

OSLOMET

Kamilla Henriette Sæterlid

**How has the #MeToo movement affected
victims' perception of reporting sexual
harassment in the workplace?**

A critical interpretive synthesis



Master's thesis in International Social Welfare and Health Policy
Oslo Metropolitan University
Faculty of Social Science

Oslo Metropolitan University, Faculty of Social Science
Oslo 2022, November 15th

Abstract

Aim: The aim of this thesis is to explore facilitators and barriers of victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace and their perception of organizational complaint mechanisms. The thesis also aims to explore the relation between a victim's perception of reporting and organizational complaint mechanisms, and the #MeToo movement.

Methodology: This thesis applies the critical interpretive synthesis approach and attempts to interpret and arrange recurring concepts to develop theory, referred to in this thesis as a synthesizing argument, in order to both shed light on the sociohistorical processes and to generate new ways of understanding.

Results: An analysis of the literature identified two main recurring concepts relevant for the compass question, organizational culture and the law. To demonstrate their importance, facilitators and barriers that control victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment incidents as well as organizational complaint mechanisms within the two concepts were identified. Through mapping out these facilitators and barriers, a pattern started emerging that became the base of the synthesizing argument and the theoretical model.

Synthesizing argument: The synthesizing argument states that although the #MeToo movement has highlighted the inadequacy and inefficiency of official reports as an organizational complaint mechanism, organizations have responded to the movement by pointing to their existing policies and complaint mechanisms. For while public opinion may have changed, the #MeToo movement has not succeeded in influencing major policy change in the areas needed to challenge victims' perception of reporting and organizational complaint mechanisms. To substantiate the synthesizing argument, this thesis will draw parallels between the theory emerging from the literature and several existing theories: The Advocacy Coalition Framework (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018); Piven and Clowards theory on the impact of social movements (Piven & Cloward, 1979); and Weick's theory on sensemaking (Weick, 1995).

Table of content

ABSTRACT III

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS V

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION 1

 1.1 AIM OF THIS THESIS..... 2

 1.2 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS 2

 1.3 THE #MeToo MOVEMENT, SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT 5

CHAPTER 2. METHOD..... 7

 2.1 REVIEW TYPE AND APPROACH FOR THIS THESIS..... 8

 2.2 SEARCH STRATEGY AND PROCESS 10

 2.3 DATA ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS 14

 2.4 LIMITATIONS OF THIS THESIS 15

CHAPTER 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION17

 3.1 CHARACTERISTICS AND METHODOLOGY OF STUDIES INCLUDED..... 17

 3.2 FINDINGS..... 19

 3.2.1 *Organizational culture* 24

 3.2.2 *The law*..... 32

 3.3 PRESENTING THE EMERGING THEORY 37

 3.3.1 *Synthesizing argument and theoretical model* 38

 3.3.2 *The Advocacy Coalition Framework and policy change* 40

 3.3.3 *Sensemaking and victims’ perception of reporting*..... 47

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION51

APPENDIX 1. OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE INCLUDED IN THE SAMPLE54

APPENDIX 2. THE FOUR SUPREME COURT DECISIONS THAT CREATED THE SEXUAL HARASSMENT LOOPHOLE57

REFERENCE LIST58



List of Abbreviations

CIS – Critical interpretive synthesis

ACF – Advocacy coalition framework

Org. Culture – Organizational culture

EEOC – Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

ASU – Academic search ultimate

SHARE - the Stop Harassment and Reporting Extension act

NDA – Non-disclosure agreement

Chapter 1. Introduction

«A basic concept of #MeToo is the power of numbers across time: the difference between a single victim, whose lone account might not be believed, and the choruses of “me too” that make each individual’s account that much more believable» (Gersen, 2018)

The #MeToo movement sparked international attention following the accusations of sexual harassment against Harvey Weinstein. I was 20 years old when the movement erupted, and I still remember the newsfeed on my various social media being lit up with that hashtag, followed by stories upon stories of sexual harassment and assault from people in my online community. This was the first time as an adult that I got to experience the power of an international social movement, and it has inspired me ever since. It is also the inspiration behind this paper.

The #MeToo movement brought sexual harassment to the front of public and political attention. Sexual harassment, according to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), includes «unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical harassment of a sexual nature». It is well documented that sexual harassment is a big issue across various industries. An estimated 40% to 75% of women, and 13% to 31% of men have experienced some form of sexual harassment in the workplace. Simultaneously, it is estimated that only 6% of victims of sexual harassment take any form of formal action, like reporting the incident (Foster & Fullagar, 2018, p. 148). There are various, well-founded reasons why victims are reluctant to report, including fear of retaliation, ostracism, disbelief, blame etc. (Cortina & Areguin, 2021, p. 297).

This thesis explores facilitators and barriers that control victims’ perception of reporting incidents of sexual harassment in the workplace as well as their perception of existing organizational complaint mechanisms. The thesis also explores whether the #MeToo movement has influenced victims’ perception. Using the critical interpretive synthesis (CIS) approach, this thesis will analyze literature as well as form a synthesizing argument that describes the emerging theory (Moat et al., 2013, p. 612).

1.1 Aim of this thesis

The aim of this thesis is to explore facilitators and barriers of victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace and their perception of organizational complaint mechanism. The thesis also aims to explore the relation between a victim's perception of reporting and organizational complaint mechanisms, and the #MeToo movement. The objective is not only to create an overview of existing literature, but also to explore if there is any new knowledge to be gained from existing literature. As such, this thesis will follow the critical interpretive synthesis (CIS) approach. The core objective of the CIS approach is to develop theory based on analyzing and interpreting relevant sources (Moat et al., 2013, p. 608).

Because of its highly iterative nature, the CIS approach employs a compass question instead of a well formulated research question that is well known from conventional systematic reviews (Mattison et al., 2020, p. 2). The compass question is aimed to focus the synthesis, while keeping the iterative nature of the approach, and staying open to the possibility that the compass question might change as concepts emerge from the literature. Based on the aim of this thesis, the final wording of the compass question is as follows:

What are facilitators and barriers influencing victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace as well as the complaint mechanisms put in place by the organization to respond to sexual harassment? What role has the #MeToo movement played regarding victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace and organizational complaint mechanisms?

1.2 Outline of the thesis

This thesis is organized in four chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the aim of the paper as well as putting the #MeToo movement in a social and historical context. Chapter 2 will introduce the methodology of this thesis. It will present the CIS approach, as well as how the process of data selection incorporates elements from both the CIS approach as well as more aggregative elements from systematic reviews. Next, the chapter provides a thorough

presentation of the data selection process as well as the process of analyzing and synthesizing the data. Towards the end of chapter 2 the limitations of this thesis is presented.

It is important to note that even though the thesis incorporates some elements from aggregative approaches, this thesis follows the CIS approach, and naturally the data selection process reflects that. While aggregative reviews are focused on pooling and assembling data, interpretive reviews are concerned with developing concepts and theory, which creates, for practical reasons, a need to limit the number of papers included in a sample (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). The literature sample this thesis bases its theory on, is made up of 20 articles that were chosen based on their perceived relevance towards enlightening the compass question.

Chapter 3, which comprises the bulk of the thesis, offers a presentation and discussion of the findings and presents the theory that emerges from the literature. Following the CIS approach, the chapter starts off with a presentation of the literature included in the final sample, including methodology and characteristics. It then goes on to present and briefly discuss the recurring concepts emerging from the literature. Next, the thesis constructs a synthesizing argument with an accompanying theoretical model that explains the pattern discovered in the literature.

During the beginning stages of data analysis two recurring concepts, with several sub-concepts, were identified as essential to enlighten the compass question. The two concepts were organizational culture and sexual harassment law and the legal liability of organizations. By doing a thorough analysis of the two concepts, a synthesizing argument as well as a theoretical model were formed. In short, the synthesizing argument states that although the #MeToo movement has highlighted the ineffectiveness of official reporting as an organizational complaint mechanism, organizations' response to the movement has been to double down on their existing policies and reporting mechanisms. The reason for this response is that though public opinion may have changed, the #MeToo movement has not

succeeded in influencing major policy change in the areas needed to challenge victims' perception on reporting and organizational complaint mechanisms.

After having developed the synthesizing argument, there were three aspects of the argument that warranted deeper explanation. The three aspects were: (1) what determines major policy change in an organization? (2) why wasn't the #MeToo movement successful in creating the major policy changes needed? and (3) how does the lack of major policy change affect victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment and the existing organizational complaint mechanisms? To explain these aspects of the synthesizing arguments, this thesis draws on existing literature.

The first aspect, what determines major policy change in an organization, was explained using the advocacy coalition framework (ACF). The ACF is a useful framework for understanding coalitions, learning, and policy change in high-conflict situations at the organizational level of analysis (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018, p. 143). The second aspect of why the #MeToo movement wasn't successful in creating major policy change, could also be explained through the lens of the ACF, with #MeToo as an external shock to the policy system. This thesis chose to supplement the ACF with the theory formed by Piven and Cloward (1979) on the impact of social movements, because they give specific insight to the window of opportunity a social movement has to create lasting change. Finally, to explain the correlation between lack of policy change and victims' perception of reporting, this thesis uses the theory of sensemaking. Sensemaking can be defined as the "making of sense", and the theory includes aspects like the placements of items into frameworks, constructing meaning, interacting in an attempt to form mutual understanding, and patterning (Weick, 1995, p. 6). When utilizing these three theories to explain the different aspects of the synthesizing argument, this thesis found that the theories complimented each other well.

Finally, chapter 4 provides a short conclusion as well as an overview of focus points for future research.

1.3 The #MeToo movement, social and historical context

On October 5, 2017, Megan Twohey and Jodi Kantor, two investigative reporters working for the New York Times, published an article exposing a string of sexual harassment and assault accusations against Harvey Weinstein. As a response, actress Alyssa Milano took to twitter, where she encouraged women to share their own experiences with sexual harassment using the hashtag #MeToo. The tweet sparked a reaction from millions of survivors across the globe as they used the hashtag to come forward with their own stories of sexual harassment and assault (Fileborn & Loney-Howes, 2019). It is important to add that the #MeToo movement started as a campaign by activist Tarana Burke back in 2006, but it wasn't until the fall of 2017 that it transcended into an international social movement.

Piven and Cloward (1979, p. 4) argues that the emergence of a social movement is dependent on two factors: a change of consciousness and a change in behavior. There are three different aspects to a change of consciousness. First, the system loses legitimacy. People stop blindly accepting the legitimacy of institutional arrangements. Second, people who usually believe that the current arrangements are inevitable begin to imply demands for change. Third, people who are usually feeling powerless start believing that change is possible. A change in behavior involve two specific elements. First, masses become defiant, and secondly, the defiance is acted out collectively. Based on their argument, to understand the importance of the movement and its impact on the topic of this thesis, it is important to establish the social and historical context of the movement.

The #MeToo movement was not the first time sexual harassment had been on the forefront of American media coverage. Even though the accusations against Harvey Weinstein was a catalyst for the movement, the social conditions leading up to October 2017 played a major role in making the movement possible. In 1991 the senate confirmation hearings for supreme court nominee Clarence Thomas turned into a questioning when allegations surfaced that he had sexually harassed a former employee by the name of Anita Hill (Hillstrom, 2019, pp. 24-28). The media coverage of this case was intense, and it brought sexual harassment to the forefront of public attention, which is why this case is important to

mention when giving historical context to the #MeToo movement. There was a pattern of public opinion of the allegations being divided by partisan lines. Republicans, and mostly men, tended to doubt Hill's accusations, and Democrats, and generally women, believed her. The confirmation hearings still resulted in Clarence Thomas being voted into the supreme court. A by-product of the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill hearings was that because sexual harassment was gaining increased public awareness, more women started speaking out and reporting incidents of sexual harassment in the workplace. There were also a record number of women running for public office the year after, with five female candidates being elected to the U.S. senate in 1992, as well as 24 women joining the House of Representatives.

There were two other important events which shed light on the social context of the #MeToo movement, and that was the presidential campaign and the 2016 election as well as the Women's march on Washington on January 21st 2017. The presidential campaign and election of 2016 is important for several reasons. First, it marked the first time a major political party nominated a woman as a presidential candidate. The decision to nominate Hillary Clinton brought topics of gender equality and sexism to the forefront of American politics. Second, the other presidential candidate, Donald Trump, was facing multiple allegations of sexual misconduct and harassment during the entirety of his campaign. The public debate surrounding Donald Trump's alleged sexual misconduct sparked conversation about the mistreatment of women by men in power. Despite the allegations, Trump still became president, which led to the Women's march on Washington (Hillstrom, 2019, pp. 41-45).

