

Risk factors for the occurrence of sexual misconduct during archaeological and anthropological fieldwork

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Abstract

Fieldwork is crucial to advancing knowledge in archaeology and anthropology, but previous works suggests that between 64-68% of respondents experience sexual misconduct during fieldwork. Going forward, fieldwork must be made safe and inclusive. To achieve this, we must understand why sexual misconduct takes place during fieldwork.

We surveyed an international sample of archaeologists and anthropologists (n=300) about their most recent fieldwork experience. We examine evidence for risk factors predicting sexual misconduct on field sites, and our findings suggest that length of fieldwork, presence and communication of policies and protocols, and the gender and sexuality of the individual, are all significant. In particular, we find evidence for increased risk to non-male and non-heterosexual individuals. We also gathered qualitative evidence from our respondents, who reported that in some cases, they were discouraged from reporting and faced retaliation, they were dissatisfied with the handling of complaints, and field site policies and protocols were not consistently or effectively implemented.

Fieldwork can be a high-risk environment for marginalized individuals to experience sexual misconduct, and when clear policies and procedures are lacking, it can also be a low-risk environment for perpetrators in terms of consequences. To make fieldwork a safe environment for all, policies and protocols that mitigate the risk of sexual misconduct must be consistently implemented, and properly communicated.

Introduction

Academic fieldwork is a vital area of knowledge production in many disciplines, and it is of particular importance in archaeology and anthropology (Moser 2007). It is also a primary workplace for many researchers (Nelson, Rutherford, Hinde and Clancy 2017). Fieldwork acts as a rite of passage for Early Career Researchers and young aspiring researchers entering into the discipline (Moser 2007; Langham 1981). However, it is also an environment which presents its own unique risks — from travelling to and working in areas of political unrest, harsh climates, differing cultures (Moser 2007), or the threat of sexual violence — both from colleagues and from individuals outside of the research team (Clancy, Nelson, Rutherford and Hinde 2014; Meyers et al 2018; Voss 2021a).

This paper focuses specifically on the threat of sexual misconduct during archaeological and anthropological fieldwork. We operationally define the term fieldwork to encompass any academic work that occurs outside of a home institution. This also includes commercial archaeology, for whom the field may also be their main workplace. Fieldwork is extremely diverse, even within archaeology and anthropology. Some may be situated in a formal fieldschool, with senior professionals and students alike living together in dormitory-style accommodation. Others may involve a researcher working at their field site alone, sometimes also living alone or at other times living with informants or their families. Fieldwork also varies in both location and length. Importantly, different variations of fieldwork are likely to have different implications for the occurrence of sexual misconduct. For example, if a participant is part of a fieldschool and largely interacting with colleagues, it stands to reason that they would be more likely to experience sexual misconduct from a colleague than a lone researcher would be. This also has various implications for the power dynamics at the fieldsite. A lone researcher may in some ways hold power over their informants, especially if they are providing monetary or material incentives for being part of the research. On the other hand, informants may hold power over the lone researcher, as they may have information or contacts vital to their research, or may be in control of their accommodation.

Figure 1. Photographs showcasing the variation of fieldwork types. Panel A: A photo of a community archaeology project in Scotland involving volunteers (© Oliver et al 2016; used with permission). Panel B: An anthropologist at a robotics company in North America, where she visited for 3 weeks collecting ethnographic data (© Chun and Knight 2020; used with permission). Panel C: An anthropologist planting rice at their fieldsite (© Liana Chua; used with permission). Panel D: An anthropologist on horseback during fieldwork in Mongolia, 1999 (© Christopher Kaplonski; used with permission). Panel E: An anthropologist eating with members of the local community during a ritual (© Liana Chua; used with permission). Panel F: A photo taken by an anthropologist at a Kichwa discourse contest in Tena (© Wroblewski 2019; used with permission).

Whilst at any given time and in any given context individuals will be at some risk of experiencing sexual violence, previous work (e.g. Alriksson-Schmidt, Armour and Thibadeau, 2010; Berdahl and Moore 2006; Cantalupo 2019; Chamberlain et al 2008; Clancy, Nelson, Rutherford and Hinde 2014; McCann 2005; Meyers et al 2018) focusing on the prevention of violence have highlighted that different groups of individuals may be at more risk than others depending on their demographic characteristics. Similarly, work has found some contexts to be higher risk than others, such as in the military, academia (Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau and Stibal 2003), and low-wage professions such as accommodation and food services and retail (Frye 2017). Within fields certain job roles can also be higher risk; a report by the US Department of the Interior found that seasonal colleagues were more likely to experience sexual assault related behaviours (Department of the Interior, 2017). Therefore, certain groups of individuals and/or certain contexts may “require special consideration in violence prevention endeavors” (Alriksson-Schmidt, Armour and Thibadeau, 2010, 362). In this paper we use relative risk as a framework to identify certain risk-factor that may increase, or decrease, the risk an individual faces of experiencing sexual misconduct within archaeological and anthropological fieldwork.

Many have written about experiencing sexual harassment and assault during fieldwork (e.g. Kloß 2016; Pollard 2009; Sharp and Kremer 2006; Voss 2021a). Recent studies using survey

87 data have reported high rates of experiencing some form of sexual misconduct during academic
88 fieldwork, with 64% ($n=658$; Clancy, Nelson, Rutherford and Hinde 2014) and 68% ($n=244$;
89 Meyers et al 2018) of participants from these studies having experienced misconduct respectively.
90 Both studies also found that women reported these experiences at higher rates, with women 3
91 (Clancy et al 2014) to 3.5 times (Meyers et al 2018) more likely to report experiencing sexual
92 harassment.

93 However, the quantitative study of sexual misconduct during fieldwork is still in its
94 infancy, and there are vast gaps in our knowledge about these environments and the human
95 interactions within them. Quantitative studies so far, for example, have been unable to sufficiently
96 speak to the experiences of LGBTQ+ researchers, who are typically under-represented in the
97 samples analysed so far. Furthermore, to the best of our knowledge, no study has yet tried to use
98 data to explain why the rates of misconduct seem to be so high in fieldwork, nor to identify any
99 specific risk-factors that may account for this. The latter is particularly important when
100 considering how to ensure our colleagues and students are safe to undertake fieldwork: if we do
101 not understand the risk, we cannot effectively mitigate it.

102 Here, we quantitatively assess the specific risk factors within archaeological and
103 anthropological fieldwork that may predict the occurrence of sexual misconduct in order to
104 address this gap. Our study seeks to determine how, and whether, a number of measured variables
105 affects the probability of someone experiencing sexual misconduct during fieldwork. In
106 particular, we infer the effects of the length of fieldwork and the nature of the policies and
107 protocols implemented for that field site. Furthermore, numerous studies have previously found
108 that individuals part of traditionally marginalised groups, such as being LGBTQ+, disabled,
109 gender non-conforming, a woman, or an ethnic minority, are more likely to have experienced
110 sexual harassment or assault (Berdahl and Moore 2006; Cantalupo 2019; Chamberlain et al 2008;
111 Clancy, Nelson, Rutherford and Hinde 2014; Department of the Interior 2017; McCann 2005;
112 Meyers et al 2018; National Park Service 2017; National Union of Students 2018; Voss 2021a;
113 Voss 2021b). Thus, we also measure and test the effects of gender, sexuality, disability status and
114 of being an ethnic minority against the likelihood of having experienced sexual misconduct.

