel-Damián & Rahier, 2019). The underrepresentation of women in academia reinforces even more the masculine norms of seeing female scholars as 'the other' and less competent, as well as makes female and LGBTQI+ students' academic career prospective more unwelcoming (Savigny, 2014).

Academia contains power structures that are typical in producing gender discrimination (Whitley & Page, 2015). Traditional hierarchy system that positions students below professors in many ways or younger researchers below senior professors lies deep in the structures of university institutions and it essentially enables sexism and sexual harassment from professors and staff towards students. Power of sexism and sexual harassment in institutions like universities do not originate from one specific point, but rather it lives in its structures and

connection to individuals, as well as in the discourses (Bondestam & Lundqvist, 2020; Whitley & Page, 2015).

According to Whitley & Page (2015), that is what makes sexism and sexual harassment at the same time invisible but also acceptable in universities. Sexism and sexual harassment become apparent only when somebody complains about them. Reasons for sexist and sexual harassment events is often associated to an individual person to protect universities reputations and the cases are handled as singular, one-time events, making them invisible when in fact there are problems in the culture as whole. In many cases, reporting and complaining about sexual harassment event does not lead to any concrete outcome and the reports are kept confidential, thus, hidden (Whitley & Page, 2015). The reporter becomes the problem, not the behaviour that was complained about, and therefore, sexism and sexual harassment continues until somebody points it out again.

The power structure enables especial opportunity for professors and staff to perform sexist actions and sexual harassment towards students (Whitley & Page, 2015). Whitley and Page (2015) present two ways how students are structurally dependent on their professors. First, the pedagogical relationship makes students trust them as intellectual figures who can guide them and give them feedback, and second, the assessment system gives professors the power to evaluate students with their chosen measures, and this way affecting their futures. These power structures make students vulnerable in relation to the professors and contribute to keeping the sexist harassing culture alive by silencing the victims. Students are afraid to speak out about their experiences in a fear of doing harm to their future and academic reputation. Same fear might be present among witnesses that don't see or pretend not to see any harm in harassment or sexist actions (Whitley & Page, 2015). Further, Vohlídalová (2011) argues that some students perceived sexual harassment as something remote and extreme that doesn't happen to them, despite reporting having encountered events that fit to the definition of sexual harassment. They also had in mind a type of personality that is more likely to be victim of sexual harassment, thus, blaming the victims' behaviour or weakness for their bad experiences (Vohlídalová, 2011).

Sexism in academia vary from "bullying and sexist jargon to sexual abuse and rape" (Bondestam & Lundqvist, 2020, p. 2) and often shows as sexist language, sexist behaviour or gender biased material in classes, (Myers & Dougan, 1996), such as giving more participation time for male students or referring to female science as lesser practice (Barthelemy et al., 2016). Sexist events have been specially reported in in male dominated fields, such as science, technology, engineering, mathematics (STEM) and medicine (Bocher et al., 2020; Nicholson,

2002). Barthelemy et al. (2016) found that facing sexism was especially common for women in mathematic undergraduate program, compared to engineering, technology and science students. In a sample of 14 medical schools in the USA, 83% of female students had experienced gender discrimination or sexual harassment in some form, when under half of the male students reported same experiences (Nora et al., 2002). Sexually related comments, such as commenting looks in positive or negative ways, questions about one's sexuality or joking about sexually related things, were present among medical school student's experiences, as well as unwanted touching by professor, staff member or peer student (Witte et al., 2006). Other students have reported have a need to pay special attention how they dress for making more professional impression or not getting any unwanted sexual attention (Barthelemy et al., 2016).

Female students and scholars are more likely to be victims of sexual harassment in universities than their male colleagues (Martin-Storey et al., 2017; Vohlídalová, 2011). People of already marginalised groups, such as "lesbian and bisexual women, students with functional disabilities, students who are race-typed as non-white, and students with previous experiences of sexual violence" are in higher risk to experience sexual harassment or other forms of sexual violence, also in universities (Bondestam & Lundqvist, 2020, p. 5-6). Approximately 20-25% of female students in the USA have experienced sexual harassment (Bondestam & Lundqvist, 2020). A research conducted in the Czech Republic shows that 67% of students of one faculty had encountered sexual harassment in some form during their studies, 65% had experienced gender harassing and 22% had witnessed or experienced more serious form of sexual violence (Vohlídalová, 2011). The experiences are similar for female scholars. Bocher et al. (2020) project collected over 100 stories from scholars in Europe, mostly from women, describing everyday sexism in academia. These experiences included commenting female colleagues' looks and outfit, calling a colleague 'girl', assuming that the female in room was a student or secretary and questioning blatantly female researcher's competence. Savigny (2014) presents similar experiences in UK's academia. Female scholars' work was never valued the same than male colleagues' achievements and therefore, male counterparts got promoted easier or got bigger parts in important decisions. Some scholars also felt that them being a mother was seen as unreliability at work as they could not participate in all evening events. Also, sexist comments were common occurrence which made women feel disempowered and not appreciated equally in their work community.

Sexual prejudice against LGBTQI+ students has also been identified in several countries. A Canadian study (Martin-Storey et al., 2018) showed that transgender and non-binary participants were more likely to report most forms of sexual harassment and violence than their

cisgender peers. Also, gay men students and queer women were more likely to report sexual harassment. In a study from Basque country (Ozamiz-Etxebarria et al., 2020) was showed that engineering students display more criticism against transgendered people than medicine, law, psychology and history students, and more transphobia and sexism than all the other academic majors. Similar result was reached in a Portuguese research concerning prejudice against gay and lesbian people (Costa et al., 2014). In the British academic context verbal harassment and anti-LGBTQI+ feelings are common, according to Ellis (2009), where almost a fourth of LGBTQI+ students had experienced at least once homophobic harassment or discrimination in campus, which included mostly verbal remarks, harassment and threats. These negative and homophobic comments came mainly from other students.

Experiences with sexist behaviour and sexual harassment in higher education can lead to "physical, psychological and professional consequences for individuals" and feelings of "irritation, anger, stress, discomfort, powerlessness and degradation" are common (Bondestam & Lundqvist, 2020). Loosing academic self-confidence and trust in teaching staff has also been identified when the harasser is a professor, as well as weakened motivation to pursue academic career in male dominated fields (Benson & Thomson, 1982). Students who have negative experiences about gender biases in classrooms might suffer from longer term problems, such as losing interest to disciplines that seem unwelcoming for gender minorities, loss of potential mentors, difficulties in constructing bigger academic works, loss of self-management and self-esteem related to studies or even wanting to drop out of program (Myers & Dougan, 1996).

2.4 Portugal - Gender equality in the Portuguese society

Only in 1974, after the carnation revolution, Portugal became again a democratic State. Before that, the country was under conservative catholic dictatorship, Estado Novo, for 48 years, and this time has shaped Portuguese current society's dynamics. During this period, debates about gender problems were censured, and women's rights were suspended for decades, for example women's right to vote and divorce their husbands from Catholic marriages (Tavares, 2008). In spite of that, women's associations were uniting in a combat for democracy and after revolution in 1974, feminist movements were assembled and directed to demanding women's rights in newly formed society (Tavares, 2008).