The Women's march on Washington was made up of more than 500,000 people. This march was also joined by supporting marches in more than 400 cities and towns in the U.S. that brought in 3 million more marchers. The objective of the march was to send a message to the new administration that women's rights are human rights (Hillstrom, 2019, p. 46). As mentioned, for a protest movement to occur, it is dependent upon two things: a change of consciousness, and a change in behavior. The events mentioned in this subchapter shows these two things happening in real time. Piven and Cloward (1979, pp. 15,20) argue that

defiance is ordinarily first expressed within the electoral sphere, but if the disturbance is severe and the electoral system appears nonresponsive, defiance breaks out of those spheres. The 2016 election is an example of that. Women hoped that, by electing the first female president of the United States, their voices would be heard. When Hillary Clinton lost the election to Donald Trump, collective defiance appeared.

The #MeToo movement was mainly organized online and has cultivated both praise and backlash. Critics have characterized the movement as a “naming and shaming” campaign or a “witch-hunt” and are arguing that the movement leaves little room for fair investigations (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2021, pp. 170-171). The fear of being a target of the witch-hunt has caused negative consequences for women. For example, companies are now reluctant to hire women for positions in which they will have close interpersonal contact with male colleagues (Atwater et al., 2021, p. 316). This issue will be revisited in chapter 3. People supporting the movement are also raising the question of the movements long-term ability to create lasting changes within organizations (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2021, p. 171). As will be presented later in this thesis, despite the backlash, the #MeToo movement has influenced a great deal of change, both within public awareness and tangible legal and cultural changes. The question is whether those changes are enough to impact victims’ perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace.

Chapter 2. Method

I am aware of potential bias stemming from reviewing a topic that I am personally invested in. Although no research can be conducted completely free from bias, it is important that I am conscious of this issue and work to not let it affect my findings. Choosing an inductive approach, such as the critical interpretive synthesis (CIS) approach, in my analysis of the literature was a way for me to avoid letting my bias color my thesis. Although this thesis mainly follows the CIS approach, it incorporates elements from both aggregative and configurative reviews. This chapter presents the review type and approaches chosen for this thesis. It explains the reasons to use specific elements from different approaches when conducting the review. Furthermore, this chapter will give a detailed account of the search

strategy as well as the inclusion process to ensure transparency and make it possible for the findings to be reproduced. Next, an explanation of the data analysis and synthesis will be given. Finally, a presentation of limitations of this thesis is presented.

2.1 Review type and approach for this thesis

When conducting a review, one often distinguishes between two type of reviews, aggregative and configurative. According to Gough et al. (2012, p. 3), aggregative reviews aim to collect empirical data to describe and test predefined concepts. Furthermore, aggregative reviews focus on seeking evidence to inform decisions and are therefore usually concerned with using predefined concepts and testing these theories. Configurative reviews on the other hand, aim to interpret and arrange information to develop concepts that provide enlightenment through new ways of understanding. These types of reviews are more exploratory than aggregative reviews, and they are more flexible to adapt and select specific methods as the research proceeds. Gough et al. (2012, p. 4) also argues that even though the logic of aggregative and configurative reviews calls for different methods of reviewing, a review often includes components of both. This will also be the case for this thesis.

One example of the aggregative approach to reviews are systematic reviews. The term systematic review suggest that reviews of research are standalone pieces of research and therefore need to be conducted by following some sort of method (Gough et al., 2017, p. 4). There are many definitions of what a systematic review is and what it should include. Krnic et al. (2019, p. 4) found 188 individual elements of systematic review definitions in their analysis of the definition of a systematic review in health care literature. They were able to fit these elements into 14 different categories. Based on these categories Krnic et al. (2019, p. 10) created a template of what a systematic review should include:

1. Research question.
2. Sources that were searched, with a reproducible search strategy (naming of databases, naming of search platforms/engines, search date and complete search strategy).
3. Inclusion and exclusion criteria.
4. Selection (screening methods).
5. Critically appraises and reports the quality/risk of bias of the included statements.
6. Information of data analysis and synthesis that allows the reproducibility of the results.

When conducting the research for this thesis I have included several of the aforementioned elements with the aim of constructing a search method that is reproducible. I have formulated a question that I aim to enlighten, although in this thesis I refer to it as a compass question, not a research question. This is because while I am incorporating elements from an aggregative approach, this thesis is mainly following a configurative approach. Later in this chapter I have included a detailed account of my search strategy that includes a list of databases, a list of key words etc. I have also produced an overview of my screening methods. Where my thesis diverge from the aggregative elements and lean into the elements from configurative reviews, specifically the critical interpretive synthesis approach, is in my approach of creating inclusion and exclusion criteria as well as in my analysis of the literature.

What is typical of a critical interpretive synthesis (CIS) approach is the avoidance of specifying concepts in advance of the synthesis (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006, p. 2). Instead of developing a theoretical framework based on the particular design or certain quality criteria, this thesis follows the CIS approach in its objective to develop a theoretical framework based on insights and interpretation drawn from relevant sources (Moat et al., 2013, p. 608). By focusing on using relevant sources CIS allows for the examination of both quantitative and qualitative empirical and non-empirical literature (Khalid et al., 2020, p. 2). I believe that being open to the inclusion of different types of sources will prove beneficial in my attempt

to answer my compass question. It allows me a more open mindset and lets the answer emerge from the analysis of the literature.

Dixon-Woods et al. (2006, p. 2) states that an interpretive analysis is conceptual in process and output, and that the product of the synthesis is not to sum up the data, but to create theory based on the studies included in the review. Furthermore, they explain their approach to conducting the analysis as beginning with a detailed inspection of the papers, gradually identifying recurring themes. This way of approaching the analysis and constructing the thesis is what drew me to the CIS approach. When extracting data and analyzing the literature included in my sample I have focused on the recurring concepts in the literature, and to build my thesis based on these concepts.

2.2 Search strategy and process

Searches for literature to be included in the sample were done in two databases as well as through the reference list of the literature that made it through the first round of inclusion. The two databases used were Academic Search Ultimate (ASU) and Google Scholar. Both databases cover nearly all academic disciplines, which was a trade of solution given the fact that this thesis is to be made within one semester. More on this and other limitations towards the end of this chapter. Based on my compass question I included the following key words in my searches: “#MeToo”; “Sexual Harassment”; “Workplace”; “Reporting”. I also decided to limit my search to literature published between 2020-2022. Although excluding articles published between 2017 and 2019 may leave out good and relevant literature, I chose to do it in an attempt to limit my search result in order to get a realistic amount of data for the time and framework this thesis is awarded. I will expand on this in subchapter 2.4. I went through six rounds of data searches to gather the initial sample of possible literature. By possible literature I am referring to literature that at first sight appear to be relevant to the focus of this thesis. The table below provides an overview of the process.

Table 1. Overview of the search rounds

Search Rounds	Key Words	Results
First Search: Google Scholar	"#MeToo"; "Sexual Harassment"; "Workplace"	39 possible data entries
Second Search: Google Scholar	"Workplace"; "Sexual Harassment"; "Reporting"	18 possible data entries
Third Search: Reference list of the literature gathered in the first 2 searches		10 possible data entries
Fourth Search: ASU	"Sexual Harassment AB AND Workplace AB AND reporting TX"	16 possible data entries
Fifth Search: ASU	"#MeToo TX AND Sexual harassment AB AND workplace AB"	3 possible data entries
Sixth Search: Reference list of the literature gathered in search 4 and 5		1 possible data entry

There were in total 87 possible articles to be included in my sample. The articles were then put through two rounds of inclusion and exclusion, which will be given a more detailed account of below, to ensure that the final sample was highly relevant for the nature of this thesis. It should also be mentioned that an important factor in my selection process, and one that played a significant role in some of the choices made throughout the entire research process, was the nature of the CIS approach. Having a large data pool is less important than having relevant sources. As mentioned, the focus of an interpretive synthesis is to develop concepts and theory rather than to do an extensive summary of data (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). As a result, my sample size and the depth of my analysis must reflect this approach.

The first round was a superficial review of the gathered literature. I went through the abstract as well as searched for key words in the texts to make sure that the articles met the basic criteria for inclusion in the review. The three inclusion criteria for the first round were:

1. The literature in the review must be published between 2020-2022.
2. The literature should refer to or be inspired by the #MeToo movement in some way.
3. The data should be reviewing workplace sexual harassment, more specifically the organizational complaint mechanisms around reporting.

The first criterion was to limit the amount of data to ensure that my sample would have a realistic size within the framework provided. It was also a way for me to make sure that the focus of my thesis was as narrow as possible. I will return to discuss this decision towards the end of this chapter. The second criterion was formulated based on the importance the #MeToo movement is to the focus of this thesis. As stated, the aim of this thesis is to review facilitators and barriers of victims' reporting sexual harassment in the workplace and their perceptions of organizational complaint mechanisms. Furthermore, the thesis aims to explore how the #MeToo movement has affected those perceptions. Because this thesis investigates the importance of the #MeToo movement, it is an inclusion criteria of its own that the literature refers to the movement. The third criterion was created to make sure that the literature included the information that I am reviewing in this thesis. The table below provides an overview of the results of the first inclusion round:

Table 2: An overview of the first inclusion round

Search Rounds	Initial Results	Results after first inclusion round
First Search: Google Scholar	39 possible data entries	17 articles included and 21 excluded
Second Search: Google Scholar	18 possible data entries	10 articles included and 8 articles excluded
Third Search: Reference list of the literature gathered in the first 2 searches	10 possible data entries	5 articles included and 5 articles excluded
Fourth Search: ASU	16 possible data entries	7 articles included and 5 articles excluded
Fifth Search: ASU	3 possible data entries	1 article included and 2 articles excluded
Sixth Search: Reference list of the literature gathered in search 4 and 5	1 possible data entry	1 article included and 0 articles excluded

After the first round of inclusion, the total of possible articles to be included in my final sample was narrowed down to 41. To ensure that the remaining articles all provided valuable input on my compass question, I put them through a second inclusion round. The second round of inclusion was a more thorough review of the remaining articles. I read through the articles in detail to make sure that the relevance was important enough to answer my compass question. I created three new criteria based on the information I gathered in the first inclusion round:

1. Should be studies from the US only.
2. Should mention the complaint mechanisms and systems in which victims report sexual harassment in the workplace.
3. Should be relevant for answering the compass question.

The first criterion was made as a strategy to narrow the focus of my thesis enough to be able to provide as much depth to the different concepts in my findings as possible within the limits provided. I understood from the first round of inclusion that, although it would be interesting to compare different international perspectives, I had gathered enough research on the US alone to complete my thesis. To compare different countries, could easily provide more time consuming than optimal for the time frame provided for the completion of this thesis. The second and third criteria were made as a way for me to stay focused on the aim of this thesis while going through the articles. While the first round of inclusion only made sure that the literature mentioned the topics, this round it was a requirement that they would actually provide information that could prove useful for answering my compass question.

After the second inclusion round the 41 articles included in round one were narrowed down to 20 articles. These articles made up the final sample for my review, and they are the articles my analysis is based on. Appendix 1 shows an overview of the literature included in my sample. As mentioned earlier, the aim of a review following the CIS approach, is not to simply sum up the data, but to create theory based on the literature included in the sample (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). The next steps of this thesis will therefore be to give a detailed presentation of the recurring themes in the literature, discuss how they relate to the compass question, and from there identify the emerging theory.

2.3 Data analysis and synthesis

Although the CIS approach is clear on what an analysis and synthesis should include, there is not necessarily only one right way this could be achieved. There are many excellent examples of how different studies using the CIS approach are constructing their analysis. When analyzing and synthesizing the data, this thesis found the five stages of data analysis by Moat et al. (2013, pp. 611-612) to be very useful. The five stages they introduced were:

1. Note recurring concepts that help contribute to an understanding of the question being studied.
2. Develop *synthetic constructs* for each category by interpreting the underlying evidence found in the included papers.
3. Conduct a purposively sampling of additional papers in order to fill gaps identified in the previous analytical stages.
4. Integrate the emerging synthetic constructs and themes to form a “synthesizing argument” as an interpretive theoretical model.
5. Cross validate the emerging synthesizing argument, as well as each synthetic construct, at various stages throughout the analysis.

The analysis and synthesis of the literature included in this thesis was also done in stages. Like Moat et al. (2013), I started by doing a thorough read through of the literature to identify recurring themes. Next, I went through the literature again, this time focusing on the themes previously identified, attempting to create a thorough overview of the themes as well as interpreting the underlying evidence found in the literature. At this point, many researchers using the CIS approach, Moat et al. (2013) included, would identify areas within the analysis where the included literature in the sample lacked sufficient information. They would then do additional data searches to fill those gaps. This stage was not completed in this thesis. The choice was made based on the opinion that the sample size of this thesis was already quite large given the limited time and framework of the thesis provided. This will be discussed further in the next subchapter. Instead, I went on to form a *synthesizing argument* based on the analysis done in the previous stages. This synthesizing argument became the base of my theoretical model. Throughout this whole process, the literature in the sample was studied thoroughly to make sure that all relevant information was accounted for, and to make sure that the emerging theory was valid.

2.4 Limitations of this thesis

This thesis, while presenting an interesting theory on the findings from its sample, include several limitations. Most of the limitations are connected to the nature of the framework

this thesis exists within. This thesis is provided with limited time, resources, and space. In order to finish the thesis within the given timeframe and being able to present its findings and theory within the limited page count some strict choices were made.