Materials and Methods

Online survey

We obtained ethical approval from the Ethics Committee for School of the Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Cambridge. We obtained informed consent from participants through the Participant Information Sheet displayed prior to commencement of the survey, and by an initial set of questions proceeding the main part of the survey confirming the potential participant's understanding and consent (**Supplementary materials 2**).

We used an online survey for data collection in line with previous research (Clancy, Nelson, Rutherford and Hinde 2014; Meyers et al 2018; National Union of Students 2018). The survey was divided into three main sections: questions regarding the demographic information of the participant, questions regarding their most recent fieldwork experience, and – if they had ever experienced sexual misconduct in the workplace – questions regarding their most recent experience of this (See **Supplementary materials 2** for full survey). There was a final section with an open box question in order to obtain additional qualitative data.

In order to gather data regarding potential experiences of sexual misconduct we presented a series of scenarios that fall under the UK legal definitions of sexual harassment (Citizens Advice n.d. a) and assault (Citizens Advice n.d. b) and asked whether or not the participant had personally experienced any of these during their most recent fieldwork experience (Variable “Frequency”, **Table 1**). This allowed for participants to report sexual harassment and/or assault without having to label their experiences. Even if an individual has experienced an event that falls under the legal definitions of harassment or assault, they may not be able to or want to label it as such due to factors such as societal stigma, fear, and a culture of victim-blaming (McDonald 2011). Individuals may either under or over interpret the seriousness of the events they've experienced. Listing experiences in such a way allows for an objective assessment of events.

The survey consisted of a total of 65 questions. However, the number of questions participants answered varied depending on what answers they gave. For example, if they had never experienced sexual misconduct in the workplace or fieldwork, the survey would automatically skip

the sections asking questions on this. All questions were also optional. The sample size for each question is presented below with the results.

The survey was open to all current or former archaeologists and anthropologists internationally who had carried out fieldwork-based research. We distributed the survey using a snowball sampling technique via social media platforms and via emails sent and forwarded to contacts in different universities and institutions.

We received 300 responses to the online survey. Of these 300 participants, 58.7% were female (n=176), 23.7% were male (n=71), and 1% were non-binary (n=3). There were also a diverse range of sexualities: 56% identified as heterosexual (n=168), 3.33% as homosexual (n=10), 19.7% as bisexual (n=59), and 1.67% as asexual (n=5). We had participants from 26 countries across six continents. Participants possessed a range of education levels at the time of their last fieldwork experience, ranging from high school and A-Level (6.67%, n=20), to PhDs (16.33%, n=49).

Variables and Data Processing

The length of fieldwork (Variable “Length”, **Table 1**), was treated as an ordinal variable by replacing each level with sequential integers¹. For example, ‘< 1 week’ became ‘1’, ‘>1 week – 1 month’ became ‘2’, and so on. Those who answered ‘Other (please specify)’ for the variable of sexuality were manually coded into one of the listed categories if appropriate (Variable “Sexuality”, **Table 1**). If the answer given did not obviously fit into one of the categories it was excluded from the data analysis. For demographic questions we excluded data from those who answered ‘Prefer not to say’ or who did not provide any answer. For gender (Variable “Gender”, **Table 1**), we combined the data from those who answered female or non-binary and compared these against male participants. Finally, the variable sexuality was treated as binary by grouping responses into ‘sexuality minority’ and ‘heterosexual’.

In order to identify themes from the open box responses, we assigned initial codes to responses, reviewed these codes (following Birks and Chapman 2008) and developed a final set of

¹ Treating length as numeric values by taking the mid-point of each category (e.g. <1 week became 3.5 days, and > 1 week – 1 month became 17.5 days) did not qualitatively impact on the results,

codes based on emergent themes (Stewart and Shamdasani 2014). To code the initial responses we went through each response individually and summarised it with a couple key words. We then coded these into the emergent themes: policies and protocols, alcohol, and issues with reporting incidences of sexual misconduct. This was done by identifying key words. For example, if the text contained the words ‘alcohol’, ‘alcoholic’, ‘drinking culture’, ‘drunk’, or ‘drunkenness’ it was coded into the theme ‘alcohol’. If the text contained the words ‘policy’ or ‘protocol’ or ‘rules’, it was coded into ‘policy and protocols’. If the text said that the participant had not reported, had reported and felt it was handled poorly, or had been discouraged from reporting, this was coded into ‘Issues with reporting’.

Statistical Analysis

All statistical analysis was carried out using R version 4.0.2 (R Core Team 2019).

We performed multiple Chi-square tests to compare gender, sexuality, disability, and ethnic minority identity respectively against the frequency of those who experienced sexual harassment or assault during their most recent fieldwork experience.

Table 1. Table showing the variables used in the GLM, with the survey questions the variable came from, the raw categories, and the coded categories.

We fitted a binomial generalised linear model (GLM) on the hypothesised predictor variables (**Table 1**), to determine if these variables impacted on whether the participant had reported experiencing sexual misconduct during their most recent fieldwork experience or not. We then extracted and compared odds ratios and made counterfactual plots to examine the potential impact of these variables on the likelihood of sexual misconduct having occurred. Our model was as follows:

Sexual misconduct ~ sexual misconduct policies + length of fieldwork + gender + sexuality

Results

Who is most at risk on site?

Non-male participants were significantly more likely to have experienced sexual misconduct during fieldwork (chi-square test, $\chi^2 = 7.54$, $p = 0.006028$, $df=1$), as were sexual minority individuals (chi-square test, $\chi^2 = 7.01$, $p = 0.008099$, $df=1$). Statistical tests failed to reveal significant differences between disabled and non-disabled participants (chi-square test, $\chi^2 = 1.67$, $p = 0.1959$, $df=1$), nor between those who identified as an ethnic minority and those who did not (chi-square test, $\chi^2 = 0.0605$, $p = 0.8057$, $df=1$).

Can we predict sexual misconduct on site?

Field site variables	Model 1		
	Beta	Standard Error	Odds Ratio
Policies in place and communicated (APP)	-4.27 ***	0.76	0.01
Policies in place but not communicated prior to commencement of fieldwork (FO)	1.94 *	0.77	6.96
No known policies (DNK)	1.26 *	0.56	3.52
No policies in place (NIP)	2.45 ***	0.58	11.57
Length of fieldwork	0.26 *	0.13	1.30
Gender: Non-Male	0.79	0.47	2.19
Sexuality: Sexual minority	1.22 **	0.40	3.39

Table 2. Summary statistics for Model 1.

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

209

210 **Figure 2. Plot showing odd ratios and confidence intervals on the x-axis and the**
211 **different site policies, length of fieldwork, and gender and sexuality of participants on**
212 **the y-axis.**

213 **Figure 3. Counter-factual plot showing model prediction for sexual misconduct.**

214 The results presented in Table 2 and Figure 2 indicate that longer periods of fieldwork predict
215 a higher likelihood of experiencing sexual misconduct ($\beta = 0.2628$, $p = 0.03670$, **Figure 2**). Sites with
216 no policies or protocols in place specifically regarding sexual misconduct also predicted a higher
217 likelihood of experiencing sexual misconduct ($\beta = 2.4487$, $p = 2.82e-05$, **Figure 2**). The probability
218 that participants would experience sexual misconduct during fieldwork was significantly decreased
219 when the participant knew of policies and protocols before arriving on site (APP; $\beta = -4.2681$, $p =$
220 $2.29e-08$, **Figure 2**). For example, the model predicts that the probability of experiencing sexual
221 misconduct for a non-male, sexual minority participant in fieldwork with a duration between 6 months
222 to one year is 82% (95% CI: 62~93%) with no policies in place (NIP). However, this drops to 28%
223 (95% CI: 11~55%) when policies are in place and communicated prior to the commencement of the
224 fieldwork (**Figure 3**). In fact, the model predicts that the probability of sexual misconduct is lower for
225 a participant who is in the field for longer than a year when policies are in place and communicated
226 than for a fieldworker only in the field for less than a week at a site where there are no policies in
227 place (**Figure 3**).