The authoritarian regime slowed down equality development in Portugal compared to other European countries, for instance, abortion became legal of woman's request in 2007, much later than in other European countries. However, after the reestablishment of democracy and Portugal's entrance in the EU in 1986, the country has gone through accelerated modernisation also regarding gender equality and sexual right policies (Santos & Pereira, 2013). Several important gender issues have advanced following most of European countries. The right for same sex marriage was recognized since 2010 and same sex couples' right to adopt since 2016. Right to change legal gender (Lei da Identidade de Género) was ratified in law in 2011 and in 2018 the law was modified to a direction of self-determination and also to consider underaged transgendered persons, 16-17 years old, right to change their legal gender with permission from their parents and a psychological opinion.

Further, Portugal has signed in to promote gender equality and anti-discrimination based on sexual orientation in its constitution and international treaties and instruments, like European Parliament's Istanbul Convention 2017, and European Pact for Gender Equality (2011-2020). However, inequalities still persist in many aspects of women's and LGBTQI+ people's lives. The EU's Gender Equality Index, which measures each country's level of gender equality every year, for example in terms of money, health, work and power, and Eurostat, demonstrate how compared to other EU countries, equality in Portugal still needs to be further improved. The country ranked on 16th place in the Index in 2019. Overall, Portugal scored 7.5 points less than EU's average. According to the Index, gender inequalities in Portugal are most present in the domains of power and time. Women are under-represented in all powerful positions in government, parliament, regional assemblies, organisations, companies and banks, and in the two latter the differences are especially significant (members of board of largest quoted companies' men 83,7% - women 16,3% and in central bank's board men 76,5% - women 23,5%). Time wise, Portuguese women spend significantly more time with household work and taking care of family members and spending less time in personal leisure activities than men. For example, for household work the share was 78,1% to 18,8%, first representing women's participation. Inequality was also largely identified in the labour market, as women tend to be more represented in social and caretake jobs, such as education, social work and health care, and men orient themselves more to science, technology, engineering and mathematics. They also earn 16% less than their male counter partners and the salary gap has grown substantially between 2010-2016 (Eurostat, 2018), because of the austerity years in Portugal that affected individuals' socio-economic situations unevenly (Ferreira & Monteiro, 2015). Though, compared to earlier results, Portugal has improved its performance in all measured domain and is reducing gender gaps faster than any EU country in the study (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2019).

Gender inequality in Portugal also embraces sexual harassment. It is defined in Portuguese law as a crime code "importunação sexual" which constitutes actions of "performing acts of exhibitionist character in front of other person, verbalising content of sexual nature or forcing to contact of sexual nature" (article 170° in Penal Code). According to EU wide studies about violence against women, 32% of Portuguese women have experienced sexual harassment in some form since they were 15 years old (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014). In 2018 was reported 149 crimes of sexual harassment to the Portuguese Association of Victim Support (APAV). APAV divided these crimes in two categories: 126 of these crimes were "importunação sexual", and 23 of them were "assédio sexual", labor offenses that do not constitute legally as crimes, that were manifested in the access to employment or already in the work environment which have the specificity of constituting (APAV). Between 2013-2018, the number of crimes of "assédio sexual" decreased from 3,8% to 1,8% of all sex crimes but number of crimes of "importunação sexual" has raised, from 7,3% to 9,8% (Estatísticas APAV crimes sexuais 2013-2018). In general, sexual crimes have increased in Portugal by 130% between 2013-2018, with most often the perpetrator being a man (Estatísticas APAV crimes sexuais 2013-2018.) It is important to remember, though, that a big part of sexual harassment events are not reported anywhere and thus, the number of sexual harassment victims can be bigger, as well as the consequences that sexual harassment has brought to the victims.

Further, according to the Intervenção Lésbica, Gay, Bisexual, Trans e Intersexo Association (ILGA Portugal), discrimination and violence based on person's gender expression or sexual orientation is also a serious social problem in Portugal. In 2019, ILGA received 171 reports of discrimination or hate crimes based on prejudice of sexual orientation or gender expression, which was an increase of 4% in relation to the previous year. These events included verbal aggressions (which was the most common discrimination type), bullying, physical aggression, domestic violence, etc. The person who discriminates is usually an unknown person but many times it also is a parent or a school colleague. Most often discrimination or violence happens in public spaces, like on the street, in public transportation or shopping mall, followed by online sphere, at home and school (ILGA 2020).

Compared to other EU countries, the LGBTQI+ community's equality situation is less dire in Portugal (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2020). Portuguese gender and sexual minorities experience less violence, harassment, intolerance, and prejudice than their peers in other EU-28 countries. The situation is, however, far from ideal and equal. Fewer

Portuguese people are openly LGBTQI+ than other EU citizens in average, making 35% of Portuguese LGBTQI+ being almost never open in comparison to 30% in all European Union. 20% of them had felt discriminated at work and 10% when looking for work, which is the same than average experience in all EU (21% and 10%). Whereas 30% of respondents had experienced harassment during one year before taking the survey, which is less than EU average that was 38%. About half of the Portuguese survey participants reported that they do not feel comfortable to hold hands with their partner in public sphere. Positively, 68% of them felt that prejudice and intolerance towards LGBTQI+ people has diminished in the last five years.

Overall, gender equality in Portugal has developed significantly, especially in the 21st century. Still, there are domains that remain inequal, like working life, and in which changes seem to be slow.

2.4.1 Portuguese academia and gender inequality

In Portuguese higher education, women are more represented than men in all levels except in PhD courses, according to Government statistics (Direção-Geral de Estatísticas da Educacão e Ciência 2018/2019). In 2018-2019 academic year, 55,9% of students were female. Education areas in general are quite equally distributed but some of them, especially engineering, construction, and information technology, are significantly more attended by men. The biggest gender difference is in information technology and communication, in where female students represented 18,4% of all students. Women tend to attend more education, social science, law, commercial studies, and health sciences. However, when it comes to teaching and research staff, the majority in the Portuguese higher education system are men. In 2018-2019, only 45,1% of higher education teachers were women. And the higher the university professor position was, less female were represented. Only 23,5% of full professors were female (Direção-Geral de Estatísticas da Educacão e Ciência, 2018/2019).