First, the data searches were limited to data published between 2020-2022. This means that the initial studies conducted in the direct wake of the #MeToo movement were not included, and so there is a chance that some good studies relevant for the topic of this thesis were missed. I am aware that a lot of attention was given to the topic of sexual harassment by researchers in the time directly after the #MeToo movement started. If I had included the years 2018 and 2019 in my data search, the amount of data I would have had to go through would be a lot bigger, which could have resulted in the initial steps of my research taking up too much time.

Second, I also limited my data search to only two search databases as well as the reference list of included data. It is common within the CIS approach to conduct secondary searches after doing an initial analysis of the data. This is done to fill conceptual gaps in the literature that has been discovered after mapping out recurring concepts (Moat et al., 2013). It is generally also common when conducting a review to contact the first authors of included articles to get information on other studies that could be included. Neither of these two search methods were utilized. This might have resulted in important articles being excluded.

A third limitation to this thesis based on the relatively small sample size, is the limited topics being focused on. By only including 20 articles in my sample, the focus of the thesis will mirror that fact. As an example, this thesis focuses only on research conducted on the US, which excludes a discussion of how the #MeToo has affected victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace in other countries. It also excludes an interesting comparison on the effects of #MeToo on an international level.

Although this thesis presents a solid theory based on the pattern discovered in the literature, it cannot claim that the emerging theory would present itself identical if additional literature

had been included. There may be several facilitators and barriers that control victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace and organizational complaint mechanisms that were not mentioned in the included literature that would have changed the synthesizing argument.

Chapter 3. Results and Discussion

This chapter includes a thorough review of the results as well as a discussion of the findings. As is the nature of a CIS approach, the iterative process of analyzing the results will be documented extensively, and the analysis will be the basis of building theory (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). Firstly, this chapter presents the methodology and characteristics of the literature included in the sample. Next, the findings will be successively presented and discussed. Finally, the theory emerging from the results will be presented and discussed.

3.1 Characteristics and methodology of studies included

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the literature in this review have been included based on their perceived relevance for answering the compass question. The CIS approach allows for the examination of both empirical and non-empirical studies in the same review, and as such a variety of types and styles of literature have been included in the sample (Khalid et al., 2020). Out of the 20 articles included in the sample; 10 were quantitative studies based on surveys; 5 were law journals or reviews; 2 were reviews; 1 was an autoethnography; 1 was an article using the institutional approach; and 1 was a quantitative study based on a case study.

Quantitative methods make up over half of the sample of this thesis. Ten of them relied on data gathered from surveys. One of those ten uses mixed methods with both a survey section and a review section. The last article using quantitative studies bases its data on a case study. The participants in the quantitative studies based on surveys were employed people over the age of 18, and all of the studies were researching different aspects of workplace sexual harassment. The case study by Pearlman and Bordelon (2022) used an

online database called “America’s News” that included over 300 million records of news stories from local, regional and national newspapers, as well as blogs, journals, broadcast transcripts and videos, to gather their data, and used critical mass theory to explain how the #MeToo movement fostered industry wide sexual harassment legislation.

The five law journals all analyze American state and federal law regarding workplace sexual harassment. Although law journals and reviews are secondary sources of law, they do give a very detailed analysis on different issues of law, in this case sexual harassment in a post #MeToo era, and I found them highly relevant for this thesis. The main characteristics of the law journals and reviews are that they study sexual harassment law, legal liability, and the effect of the #MeToo movement. Reflections are also made on what part the law plays on complaint mechanisms put in place by organizations.

The two reviews both analyze literature that tackles sexual harassment in the workplace. One is a general review providing an overview of ostracism literature, as well as examining recent and historical cases of sexual harassment where ostracism has both restrained victims from reporting as well as harmed those who do (Brown & Battle, 2020). Furthermore, this review explores the connection between sexual harassment and ostracism, both before and after the #MeToo movement, and the effect the movement has had on empowering victims to report their abusers. The other review covers sexual harassment research conducted from the year 2000 and beyond. The review focuses on the most recent and rigorous scholarship within industrial and organizational psychology as well as organizational behavior (Cortina & Areguin, 2021). It explores sexual harassment in the workplace, consequences of it, the social/organizational context and promising solutions.

The last two articles in my sample are an autoethnography and an article following the institutional approach. Even though the autoethnography is based on one person’s personal experience, it’s clear that it gave a nuanced insight into the perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace, which is why it was included in the sample. The last article gives insight into how some organizations have formally responded to, and is addressing, the

issue of sexual harassment after #MeToo (Rihal et al., 2020), which is arguably highly relevant for answering my compass question.

3.2 Findings

Following the CIS approach, the framework for this thesis depends on insights and interpretations drawn from the literature sample (Moat et al., 2013). When reading through the articles included in the sample it became clear that there were two main recurring concepts, with several sub-concepts, that were essential to the topic of this thesis and that are important factors influencing victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment at work as well as their perception of organizational complaint mechanisms. These themes, or factors, are the organizational culture in the workplace and the law.

The role of organizational culture in the occurrence of sexual harassment in the workplace and how victims respond to it was directly mentioned in twelve of the articles in the sample. For example, Armitage (2022) writes that «the research consensus is that organizational climate is the single most important factor in determining whether sexual harassment is likely to occur in an organization». Another example is when Grossman (2021) writes that «decades of research into sexual harassment confirm that organizational culture is a strong correlate with levels of harassment. “[Organizational] [c]limate is an important driver of harassment because it is the norms of the workplace, it basically guides employees... to know what to do when no one is watching.” ».

Thirteen of the articles in the sample refer to, in various degrees, the law regarding sexual harassment or the legal liability of organizations. The legal aspect of sexual harassment was naturally a topic of the law journals, but the quantitative as well as the qualitative studies also had mentions of the law. As an example Grossman (2021) writes:

A conundrum in the world of harassment prevention is that employers get clear credit for setting up a complaint procedure but effectively penalized under the second prong of the affirmative defense if an employee who experiences harassment

makes use of it. Employers thus have an incentive to device a system that appears to elicit but actually suppresses them.

Another example is when Cortina and Areguin (2021) writes:

When there is no such tangible action (i.e., hostile environment harassment has occurred, with no quid pro quo), employers can void liability if they can prove two things: (a) they took steps to prevent and correct sexual harassment – for example by publicizing a written policy and complaint procedure, and (b) the victim failed to pursue corrective opportunities, e.g., failed to file a formal complaint.

The heavy presence these two themes have in the literature in my sample makes it fair to argue that they are essential when discussing the topics of sexual harassment and reporting sexual harassment in the workplace. Based on that, my argument is that they are also essential to focus on when looking into what controls victims' perspectives on reporting sexual harassment in the workplace and the quality of available complaint mechanisms. To demonstrate their importance, I have investigated the barriers and facilitators that control victim's perception of reporting sexual harassment incidents, as well as the complaint mechanisms through which one reports sexual harassment in the workplace, and how the #MeToo movement has affected this. Below, I have constructed two evidence tables depicting the general facilitators and barriers discovered. Later I will look at the effect the #MeToo movement has had on these facilitators and barriers, as well as any new facilitators and barriers that might have arisen post #MeToo.

Table 3: Facilitators of victims' perception to reporting sexual harassment

Theme	Factors	Relevant Studies	Main argument
<i>Org. culture</i>	Organizational climate promoting intolerance to sexual harassment	Ford & Ivancic Atwater et al Pedersen & Cross Aguilar & Baek Cortina & Areguin Armitage Rihal et al	Intolerant workplace culture fosters resilience in victims
	Gender equity	Atwater et al Pearlman & Bordelon Raj et al	An organization with a 40% to 60% female to male representation, is presumed to reduce sexual harassment in the workplace
	Managers and high-level employees promote organizational intolerance to sexual harassment	Atwater et al Brue Grossman Pearlman & Bordelon	Employees are influenced by authority figures as they demonstrate norms that establish the organizational climate
	Mentoring	Atwater et al Yu & Lee	Female employees who report having a mentor are more likely to report sexual harassment than those female officers without a mentor
	Bystander confirmation	Mills & Scudder Armitage	Bystanders are more than witnesses and can be resources to reduce future sexual harassment at work

<i>The law</i>	Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964	Pedersen & Cross Cunningham-Parmeter Heise & Sherwyn Atwater et al Cortina & Areguin Kirkner et al Yu & Lee	Makes it unlawful for an employer to discriminate employees based on sex
----------------	---	---	--

Table 4: Barriers of victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment

Theme	Factors	Relevant Studies	Main argument
<i>Org. culture</i>	Organizational culture tolerant of sexual harassment	Smith & Ortiz Aguilar & Baek Cortina & Areguin Kirkner et al Armitage	An organizational culture that is tolerant of sexual harassment is a significant predictor of sexual harassment incidents
	Gender-impairity	Raj et al Grossman Pearlman & Bordelon Cortina & Areguin Kirkner et al	Women in male-dominated occupations are at a greater risk of sexual harassment by a supervisor, while also being less likely to complain about it, in part due to increased opportunity for quid pro quo harassment
	Culture of hierarchy and incivility	Raj et al Cortina & Areguin	In a culture of hierarchy and incivility, aggression and patterns of victimization, sexual and nonsexual, occur in tandem and are unchecked. These

		contexts are reinforced by traditional norms of masculinity and masculine dominance, and victims fear retaliation if they report
Organizational discourse describes sexual harassment as a “joke” or a “private matter”	Ford et al Cortina & Areguin	It delegitimizes the validity of harassment complaints
Cultural mythology	Cortina & Areguin Smith & Ortiz	Cultural mythology justify sexual harassment, in many cases by blaming the victim
Formal reporting as main form of complaint mechanism	Ford et al	Formal reporting decreases victims’ resilience
Ostracism	Atwater et al Brown & Battle	Ostracism decreases interpersonal social interactions in the workplace, making it more difficult to fulfill psychological needs
Fear	Cortina & Areguin Kirkner et al	Fear of blame, disbelief, inaction, humiliation etc. often prevents people from formally reporting sexual harassment
No faith in the system	Kirkner et al Rihal et al	Victims who don’t view complaint mechanisms as efficacious are the least likely to report their sexual harassment

	Lack of immediate bystander confirmation	Mills & Scudder	Some view lack of immediate bystander confirmation as a problematic silence that further victimize the target
<i>The law</i>	The sexual harassment loophole	Cunningham- Parmeter Grossman Pedersen & Cross	The loophole provides organizations with an incentive to draft minimally compliant harassment policies that functionally discourage employees from using them
	The Faragher-Ellerth defense	Bernstein Pedersen & Cross	Creates a dilemma where filing a complaint might make circumstances worse, but the law requires a complaint be made before taking steps towards legal action
	Focusing on how to avoid lawsuits rather than eliminating the problem	Grossman Pedersen & Cross Cortina & Areguin	The laws reward cosmetic compliance over actually succeeding to rectify the issue
	Victims are unaware of the importance of in-house reporting	Grossman Cunningham- Parmeter	Most workers are unaware that in order to preserve their harassment claims in court they must first have utilized their employers' reporting system

3.2.1 Organizational culture

«Research often points to organizational culture as a powerful meaning system that signals whether sexual harassment is tolerated, permissible, or even normalized» (Ford et al., 2021, p. 514). The two tables above show several facilitators and barriers within the organizational

culture that can affect how victims perceive complaint mechanisms of sexual harassment. As we will see, some factors double as both a facilitator and a barrier. The literature included in this thesis are sometimes using the terms “culture”, “climate”, and “norms” synonymously with each other, and as a result this thesis will interchangeably do the same. The following paragraphs will successively explain each of these factors as well as discuss how the #MeToo movement may have affected them.

Organizational culture intolerant versus tolerant of sexual harassment.

The main factor affecting sexual harassment in the workplace, and as a continuance, victims’ perception of reporting; is how tolerant, or intolerant, the organization seems to be of sexual harassment. Atwater et al. (2021, p. 310) defines the organizational climate as a «pattern of behavior, beliefs, and feelings that make up what it is like to be in the organization. The climate is influenced by the norms, policies, and practices enacted in the organization». Research has shown that an organizational culture tolerant of sexual harassment is a significant predictor of sexual harassment incidents (Smith & Ortiz, 2021, p. 532).

Sexual harassment can still occur in intolerant cultures, but Ford and Ivancic (2020) found in their study that organizational climate was a significant predictor of resilience. Degree of resilience determines a victim’s ability to “bounce back” after experiencing incidents of sexual harassment. Ford and Ivancic further interpreted this to mean that workplaces viewed as intolerant to sexual harassment generate more resilient victims of harassment. Their study also showed evidence that there were significant associations between reporting sexual harassment and perceived resilience. In other words, Ford and Ivancic (2020) argue that a workplace culture intolerant of sexual harassment, increases the likelihood that victims report incidents if they happen.