228 Out of all measured variables, and with all things being equal, participants attending a
229 fieldsite where there were no policies or protocols in place were the most at risk of having
230 experienced sexual harassment or assault (OR 11.573, **Figure 2**). Sexual minority participants (OR
231 3.391, **Figure 2**) and non-male participants (OR 2.194, **Figure 2**) had increased probabilities of
232 experiencing sexual misconduct on site; being part of a sexual minority had a larger effect than being
233 non-male and was statistically significant, whereas being non-male was not. Similarly to length,
234 policies can mitigate the increased risk to non-male and sexual minority participants. For example, a
235 non-male, sexual minority participating in fieldwork for the duration of between 1 week to 1 month

has a 15% (95% CI 6~34%) probability of experiencing sexual harassment when policies are in place and communicated. In comparison, the probability for a heterosexual male participant undertaking fieldwork for the same amount of time but with no policies in place is 22% (95% CI: 9~43%) (**Figure 3**).

Open box responses.

Sixty-Seven participants replied to the open-box question. 16.42% (n=11) of these spoke of difficulties with reporting incidences, from being discouraged from and retaliated against for reporting, to being generally dissatisfied with the ways in which reports were handled. From other survey questions, we found that 65% (n=13/20) of participants who reported their experiences did not feel their report was handled with sensitivity, nor that the result of the report was proportionate to the events. The open-box responses also identified that concerns about a 'culture' of heavy drinking was a common concern for safety on field sites, with 7.46% (n=5) of participants who answered the open-box question noting this as a concern.

Discussion

Study Limitations

Using a snowball sampling method to access potential participants can lead to potential biases (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981). However, selecting a random subset of archaeologists and anthropologists internationally to partake in the survey posed various ethical difficulties due to the sensitive nature of the research. Similarly, in order to preserve participant anonymity we did not carry out individual interviews with participants, which limited the quality of qualitative data that we were able to collect. In order to try and mitigate against the risk of self-selection bias (that is, the chance that a potential participant may be more likely to take part in a study about sexual violence if they have experienced it) we avoided mentioning sexual misconduct in the survey title and social media posts (which was titled 'Fieldwork Experiences'). However, it had to be discussed on the Participant Information Sheet to allow potential participants to make an informed decision as whether to partake or not, and we could not control how others described the project and survey when they distributed it. It is also important to note that previous studies (e.g. Rosenthal and Freyd 2018) have found no evidence that studies regarding sexual violence are biased by self-selective recruitment methodologies. Furthermore, as we were largely interested in risk-factors and not the frequency of misconduct per se, we believe any potential impact of response bias on our results is minimal. We also specifically asked participants about their most recent experience of fieldwork in order to mitigate any bias towards the reporting of a particular experience; even if individuals who experienced misconduct might have been more likely to take the survey, the assessment of the effects of different risk-factor variables should be minimally biased as our data is based on their most recent experiences. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the anonymous nature of the survey did not allow for a control on sample independence, and given our sampling strategy there is undoubtedly the possibility that respondents might have participated to the same fieldwork, potentially biasing our outcome to some degree.

What factors increase the risk of sexual misconduct during fieldwork?

The quantitative data presented here suggests a correlation between the occurrence of sexual misconduct during fieldwork and both the length of the fieldwork and the policies and protocols regarding sexual misconduct that were in place at the fieldwork site. This relationship is further supported by the fact that participants directly linked a lack of specific and effective policies and protocols as contributing to a culture which allows sexual misconduct to occur. One respondent wrote that “Sometimes, the casual nature of fieldwork makes things confusing or might lead to unwanted experiences. Especially without prior clarification of consent policy.”. Other participants wrote about a perceived culture of having to ‘put up’ with sexual misconduct during fieldwork, one even going as far as describing it as a “necessary evil of fieldwork”. Similar findings have been reported in other work contexts; both the US Department of the Interior (Department of the Interior 2017) and the US National Park Service (National Park Service 2017) found that sexual harassment was more common where there was a perception of tolerance for such behaviours.

In fieldwork, Nelson et al (2017) also found that absence of clear rules regarding appropriate behavior on field sites to be associated with experiences of sexual harassment. Nelson et al also found that sites with clear behavioural rules often clustered together with sites that enforced consequences when these rules were broken, including consequences that removed the perpetrator from the field site. In contrast, at sites where rules were either ambiguous or completely absent, consequences were often unclear or also entirely absent. In some cases, perpetrators were allowed to continue to harass or assault multiple victims continuously throughout the field season. It may be, therefore, that risk of sexual misconduct decreases when rules are in place not just because it signals behavioural expectations, but also because when rules are broken perpetrators are either removed or face consequences harsh enough that they are prevented from going on to harass or assault multiple victims.

The survey responses shows clearly that longer fieldwork duration is associated with a higher likelihood of sexual misconduct occurrence. Clearly, a longer field season provides a larger window for sexual misconduct, but it is also possible that at the start of a given fieldwork season participants are likely to be acting responsibly and respectfully, especially if at the start of fieldwork policies pertaining to behaviour, and perhaps even sexual misconduct specifically, were communicated to the

participants. However, their ability to sustain that good behaviour may deteriorate over time, particularly when considering how the other risk factors such as alcohol consumption and a culture of tolerance of misconduct may act cumulatively over time, increasingly signalling to potential perpetrators that this may be an environment in which sexual misconduct will have a low probability of consequence. To ensure the anonymity of the participants we did not collect any information regarding the timing of sexual misconduct nor the exact duration of the field season, so it was not possible to evaluate this hypothesis.

A key outcome suggested by our analyses is the impact of how policies and protocols are effectively communicated. While the existence of policies undoubtedly decreased the likelihood of sexual misconduct, a major factor was whether participants knew about these policies and protocols before arriving at the site. Interestingly, the risk of having experienced sexual misconduct during fieldwork increased when there were policies in place, but the participant had only found out about them after arriving on site. Participants who found out whilst on site were actually more at risk than those who did not know of any policies in place. One possibility is that participants who find out about the existence of policies and protocols whilst on site find out because they need to access them, after already having experienced some form of sexual violence that they wish to report or access support for.

Furthermore, the effect of field season length seems to be offset by the implementation of, and participant knowledge of, policies and protocols regarding sexual misconduct. When individuals knew of policies and protocols before arriving on site, the impact of the length of fieldwork as a risk-factor decreased. In practice, this suggests that an individual partaking in fieldwork for a significant period of time, in a context where there were no existing policies and protocols regarding sexual misconduct in place, would be most at risk of experiencing sexual misconduct. However, if individuals are aware of policies and protocols before arriving on site those carrying out fieldwork for a year or more face less risk even than those participating in fieldwork for a much shorter period of time in a context where there are no policies or procedures. It is important to stress that the mitigation strategy for length of fieldwork as a risk factor for sexual misconduct should not be to prevent

fieldwork from taking place, nor to shorten fieldwork. The risk of length can instead be significantly mitigated by the implementation and communication of policies and protocols.

Fieldwork: A low-risk environment for perpetrators?