Overall, studies about students' experiences about sexism and sexual harassment are scarce. However, recently, some scholars on gender discrimination in the Portuguese universities have focused on evaluating levels of sexism and prejudice among students, students' attitudes towards LGBTI+ people and their rights and appreciation of gender and feminist studies in universities (see Pereira, 2017; Costa et al., 2014; Oliveira & Villas-Boas, 2012). These studies have showed that sexism and prejudices towards LGBTQI+ people have been strong among students. Costa et al. (2014) argues that, a big majority of university students in Lisbon were

against gay and lesbian rights in general. It was found that also among university students it is men that hold more negative attitudes towards LGBTQI+ people than women, and especially male students had more prejudice against gay men than lesbian women. Being catholic and identifying to right-wing party's ideologies was connected to more negative attitudes towards gay and lesbian rights (Costa et al., 2014). Costa et al. (2015) also studied ambivalent sexism among Portuguese students and the study revealed that men had higher level of sexism towards women and higher level of benevolence towards men.

Lisbon's academic federation (2019) investigated sexual harassment and abuse among students in Lisbon and found out that third of students had experienced sexual harassment and/or abuse in forms of unwanted, sexually related comments, photos and videos. Little less, 32% of students, had experienced simulation of sexual acts and/or movements and 29% acts of genital exhibiting. In that study, perpetrators were other students, teaching staff or other staff members (Federação Académica de Lisboa, 2019). While sexual violence has been studied in several master's dissertations showing how the victims are most likely women. For example, in Pires Gama's (2016) research, 61,6% of mainly female participants, had been involved in non-consensual sexual relation once or more times during their university studies because of psychological pressure. 38,5% of participants had experienced sexual abuse after drug usage or drinking too much alcohol, and therefore couldn't prevent it. For 30,8% of the participants, sexual abuse was following of use of physical force. Most of the time (87,5%) the abuser was current or ex-partner. In Araújo's (2017) dissertation the perpetrator was most of the time current or ex-partner, in 66,7% of the cases. Further, both dissertations show how most of the university student abuse victims do not ask any help or tell anybody about their experience. The same result was reached in the study of Lisbon's academic federation, in which 89% of students never reported or told anyone about their experience. The most popular way to find help was searching for it online (Araújo 2017; Pires Gama 2016).

Araújo (2017) also studied if experiences sexual abuse had consequences in victim's academic performance. 10% reported not attending classes or work after abuse and 23,3% reported having worse grades after abuse. Regarding to how universities prevent and spread information about sexual violence, most students never had any presentation or information about sexual violence prevention at the university. According to European research about national policies and measures of sexual harassment in higher education (European Research Area and Innovation Committee, 2020), Portugal does not have a national plan for combating sexual violence in academia.

In summary, even though female students are the majority group in universities, they face different forms of sexual harassment and violence, and sexist and prejudiced behaviour in Portuguese universities.

3 Methodology

This study aims to explore and understand female and LGBTQI+ students' experiences of sexism and sexual harassment in Lisbon's universities and to analyse coping strategies that students develop after these experiences. Additionally, this study also aims to explore students' views of what universities could do to prevent and handle events of sexism and sexual harassment. In this vein the research questions are:

- What are female and LGBTQI+ students' sexism and sexual harassment experiences in Lisbon's universities?
- What coping strategies female and LGBTQI+ students develop to deal with their experiences of sexism and sexual harassment?
- What could universities do to prevent and deal with sexism and sexual harassment events according to the students' perceptions?

This research does not intent to generalize the results to the experience of all students in Portugal, but it aims to give visibility to the problem that has already been raised to discussion in the literature and the media.

In this section, I will present the research design and methodology of this dissertation research. I will explain analyse methods, research process, ethical considerations, and limitations of this study, in this order.

3.1 Data collection

Data collection was conducted by a structured online survey (see Annex A) during April 2020-August 2020. To avoid language barriers and include as many participants as possible, the survey was carried out in English and Portuguese, and respondents could answer according to their preference. The survey was built in Outlook Forms site. Participants were recruited by asking universities to circulate the survey to students' knowledge, feminist and LGBTQI+ Facebook groups (6), feminist and LGBTQI+ organisations (10) that operate in Lisbon, open announcement on my own Facebook page and through personal network. The survey and

participation request were sent to 20 different faculties in Lisbon aimed at covering most of science fields, of which only one reported sharing it to its students.

This study is a mixed method research. A quantitative analysis was used for description purposes of the sample. Feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA) (Lazar, 2007) was used to explore participants' narratives of their sexism and sexual harassment experiences in universities.

The topic of sexism and sexual harassment can be sensitive. Therefore, participation for this study was made completely anonymous to protect participants' identity and safety. Participating to the study was also completely voluntary. More serious and psychologically and emotionally harmful forms of sexual harassment were left outside the survey, such as sexual violence, and so it is considered that there is no harm in participating and sharing experiences. Researcher's email address was left in the online survey if participants had any questions, concerns or comments about the survey or their participation. This study is approved by Ethical committee of Iscte – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa. Data presentation is done in a way that respects confidentiality. Participants' background details are anonymised as much as is possible for the sake of the study.

The survey was composed of three main question blocks. First was asked personal information, following by multiple choice questions related to experienced sexism and sexual harassment. Additionally, the survey also had open ended questions focusing on students' views about professors' behaviour, coping strategies after experienced events and university policies against sexist and sexual harassment events. Lastly, participants were also encouraged to describe freely any situation that they had related to the topic.

3.2 Participants

Target group was female and LGBTQI+ university students in Lisbon. The fieldwork was severally impacted by the covid-19 pandemic, and, also, the topic is very delicate, which makes it a bit more challenging finding people to participate.

The survey had 50 respondents. The graphics below illustrate the composition of the population. Majority of respondents were female and heterosexual, as can be seen in figures 1 and 2. 90% of respondents were Portuguese, the rest 10% were different nationalities from

Europe and South America. Age varied between 18-28, mean age being 22.39 years (SD=2.244).

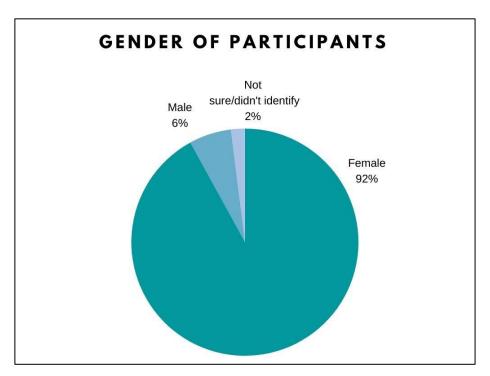


Figure 1: Distribution of gender of participants

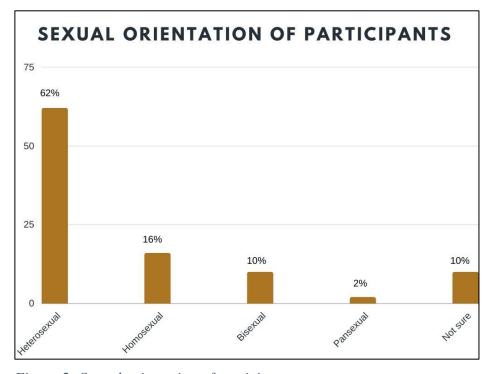


Figure 2: Sexual orientation of participants

Participants came from different study areas. For analysis purposes and to secure participants' anonymity, their study courses were labelled as science fields (figure 3). Studying year ranged from 1 to more than 5², the mean being 3.98 (SD=1.286).