Through analyzing and reviewing the literature in this thesis it became evident that how victims perceive complaint mechanisms of sexual harassment, and how tolerant or intolerant towards sexual harassment they experience the organizational climate in which

they work to be, are directly correlated. This correlation will be discussed in depth during the presentation of theory. The rest of the facilitators and barriers listed in tables 3 and 4 are in a lot of ways sub factors to this one, because they all affect how tolerant of sexual harassment the organizational culture is, which is why this thesis presents this factor as the main determinant.

Pearlman and Bordelon (2022, p. 6) make the claim that the #MeToo movement has «changed the way society views and deals with sexual harassment in the workplace». Additionally, Mills and Scudder (2020) notes that workers no longer views staying silent as acceptable and sexual harassment in general is taken more seriously. This points to a slight change towards a more intolerant organizational culture, which bodes positively for victims' perception of reporting.

Gender equity/inequity and a culture of hierarchy and incivility

Gender equity and gender parity was also a recurring theme in six of the articles. It has been listed as a factor within organizational culture, because the gender representation within a company affects the organizational culture. Raj et al. (2020, p. 287) found that women in male-dominated occupations are at greater risk of sexual harassment from a supervisor, in part due to increased risk of quid pro quo harassment. Quid pro quo harassment refers to a type of sexual coercion where the harasser seeks sexual favors in order to provide career related benefits (Mills & Scudder, 2020, p. 3). Grossman (2021, p. 986) also reports that women are less likely to report sexual harassment when they are greatly outnumbered by men, which arguably is an interesting correlation.

Another relevant aspect of gender inequity that affects both sexual harassment, and how victims perceive reporting incidents of sexual harassment, is a subculture within organizational culture that Cortina and Areguin (2021, p. 296) calls masculinity contest cultures. Masculinity contest cultures are characterized by an embodiment of masculine ideals taken to the dysfunctional extreme. The social norms within this culture prize ruthless competition, disdain for personal relationships, boasts of strength and stamina, and extreme

confidence. When an organizational culture shows characteristics of masculinity contest culture, sexual harassment is made more likely. Raj et al. (2020, p. 280) also talks about masculinity contest cultures, and how one might expect a higher level of sexual harassment for both women, and men, in male-dominated workplaces. They also add that having gender parity in the workplace, with a 40% to 60% representation of either sex, is thought to reduce sexual harassment.

Based on the findings in the literature, one can argue that making sure all genders are well represented within the workplace is important to reduce sexual harassment incidents and creating an organizational culture intolerant of sexual harassment. However, when looking at the effect of the #MeToo movement, some of the articles talk about signs of a negative outcome regarding gender. Both Grossman (2021) and Atwater et al. (2021) mention how a negative consequence of the #MeToo movement is a reluctance to hire attractive women and a reluctance to hire women for jobs that require close interpersonal contact with men. An aspect of this tendency regarding the legal aspect of things, is how through a minimization of contact with women, organizations are limiting the chances for sexual harassment accusations, while not actually fixing the problem (Grossman, 2021). This shows that not all the reactions to the #MeToo movement have helped move victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment in a positive direction.

Organizational discourse and cultural mythology

Another aspect of the organizational culture is the discourse that employees partake in. Part of a tolerant culture is when the discourse between coworkers is framing sexual harassment as a joke, or a private matter. This type of discourse is found to foster silence because it pushes the topic of sexual harassment out of the official conversation and creates an atmosphere of silence, that results in the delegitimization of sexual harassment complaints (Ford et al., 2021, p. 516). Having an organizational culture of silence is arguably a barrier for how victims perceive the effectiveness of complaint mechanisms.

Within this same discourse is often also a subscription to cultural myths regarding sexual harassment. Cortina and Areguin (2021, p. 297) define a myth as something that refers to «ideas that are widely and persistently believed despite being patently false». They continue to argue that myths specific to sexual harassment tend to serve one out of two aims: denial or justification. Research has shown that individuals who believe or partake in a discourse of rape or sexual harassment myths are more likely to partake in victim blaming, and ultimately minimizing the responsibility of the harasser (Smith & Ortiz, 2021, p. 534).

One of the studies included in this thesis focuses on how employees selective engagement with the #MeToo movement affect their subscription to sexual harassment myths (Smith & Ortiz, 2021). The study found that the more employees engaged with the #MeToo movement, the less likely they were to accept these cultural myths. Here it is important to note that they also found a correlation with people's preconceived notions of sexual harassment myths and their willingness to engage with information about the #MeToo movement. This because people are inclined to seek out information that align with their beliefs. The study also found that people who engaged less with the movement, were more likely to believe that the movement had a negative effect on organizational culture, such as hypersensitivity. Smith and Ortiz (2021, p. 532) defined hypersensitivity in the workplace as «a person perceiving that the #MeToo movement leads to unnecessary concerns about workplace sexual assault and sexual harassment, specifically by women».

It is clear from the studies included in this thesis that the #MeToo movement has created an improved awareness of sexual harassment in the workplace, and that it has helped people realize the seriousness of the issue. As long as people utilize the information the #MeToo movement brings, the discourse surrounding sexual harassment in the workplace will be positively affected, which will result in a push towards an organizational culture more intolerant of sexual harassment. This again will affect people's perception of reporting sexual harassment at work.

Mentoring and the importance of good leaders

Eight of the articles in the sample list the importance of good leaders in correlation with people's perception of reporting sexual harassment at work, this because the attitude managers show towards sexual harassment positively correlates to the level of harassment (Grossman, 2021, p. 980). Managers play an important role in creating norms within an organization, because they model the accepted behavior within a given organizational culture (Atwater et al., 2021). In their case study, Pearlman and Bordelon (2022, p. 2) also found that sexual harassment occurred less when managers actively discouraged it.

Another aspect of leadership that directly affects victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace, is through mentoring. Mentorships are usually associated with career advancement and development, but Atwater et al. (2021) found that the significance of a mentor – mentee relationship extends well beyond that. They present the mentor – mentee relationship as a reciprocal role relationship, where the mentee would likely mirror the qualities of the mentor. Through their research Atwater et al. (2021) confirmed their hypothesis that «female officers who report having a mentor are more likely to report sexual harassment than those female officers who do not have a mentor». Although their research focused on employees within law enforcement, it does enhance the argument that leaders and managers work as role models for employees, and that they are in a particularly strong position to create cultural change within an organization.

In the wake of the #MeToo movement, Brue (2021) published an exploratory article that studied the impact leadership has on organizational change initiatives as well as how businesses were implementing anti-harassment initiatives as a response to the #MeToo movement. The article found that communication from leadership was still not strongly observed. Training and policy programs were the only initiatives set in place to drive anti-harassment culture, and the article found no tendencies of behavior modeling being used to drive cultural change. The findings presented in Brue's article are particularly interesting when looking at the effects of the #MeToo movement. Although research shows the importance of good managerial role models, it does not seem to make an impact on how

organizations are working towards reducing sexual harassment. There is a question to be asked on what an organization focuses on regarding sexual harassment in the workplace, reducing it or avoiding liability? This is a question that will be brought back and discussed further later in the thesis when the law as a theme is being discussed.

Bystander confirmation

Another facilitating factor of victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace, mentioned to different degrees in five different articles, is bystander confirmation. Armitage (2022) argues that bystanders are more than witnesses and that supportive and compassionate bystanders can help reduce sexual harassment as well as make victims more inclined to report incidents when they happen. Mills and Scudder (2020) supports this claim when they argue that the lack of immediate bystander confirmation creates a culture of problematic silence that further victimizes the targets of sexual harassment.

The aspect of compassionate bystanders, who's behaviors, according to Armitage (2022, p. 46) are intended to improve the experience of the sufferer, is one facilitating factor that has improved substantially in the time after the #MeToo movement. Several of the articles included in this thesis talk about how the #MeToo movement has not only created awareness of how large of a problem sexual harassment in the workplace is, they also talk about the community and the support victims have found because of the movement. As an example, Smith and Ortiz (2021, p. 541) specifically mentions how the #MeToo movement created a culture of empathy and support for victims of sexual harassment, and continue by drawing on this culture to argue for bystander intervention training in the workplace. It seems from the articles in the sample, that the #MeToo movement created an online community of victims, that is making its way into the organizational culture. In the time right after the #MeToo movement began, polling showed that 64% of Americans found sexual harassment in the workplace to be a serious problem, and 86% of Americans endorsed a zero-tolerance policy for sexual harassment in the workplace (Bernstein, 2021). Going from a

culture of silence, as discussed earlier, to a culture of compassionate bystanders, should also have an effect on victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace.

Fear and futility

When the literature in the sample cites the primary reason why victims chose not to report incidents of sexual harassment in the workplace, they usually bring up victims' fear of retaliation or futility. In their review, Cortina and Areguin (2021, p. 297) cite fear of blame, disbelief, inaction, humiliation, ostracism, and damage to careers, as examples of why victims choose not to report. Simultaneously both Rihal et al. (2020) and Kirkner et al. (2020) found evidence in their studies that suggest that a large portion of victims who experience sexual harassment choose to stay silent due to a lack of faith in the system.

One of the fears that are recurring in many of the articles in this sample, is the fear of ostracism. Ostracism can be defined as «being excluded and ignored by individuals or groups, causes targets to feel pain and psychological distress» (Brown & Battle, 2020, p. 55). Ostracism can be classified as both a result of reporting sexual harassment as well as a barrier from disclosing it. As such, it has been listed as its own barrier affecting victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace and existing complaint mechanisms. The fear of ostracism is luckily a barrier of victims' perception of reporting that has been greatly affected by the #MeToo movement. Ostracism is isolating in its nature, which is what can make it so effective as a fear. The #MeToo movement is the opposite of ostracism because the very nature of the movement is to create a community of belonging among victims, counteracting the effect of ostracism (Brown & Battle, 2020, p. 58). The movement also increased the social consensus of how we should treat victims of sexual harassment in the workplace, reducing the acceptability of ostracizing as a response to victims coming forward.

Despite the fear of ostracism being counteracted by the #MeToo movement, it is still not enough to remove the fear of retaliation or the feeling of futility completely. Based on the reasons listed, Ford et al. (2021) still argues that formal reporting as the official complaint

mechanism of an organization does more harm than good. They argue that encouraging victims to report does not take into account the complexity of organizational structure, culture and discourse that constrain victims after they speak out. Based on their study Ford et al. (2021, p. 523) also found that victims' resilience decreases when victims formally report sexual harassment, making it a course of action not actually recommended. This is an interesting argument seeing as most organizations rely on formally reporting as their official complaint mechanism. This begs the question; if it is clear that formal reporting is not an effective course of action, why are organizations so adamant of sticking with it? This question will be looked more into in the next subchapter.

3.2.2 The law

This subchapter starts off with presenting the legal facilitators and barriers affecting victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment and organizational complaint mechanisms, and then follows with a discussion of the effect of the #MeToo movement. As opposed to the previous subchapter that went through the factors of the two tables separately, this part will present them more as a whole. This is because when analyzing the different facilitators and barriers it became evident that they are so intertwined in nature that presenting them separately could remove some vital aspects of the barriers. Successively, the effect the #MeToo movement has had on the presented facilitators and barriers, as well as on the law in general, will be presented and discussed.

The legal facilitators and barriers affecting victims' perception of reporting

The law and the legal liability of organizations when it comes to sexual harassment in the workplace has, as mentioned, shown a heavy presence in the literature in the sample that this thesis is based on. As such, it plays a vital role in answering the compass question. Understanding the legal framework and the facilitators and barriers controlling the perception of victims' reporting sexual harassment in the workplace as well as the organizational complaint mechanisms will therefore be detrimental.

The most comprehensive federal protection in the United States against discrimination in the workplace is Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VII makes it unlawful for an employer to discriminate against any individual based on sex, this includes sexual harassment (Pedersen & Cross, 2021, p. 76). The two most common claims when suing on grounds of title VII is: (1) hostile work environment and (2) quid pro quo. A hostile work environment claim can be made when «harassment is so severe and pervasive it essentially changes the conditions of work for an employee» (Pedersen & Cross, 2021, p. 77). A quid pro quo claim can be made when «an employee or a prospective employee is forced to choose between an employment detriment or submitting to sexual demands» (Pedersen & Cross, 2021, p. 77). The fact that sexual harassment is deemed unlawful, and victims are able to pursue legal action when experiencing sexual harassment in the workplace, is the main facilitator controlling victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace. As we shall see, it might also be the only facilitating factor.

The biggest barrier controlling victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace and the organizational complaint mechanisms is the Faragher- Ellerth defense. In fact, it is a barrier mentioned in all of the law reviews and journals as well as the review conducted by Cortina and Areguin. The reason for it being such an important barrier is because it affects so many aspects of sexual harassment in the eyes of the law. The Faragher- Ellerth defense was created from two separate cases: Faragher v. City of Boca Raton and Burlington Industry Inc. v. Ellerth. The defense gives employers an opportunity to avoid liability if they can prove (1) «that the employer exercised reasonable care to prevent and correct promptly any sexually harassing behavior» and (2) «that the plaintiff employee unreasonably failed to take advantage of any preventive or corrective opportunities provided by the employer or to avoid harm otherwise» (Heise & Sherwyn, 2021, p. 990).