Our results show that fieldwork is a low-risk environment for perpetrators in regard to a lack of consequences, and that this may facilitate sexual misconduct. Whilst there have been many theories as to why sexual misconduct occurs, one common theme is the concept of a low-risk environment (e.g, Hagen 1979; Symons 1979; Vandermassen 2011). If an individual views the risk of facing consequences as low, they may be more likely to commit acts of sexual misconduct. Nelson et al found that, in fieldwork, lack of clear rules and a lack of enforcement of rules clustered together with experiences of sexual harassment and assault, as well as unfair gendered divisions of labour and a “denial of access [...] to professional opportunities” (Nelson et al 2017, 714).

We found the site’s policies and protocols to be a significant predictor for the occurrence of sexual misconduct in fieldwork. Not only was there a significant increase in sexual misconduct when the participant did not know about protocols and policies regarding sexual harassment for that site, there was specifically a decrease in sexual misconduct when participants knew about the policies before they arrived on site as opposed to finding out when they were there. In an environment where colleagues are often living together for long periods of time and are socialising together as well as working, policies and protocols are vital to signal a culture of zero-tolerance to sexual misconduct.

Furthermore, the need for policies and protocols and the mishandling of reports made during fieldwork were two key themes identified from the open box responses. One participant spoke of a “culture of shame and silence around sexual assault during fieldwork”, and another speaks of “laugh[ing] [incidences] off”, despite feeling uncomfortable. Another reports experiencing inappropriate comments from an individual more senior than them, and says “I had no option but to grit my teeth”. Another participant reports being told to “rise above it”. Twelve participants spoke about no or inadequate action being taken in response to reports, actively being discouraged from reporting, or feeling like they could not report without facing retaliation.

Another factor we have identified in our survey that may contribute to fieldwork as being perceived by perpetrators as an environment of ‘low-risk’ for consequences or resistance is a culture of heavy drinking. Participants speak of high alcohol consumption as leaving junior participants vulnerable. One participant wrote “A large part of archaeological culture which needs to change is archaeologist [equals] alcoholic. [...] New, junior professional archaeologists tend to find themselves in intense situations fused with alcohol and they are not safe”. Another wrote about their experiences at multiple fieldsites, describing an “atmosphere of competitive camaraderie, meaning that bragging, joking, and bringing up drinking and sex have been central aspects of the dig culture”. Participants also describe the “casual nature” of fieldwork as potentially leading to instances of sexual misconduct. There is a perception that high levels of alcohol consumption leaves participants, especially junior participants, vulnerable. This is particularly important when viewing drinking and informal socialising as not merely a way of relaxing during non-working hours, but actually as a largely unspoken but critical part of the profession. Leighton (2020) has named this *performative informality*, and states that when a profession such as archaeology presents itself as “fun, open, friendly, and meritocratic” (Leighton 2020, 445) those who do not or do not wish to act in this way (such as, in this case, drinking heavily or engaging in competitive camaraderie) are viewed as less of an archaeologist, and may suffer negative career consequences. This is especially critical when, as Leighton highlights, professional opportunities “often stem from informal friendship-based contracts” (Ibid), which are reserved to those who are willing to engage in this *performative informality*.

Furthermore, a number of participants referenced inappropriate comments merely being perceived as “jokes”, or “trench humour”. One participant even spoke about an experience where, whilst a man touched her without consent in the field in front of other participants, “instead of saying anything, they [the bystanders] just laughed”, indicating that in some cases it is not only inappropriate comments that are perceived as jokes, but potential instances of assault also.

In a work environment that is also a social environment, and an environment in which alcohol is frequently consumed, perpetrators may view this as a context in which they can exhibit unacceptable and harmful behaviours and, within fieldwork, are able to pass it off as “trench

humour”. It also may be that there is a culture in fieldwork that condones this behaviour. This is exemplified by the participant told to “rise above” instances of misconduct. This does not only apply to perpetrators but also to witnesses and bystanders, enabling inappropriate behaviour to go unchecked and unpunished, creating an environment for all in which there is an absence of professionalism and respect for others.

It is clear that fieldwork is not the only environment in which sexual misconduct occurs, nor the only environment in which inappropriate behaviour may be condoned or normalized. Leighton (2020) describes *performative informality* as occurring both at home institutions and in the field. Voss (2021a) wrote about their experiences of sexual misconduct in archaeology, both during fieldwork and during lab and office work. The variables present in fieldwork that contribute to a culture in which sexual misconduct is perceived as not only common but something one must rise above or put up with are not unique to fieldwork, it may be that they just present more acutely in the field. This may be at least due to the intensity of fieldwork, where participants are working and living together in an often stressful environment. One participant references this explicitly, stating that “I reported the issues [sexual misconduct] I was experiencing and was basically told it was my job to rise above it, that these sorts of things happen in stressful contexts and that basically it could be expected”.

We suggest that fieldwork is a low-risk environment for perpetrators in two main respects: 1) it is an environment in which often working, socialising, and living all occur simultaneously and are shared with other colleagues, and thus perpetrators may view it as a context in which professional boundaries are blurred and the risk of consequences are low, and 2) the very policies and protocols needed to address this are not consistently implemented and communicated across all field sites, and reports are often perceived as being mishandled or dismissed.

These findings highlight a need for special consideration of risk during long-term fieldwork, and for policies and protocols to not only be in place and communicated to participants before they leave for site, but also reiterated intermittently throughout the fieldwork period. Site leaders must ensure that behavioural expectations, and the consequences for not abiding by these expectations, are made explicit to all participants and enforced where necessary.

Fieldwork: a high-risk environment for marginalised identities?

The results of our study show that individuals who are part of some traditionally marginalised identities are at higher risk of experiencing sexual misconduct during fieldwork than those not part of that identity. Minority groups face higher risks of experiencing sexual misconduct in academia generally (National Union of Students 2018), and also in fieldwork specifically (Clancy, Nelson, Rutherford and Hinde 2014; Voss 2021a). If fieldwork is to continue to be a core area of knowledge production in our disciplines, we must ensure that this arena is safe for all our colleagues.

We found significant associations between identifying as non-male and as a sexual minority (i.e. gay, lesbian and bisexual) and experiencing misconduct. Due to small sample sizes, previous quantitative studies (e.g. Clancy, Nelson, Rutherford and Hinde 2014) have been unable to identify such pattern and capture the experiences of LGBTQ+ individuals. Ours is the first to fill this gap, with 26% of our participants identifying as a sexual minority² (n=78).

Sexual minority participants were specifically more likely to experience sexual harassment and sexual assault, whilst rates of experiencing rape were minimally different between heterosexual and sexual minority participants. 40.91% (n=27/66) of sexual minority participants experienced sexual harassment compared to 21.64% (n=29/134) of heterosexual participants. 12.12% (n=8/66) of sexual minority participants experienced sexual assault, compared to 8.96% (n=12/134) of heterosexual participants. Sexual harassment may partly be higher in sexual minority participants due to the fact that homophobic attacks can also be sexualized. For example, Voss (2021a, 247) wrote about experiencing sexualised homophobia during fieldwork, such as being asked “How do you know you’re really a lesbian if you haven’t slept with me [a man] yet?”. In our study, one participant wrote about their experience, stating that “almost any interaction with [the perpetrator] was offensive, homophobic, or sexualised and [the perpetrator] was worse if [they] had been drinking”. Another participant spoke about being a bystander to this kind of sexualized homophobia, writing “I remember

² We use this term to differentiate between when we are discussing the LGBTQ+ community as a whole, such as when other papers have done so, and when we are speaking specifically about our results and dataset, within which we do not have a large enough sample size to speak to the experiences of transgender individuals.

this girl at the [field] that was openly lesbian [...] There were jokes all the time about it, some of them can be described as sexual harassment, that I can tell now that did not make her feel ok. Some of us never participated [...] because we knew she could feel bad, but nobody was able to ask them to stop.”