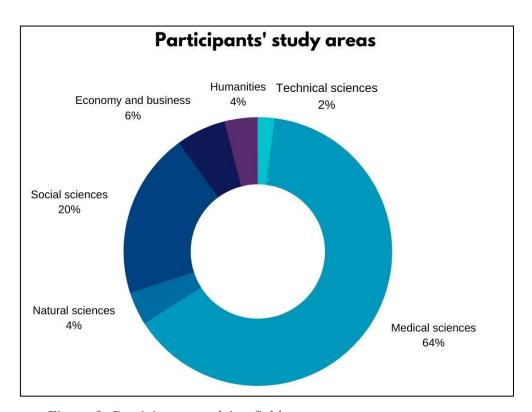


Figure 3: Participants studying fields

3.3.1 Feminist critical discourse analysis

Overall, critical discourse analysis research involves broad, topic or themed-focused studies that aims its attention on power, ideology and the self (Speer, 2005). According to Speer (2005, 7), "they explore the 'constitutive' power of discourse and seek to identify the 'broad meaning systems' invoked in talk, variously termed 'global patterns in collective sense-making', 'interpretative repertoires', 'practical ideologies' and 'psycho-discursive' resources''. Whereas Feminist critical discourse analysis goes one step further by looking at how ideologies and

 $^{^2}$ 1–3 is thought as undergraduate course, 4–5 graduate course. More than 5 means that participant has studied longer than a course usually takes.

norms both shape and restrict gendered individual's actions. The task of feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA) is to examine how power and dominance are discursively produced and/or resisted in a variety of ways through textual representations of gendered social practices" (Lazar, 2007, p. 10). Hence, FCDAs was chosen as analysis method in this study because of its focus on how gender power asymmetries/inequalities and ideologies are present in discourses. Therefore, it helps to unveil the different ways in which, very often given, hegemonic power relations and gendered assumptions are produced, sustained and challenged in discourses in different contexts and communities (Lazar, 2007). By using FCDA to deconstruct texts and speeches it can be shown what kind of material and phenomenological consequences communication can have within female and male groups in communities. These consequences can be explored with questions like how gender is "done" and "produced", who is visible and who invisible, who are presented as the same and who as the other and who speaks and how they speak (Lazar, 2007).

I understand sexism and sexual harassment as products of power asymmetries in structural, sociological and political levels, thus FCDA allows me to explore student's narrative on how the power relations operate in their experience.

Further, as FCDA it is inevitably political, it focuses on social justice and conscious change of gendered structures (Speer, 2007), therefore relating directly with my research topic of sexism and sexual harassment as societal problems.

3.3.2 Analysis process

Data analysis was started by reading through the whole data. During this starting phase, I got a broad understanding of the data and found some data inconsistencies that were fixed (for example, a triplication of one response and one response that wasn't part of the target group). I started with quantitative analysis to examine the data better as whole and the research questions as already defined. I used feminist critical discourse analysis methods to examine qualitative data drawn from the open-ended questions that refers to participants' experiences and thoughts regarding sexism and sexual harassment.

The quantitative data analysis was executed with SPSS Statistics analysis program. Different correlation tests were done but due to reduced data, there was no correlations between different items. The reduced data will be discussed more in Limitations section. For this reason, the focus in quantitative data was moved to descriptive measures. To examine students'

discourses, I used MAXQDA software aiming at organizing the data in preliminary themes based on the research questions. The data was examined many times and every time the themes got shaped, as their relation to the research questions became cleared. In the end, there was three main themes with subcategories.

3.4 Limitations

The main limitation of this study is the homogeneity and small amount of the data. Data collection was significantly impacted by the global covid-19 pandemic. As previously indicated, the survey was sent to multiple universities, organisations, Facebook groups and friends, and it was not shared to target group by these institutions as much as probably it would have been in normal conditions. Assumption is that universities and organisations had priorities in sharing covid-19 related information and surveys, and therefore my dissertation survey was ignored. It can also be discussed if there exist discrimination of the topic among universities.

The topic in its nature is delicate and not so many people are willing to discuss it. People who have experienced sexism and sexual harassment can be afraid of possible outcomes if their identity is exposed, or rather talk about this topic with known person or organisation that they trust. One of the original plans was to go to feminist and LGBTQI+ events and organisations' offices to promote the research. Meeting people personally could have helped to reach possible participants better than only sending emails. But this became also impossible for the social distance measures implemented at the time because of the pandemic.

4 Results

The result section is divided in three blocks, according to the research questions: (1) students' experiences of sexism and sexual harassment, (2) their coping strategies to reported experiences and (3) students' views on how universities should react to sexism and sexual harassment events. Some of the citations are translated from Portuguese.

4.1 Students' experiences of sexism and sexual harassment in Lisbon's universities

All participants had experienced sexism and/or sexual harassment in some ways. Sexist behaviour was reported more than sexual harassment. In the quantitative part of our survey, sexist behaviour was reported more from professors and staff members but sexual harassment more from students. For example, 68% of participants had experienced undermining of their abilities by professor and 56% from fellow students, and 58% had experienced sexual related verbal behaviour by fellow student and 26% the same by professor/staff member. However, in open questions, though, participants described mostly sexist and harassing events with professors. It can be that receiving these behaviours from professors is more traumatic and memorable than from peer students because of professors' position of authority and guider (Hill et al., 2005), and therefore participants remembered these experiences better and felt sharing them as more important. The forms how sexist and sexual harassment behaviours are experienced by the students are presented in the following in categories: undermining female students' capacity and opinions; more attention and better grades for male students; Reproducing gender stereotypes by sexist comments and Different forms of sexual harassment.

a. Undermining female students' capacity and opinions

Undermining experiences included verbal and behavioural forms and came mostly from professors than fellow students. Many of the participants felt that especially male professors, but sometimes also certain female professors, diminished their opinions, credibility and capacities in classes and laboratory work in comparison to male students' capacities.

[&]quot;In exercises that require agility and physical force, male students are always the only ones invited, for no other reason than their gender" - Informant 29, female, 24 years, Medical Sciences

"A male teacher telling a male student that he should be able to answer his question as he is a guy (the rest of the group were girls)" - Informant 39, female, 18 years, Medical Sciences

Even though today medicine studies and professions in Portugal have a high percentage of female students, men still have better access to top positions (Alves, 2019), and overall, traditionally medicine has been seen as a masculine profession (Nicholson, 2002). In the situations above, both professors show a devaluation of women's capacities regarding science but also stereotypical attitudes. In the first example, Informant 29 perceives that the professor shows biased attitudes about women being physically weaker by always choosing male students to participate in physical tasks. Professor in the second example expresses very blatantly his view that any man naturally should have more knowledge in medical field than women.