One of the recurring arguments involving the Faragher- Ellerth defense is how it shifts the organizational focus from combating sexual harassment in the workplace, to making sure that the organization is not viewed as liable if it happens. In order to uphold the first part of the defense, all an organization must do is to implement policies that prohibits sexual

harassment, and to make sure that there is a way for victims to complain. There are no requirements as to the quality of the complaint mechanisms (Grossman, 2021). An organization can also escape liability from the second part of the defense if an employee fails to take advantage of the complaint mechanisms put in place by the organization. The paradox of this defense is that it provides employers with credit for providing a complaint procedure but punishes them if the employee uses it. As such, it provides organizations with an incentive to «engage in performative acts of “cosmetic compliance” that formally adhere to the Court’s mandate without meaningfully reducing harassment» (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2021, p. 161). Arguably, an organization intentionally putting together an ineffective complaint mechanism in order to avoid liability is a barrier controlling victim’s perception of complaint mechanisms.

Cunningham-Parmeter (2021) argue that the Faragher-Ellerth defense, together with three other supreme court decisions that will not be focused on in this thesis but are all listed in Appendix 2, has resulted in what he calls “the sexual harassment loophole”. In short, he argues that there are two ways in particular the sexual harassment loophole shield organizations from liability. First the harassment loophole excludes any victim of sexual harassment that chooses not to report the incident in-house from taking legal action. As we know, most victims will choose to stay silent, which means that most sexual harassment incidents will not even qualify. Secondly, as long as employers address the reported complaint, regardless of the outcome or quality of the investigation, organizations will most likely escape liability.

Another aspect of the Faragher-Ellerth defense that creates a barrier for victims’ perception of reporting and organizational complaint mechanisms is the focus on the “reasonable employee”. The second part of the Faragher-Ellerth defense rests on whether or not an employee has acted reasonably, which mainly refers to if an employee has failed to report on time. Heise and Sherwyn (2021, p. 997) found that in most cases where the employer won a lawsuit, the courts had found the employee’s report to be untimely. In addition, the statute of limitation on reporting sexual harassment was very short. In some cases, the

courts deemed a waiting period of two weeks from the incident occurred to the incident was reported to be untimely. With such a small window of reporting, victims are not given the opportunity to either wait and see if the if the problem escalates, nor given the opportunity to outweigh the cost versus benefits of reporting (Grossman, 2021, p. 271). This short statute of limitation also does not take into account that most employees are not aware of the importance of in-house reporting in regards to taking legal action at a later time (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2021, p. 193). Redefining what counts as reasonable from the view of the victim is one way the #MeToo movement have affected this barrier. This will be discussed further below.

The effect of the #MeToo movement

From analyzing the literature in the sample, it became clear that the question is not whether the #MeToo movement has had a legal impact in the US, but whether it has had enough of an impact on the aforementioned barriers to foster a positive change in victims' perception of reporting incidents of sexual harassment and the organizational complaint mechanisms that exist in the workplace. There are several legislative changes that have occurred in the time after the #MeToo movement erupted, that make its effect undeniable. In 2018, 32 states introduced over 125 pieces of legislation on sexual harassment and sexual harassment policies. The trend continued in 2019 when 29 states introduced over 100 pieces of legislation (Pearlman & Bordelon, 2022, p. 4). As an example, the State of California created the Stop Harassment and Reporting Extention (SHARE) act in the fall of 2018 that effectively extended the statute of limitation on claims of unlawful sexual harassment, discrimination and civil rights-related retaliation from one year to three years (Pedersen & Cross, 2021, p. 83).

The barriers that were presented above regarding victims' perception on reporting and organizational complaint mechanisms were shed new light on by the #MeToo movement. As mentioned, proving that the employee has acted reasonably, mainly by utilizing in-house complaint mechanisms, has been necessary to even have a case in court. Redefining what counts as reasonable is one solution many of the law journals and reviews call for in a post

#MeToo world. Bernstein (2021, p. 119) argues that «since reasonableness is a socially-defined term, courts have plenty of room to incorporate shifting conceptions of sexual harassment into their jurisprudence». Both Bernstein (2021) and Pedersen and Cross (2021) argue that while the majority of courts are still not acknowledging the cultural shift that has happened because of the #MeToo movement, there have been cases where this shift has been evident, for example with the *Minarsky* case from 2018.

The *Minarsky* case was based on a hostile work environment claim, where *Minarsky* alleged that Thomas Yadlosky, Director of Susquehanna County's Department of Veteran Affairs, started harassing her soon after she started working for the department. She never reported it. Her original suit, where she sued the County for sexual harassment and hostile work environment, was dismissed on summary judgment. She then appealed to the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit. The Third Circuit reversed the verdict, arguing that it was a jury question, adding «national news regarding a veritable fire storm of allegations of rampant sexual misconduct that has been closeted for years, not reported by victims» (Bernstein, 2021; Pedersen & Cross, 2021). This decision by the Third Circuit determined that fear of speaking out preventing a victim from reporting sexual harassment could qualify as reasonable. The indirect mention of the #MeToo movement shows how the movement has started to affect the legal system, because this decision now allows employees to move forward with a hostile work environment claim despite a prolonged period of non-reporting (Pedersen & Cross, 2021, p. 80).

Another legal aspect affected by the #MeToo movement that may affect victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment is the usage of non-disclosure agreements (NDAs). NDAs have often played a sinister role when it comes to sexual harassment. When the #MeToo movement erupted, it became known that many of the high-profile harassers, such as Harvey Weinstein, had used NDAs to settle complaints quietly, and were able to keep the complaints out of the public, resulting in them keeping their power (Grossman, 2021, p. 955). As a direct result of this discovery, many restrictions were placed on the usage of NDAs. Pearlman and Bordelon (2022, p. 3) found that post #MeToo at least twelve states

had passed laws restricting the usage of NDAs. California being one of them, when the state in September 2018 banned NDAs in cases involving sex discrimination, harassment, and assault. Furthermore Pearlman and Bordelon (2022, p. 6) writes that, in October of 2018, companies like Google, Facebook, Airbnb and Ebay ended forced arbitration in sexual harassment cases. This would result in employees being enabled to pursue legal action in court without being subject to NDAs. In addition to state laws and companies restricting the usage of NDAs, federal law introduced a tax code penalty for NDAs, through the Internal Revenue Code, which made it so that after 2018 employers could no longer deduct legal fees and settlements if the resolution included a NDA (Heise & Sherwyn, 2021, p. 999).

There is an argument to be made that the restrictions of NDAs are not purely positive, which is important to include. Heise and Sherwyn (2021, p. 1000) argues that the new tax code penalty may result in a reluctance for victims to report incidents of sexual harassment, since it increases the cost of settlements for the employer, making the employer less likely to settle and the litigation cost for the employee that much higher. A sexual harassment report turning into a public federal case may also prove more costly for the victim, in more ways than just economically, than the possible benefits. Although the restrictions of NDAs show how #MeToo can affect measurable change, the negative side to this factor makes it hard to name as either a facilitator or a barrier.

From the findings presented on the facilitators and barriers regarding the law and legal liability, a main finding was that organizations have an incentive to stick with official reporting as their main complaint mechanism, even though it is not an effective method of combatting sexual harassment in the workplace. It is also fair to argue that the courts have not changed the legal framework after the #MeToo movement enough to reposition this incentive.

3.3 Presenting the emerging theory

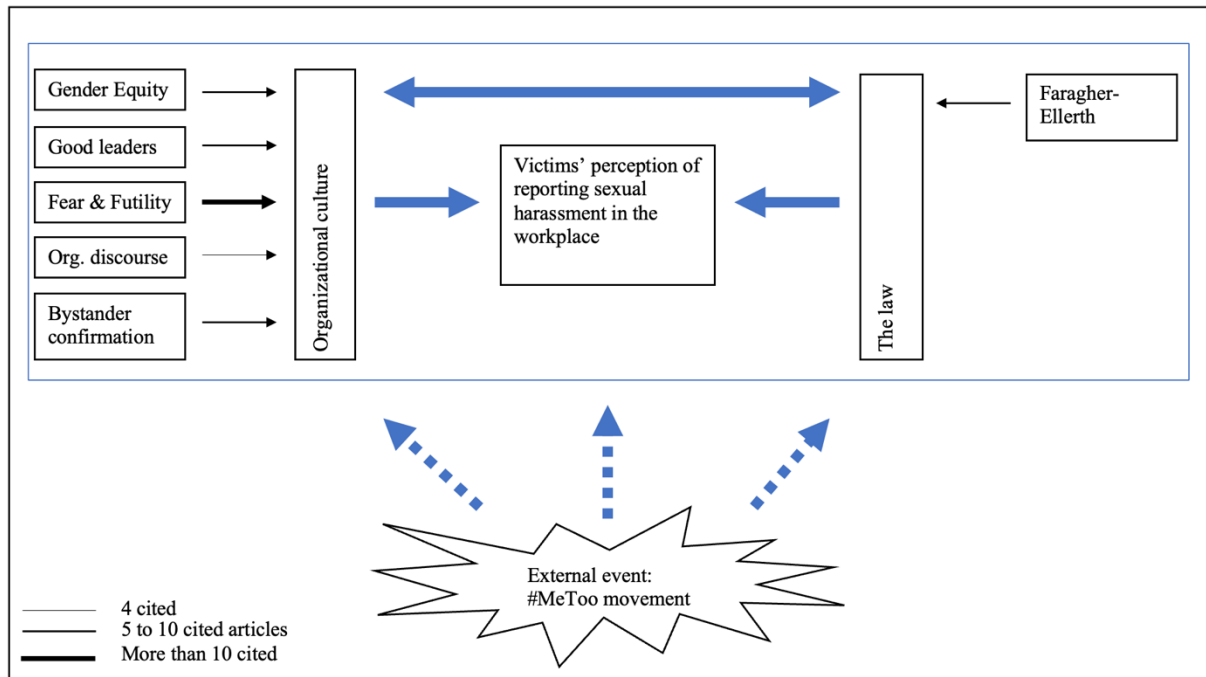
It has previously been explained that the main focus of the CIS approach is to interpret literature drawn from a wide range of relevant sources to develop a framework that explains

the compass question being studied (Vélez et al., 2020). In the previous subchapters the recurring themes, organizational culture and the law, have been explained. By analyzing these concepts as well as their subthemes, a foundation has been laid on which theory can be built. As mentioned, when presenting its theory, this thesis found great inspiration through the way Moat et al. (2013) developed their framework. In their CIS review, Moat et al. (2013) integrated the emerging concepts in their research to form a *synthesizing argument* as an interpretive theoretical model to explain the phenomenon being studied. When presenting the theory that has emerged through analyzing the literature in the sample, this thesis begins with presenting its synthesizing argument as well as an illustrative theoretical model. Next, existing theory will be used to explain and substantiate the different aspects of the synthesizing argument.

3.3.1 Synthesizing argument and theoretical model

From analyzing the literature, it became clear to me that there were a pattern emerging. The two recurring concepts, organizational culture and the law, became more and more intertwined the more time was spent analyzing the concepts. The literature saw organizational culture as one of the most important factors affecting victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment in the workplace, as well as their perception on existing complaint mechanisms. Another factor that recurred as important for victims' perception of reporting was the law, and the legal liability of organizations. What also became clear was that the law was also affecting organizational policy, and as an extension, organizational culture. The literature presented several measurable ways in which the #MeToo movement had affected both the law and organizational culture. However, the literature also shows that the movement had not affected the determining barriers enough for victims' perceptions to change. Based on this emerging pattern I have constructed the following model as well as a synthesizing argument.

Model 1: Theoretical model of synthesizing argument



This thesis argues that the #MeToo movement has highlighted the ineffectiveness of official reporting as a complaint mechanism. Yet the response from organizations to the movement has not been to fundamentally change their official complaint mechanisms, but to expand on those they already had. Furthermore, this thesis argues that the reasoning behind this is that though public opinion may have changed, the #MeToo movement was not sufficiently potent as an external shock to create the major policy changes needed to challenge victims' perception on reporting and organizational complaint mechanisms. Most courts still base their judgement on the Faragher-Ellerth defense, and as so, the incentives for organizations to keep up their current policies are still present. This relates to victims' perception of reporting because it maintains their feeling of futility.

After constructing the synthesizing argument, it became clear that parallels could be made between some aspects of the synthesizing argument, and existing theory. Furthermore, the existing theories were found to be useful when deconstructing the synthesizing argument, not to substitute the argument, but to supplement it. As such, this thesis uses the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) to explain what determines policy change within an organization

in addition to the pattern emerging from the literature. Within the ACF, one pathway towards major policy change is through an external shock such as the #MeToo movement. To help explain the role of a social movement as an external shock, and the window of opportunity created by a social movement such as #MeToo, this thesis includes Piven & Cloward's theory on what makes a social movement successful to supplement the ACF. Finally, when arguing the correlation between lack of policy change within an organization and victims' perception of reporting, this thesis draws on the theory of sensemaking.