Fieldwork may also be a high-risk environment in regard to the scale of the potential impact of experiencing sexual misconduct. Fieldwork is not necessarily unique in its risk of sexual misconduct occurring; however, the impact of experiencing sexual misconduct may be amplified by the nature of fieldwork. Nelson et al (2017) found that professional opportunities were withheld from victims, as well as resources such as food, water and access to urination breaks during fieldwork, and participants were concerned that negative experiences in the field could have serious career implications. Johansson (2015) wrote about their experiences as a lone-researcher carrying out anthropological fieldwork, sharing that informants would demand sexual acts in return for information. When Johansson outright rejected these advances, there were negative implications for their research. Heath-Stout (2019) found through qualitative interviews that many interviewees left field projects and research fields to avoid perpetrators.

The results of this study, however, are unable to speak to the experiences of ethnic minorities, transgender individuals, and disabled individuals. These demographics were underrepresented in our data set, with only 6.% (n=20/300) of participants identifying as an ethnic minority, 1% (n=3/100) as transgender, and 9.00% (n=27/300) as disabled. Whilst we found no significant association between participants who identified as an ethnic minority and experiencing sexual misconduct, this is contradictory to previous studies that have identified that students of colour – and particularly women of colour – experience misconduct at higher rates (Cantalupo 2018). Similarly, our model did not identify any significant associations between identifying as disabled and experiencing sexual misconduct. Yet, a US National Crime Victimization Survey (Harrell 2015) found that the rate of violent crime experienced by disabled individuals (including rape and sexual assault) was 36 people per 1000, compared to 14 per 1000 for non-disabled individuals. The disparity between our results and previous literature may be due to our small sample sizes for these demographics.

In regard to the experience of ethnic minorities, our small sample size can partly be explained by the under-representation of people of colour, and particularly women of colour, in STEM subjects (Towns 2010). It is also important to note that a participant may be Black, Indigenous and/or a person of colour but not identify as an ethnic minority. The wording of the survey question did not allow for the complexities of self-identification and how that may change through time and space, and thus conclusions should not be drawn about the experiences of different ethnicities from this data. Further research is required to draw any solid conclusions about the experiences of disabled individuals and ethnic minorities in our fields. A survey specifically designed to look at the interactions between sexual misconduct and disability, and sexual misconduct and ethnicity, may yield different results. Given the lack of representation of these groups in all existing studies on fieldwork sexual misconduct, this should be an urgent priority for future research.

Conclusions

This research fills two major gaps in the study of sexual misconduct during fieldwork. Firstly, and to the best of the authors knowledge, we were able to assess the experiences of sexual minority colleagues undertaking fieldwork. Our research confirms that, as in other contexts (e.g. Department of the Interior 2017; National Park Service 2017; National Union of Students 2018), sexual minority individuals undertaking fieldwork are more likely to experience sexual misconduct than their heterosexual peers. The sexual misconduct experienced by sexual minority fieldworkers within our sample also often included homophobic harassment.

Secondly, this is the first quantitative study able to identify specific risk factors for the occurrence of sexual misconduct in fieldwork. The existence of policies and protocols specifically relating to sexual misconduct decreased the risk of sexual misconduct occurring; participants who knew about policies and protocols relating to sexual misconduct before arriving on site were significantly less likely to report experiencing misconduct. Furthermore, as the length of fieldwork increased, so did the risk of participants experiencing sexual misconduct. We propose that rather than this being due to greater opportunity for misconduct to occur on longer fieldwork projects, that this is actually due to other risk factors, such as a culture of tolerance for sexual misconduct (also found to correlate with sexual harassment in other contexts, e.g. Department of the Interior 2017 and National Park Service 2017) and frequent alcohol consumption (found to correlate with sexual misconduct in other contexts, e.g. Abbey et al 2001 and Bacharach, Bamberger and McKinney 2007), creating a cumulative effect that grows over time resulting in potential perpetrators viewing (consciously or unconsciously) fieldwork as an environment in which there is low-risk of consequences. Additionally, the very policies and protocols that are needed to signal a zero-tolerance approach to sexual misconduct are lacking and inconsistent across field sites (also found by Nelson et al 2017), and when reports were made these were often minimised or mishandled within our data set.

An awareness of these factors can be used to inform and create evidence-based policies, protocols, and risk-assessments for field sites and fieldwork. It is important to note that the mitigation strategy for the increased risk to minority individuals within fieldwork cannot be to discourage these

individuals from partaking in fieldwork or create additional barriers for participation, nor can the strategy for mitigating the risk of length be to limit the length of fieldwork. Instead, we propose that policies and protocols specifically aimed to tackle sexual misconduct should be seen as an integral part of fieldwork planning. Further research investigating different types of policies surrounding sexual misconduct and their effectiveness during fieldwork is of imminent importance. This paper measured absence/presence of policies and protocols on fieldsites, and participants knowledge of these policies. It is possible that, given inclusion of policies related to sexual misconduct are not universal on fieldsites nor even necessarily common, the field-sites within our sample that did include these policies were also discouraging misconduct and fostering a safer culture in other unmeasured ways. Further in-depth research would help clarify this.

Given that we received responses from individuals who partook in many different types of fieldwork — from lone-working, to established field schools — we believe these results are generally applicable to a range of different field working contexts, and potentially to a range of different disciplines outside of archaeology and anthropology.

We conclude that there are specific social and environmental variables present in fieldwork that predict the occurrence of sexual misconduct. Fieldwork is a low-risk environment in terms of consequences for perpetrators, and a high-risk environment in terms of experiencing sexual misconduct for some traditionally marginalised groups. These in combination create an environment in which, if left unchecked, sexual misconduct can thrive.

Sexual misconduct poses a significant threat to both the safety and welfare of our colleagues, and also to our discipline and the research we create. Those who experience misconduct are known to change career paths or leave their positions entirely (Chan, Chow, Lam and Cheung 2008; Clancy, Nelson, Rutherford and Hinde 2014; Lim and Cortina 2005; Meyers et al 2018; Nelson et al 2017), resulting in a significant loss of potential talent. Furthermore, our research confirms that members of some minority groups are significantly more likely to experience misconduct, which could lead to a particular loss of diverse researchers. In order to combat this and protect fieldwork as a key area of knowledge production, policies and protocols that are evidence-based and aimed at mitigating the risk of sexual misconduct must be implemented and communicated clearly across all field sites. They must

535 also be reiterated intermittently throughout the field season and must take into consideration factors
536 such as alcohol consumption, and that workers are often working, living, and socialising together
537 throughout this time period.

538



Figure 1. Photographs showcasing the variation of fieldwork types. Panel A: A photo of a community archaeology project in Scotland involving volunteers (© Oliver et al 2016; used with permission). Panel B: An anthropologist at a robotics company in North America, where she visited for 3 weeks collecting ethnographic data (© Chun and Knight 2020; used with permission). Panel C: An anthropologist planting rice at their fieldsite (© Liana Chua; used with permission). Panel D: An anthropologist on horseback during fieldwork in Mongolia, 1999 (© Christopher Kaplonski; used with permission). Panel E: An anthropologist eating with members of the local community during a ritual (© Liana Chua; used with permission). Panel F: A photo taken by an anthropologist at a Kichwa discourse contest in Tena (© Wroblewski 2019; used with permission).