Although less frequent, respondents also referred to fellow students making undermining comments about female students and professionals.

"Various colleagues refer liberally and in a natural way to female professionals' incapacity to execute some tasks of their profession because the tasks demand physical strength or are usually thought as 'masculine'" - Informant 23, female, 25 years, Medical Science

All these comments contributed to the female participants to feel less capable of executing certain tasks and gaining success in their field. The frustration towards every day diminishing but also the normality of it can be seen in chosen words, such as "always" and "in a natural way". Everyday undermining and feeling of incompetence can lead to lower self-esteem regarding students' academic and professional life, and also make certain disciplines look unwelcoming for female students, and this way impact their choices about future careers (Myers & Dugan, 1996). The accumulation of all discouraging by professors and colleagues can make female students set their goals lower which can result in overall lower achievement and fewer opportunities (Barthelemy et al., 2016).

b. More attention and better grades for male students

Respondents reported feeling that both male and female professors prefer male students over female students in many ways. Male students were told to get more participation time in

classes. Professors would also tend to ask more often male students' help with tasks and socialize with them more, regardless of professors' gender.

"As [in my course] male students are less represented, many times they are given more attention in school level, social level or other" - Informant 40, male, 23 years, Medical Sciences

"We have a female professor who is extremely demanding and sometimes cruel towards female students and who tolerates without problem anything that a male student says" - Informant 21, female, 26 years old, Medical Sciences

Nicholson (2002) had similar results in his research with medical students, in which female students reported receiving different treatment and less attention than male students. Professors favouring students has impacts in academic and social level. Being friendly with professors might help, for example, with recommendation letters and academic connections. If female students constantly lack similar attention, they might end up getting less professional opportunities than male students (Myers & Dugan, 1996; Benson & Thomson, 1982).

Professors also favoured students in concrete ways. Many participants mentioned that male students' work was often valued more than female students. Male students got better grades for same quality of work and were perceived to work more than female students.

"In working groups with two boys, I always feel teachers consider they are doing all the work. In presentations teachers tend to make comments and questions looking mainly to the boys, as if I had done nothing or had no idea how to answer" - Informant 2, female, 24 years, Technical Sciences

"During an oral exam with the same level is knowledge and the same professor evaluating male student got a grade that was 3 points (valores) higher than mine" - Informant 36, female, 19 years, Medical Sciences

In fact, 59,2% of female participants had gained lower grade than their male colleague for the same quality of work. In comparison, only 26% of the male participants reported scoring lower than their female colleague. This is in accordance with Roper (2019) who argues how female student's career in medical and STEM field tend to be hindered by professors' grading gender biases.

c. Reproducing gender stereotypes by sexist comments

Some of the sexist comments from professors can be categorized as reproduction of gender stereotypes. They were gendered assumptions on participants preferences, knowledge and interests. Many times, they were represented as jokes and in conversations that were not related to studied topic.

"In a class a male professor was asking students what kind of house they'd like to have when they are older. Two girls said they want cosy homes, one guy said he'd like a big house and the professor answered 'of course, girls prefer small houses because they are the ones who clean them'" - Informant 19, female, 20 years, Medical Sciences

"This [...] professor has been known to say sexist things like 'oh you are all girls so you already know how to sow' or 'women tend to look more at the ingredients and caloric value of food cause you care more about your physique' - Informant 25, female, 22 years, Medical Sciences

"Constant association with gender standards (from professors)" - Informant 6, female, 26 years, Humanities

According to Thomae & Pina (2015), although sexist comments and jokes can be claimed to simply bad humour or lack of education, they are also a way to protect masculine power. For these professors, sexist comments and jokes might be a form to keep male students closer by affirming their belonging to heterosexual male ingroup, and, simultaneously, keep female students further by establishing behavioural norms that discriminate them (Thomae & Pina, 2015). The authors argue that as more and more women are completing universities and entering work life, men might feel their social and economic status threatened, and their response to it is sexism and gendered discrimination. As female students are in an inferior position in relation to the professors, the chances to react or correct them are low (Barthelemy et al., 2016).

d) Different forms of sexual harassment

Sexual harassment was reported overall significantly less than sexist behaviour in universities, being verbal forms of harassment more frequent than physical ones. 58% of participants had experienced verbal sexual harassment behaviour from fellow students once or

more and 26% had experienced the same with professors or staff members. In their narratives incidents involving professors and staff members were reported the most.

According the respondents, sexual remarks were the most common way to experience sexual harassment. Some of our participants explained that probably they were meant as a joke, but it was an unpleasant and unwanted situation.

"I was shaking my shirt as it was unbearably hot and some of my colleagues were waving books at each other (to simulate fans). My teacher passed by me, stopped, looked at what I was doing and looked at my breasts and said in a perverted way 'you can't do that in my class' and laughed. [...] if it were a man doing that, he wouldn't have said anything. He then waltzed off and said to my colleagues that were waving books at each other 'all four of you should be doing that to me' in a perverted way. [...] He also has been known to make sexual remarks to others" - Informant 25, female, 22 years, Medical Sciences

Phrases may seem like innocent joking but Informant 25 have felt them harassing. It can be that people who make sexual remarks do not understand the meaning of their comments. Especially men who have less experience of being a victim of harassment, thus claiming to have more difficulties to judge a situation harassing (Vohlídalová, 2011). Further, men are more likely to interpret normal friendliness as sexual interest more often than women so it can be that this professor saw cues that were not given (De Judicibus & McCabe, 2001). In a American research about prevalence of sexual harassment in universities, students justified harassment by reasons, such as thinking it is funny, that the receiving person liked it, they wanted to date the person and that it is part of school life and it is not a "big deal" (Hill et al., 2005, p. 22). Also, considering the power dynamics between a student and a professor, it could be assumed that professors as guidance figures do not harass their students, thus, when something inappropriate is said, it can be shoved off as a misunderstanding or something that the student was agreeing with (Whitley & Page, 2015). However, the fact that our respondents, as well as the participants in other studies, reported feeling uncomfortable with the situation, it is an indicator that harassment behaviours cannot be minimized. In addition, 16% had received sexual related messages in social media or by email by fellow student and nobody reported experiencing the same behaviour from professor.

Sexual remarks also included more blatant ways, like commenting on students' appearance.

[&]quot;Professor in oral evaluation interrupted me to call me 'very pretty', me and my female colleague" - Informant 6, female, 26 years, Humanities

"This [...] professor already commented many times female students' physical aspect, including implying them gaining weight" - Informant 23, female, 25 years, Veterinary, Natural science

Calling a student pretty during her/his academic performance is objectifying the student and also, devaluing her/his work (Bocher et al., 2020). This professor put aside Informant 6's capacities and qualifications in an evaluation situation. After this kind of experience, students might be left wondering about their real competence when they do not know in what her/his grade is based on: her/his attractiveness or her/his academic capability. This uncertainty can lead to lower academic and professional self-confidence and distrust to university organization (Benson & Thomson, 1982).