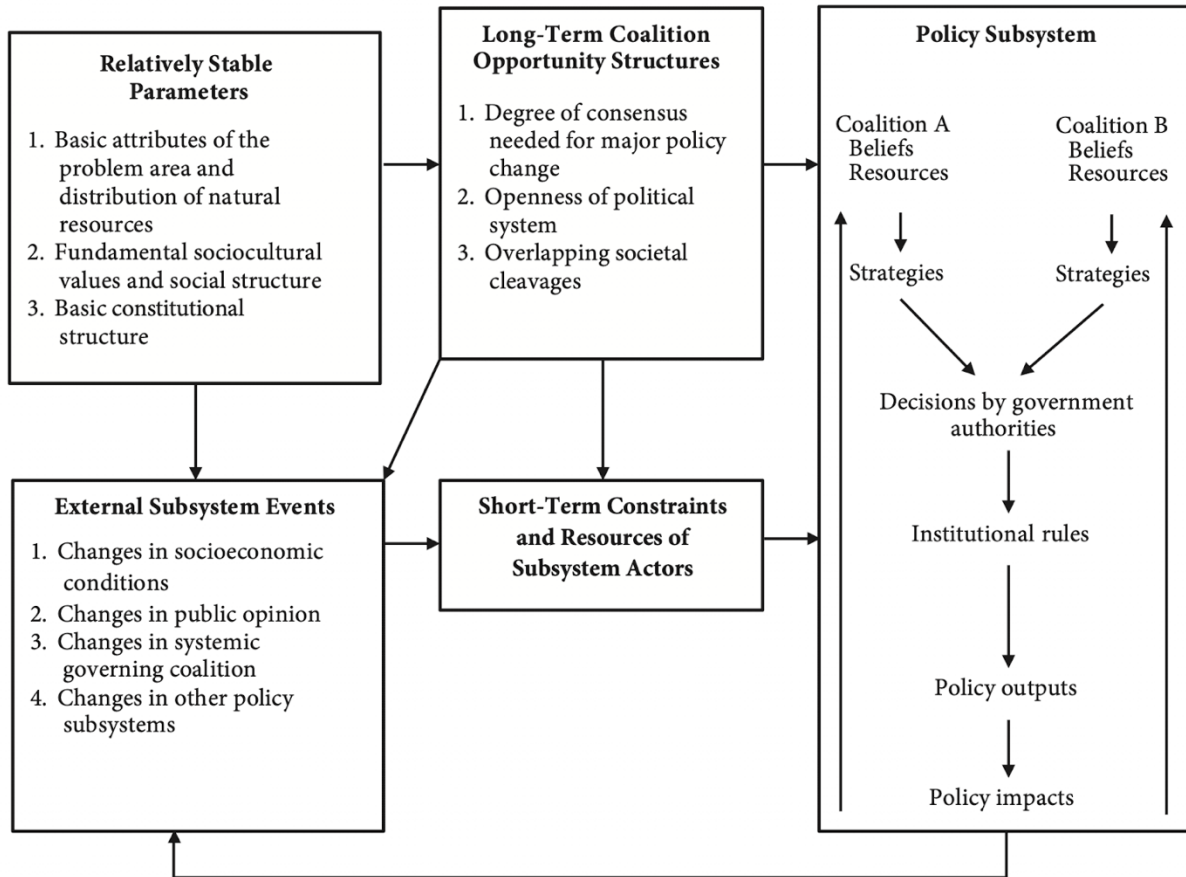
3.3.2 The Advocacy Coalition Framework and policy change

ACF is most commonly used as a framework when analyzing the policy process (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018). According to the ACF, policies mirror the belief system of the policy creators. The framework assumes that policy creators act based on a three-tiered belief system existing of: deep core beliefs, policy core beliefs, and secondary beliefs. Deep core beliefs are fundamental normative values and ontological axioms. They are not specific to any one policy and can be applied to multiple areas of policy. These fundamental normative values include ideas about human nature, society, and natural systems, and are used to justify social organization. Policy core beliefs can also be normative but are bound to specific policy subsystems. Examples of how policy core beliefs can be utilized empirically is through assessments of the seriousness of an issue, basic causes of the issue, and preferred solutions to address the issue. Secondary beliefs deal with specific ways to achieve preferred solutions indicated by the policy core beliefs.

Figure 1 below show an illustrative example of the policy process within ACF as described by Jenkins-Smith et al. (2018, pp. 143-144). It shows how several categories of variables affect which policies get created and the resulting outcomes. Later, this illustration of the policy process will be used to explain the pattern found in the literature of the sample.

Figure 1. Flow Diagram of the Advocacy Coalition Framework

(Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018, p. 143)



One category of variables, as seen above, are relatively stable parameters. These parameters include basic social, cultural, economic, physical and institutional structures. The parameters can be both external and internal to a subsystem. Within the scope of this thesis, the subsystem is an organization. External parameters of an organization can be institutional structures like the law. Internal parameters can be the organizational culture. Another category of variables, as seen in Figure 1, are external subsystem events. Examples within this category can be changes within socioeconomic conditions and public opinion. The #MeToo movement can also be viewed as an external subsystem event. A by-product of the relatively stable parameters of the organization are long-term coalition opportunity structures. These structures represent the general window of opportunity for creating policy changes. A by-product of external subsystem events is that it opens a short-term window of

opportunity for coalitions to exploit. As an example, the momentum of the #MeToo movement generated short-term resources that could be used by policymakers.

My synthesizing argument, as presented earlier, is made up of several sub-arguments. One sub-argument relevant for what is being discussed here is the argument that even though the #MeToo movement has highlighted the ineffectiveness of official reporting, organizations are not changing the policies calling for such complaint mechanisms, rather, they are expanding them. To elaborate on this argument, I will start by situating it within the Advocacy Coalition Framework.

As mentioned, one of the relatively stable parameters external to an organization is the constitutional structure of the law. The law represents the values and the deep core beliefs of the society that the organization resides in. From the literature in the sample, we know that the relevant laws affecting the policy process regarding sexual harassment within an organization are Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as well as the Faragher-Ellerth defense. In fact, all of the law journals and reviews, as well as the review conducted by Cortina and Areguin (2021) refer to both of them several times throughout their papers.

In between the law and organizations are the long-term coalition opportunity structures that, according to Jenkins-Smith et al. (2018), «establish the degree of consensus needed for major policy-change, the openness of the political system, and overlapping societal cleavages». As previously discussed, Title VII makes it unlawful for an employer to discriminate an individual based on sex. This includes sexual harassment. The Faragher-Ellerth defense regards the legal liability of an employer and states that an employer can avoid liability by showing that it took reasonable care to prevent and correct sexual harassment and that the employee failed to take advantage of preventative and corrective opportunities by the employer (Pedersen & Cross, 2021). When creating policies against sexual harassment, organizations must work within the boundaries of these two laws.

Cunningham-Parmeter (2021), Pedersen and Cross (2021), Grossman (2021), Heise and Sherwyn (2021), Cortina and Areguin (2021), and Bernstein (2021) all argue that the Faragher-Ellerth defense has caused organizations to focus on how to avoid lawsuits rather than eliminating the problem. This is because, as have been previously discussed, the Faragher-Ellerth defense creates a structure in which organizations receive credit for having policies in place to combat sexual harassment, but are punished if employees makes use of it (Grossman, 2021, p. 969). Even though some court cases have shown greater understanding for why victims' struggle to report incidents of harassment, and a few states have expanded their statute of limitation of claims of unlawful sexual harassment (see page 34), the Faragher-Ellerth defense remain unchanged after the #MeToo movement.

In June of 2018, Brue (2021), sent out a questionnaire to 418 HR practitioners associated with Oklahoma State Council of Human Resource Management. Out of the 79 respondents, a sample size of 19%, only 27,27% stated that their reporting system would provide a thorough investigation, and 24,06% stated that the organization would take prompt action upon finding that the accusation of harassment was true. The HR practitioners in the study did not find that the #MeToo movement had influenced their organization's prevention methods of sexual harassment. Between the arguments made by the law reviews, as seen above, and the empirical findings in Brue's study, this thesis does not find evidence that the long-term coalition opportunity structures have been impacted by the #MeToo movement.

The statement that organizations «engage in performative acts of “cosmetic compliance” that formally adhere to the Court's mandate without meaningfully reducing harassment», that refer to organizations response to the Faragher-Ellerth defense, also have an effect on organizational culture (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2021, p. 161). It has previously been explained how important the context of an intolerant culture is for combatting sexual harassment. In the theoretical model above, lines were drawn between organizational culture and the law. This thesis argues that the Farragher-Ellerth defense affect organizational culture, because by creating an incentive for organizations to focus on reducing liability instead of incidents of sexual harassment, organizations are failing to

promote an intolerant organizational culture. The organizational culture again affects the policy process within an organization because they work as internal relatively stable parameters to the organization.

Major policy change, which a change in sexual harassment prevention methods within an organization would be, indicates a change in policy core beliefs (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018, p. 145). As so, it would be unlikely for such change to happen while the policy core beliefs remain the same. The ACF presents several pathways for major policy change. One way is through external shocks. External shocks include events outside of the organization that involve changes in socioeconomic conditions, changes in regime, and extreme events such as disasters and crises. The #MeToo movement could be classified as an external shock because of the impact it has had in bringing sexual harassment to the forefront of both public attention and the political agenda (see subchapter on #MeToo movement in chapter 1) Heightened public and political attention, as well as being on the political agenda are not the only enabling factors needed for an external shock to be sufficient. A redistribution of coalition resources and an opening and a closing of policy venues, are also necessary for change (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018, p. 145). Which is why the #MeToo movement acted as an external shock to the sexual harassment policy system, but was still insufficient and therefore did not result in the specific major policy changes needed to shift how organizations handle sexual harassment in the workplace.

The argument made by the ACF that in order for the #MeToo movement as an external shock to be successful there needs to be a redistribution of coalition resources as well as an opening and closing of policy venues can be expanded using Piven and Cloward's (1979) theory on social movements. In the introduction of this thesis, Piven and Cloward's theory was used to explain the emergence of the #MeToo movement and the important role of social and historical context. Their theory also explains the degree of impact a social movement can make. So, while the ACF includes an explanation of external shock and how it can be a pathway to major policy change, Piven and Cloward give specific insight to what determines the success of a social movement and what impact a social movement usually

have the opportunity to make. This thesis argues that including the theory by Piven and Cloward (1979) helps shed light on the role of the #MeToo movement as an external shock to the policy process.

Piven and Cloward (1979, p. 27) argue that when a social movement arises government leaders can react in one out of three ways. One, they can ignore the disruption caused by the movement. Two, they can employ punitive measures against the disruptors, or three, they can attempt to conciliate them. As previously explained, social movements usually emerge when large social changes undermine political stability, this was also the case with the #MeToo movement (see chapter 1), which makes political leaders vulnerable to protests. The most usual response is therefore to conciliate the disruptors. The conciliation can take several forms.

First, political leaders may offer concessions or press powerful actors in the private sector to offer concessions, as a way to remedy some of the grievances (Piven & Cloward, 1979, p. 29). Examples of this way of handling the #MeToo movement is through states banning the use of NDAs, or when powerful organizations like Google, Facebook and Ebay enforced arbitrations claims in sexual harassment cases so employees could pursue legal action in court without being subjected to NDAs (Pearlman & Bordelon, 2022, p. 6).

Second, political leaders may try to quiet the movement by making efforts to channel the disruptive energies and anger of disruptors into more legitimate and less disruptive forms of political behavior (Piven & Cloward, 1979, p. 30). An example of what political leaders would deem as more legitimate and less disruptive forms of political behavior may be initiatives like Time's up, which is a legal fund to pay for legal representation of victims of sexual misconduct. Although created by actresses, female agents and other prominent women working in Hollywood, it aimed to address the criticism of the #MeToo movement, that it only focused on famous people and over looked working-class people (Grossman, 2021; Pedersen & Cross, 2021). Another example is the Purple Campaign, with its objective to «end

the systemic problem of workplace sexual harassment that exists across every industry in the United States» (Grossman, 2021, p. 953).

Third, the measures promoted by the government at times of disruption may be designed not to appease the protestors, but to weaken the sympathy the protest have gained from a wider audience. This is usually achieved through the creation of new programs that meet the moral demands of the movement, while simultaneously not actually giving way for tangible gains (Piven & Cloward, 1979, pp. 30-31). The way organizations have responded to the #MeToo movement by pointing to existing sexual harassment policies within the organization and doubling down on official reporting and harassment training as their form of combatting sexual harassment gives association to this form of conciliation. While organizations are publicly responding, they are not yielding to tangible gains like changing their reporting system would be.

In their theory, Piven and Cloward (1979, p. 32) continue to explain how the attempt to conciliate protestors usually lead to the demise of a movement, partly by transforming the political climate and partly by transforming the movement itself. Bringing it back to the argument by ACF, changing the structure of the movement from disruptive protest to “legitimate” political behavior means a redistribution of coalition resources. And by the movement losing its momentum, the policy venues that might have been open for change during the height of the movement start closing.