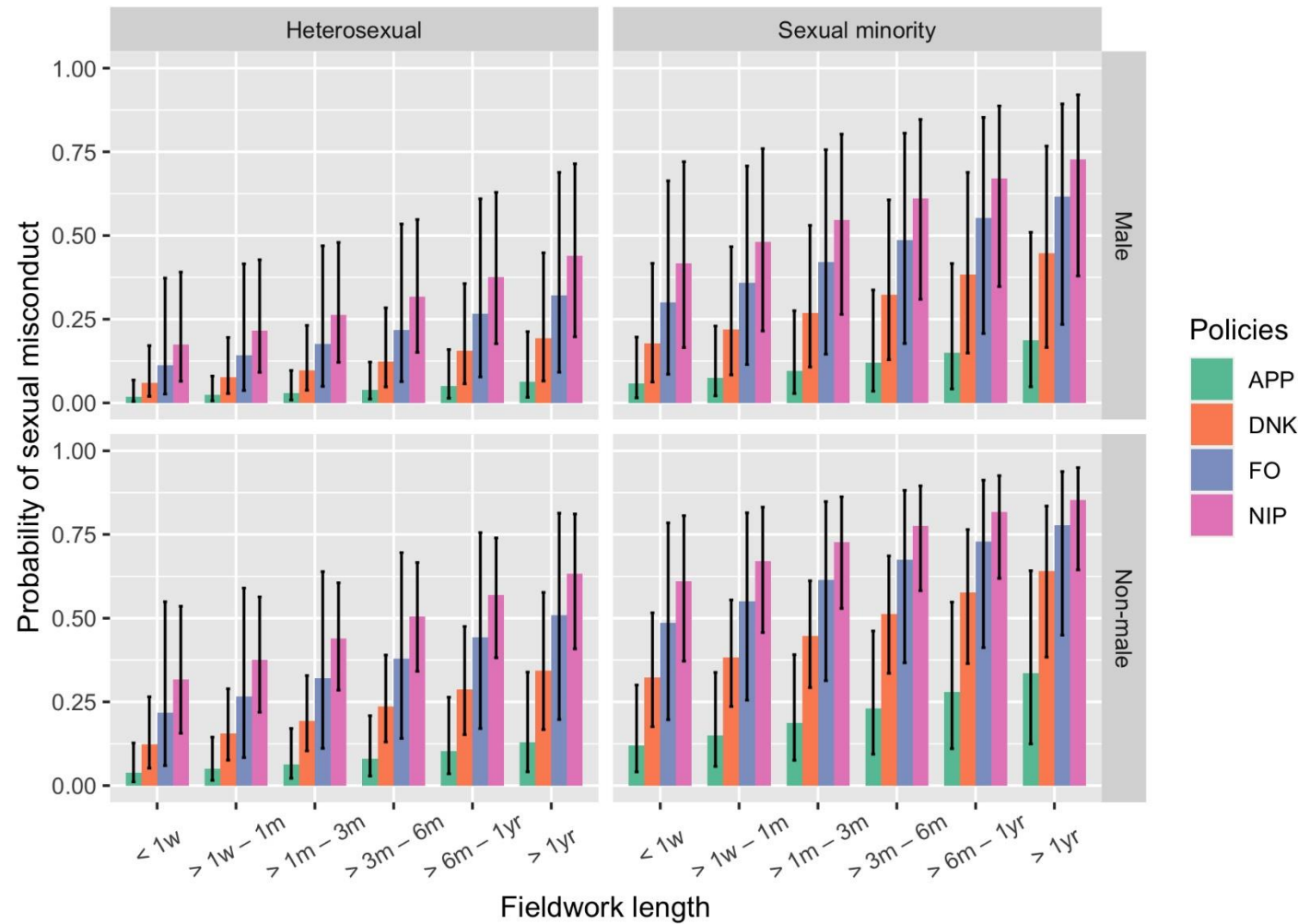
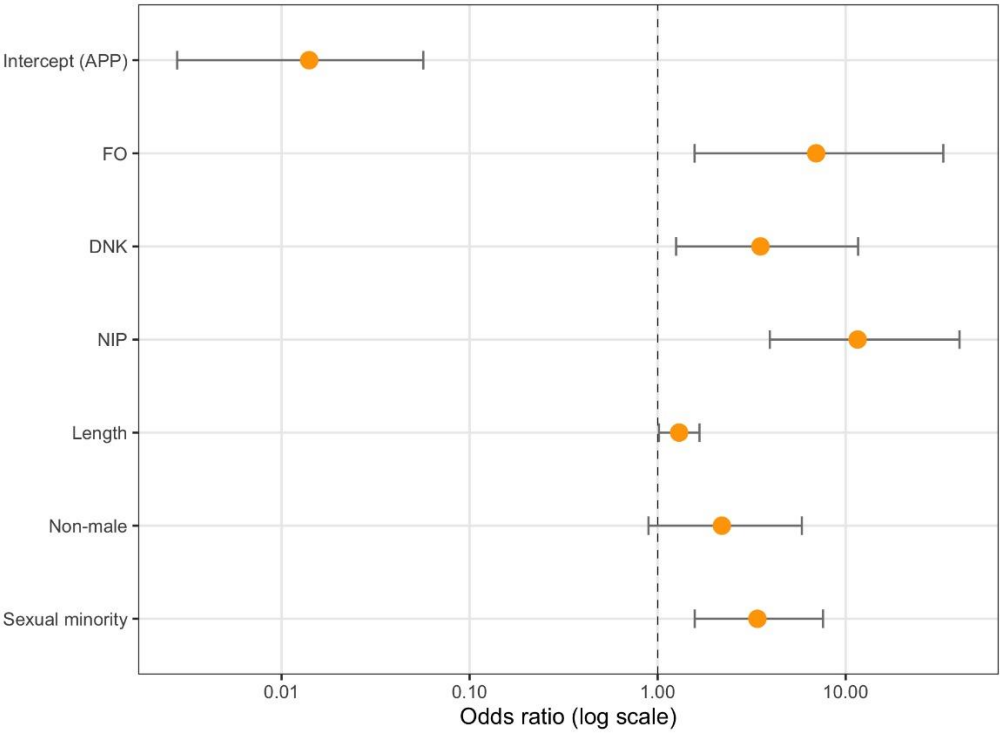


Figure 2. Plot showing odd ratios and confidence intervals on the x-axis and the different site policies, length of fieldwork, and gender and sexuality of participants on the y-axis.

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556 **Figure 3.** Counter-factual plot showing model prediction for sexual misconduct.

557

Variable name	Survey question	Raw categories	Levels	Variable type
Sexual harassment policies	Were you aware of the policies and protocols regarding the possibility of sexual misconduct in the field for this [your most recent] site?	Yes, I was aware of policies and protocols before I went; Yes, I found out about them whilst I was there; No, if there were any in place I did not know about them; No, there were no policies or protocols in place	APP; FO; DNK; NIP	Factor
Length of fieldwork	How long were you partaking in [your most recent experience of] fieldwork for consecutively?	< 1 week; > 1 week – 1 month; > 1 month – 3 months; > 3 months – 6 months; > 6 months – 1 year; > 1 year	1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6	Numeric
Gender	How would you identify your gender identity?	Male; Female; Non-binary; Prefer not to say	Male; Non-Male	Factor
Sexuality	How would you define your sexual orientation?	Heterosexual; Homosexual; Bisexual; Asexual; Other (please specify); Prefer not to say	Heterosexual; Sexual minority	Factor
Frequency	Have you ever experienced any of the following in the workplace (including fieldwork and non-fieldwork contexts)? Please tick all that apply.	[List of example experiences that fall under the legal definitions of sexual harassment or assault; see Supplementary materials 1 for full list]	True; False	Factor

558

559 **Table 1.** Table showing the variables used in the GLM, with the survey questions the variable came from, the raw categories, and the coded categories.