Further, uncomfortable staring was also referred by the participants and it was experienced to be performed by professors, staff members and fellow students. 52% of the participants had experienced staring at their body in faculty once or more times, of which 10% often and 4% very often.

"the whole time in their office they [male professors] were looking at my cleavage" – Informant 3, female, 24 years, Social Sciences

"Guys staring at me" - Informant 1, female, 25 years, Social sciences

"Just 'intense' and prolonged glances from part of an employee always when we cross in the faculty" - Informant 32, female, 20 years, Medical Sciences

These examples show that uncomfortable staring happens in various ways and by various different people in university organization. In the first example, Informant 3 notices several professors staring at her chest/breasts while she was in their office solving an academic issue. Informant 1's choices of words "guys staring" can refer to continuous behaviour that she experiences often from many different people all around university premises. Lastly, staring is done constantly by one certain person, a staff member, "always" when Informant 32 meets him/her in the faculty. Informant 32 also uses the word "just" to express that she does not think the behaviour serious that she experiences. It is very common in sexual harassment cases that victims do not think their experiences are big issues or that they should be dealt with (Hill et al., 2005).

Stalking physically or online was experienced by 20,4% of the participants, of which 12,2% more than once.

"Once, when I was leaving the faculty to home and he [employee] had to be leaving from his shift, he drove his car behind mine a big part of the way. When his way stopped being same than mine, he continued straight and looked back to stare at me one more time. [Employee] also found me in Facebook and put 'likes' to my posts-" - Informant 32, female, 20 years, Medical Sciences

"colleague who harasses girls from our course (mostly through unwanted, not necessarily of sexual nature, messages, mails, phone calls, etc.)" - Informant 8, female, 25 years, Social Sciences

This kind of behaviours might be difficult to distinguish from behaviour related to romantic courtship (Miglietta & Maran, 2017) so from the perpetrator's point of view his/her behaviour can be a way to approach a person he/she is interested of. Continuous behaviour that does not seem to stop, like in the examples "always" staring when meeting and constant messages and phone calls, can make students feel university environment unsafe (Amar, 2006) which can affect academic performance and willing to attend classes, for example, for student's feelings of stress in having to meet the perpetrator. Attending classes every day with a colleague who is perceived threatening does not encourage in co-working between colleagues or attending student meetings, fostering the victim's self-social isolation.

Sexual harassment happens also on the way from home to faculty, and by other people than faculty staff members and students in university premises. One of our respondents described the daily travelling to faculty "the worst". In these situations, harassment appears in more "traditional" way, like as unwanted touching and catcalling. According to Loukaitou-Sideris et al. (2020), perceiving public transportation unsafe can create stress in travelling to university and even restrict students' mobility. In their research about sexual harassment in transports among students in Los Angeles, they authors found that female and LGBTQI+ students were more likely to experience sexual harassment, such as groping, unwanted looks and comments and other sexual "sounds" in public transportation than male students. In this case, students also did not report about their experiences in transports because they felt embarrassed, did not know how to report or did not think that the criminal would be caught (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2020).

"Male individual touching my back, face and hair in bus on my way to faculty, who after followed me inside the faculty, me having to turn to a male colleague to get me out of the situation" - Informant 31, female, 28 years, Medical Sciences

"also, there are usually police officers at the entrance of the faculties. I was entering [faculty] when they called me names and whistled at me. 5 men inside a policeman car..." - Informant 3, female, 24 years, Social sciences

In the last example, it is especially harmful when a police officer is the harasser. It is difficult to think about confronting, reporting, or discussing this situation when the harasser is the authority people should trust and turn to.

These were the only experiences of physical harassment that appeared in our participants' testimonies. In the survey, though, unwanted touching was experienced once or more times by 18% from fellow student and 8% by professor or staff member.

4.2 Students' coping strategies after sexist and/or sexual harassment experiences

Participants were asked what kind of actions they have taken after their experiences with sexist and sexual harassment behaviour. 48% of answered students reported not taken any actions after experiences. Only one respondent reported contacting university after sexist behaviour or sexual harassment but did not explain further about how university responded. Another one brought up experience fear concerning his/her grade when reporting situations that happened with a professor. They also referred to being aware that the reports could be ignored and therefore, the risk of getting worse evaluation was not worth it. The same fears have been discussed in previous studies (e.g. Savigny, 2014; Bocher et al., 2020; Hill et al., 2005).

"Most of the behaviours come from teachers and have been reported before and been steeped under the rug, so there's not much one can do unless they want to jeopardize their grades" - Informant 25, female, 22 years, Medical Sciences

Ignoring the harassment and pretending that it never happened is a common response, especially in less serious events (Fitzgerald et al., 1988, as cited in Fitzgerald & Swan, 1995). Fear of retaliation, being blamed about the events and self-blaming are big barriers for reporting (Savigny, 2014). In Hill's & Silva's study (2005, p. 33), the biggest reason for not reporting was students' belief that their experience with sexual harassment was not serious or "not big deal", or it didn't feel important enough to go through all the discomfort to sort out the incident.

My respondents show that it is easier for the victim to act when it is a fellow student who is misbehaving, but when it's a professor in concern, there seemed to be very few responses that they can think of enacting. The hierarchy makes it difficult for students to act, as reactions to confrontation are especially negative when it challenges the male authority (Herrera, Herrera & Expósito, 2013).

Among the participants who affirmed reacting to these situations, confronting the perpetrator was the most common way to deal with it. In some cases, confrontation worked well and the behaviour stopped, but in others confronting did not have any effect.

In the following situations, the perpetrators undermine his/her behaviour and victim's experiences by claiming it to be a joke, and therefore normal behaviour, and getting hurt from accusations.

"I confront but there's always excuses and defence and 'don't take so seriously' this kind of undermining" -Informant 42, female, age not known, Medical Sciences

"I told a male colleague that he can't be sharing the principle that man has more power of speech than woman, that is sexism.

'You understood all wrong. I wasn't saying anything like that! How can you call me one of those things? You hurt me immensely. You can't say out loud this kind of things. Your actions have consequences, you know?'

'I didn't call you anything'

'Yes you did'

'I'm sorry, I understood wrong' - Informant 37, female, 20 years, Medical Sciences

Informant 37's quote shows how confronting the person for their sexist behaviour or sexual harassment did not lead to wished result, as in stopping the behaviour, understanding doing wrong and apologizing. However, it can still be seen as a resistance act as the participant confronted the person and expressed clearly what went wrong in the situation on her opinion. The male colleague turns the situation upside down and makes himself a victim when his actions are called out, which is not surprising in the light of previous studies. Herrera, Herrera & Expósito (2013) found in their research with undergraduate men that men often judge a woman difficult and rude after confrontation. Especially with subtle and hidden ways of harassment, like sexist or sexual related comments, men perceived that women were exaggerating the situation, as men did not find their actions harassment at all. Then the response for confrontation can be, as in the previous example, devaluating women's experiences and opinions.