So, as we have seen, the #MeToo ticked all the boxes it needed to be what the ACF calls an external shock. It brought heightened public and political attention, it brought on agenda change, and it managed to redistribute coalition resources and open policy venues. This thesis is not denying that the #MeToo movement acted as a powerful external shock that caused major policy changes. However, from the literature in this sample, I could not find that the #MeToo movement influenced the relatively stable parameters that affect the structures and the window of opportunity in which sexual harassment policy is made. In the next subchapter I will tackle the other aspect of my synthesizing argument and explain how

the lack of relevant major policy change affect victims' perception of reporting incidents of sexual harassment in the workplace.

3.3.3 Sensemaking and victims' perception of reporting

So far, this thesis has investigated theory on the policy process and on the impact of social movements to help explain the part of the synthesizing argument that suggest that the #MeToo movement did not manage to influence a change in the sexual harassment policies within organizations. This thesis has also explored the framework that determines the existing complaint mechanisms and sexual harassment policies within organizations. This next part will explain how this aspect of the synthesizing argument ties together with victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment and existing organizational complaint mechanisms. The aim of this thesis is to explore facilitators and barriers affecting victims' perception of reporting sexual harassment and organizational complaint mechanisms, as well as the impact of the #MeToo movement on these perceptions. It is therefore important to make a connection between the different aspects of the synthesizing argument.

In their study, Ford and Ivancic (2020) uses Weick's theory on sensemaking to explain their findings on «the role of organizational tolerance of sexual harassment and its influence on victim resilience, coping, harassment fatigue, and perceived vulnerability to future sexual harassment». When looking into the theory on sensemaking, I found that it could also be useful to include it in my thesis when substantiating my argument that there is a correlation between the lack of policy change within an organization after the #MeToo movement and victims' perception of reporting. This is because sensemaking can shed light on how perceptions are made through making sense of the environment in which one exists.

Sensemaking may be defined as the "making of sense", and it is both inherently individual and social at the same time. It includes aspects like the placement of items into frameworks, constructing meaning, interacting in an attempt to form mutual understanding, and patterning (Weick, 1995, p. 6). Although the notion of making sense is often put synonymously with interpretation, they are not the same. As Weick puts it; «sensemaking is

about authoring as well as reading», it is addressing not just how a text is read but also how it is constructed (Weick, 1995, p. 7).

The most important characteristic of the sensemaking process is identity, as for something to be made sense of there needs to be a sensemaker. This does not mean that sensemaking is purely individual. Weick (1995, p. 20) states that «identities are constituted out of the process of interaction. To shift among interactions is to shift among definitions of selves». In other words, a person's identity is created through a mirroring of its surroundings. Bringing identity in sensemaking into the topic of sexual harassment, Ford and Ivancic (2020, p. 188) argue that after an incident involving sexual harassment, victims may reorient their perception of themselves, as well as their perception of organizational members and the organization as a whole. Building a bridge between the sensemaking theory and the literature in the sample, there are two topics worth further examination, the role of bystanders and the identity of the organization itself.

This thesis has previously presented what the literature says about the role of the bystander as a potential facilitating factor for victims' perception of reporting. The main argument as to why bystanders are an important facilitating factor is that compassionate and supportive bystanders can help reduce sexual harassment as well as make victims more inclined to report incidents when they happen. The importance of bystanders was mentioned in five of the articles in the sample, but was particularly focused on in the autoethnography by Armitage (2022). The argument that supportive bystanders would positively affect victims are supported by the sensemaking theory. If the message a victim receives through interaction with witnesses and other bystanders is that what happened to them was wrong and that they should speak out about it, it is likely that that message would act as a mirror of how the victim would perceive the situation. The same could also be said if the opposite happens, and bystanders perceive the incident as less serious.

Another topic relevant to discuss is the organizational identity, also described as the beliefs and perceptions of the identity of the organization. Armitage (2022, p. 42) brings up the

distinction between an organization being perceived as procedurally just and an organization providing procedural satisfaction. In her autoethnography, Armitage describes her experience of filing a report of a sexual harassment incident that happened to her by a male coworker. She describes how in her case the harasser received normative corrective action, that was procedurally just within the framework of sexual harassment policy at her place of work, but she received no procedural satisfaction from the outcome of the report.

The motivation behind sexual harassment policies in organizations have been covered extensively in this thesis. In the study by Brue (2021, p. 27) she found that the businesses within her research mainly implemented training and policy initiatives to meet EEOC's recommendations for a respectful workplace. Meanwhile Armitage (2022, p. 42) brings up EEOC reports from 2016 and 2017 which found that although reports and anti-harassment compliance training are favored organizational mechanisms to prevent harassment, they are not enough on their own, but should be a part of a holistic effort to combat sexual harassment. These two examples both support the arguments made by law journals about organizations mainly focusing on avoiding liability, but it also speaks to organizational identity and why victims might not experience procedural satisfaction by reporting.

Because Armitage (2022) did not achieve procedural satisfaction, she found the reporting futile. The literature in the sample supports this perception of futility of reporting. 15 of the articles mention the reluctance to report sexual harassment in the workplace and list several reasons for this that are examples of sensemaking, like lack of faith in the system and fear of retaliation. Looking at it from a sensemaking point of view; if an individual's identity is mirroring their interactions, and they are left with a sense of futility after having interacted with the organization, can the organization claim to identify as being intolerant towards sexual harassment?

This question illuminates another aspect of sensemaking, which is the role of enactment in producing meaning. Sensemaking is a social process, which means that people are not existing within a fixed environment, but an environment that is both perceived and

constructed by individuals. When managers of an organization enact policies they «take undefined space, time, and action and draw lines, establish categories, and coin labels that create new features of the environment that did not exist before» (Weick, 1995, p. 31). Associations can be made here to the creation of organizational culture. This is because through enactment in producing meaning, members of an organization, be it managers or regular employees, create the organizational culture. As we have seen, the organizational culture is the most important factor of how victims perceive reporting and the existing organizational complaint mechanisms.

Although sensemaking and the ACF are two theories that seemingly focus on two completely different topics, within the scope of this thesis they do complement each other. When introducing the policy process in subchapter 3.3.2, I mentioned how one category of variables affecting the policy process are relatively stable parameters, which can be both external and internal to the organization. Relatively stable parameters include basic social, cultural, economic, physical and institutional structures (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018, p. 143). In the same subchapter, sexual harassment law was presented as an external parameter, and organizational culture was suggested as an internal parameter. By tying ACF and sensemaking together, the interdependence between the victims' perception of reporting, organizational policy and official complaint mechanisms, and organizational culture becomes clearer. This is because the ACF suggest that organizational culture affect the policy process, and the sensemaking theory suggest that organizational policy affect the culture, which as an extension affects how victims make sense of reporting incidents of sexual harassment.

This brings us back to the synthesizing argument and the pattern emerging from the analysis of the literature in the sample. If we start from where we left of, we can summarize the argument like this: Victims of sexual harassment in the workplace make sense of their situation and which action to take through their perception of organizational culture. Organizational culture is affected by its policies. If these policies are leaving victims with a feeling of futility, resulting in victims deciding not utilizing them, the organizational culture is not effectively combatting sexual harassment and by extension is not intolerant to sexual

harassment. Organizational policies on sexual harassment are affected by the relatively stable parameters that create structures of opportunity within the policy process. External parameters are the law, more specifically the Faragher-Ellerth defense. Finally, although the #MeToo movement has been successful in creating change on many levels, it has not provided the courts with an alternative defense to the Faragher-Ellerth defense, nor has it changed the wording of the defense. Which means that there is no new incentive for organizations to change their policies.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to explore what facilitators and barriers affect victims' perception of reporting incidents of sexual harassment in the workplace as well as their perception of existing organizational complaint mechanisms. Furthermore, the aim was to explore whether the #MeToo movement has had an effect on those perceptions. The thesis used the critical interpretive approach to analyze and interpret the literature, and to form a synthesizing argument based on the emerging pattern.

In the beginning stages of analyzing, there were in particular two recurring concepts that because of their heavy presence in the literature became a big focus of the thesis. Those were (1) organizational culture and (2) sexual harassment law and the legal liability of organizations. After having identified the main concepts, I used the next stage of the analysis to create an overview of the two concepts and to map out the different aspects of the concepts that were present in the literature. Throughout the process of creating a thorough overview of the concepts a pattern started to emerge from the literature. This pattern became the base of the synthesizing argument.

The synthesizing argument is based on a pattern of connection between the two main concepts. The more time was spent analyzing the organizational culture and the law, the more it became clear that they were mutually affecting each other. Based on that the thesis argued that while the #MeToo movement has highlighted the ineffectiveness of official reporting as the only existing complaint mechanism within an organization, organizations

response to the movement was to point to their existing policies. Furthermore, the argument stated that the reason behind the decision to stick with official reporting is that though public opinion might have shifted post #MeToo, the major policies affecting sexual harassment policy in an organization have not. Most courts still base their judgement on the Faragher-Ellerth defense which means that the incentive for organizations to keep their current policies are still present. This relates to victims' perception of reporting and organizational complaint mechanisms because it keeps up their feeling of futility.

In order to give substance to my synthesizing argument I used three existing theories to explain different aspects of the argument. I used theory on the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) to explain the policy process and the role legal structures like the Faragher-Ellerth defense play in affecting the policy creation. One pathway to major policy changes, as explained by the ACF, is through an external shock (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018, p. 145). This thesis presented the #MeToo movement as an example of an external shock, and used the theory by Piven and Cloward (1979) on social movements to supplement the ACF when explaining the role of the #MeToo movement as an external shock. Finally, I used the sensemaking theory as presented by Weick (1995) to explain the connection between the lack of major policy change when it comes to sexual harassment and victims' feeling of futility.

Going through the suggestions of future research in the literature in my sample, it became clear that some suggestions mentioned in several of the articles, were also asking for research that this review also found lacking. For one, future research should weigh the part intersectionality plays in victims' perception of reporting incidents of sexual harassment. Intersectionality is the notion that everyone inhabits multiple social identities at the same time, and that those identities vary in levels of privilege and power (Cortina & Areguin, 2021, p. 300). Furthermore, individuals occupying multiple identities with social disadvantages, such as women of color, face more discrimination than a person inhabiting only one identity of social disadvantage. This is because although both white women and women of color experience sexism, women of color simultaneously experience racism. Cortina and Areguin

(2021), Brown and Battle (2020), Ford and Ivancic (2020), Kirkner et al. (2020), and Aguilar and Baek (2020) all ask for research to address how the aspect of intersectionality makes gender issues in sexual harassment even more complex.

Several of the articles analyzed in this thesis suggest supplementary strategies to combat sexual harassment. As an example, Brue (2021) suggest behavior modeling, where leaders leverage their power to positively influence the creation, development, and preservation of anti-harassment cultures. Additionally, Cortina and Areguin (2021) bring up strategies like eliminating horizontal and vertical sex segregation, curbing the masculinity contest cultures as well as focusing on initiatives that boost respect and civility. What is lacking is empirical studies measuring the effectiveness of alternative strategies. Future research should therefore explore the effectiveness of different organizational mechanisms combatting sexual harassment.

A recurring theme among the articles have been how organizations are doubling down on their sexual harassment policies and official reporting in the wake of #MeToo. Although studies not included in this thesis might have focused on this topic, the literature in this thesis did not include evidence of major policy change and a refocus of how organizations are combatting sexual harassment. Based on the findings in the analysis, this thesis asks for future research to explore organizational response to the #MeToo movement. To what extent have organizations changed their strategies of combatting sexual harassment, and do they experience a positive outcome from their changes?