Notes

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Supplementary materials 1: Other measured variables.

Table 3. Table showing the variable name, levels, raw percentage of those who experienced sexual misconduct, the statistical test, the adjusted P-Value, the df and the X-squared for the other measured variables. P-Values were adjusted using Bonferroni correction to control for multiple-hypothesis testing.

Variable name	Levels	Percentage who experienced sexual harassment and/or assault	Test	Adjusted P-value	df	X-squared
Fieldwork type	Field school	21.28% (N=10/47)	Chi-square	0.13286	2	7.9286
	Field site	28.10% (N=34/121)				
	Lone-working	55.00% (N=11/20)				
Accommodation	Shared accommodation	26.61% (N=33/124)	Chi-square	1	1	0.092161
	Private accommodation	30.19% (N=16/53)				
Gender of PI	Male	27.27% (N=36/132)	Chi-square	1	1	6.7496e-31
	Female	27.94% (N=19/68)				
Ratio of male:female participants	About the same	26.67% (N=24/90)	Chi-square	1	2	0.085044
	More men than women	28.95% (N=11/38)				
	More women than men	28.17% (N=20/71)				
Division of labour	Work equally assigned	24.07% (N=39/162)	Chi-square	0.60249	1	2.9464
	Work assigned differently based on gender	40.00% (N=14/35)				
Location	Abroad	28.83% (N=32/111)	Chi-square	1	1	3.4466e-30
	Not abroad	28.72% (N=27/94)				
Language	Fluent in local language	30.43% (N=35/115)	Chi-square	1	1	0.096277
	Was not fluent	27.38% (N=23/84)				

As well as participant demographics (gender identity, sexuality, disability status and ethnic minority identity) and the two environmental variables discussed above (length of fieldwork and policies and protocols), we measured a number of other variables and their potential impact on the occurrence of sexual misconduct within our dataset. We analysed these variables using Chi-square tests, and used Bonferroni correction to control for multiple-hypothesis testing.

Previous papers (e.g. Colaninno, Lambert, Beahm and Drexler 2020) have hypothesised that a male-dominated workplace within fieldwork specifically may contribute to the occurrence of sexual misconduct. We measured three related variables: the gender of the PI, the ratio of male to female participants, and whether or not there was a perceived gendered division of labour on the fieldsite. As shown in **Table 3**, none of these variables had a statistically significant effect on whether or not a participant had experienced sexual misconduct.

We also measured the type of fieldwork, the type of accommodation, the location of the fieldsite, and whether or not the participant spoke the local language. None of these variables were significant.

Supplementary materials 2: Full list of survey questions, with non-question text that was in the survey to guide respondents italicised and page breaks, open box questions and other important information indicated in square brackets.

All of these points are required. If you do not consent to all of the points, please do not continue with the survey.

1. I can confirm that I have read and understood the ‘Information for potential participants page’

1. Yes

2. I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data by contacting the main researcher using a unique identifying word anytime up until publication.

1. Yes

3. I voluntarily agree to take part in this survey.

1. Yes

4. I consent to the processing of my personal information. I understand that such information ^[]_{SEP} will be handled in accordance with all applicable data protection legislation.

1. Yes

5. I understand that all personal information will remain confidential and that all efforts will be made to ensure I cannot be identified.

1. Yes

6. I agree that my anonymised research data may be used by others for future research, and understand that no-one will be able to identify me when this data is shared.

1. Yes

7. I know who to contact if I wish to ask any questions or lodge a complaint

1. Yes

[Page break]

1. How would you identify your gender identity?

1. Female

2. Male

3. Non-binary

4. Prefer not to say

2. Do you identify with the gender you were assigned at birth?

1. Yes

2. No
 3. Prefer not to say
3. How would you define your sexual orientation?
1. Heterosexual
 2. Homosexual
 3. Bisexual
 4. Asexual
 5. Other (please specify)
 6. Prefer not to say
4. Do you identify as being disabled?
1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Prefer not to say
5. Do you identify as an ethnic minority?
1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Prefer not to say
6. Country of origin
1. [Open box]

[Page break]

Please think back to your most recent archaeological or anthropological fieldwork experience and answer the following questions.

1. How old were you?
 1. <18
 2. 18-20
 3. 21-25
 4. 26-30
 5. 31-35
 6. 36-40
 7. 41-45
 8. 46-50
 9. 51-55
 10. 56-60
 11. 61-65
 12. >65
2. What was the highest level of education you had completed?
 1. High school/A-Levels
 2. Undergraduate
 3. Masters
 4. PhD
 5. Other (please specify)
3. What type of fieldwork were you partaking in?
 1. Lone-working
 2. Field site
 3. Field school
 4. Other (please specify)
4. How long were you partaking in the fieldwork for consecutively?
 1. <1week
 2. >1week–1month
 3. >1month–3months
 4. > 3 months – 6 months
 5. >6months–1year
 6. >1year
5. What best describe your accommodation?
 1. Private accommodation, living alone
 2. Living with those part of your project, in the same residence
 3. Other (please specify)

6. How many people were part of the field site?
 1. Just myself
 2. 1-5
 3. 6-10
 4. 11+
7. Was the head/director of the site or PI...
 1. Male
 2. Female
8. At the field site, did you feel that the division of labour was based on gender?
 1. Yes, there were definitely differences in work assigned to men vs women
 2. No, all work was assigned equally or based on other attributes and gender did not impact on this (such as seniority, experience, etc)
9. Did you feel free and able to leave the site at any time, if necessary?
 1. Yes
 2. No
10. Was the site in another country?
 1. Yes
 2. No
11. Had you been to that country before?
 1. Yes
 2. No
12. Did you speak the language of the country you were working in?
 1. Yes, I was fluent in the local language
 2. No, I didn't know the language at all
 3. I knew enough to get by on my own
 4. I knew some, but often relied on others who were more fluent to get by
13. Were you aware of the policies and protocols regarding the possibility of sexual misconduct in the field for this site?
 1. Yes, I was aware of policies and protocols before I went
 2. Yes, I found out about them whilst I was there
 3. No, if there were any in place I didn't know about them
 4. No, there were no policies or protocols in place
14. To what extent did you feel safe and able to carry out your work to the best of your abilities whilst there?
 1. [Sliding scale, 0-100 with 0 = not at all and 100 = completely]

15. Did you experience any of the following during your most recent fieldwork experience? Please tick all that apply. *Please note that consent is defined by agreeing by choice and having the freedom and capacity to make that choice. Therefore, 'consent' given under coercion, fear, or whilst not able physically and/or mentally to give that consent does not count as consent.*

1. Someone else sharing intimate details with you that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated
2. Someone else drawing you into a discussion about sex that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated
3. Someone else making sexualised comments towards you that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated
4. Someone else asking, hinting, or suggesting sex to you in a way that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated
5. Someone else sending you explicit or sexualise messages that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated
6. Someone else touching you non-consensually in a sexualised manner
7. Someone else initiating non-consensual sexual contact towards you
8. Someone else subjecting you to non-consensual penetration (including any body part or object)
9. No, I did not experience any of the above

[Page break]

1. Have you ever experienced any of the following in the workplace (including fieldwork and non-fieldwork contexts)? Please tick all that apply. *Please note that consent is defined by agreeing by choice and having the freedom and capacity to make that choice. Therefore, 'consent' given under coercion, fear, or whilst not able physically and/or mentally to give that consent does not count as consent.*

1. Someone else sharing intimate details with you that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated
2. Someone else drawing you into a discussion about sex that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated
3. Someone else making sexualised comments towards you that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated
4. Someone else asking, hinting, or suggesting sex to you in a way that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated

5. Someone else sending you explicit or sexualise messages that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated
6. Someone else touching you non-consensually in a sexualised manner
7. Someone else initiating non-consensual sexual contact towards you
8. Someone else subjecting you to non-consensual penetration (including any body part or object)
9. No, I did not experience any of the above
2. If yes, where have you experienced these?
 1. During fieldwork
 2. In another workplace context, not fieldwork
 3. Both

[Page break]

If you have experienced any of the scenarios listed in the previous question, please think back to your most recent experience. If you have never experienced any of these, please skip this question.