The second usual way to cope with these experiences was sharing with friends and warning them about harassing people. This way other students could avoid having same experience. Seeking for peers support in stressful life situation is, indeed, common and can be used either as a coping strategy or as an emotional support resource (Fitzgerald & Swan, 1995; Scarduzio, Sheff & Smith, 2017).

"I was already told about a male professor who tries to seduce girls. [...] my reaction was to listen and pay attention next times when I was in contact with that person" - Informant 41, female, 21 years, Medical Sciences

"[I have] warned female friends about colleague who harasses girls from our course" - Informant 8, female, 25 years, Social Sciences

These stories show how female students do not know what other ways they have to deal with harassment situations than to warn their friends and after warning "to pay attention" in possibly dangerous situations. Also Hill & Silva (2005) found similar results, as in their study with American students especially female and LGBTQI+ students were most likely to tell about sexual harassment in university only to a friend and do not scale it up.

4.3 Students' thoughts of universities' role in handling sexist/sexual harassment situations

Participants had many ideas on how universities could handle sexism and sexual harassment events. Overall, students' comments demonstrate how they do not see that universities are doing enough to prevent and deal with sexist and sexual harassment events. Comments also show that students are not aware of what kind of procedures universities follow regarding sexist and sexual harassment events.

Mostly participants claimed for more attention to reports, deeper investigation on the matters and harder consequences for perpetrators. They expressed a wish that universities use their institutional power to punish misbehaving students and professors. Consequences, like sever reprimand (e.g. intervention, suspension), surveillance and firing were mentioned especially in relation with professors.

"I think a complaint should be investigated in depth [...]. If the complaint is true, the aggressor in concern should be notified and "encouraged" to improve his/her behaviour or forced to leave the institution (depending in the severity and/or frequency of concerned behaviour)" - Informant 18, female, 21 years, Medical Sciences

"Attention in reports or help requests, never undermining the reports" - Informant 5, female, 23 years, Social sciences

To prevent sexist behaviour and sexual harassment students suggested training in forms of seminars, workshops and conferences about the topic, both for students and university staff members, but especially for professors.

"Education of the professors and staff because they are the main source of sexism and homofobia" - Informant 22, male, 21 years, Medical Sciences

Professors are important role models in gender equality issues, and how they treat their students affects classroom dynamics and academic success (Allana, Asad & Sherali, 2010) as they can easily transmit behavioural norms and gendered treatment can be passed on to students as well (Thomae & Pina, 2015). Barthelemy et al. (2016) emphasise the importance of faculties acknowledging the subtle, perhaps unconscious ways how female students are treated differently. They suggest that professors make an effort to ensure that opportunities are distributed equally to all students, so that universities are available for everybody.

Additionally, students pointed efficient communication as a prevention measure but also as a way to inform students about the support procedures offered by the institutions, and to increase students' awareness of universities harassment policies, as well as the illegality of harassment itself (Williams, Lam & Shively, 1992). According to Schneider (1987), awareness-raising and openness about the topic can also change the harassing behaviour within universities. When the policies and support procedures are clear and easy to find, they bring legitimacy for students to report and seek help but also guidelines for the victims and perpetrators of what kind of behaviour is considered appropriate

"There should be more communication of what can't be considered as normal to happen" - Informant 26, female, 22 years, Medical Sciences

"awareness-raising measures to avoid maintaining [these behaviours]" - Informant 6, female, 26 years, Humanities

"promote psychological support at university, that does exist but no one knows about it" - Informant 2, female, 24 years, Technical sciences

Further, respondents expressly referred to the need for psychological counselling but also to the need for safe spaces in university where students could seek anonymously for information about reporting and support systems.

"Spaces for reporting or dialogue where people are actually listened and their experiences validated, and not undermined like it happens now" - Informant 29, female, 24 years, Medical Sciences

"A cabinet in university specialised in this kind of situations in where the victim can get information about what can be done, enter support groups or to be forwarded to psychological/psychiatric help" - Informant 18, female, 21 years, Medical Sciences

A safe space where victims can share stories and have informal conversations could be one way to experience empathy but also a way to create the community to a safer environment when members of community learn from each other (Dougherty & Smythe, 2004). Informant 29 pointed out that universities "undermine" students' experiences and that they are not "actually listened", which tells that present practices are perceived ineffective and unhelpful from students' point of view. They also tell about students' opinions of reporting as a process that is not taken seriously on the part of universities and therefore not useful to go through.

Some students wanted structural changes, such as developing evaluating system and clearer policies, in universities to promote gender equality and stop the misuse of power. Osborne (1994) points out that structural changes are perhaps the most effective way to reduce and erase harassment in universities. The author stated that when the whole system labelled by power and hierarchies cannot be changes overnight, women should try to formulate things in the positions that they have. Creation of non-sexist curriculum and getting rid of sexist classroom practises are essential in promoting a welcoming environment for all students (Osborne, 1994).

"The situations are public knowledge. Who has the power to change things agrees/follows the same line of reasoning and because of that there's no control" - Informant 23, female, 25 years, Medical Sciences

"Create a way to equally evaluate all students" - Informant 36, female, 19 years, Medical Sciences

"Training and policies to facilitate gender equality" - Informant 1, female, 25 years, Social Sciences

"They should not be afraid of listening to the students and follow what they say. Often they ignore or try to shove it down so it doesn't hurt the school" - Informant 49, female, 27 years, Social sciences

Few participants also expressed that they do not know how these situations could be handled or if there is anything that can be done. From their perspective, sexism and sexual harassment do not have to do with university, for it is rather a problem of individuals.

"The issue of sexism, it's just a value and mentality issue, I don't know until which point that can be changed in somebody" - Informant 41, female, 21 years, Medical Sciences

"I am not sure if they could do anything. The only time I noticed harassment within the university context, I don't think it had to do with university, or that it was something structural. It rather depended on the person who harassed" - Informant 8, female, 25 years, Social sciences

As Whitley & Page (2015) discussed, sexism and sexual harassment are often seen as singular events, and then it is easy to blame the individuals for their actions. This view is complicated in a perspective of improving gender issues in universities and other hierarchal institutions.

The results explained in this chapter show how diverse experiences female and LGBTQI+ students have of sexism and sexual harassment in universities but also how they describe the situations and their thoughts of them. These unpleasant and unwanted situations with students, professors and staff members stay hidden because students do not report them or talk about them openly. Though, based on these results, students are not aware of university policies and they do not think universities would anyways do enough to protect them from these situations or handle them after words.

5 Conclusions

This master's dissertation studied female and LGBTQI+ students' experiences about sexism and sexual harassment in Lisbon's universities. The study was conducted in 2020, and despite of its limitations in participants, it raised important issues about the phenomenon in Portugal. Three aspects were explored: (1) students' experiences about sexism and sexual harassment in universities, (2) their coping strategies after the events and (3) students' views about university's responsibilities in these cases.