Appendix 1. Overview of literature included in the sample

Literature	Methodology
<p>Aguilar, S. J., & Baek, C. (2020). Sexual harassment in academe is underreported, especially by students in the life and physical sciences. <i>PLoS ONE</i>, 15(3), e0230312. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0230312</p>	<p>Quantitative study with data gathered from surveys.</p>
<p>Armitage, J. S. (2022). «When I least expected it»: an autoethnography of reporting workplace sexual harassment and compassionate bystanders». <i>Journal of Contemporary Ethnography</i>, 51(1), 29-58. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/08912416211022817</p>	<p>Qualitative study: Autoethnography .</p>
<p>Atwater, L. E., Sturm, R. E., Taylor, S. N., & Tringale, A. (2021). The era of #MeToo and what managers should do about it. <i>Business Horizons</i>, 64(2), 307-318. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bushor.2020.12.006.</p>	<p>Quantitative study with data gathered from surveys.</p>
<p>Bernstein, D. A. (2021). Reasonableness in hostile work environment cases after #MeToo. <i>Michigan journal of gender & law</i>, 28(1), 119-154.</p>	<p>Law journal.</p>
<p>Mills, B. C., & Scudder, J. N. (2020). He said, she said: the effectiveness and outcomes of responses to sexual harassment. <i>International Journal of Business Communication</i>, 1-18. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/2329488420941924</p>	<p>Quantitative study with data gathered from surveys.</p>
<p>Brown, S. E. V., & Battle, J. S. (2020). Ostracizing targets of workplace sexual harassment before and after the #MeToo movement. <i>Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal</i>, 39(1), 53-67. https://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-09-2018-0162</p>	<p>Review</p>
<p>Brue, K. (2021). Organizational change: where have all the leaders gone when creating anti-harassment cultures. <i>Administrative</i></p>	<p>Quantitative study with data</p>

<p><i>Issues Journal: Connecting Education, Practice, And Research</i>, 11(1), 17-35. https://doi.org/10.5929/2021.11.1.2</p>	gathered from surveys.
<p>Cortina, L. M., & Areguin, M. A. (2021). Putting people down and pushing them out: sexual harassment in the workplace. <i>The Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior</i>, 8, 285-309. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-012420-055606</p>	Review
<p>Cunningham-Parmeter, K. (2021). The sexual harassment loophole. <i>Washington and Lee Law Review</i>, 78(1), 155-230.</p>	Law review
<p>Ford, J. L., Ivancic, S. R., & Scarduzio, J. (2021). Silence, voice, and resilience: an examination of workplace sexual harassment. <i>Communication Studies</i>, 72(4), 513-530. https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2021.1953092</p>	Quantitative study with data gathered from surveys.
<p>Ford, J. L., & Ivancic, S. R. (2020). Surviving organizational tolerance of sexual harassment: an exploration of resilience, vulnerability, and harassment fatigue. <i>Journal of Applied Communication Research</i>, 48(2), 186-206. https://doi.org/10.1080/00909882.2020.1739317</p>	Quantitative study with data gathered from surveys.
<p>Grossman, J. L. (2021). Sexual harassment in the post-Weinstein world. <i>UC Irvine Law Review</i>, 11(4), 943-994.</p>	Law journal.
<p>Heise, M., & Sherwyn, D. (2021). Sexual harassment: a doctrinal examination of the law, an empirical examination of employer liability, and a question about NDAs - because complex problems do not have simple solutions. <i>Indiana Law Journal</i>, 96(969), 970-1004.</p>	Law journal.
<p>Kirkner, A. C., Lorenz, K., & Mazar, L. (2020). Faculty and staff reporting & disclosure of sexual harassment in higher education. <i>Gender and Education</i>, 34(2), 199-215. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2020.1763923</p>	Quantitative study with data gathered from surveys.

<p>Pearlman, D. M., & Bordelon, B. M. (2022). How the #MeToo movement affected sexual harassment in the hospitality industry: a U.S. case study. <i>International Journal of Hospitality Management</i>, 101. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2021.103106.</p>	<p>Quantitative study based on case study.</p>
<p>Pedersen, N., & Cross, C. (2021). #MeToo and the courts: an analysis of the movement's effect on workplace sexual harassment law. <i>University of Toledo Law Review</i>, 53, 71-90.</p>	<p>Law review.</p>
<p>Raj, A., Johns, N. E., & Jose, R. (2020). Gender parity at work and its association with workplace sexual harassment. <i>Workplace Health & Safety</i>, 68(6), 279-292. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/2165079919900793.</p>	<p>Quantitative study with data gathered from surveys.</p>
<p>Rihal, C. S., Baker, N. A., Bunkers, B. E., Buskirk, S. J., Caviness, J. N., Collins, E. A., Copa, J. C., Hayes, S. N., Hubert, S. L., Reed, D. A., Wendorff, S. R., Fraser, C. H., Farrugia, G., & Noseworthy, J. H. (2020). Addressing sexual harassment in the #MeToo era: an institutional approach. <i>Mayo Foundation for Medical Education and Research</i>, 95(4), 749-757. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.mayocp.2019.12.021</p>	<p>Institutional approach.</p>
<p>Smith, A. M., & Ortiz, R. R. (2021). #MeToo social media engagement and perceived hypersensitivity in the workplace. <i>Communication Studies</i>, 72(4), 531-546. https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2021.1953091</p>	<p>Quantitative study with data gathered from surveys.</p>
<p>Yu, H. H., & Lee, D. (2021). Women and public organization: an examination of mentorship and its effect on reporting workplace discrimination. <i>Review of Public Personnel Administration</i>, 41(2), 274-293. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/0734371X19880578</p>	<p>Quantitative study with data gathered from surveys.</p>

Appendix 2. The four Supreme Court decisions that created the sexual harassment loophole

Decision	Full citing
Meritor	Rehnquist, W. H. & Supreme Court Of The United States. (1985) U.S. Reports: Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson, 477 U.S. 57. [Periodical] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep477057/
Faragher	Souter, D. H. & Supreme Court Of The United States. (1997) U.S. Reports: Faragher v. City of Boca Raton, 524 U.S. 775. [Periodical] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep524775/ .
Ellerth	Kennedy, A. M. & Supreme Court Of The United States. (1997) U.S. Reports: Burlington Industries, Inc. v. Ellerth, 524 U.S. 742. [Periodical] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep524742/ .
Vance	Alito, S. A. & Supreme Court Of The United States. (2012) U.S. Reports: Vance v. Ball State Univ., 570 U.S. 421. [Periodical] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep570421/

Reference list

- Aguilar, S. J., & Baek, C. (2020). Sexual harassment in academe is underreported, especially by students in the life and physical sciences. *PLoS ONE*, *15*(3), e0230312.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0230312>
- Alito, S. A., & States, S. C. o. t. U. (2012). U.S. Reports: Vance v. Ball State Univ., *570 U.S.* 421.
<https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep570421/>
- Armitage, J. S. (2022). «When I least expected it»: an autoethnography of reporting workplace sexual harassment and compassionate bystanders». *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *51*(1), 29-58.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/08912416211022817>
- Atwater, L. E., Sturm, R. E., Taylor, S. N., & Tringale, A. (2021). The era of #MeToo and what managers should do about it. *Business Horizons*, *64*(2), 307-318.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bushor.2020.12.006>.
- Bernstein, D. A. (2021). Reasonableness in hostile work environment cases after #MeToo. *Michigan journal of gender & law*, *28*(1), 119-154.
- Brown, S. E. V., & Battle, J. S. (2020). Ostracizing targets of workplace sexual harassment before and after the #MeToo movement. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *39*(1), 53-67. <https://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-09-2018-0162>
- Brue, K. (2021). Organizational change: where have all the leaders gone when creating anti-harassment cultures. *Administrative Issues Journal: Connecting Education, Practice, And Research*, *11*(1), 17-35. <https://doi.org/10.5929/2021.11.1.2>
- Cortina, L. M., & Areguin, M. A. (2021). Putting people down and pushing them out: sexual harassment in the workplace. *The Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, *8*, 285-309.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-012420-055606>
- Cunningham-Parmeter, K. (2021). The sexual harassment loophole. *Washington and Lee Law Review*, *78*(1), 155-230.
- Dixon-Woods, M., Cavers, D., Agarwal, S., Annandale, E., Arthur, A., Harvey, J., Hsu, R., Katbamna, S., Olsen, R., Smith, L., Riley, R., & Sutton, A. J. (2006). Conducting a critical interpretive synthesis of the literature on access to healthcare by vulnerable

- groups. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 6(35). <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2288-6-35>
- Fileborn, B., & Loney-Howes, R. (2019). Introduction: Mapping the Emergence of #MeToo. In B. Fileborn & R. Loney-Howes (Eds.), *#MeToo and the Politics of Social Change* (pp. 1-18). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ford, J. L., & Ivancic, S. R. (2020). Surviving organizational tolerance of sexual harassment: an exploration of resilience, vulnerability, and harassment fatigue. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 48(2), 186-206.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00909882.2020.1739317>
- Ford, J. L., Ivancic, S. R., & Scarduzio, J. (2021). Silence, voice, and resilience: an examination of workplace sexual harassment. *Communication Studies*, 72(4), 513-530.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2021.1953092>
- Foster, P. J., & Fullagar, C. J. (2018). Why don't we report sexual harassment? an application of planned behavior. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 40(3), 148-160.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01973533.2018.1449747>
- Gersen, J. S. (2018, April 27). Bill Cosby's crimes and the impact of #MeToo on the American legal system. *The New Yorker*. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/bill-cosbys-crimes-and-the-impact-of-metoo-on-the-american-legal-system>
- Gough, D., Oliver, S., & Thomas, J. (2017). Introducing systematic reviews. In D. Gough, S. Oliver, & J. Thomas (Eds.), *An introduction to systematic reviews* (2 ed., pp. 1-16). SAGE.
- Gough, D., Thomas, J., & Oliver, S. (2012). Clarifying differences between review designs and methods. *Systematic Reviews*, 1(28).
<https://doi.org/http://www.systematicreviewsjournal.com/content/1/1/28>
- Grossman, J. L. (2021). Sexual harassment in the post-Weinstein world. *UC Irvine Law Review*, 11(4), 943-994.
- Heise, M., & Sherwyn, D. (2021). Sexual harassment: a doctrinal examination of the law, an empirical examination of employer liability, and a question about NDAs - because complex problems do not have simple solutions. *Indiana Law Journal*, 96(969), 970-1004.

- Hillstrom, L. C. (2019). *The #MeToo movement*. ABC-CLIO.
- Jenkins-Smith, H. C., Nohrstedt, D., Weible, C. M., & Ingold, K. (2018). The Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Overview of the Research Program. In P. A. Sabatier & C. M. Weible (Eds.), *Theories of the Policy Process* (4 ed., pp. 135-171). Routledge.
- Kennedy, A. M., & States, S. C. o. t. U. (1997). U.S. Reports: Burlington Industries, Inc. v. Ellerth, 524 U.S. 742. <https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep524742/>
- Khalid, A. F., Lavis, J. N., El-Jardali, F., & Vanstone, M. (2020). Supporting the use of research evidence in decision-making in crisis zones in low- and middle-income countries: a critical interpretive synthesis. *Health Research Policy and Systems*, 18(21). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1186/s12961-020-0530-2>
- Kirkner, A. C., Lorenz, K., & Mazar, L. (2020). Faculty and staff reporting & disclosure of sexual harassment in higher education. *Gender and Education*, 34(2), 199-215. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2020.1763923>
- Krnic, M. M., Pieper, D., Glatt, A., & Puljak. (2019). Definition of a systematic review used in overviews of systematic reviews, meta- epidemiological studies and textbooks. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 19(203). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1186/s12874-019-0855-0>
- Mattison, C. A., Lavis, J. N., Wilson, M. G., Hutton, E. K., & Dion, M. L. (2020). A critical interpretive synthesis of the roles of midwives in health systems. *Health Research Policy and Systems*, 18(77). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1186/s12961-020-00590-0>
- Mills, C. B., & Scudder, J. N. (2020). He said, she said: the effectiveness and outcomes of responses to sexual harassment. *International Journal of Business Communication*, 1-18. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/2329488420941924>
- Moat, K. A., Lavis, J. N., & Abelson, J. (2013). How Contexts and Issues Influence the Use of Policy-Relevant Research Syntheses: A Critical Interpretive Synthesis. *The Milbank Quarterly*, 91(3), 604-648. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0009.12026>
- Pearlman, D. M., & Bordelon, B. M. (2022). How the #MeToo movement affected sexual harassment in the hospitality industry: a U.S. case study. *International Journal of*

Hospitality Management, 101.

<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2021.103106>.

- Pedersen, N., & Cross, C. (2021). #MeToo and the courts: an analysis of the movement's effect on workplace sexual harassment law. *University of Toledo Law Review*, 53, 71-90.
- Piven, F. F., & Cloward, R. A. (1979). *Poor people's movements: why they succeed, how they fail*. Random House.
- Raj, A., Johns, N. E., & Jose, R. (2020). Gender parity at work and its association with workplace sexual harassment. *Workplace Health & Safety*, 68(6), 279-292.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/2165079919900793>.
- Rehnquist, W. H., & States, S. C. o. t. U. (1985). U.S. Reports: Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson, 477 U.S. 57. <https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep477057/>
- Rihal, C. S., Baker, N. A., Bunkers, B. E., Buskirk, S. J., Caviness, J. N., Collins, E. A., Copa, J. C., Hayes, S. N., Hubert, S. L., Reed, D. A., Wendorff, S. R., Fraser, C. H., Farrugia, G., & Noseworthy, J. H. (2020). Addressing sexual harassment in the #MeToo era: an institutional approach. *Mayo Foundation for Medical Education and Research*, 95(4), 749-757. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.mayocp.2019.12.021>
- Smith, A. M., & Ortiz, R. R. (2021). #MeToo social media engagement and perceived hypersensitivity in the workplace. *Communication Studies*, 72(4), 531-546.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2021.1953091>
- Souter, D. H., & States, S. C. o. t. U. (1997). U.S. Reports: Faragher v. City of Boca Raton, 524 U.S. 775. <https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep524775/>
- Vélez, C. M., Wilson, M. G., Lavis, J. N., Abelson, J., & Florez, I. D. (2020). A framework for explaining the role of values in health policy decision-making in Latin America: a critical interpretive synthesis. *Health Research Policy and Systems*, 18(100).
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1186/s12961-020-00584-y>
- Weick, K. E. (1995). *Sensemaking in organizations*. SAGE publications.