1. Which of these occurred during your most recent experience? If more than one was part of the same event, please tick all that apply.
 1. Someone else sharing intimate details with you that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated
 2. Someone else drawing you into a discussion about sex that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated
 3. Someone else making sexualised comments towards you that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated
 4. Someone else asking, hinting, or suggesting sex to you in a way that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated
 5. Someone else sending you explicit or sexualise messages that made you feel intimidated, uncomfortable, or humiliated
 6. Someone else touching you non-consensually in a sexualised manner
 7. Someone else initiating non-consensual sexual contact towards you
 8. Someone else subjecting you to non-consensual penetration (including any body part or object)
2. Did this take place in fieldwork or a non-fieldwork workplace setting
 1. Fieldwork

2. Non-Fieldwork

[Page break]

[If respondent selected 'non-fieldwork', redirected to this page]

1. What type of workplace setting did this occur in?

1. University/other educational institution
2. Lab work
3. Museum
4. Other (please specify)

2. How long ago did this occur?

1. In the past 6 months
2. > 6 months–a year ago
3. > 1 year–2 years ago
4. > 2 years–3 years ago
5. > 3 years–4 years ago
6. > 4 years–5 years ago
7. > 5 years–6 years ago
8. > 6 years–7 years ago
9. > 7 years–8 years ago
10. > 8 years – 9 years ago
11. 10-15 years ago

3. How old were you?

1. <18
2. 18-20
3. 21-25
4. 26-30
5. 31-35
6. 36-40
7. 41-45
8. 46-50
9. 51-55

10. 56-60
 11. 61-65
 12. >65
4. What workplace position did you hold at the time? If you held more than one position at this time, please select all that applied.
 1. Undergraduate student
 2. Post-graduate student
 3. Research position, not a student
 4. Lecturer, professor, or supervisor (or equivalent)
 5. Senior manager
 6. Administrative staff
 7. Other (please specify)
 5. What was the gender of the perpetrator?
 1. Male
 2. Female
 3. Non-binary
 6. What was the seniority of the perpetrator in relation to yourself at that time?
 1. More senior than me
 2. The same seniority as me
 3. Less senior than me
 7. Were you aware of the policies and protocols regarding the possibility of sexual misconduct in the workplace?
 1. Yes, I was aware of policies and protocols before I went
 2. Yes, I found out about them whilst I was there
 3. No, if there were any in place I didn't know about them
 4. No, there were no policies or protocols in place
 8. Did you report the event(s)?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 9. If yes, did you feel the report was handled with sensitivity and the result was proportionate to the event(s)?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 10. At the place of work connected to this event, did you witness any of the following? Please tick all that apply.
 1. Bullying
 2. Sexism
 3. Racism

4. Homophobia
 5. Ableism
11. At the place of work connected to this event, did you experience any of the following? Please tick all that apply.
1. Bullying
 2. Sexism
 3. Racism
 4. Homophobia
 5. Ableism

[Page break]

[If respondent selected 'fieldwork', redirected to this page]

1. What type of fieldwork did this occur during?
 1. Lone-working
 2. Field school
 3. Field site
 4. Other (please specify)
2. How long ago did this occur?
 1. In the past 6 months
 2. > 6 months—a year ago
 3. > 1 year—2 years ago
 4. > 2 years—3 years ago
 5. > 3 years—4 years ago
 6. > 4 years—5 years ago
 7. > 5 years—6 years ago
 8. > 6 years—7 years ago
 9. > 7 years—8 years ago
 10. > 8 years — 9 years ago
 11. 10-15 years ago
 12. More than 15 years ago
3. How old were you?

1. <18
 2. 18-20
 3. 21-25
 4. 26-30
 5. 31-35
 6. 36-40
 7. 41-45
 8. 46-50
 9. 51-55
 10. 56-60
 11. 61-65
 12. 65+
4. What workplace position did you hold at the time? If you held more than one position at this time, please select all that applied.
1. Undergraduate student
 2. Post-graduate student
 3. Research/field assistant
 4. Senior manager, such as a supervisor, director, or PI (or equivalent)
 5. A contracted (paid) fieldworker
 6. Lone worker
 7. Other (please specify)
5. What was the gender of the perpetrator?
1. Male
 2. Female
 3. Non-binary
6. What was the seniority of the perpetrator in relation to yourself at that time?
1. More senior than me
 2. The same seniority as me
 3. Less senior than me
7. How long were you partaking in the fieldwork for consecutively?
1. <1week
 2. >1week–1month
 3. >1month–3months
 4. > 3 months – 6 months
 5. >6months–1year
 6. >1year
8. What best describe your accommodation?
1. Private accommodation, living alone

2. Living with those part of your project, in the same residence
 3. Other (please specify)
9. How many people were part of the field site?
 1. Just myself
 2. 1-5
 3. 6-10
 4. 11+
10. Was the head/director of the site or PI...
 1. Male
 2. Female
11. At the field site, did you feel that the division of labour was based on gender?
 1. Yes, there were definitely differences in work assigned to men vs women
 2. No, all work was assigned equally or based on other attributes and gender did not impact on this (such as seniority, experience, etc)
12. Did you feel free and able to leave the site at any time, if necessary?
 1. Yes
 2. No
13. Was the site in another country?
 1. Yes
 2. No
14. Had you been to that country before?
 1. Yes
 2. No
15. Did you speak the language of the country you were working in?
 1. Yes, I was fluent in the local language
 2. No, I didn't know the language at all
 3. I knew enough to get by on my own
 4. I knew some, but often relied on others who were more fluent to get by
16. Were you aware of the policies and protocols regarding the possibility of sexual misconduct in the field for this site?
 1. Yes, I was aware of policies and protocols before I went
 2. Yes, I found out about them whilst I was there
 3. No, if there were any in place I didn't know about them
 4. No, there were no policies or protocols in place
17. Did you report the event(s)?
 1. Yes
 2. No

18. If yes, did you feel the report was handled with sensitivity and the result was proportionate to the event(s)?

1. Yes
2. No

19. Whilst taking part in the field work connected to this event, did you witness any of the following?
Please tick all that apply.

1. Bullying
2. Sexism
3. Racism
4. Homophobia
5. Ableism

20. Whilst taking part in the field work connected to this event, did you experience any of the following? Please tick all that apply.

1. Bullying
2. Sexism
3. Racism
4. Homophobia
5. Ableism

[Page break]

1. In the space below, please add any other comments you feel relevant about your experiences in archaeology and/or anthropology. Please do not provide any identifying information about individuals, projects, field sites or institutions

1. [Open box]

2. Please leave a unique identifying word that can be used if you wish to withdraw your data any time up until 24th April 2019.

[Open box]