The study showed three main findings. First, following the existing scholarship, sexism and sexual harassment is a reality in the Lisbon universities and it occurs in many different forms. They are present in students' everyday lives, starting in transportation on the way to faculty, in faculty premises, in classes, on the way back home and in social media. In this data, sexist behaviour was more common than sexual harassment. The most reported forms were verbal behaviours, such as diminishing female students' abilities, sexist jokes, and sexual remarks, and favouring of male students in classes, in evaluations and socially. With all their experiences, female students expressed feeling undermined and not as valued members of academic community than male students. Interestingly, participants focused on talking about their sexism and harassment behaviours performed by professors more than by peer students even though quantitatively they reported more of such experiences being enacted by their peer students. Male professors were more present as producers of sexist and sexual remarks, but also female professors were reported to favour male students academically and socially. Professors, and therefore universities, create more and better chances for male students in academic and professional life with their sexist behaviour and sexual harassment towards female students (see Thomae & Pina, 2015).

Secondly, as discussed in previous studies, victims of sexist behaviour and sexual harassment avoid reporting their experiences in universities and so was the case in this data as well. Most of the participants did not do anything after their experiences, even when the memories of the situation continued to disturb them. It can be that students do not know how to report or what kind of behaviours even can be reported. Or, as Hills & Silva (2005) found out, many students do not think their experiences are worth of reporting. Embarrassment about the situation and fear of redemption can be obstacles for reporting (Savigny, 2014). Seeking for support should be made as easy and approachable as possible after facing sexist behaviour and sexual harassment so that more of these situations could be identified, and therefore, prevented.

Thirdly, students think that universities do not do enough to prevent and handle situations of sexist behaviour and sexual harassment, although they do not have a clear view what universities actually do with these situations. Lisbon's universities need better strategies to prevent and deal with sexist and sexual harassment events. More effective communication about psychological support and safe spaces for students to consult about their situation and get information about university procedures in these cases are essential in securing that everyone has an equal opportunity to attend university safely. But, of course, the best way would be to prevent these events for good by educating professors, staff, and students about what kind of behaviour is acceptable and normal and have clear sanctions when these norms are violated. As this kind of events make universities to be perceived as an unsafe places by female and LGBTQI+ students. As Schneider (1987) argues, it is urgent that university policies against sexual harassment publicly disseminated and the support procedures better structure and promoted

There is a need for more studies about the topic in Portuguese university and society. More research could be done about university policies and their effectiveness, and about professors' understanding about sexist and harassing classroom practices. Osborne (1994) states that the first steps to prevent sexism and sexual harassment in universities is admitting that it happens. Critique towards sexist practices and hostile university environment is necessary and, frankly, essential in making a change.

There is also a need to expand research about LGBTQI+ students' experiences as members of academic community that is still very scarce in Portugal.

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Annexes

A. Online survey

Experiences of sexism and sexual harassment in Lisbon's universities

I'm a master's degree student of International Studies in ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa and this survey is made for data collection purposes for my master's dissertation about FEMALE AND/OR LGBTQI+ STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES OF SEXISM AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN LISBON'S UNIVERSITIES. If you have had any experiences on this subject, please participate in this study!

- Data for conducted research is collected through this survey.
- The survey is completely anonymous.
- By completing and submitting this survey you are providing your consent to participate.
- If you have any questions about your participation or if you want to get more information about the research, you can contact me by email jakna@iscte-iul.pt.

Thank you very much!

- 1. Course you are studying
- 2. Study year
 - 0 1
 - 0 2
 - 0 3
 - 0 4
 - 0 5
 - o More than 5
- 3. Gender
 - o Female
 - o Male
 - o I'm not sure
 - o Prefer not to specify
 - Other: (blank space to write)

- 4. Sexual orientation
 - o Heterosexual or straight
 - o Homosexual
 - o Bisexual
 - o I'm not sure
 - o Prefer not to specify
 - Other (blank space to write)
- 5. Nationality
- 6. Age
- 7. Have you experienced any of the following behaviours in your university, relating to your gender or sexual orientation?

		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often (4)	Very
		(1)	(2)	(3)		often (5)
a.	Undermining of					
	your abilities by					
	fellow student					
b.	\mathcal{C}					
	your abilities by					
	professor/staff					
	member					
c.	C					
	your female					
	colleagues for the					
	same quality of					
	work					
d.	\boldsymbol{c}					
	your male					
	colleagues for the					
	same quality of					
	work					
e.	\mathcal{C}					
	you down/talking					
	over you in classes					
f.	Sexist jokes					
g.	Professor giving					
	more participation					
	time to male					
	students					
h.	0 0					
	more participation					
	time to female					
	students					

8. Have you experienced any of the following unwanted behaviours in your university?

		Never	Once	More than once	Often	Very often
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
a.	Unwanted touching					
	by fellow student					
b.	Sexual related					
	verbal behaviour					
	by fellow student					
	(jokes, comments					
	on looks/clothing,					
	etc)					
c.	Unwanted touching					
	by professor/staff					
	member					
d.	Sexual related					
	verbal behaviour					
	by professor/staff					
	member (jokes,					
	comments on your					
	looks/clothing, etc)					
e.	Staring at your					
	body					
f.	Stalking					
	(physically or					
	online)					
g.	Fellow student					
	sending messages					
	of sexual nature on					
	social media, apps					
	or via email					
	(invitations,					
	photos, etc)					
h.	Professor/staff					
	member sending					
	messages of sexual					
	nature on social					
	media, apps or via					
	email (invitations,					
	photos, etc)					

9. Have you taken any actions after facing the above-mentioned behaviours? If yes, which actions and with what results? (e.g. contacting university/student association, confronted the person behind the behaviours, sharing with friends...)

- 10. Do you experience these situations of sexism and sexual harassment more often with:
 - Male professor/staff
 - o Female professor/staff
 - No difference
- 11. Do you perceive a difference between male and female professors in how they interact with student? If yes, please describe how.
- 12. What do you think universities should do regarding sexism and sexual harassment episodes within the university? And what can universities do to prevent them from happening?
- 13. Describe freely a situation or situations when you have experienced sexist behaviour and/or sexual harassment in your university.
- 14. Your participation is highly valued! As indicated at the beginning, this study is about sexism and sexual harassment in universities and aims to understand the experiences of female and/or LGBTQ students in Lisbon. More specifically, this study aims to investigate how sexism and sexual harassment influence students' academic life. Participation in this study is strictly voluntary. If you confirm your consent to participate in this study and the use of the data you provided, click the 'I confirm' button and send the completed survey. In addition to being voluntary, your participation is also anonymous and confidential. The data are intended merely for this dissertation. Your survey answers could be quoted in the dissertation but always without personal identification information. If you have any questions or comments, please contact jakna@iscte-iul.pt. Thank you for your participation!
 - o I confirm