

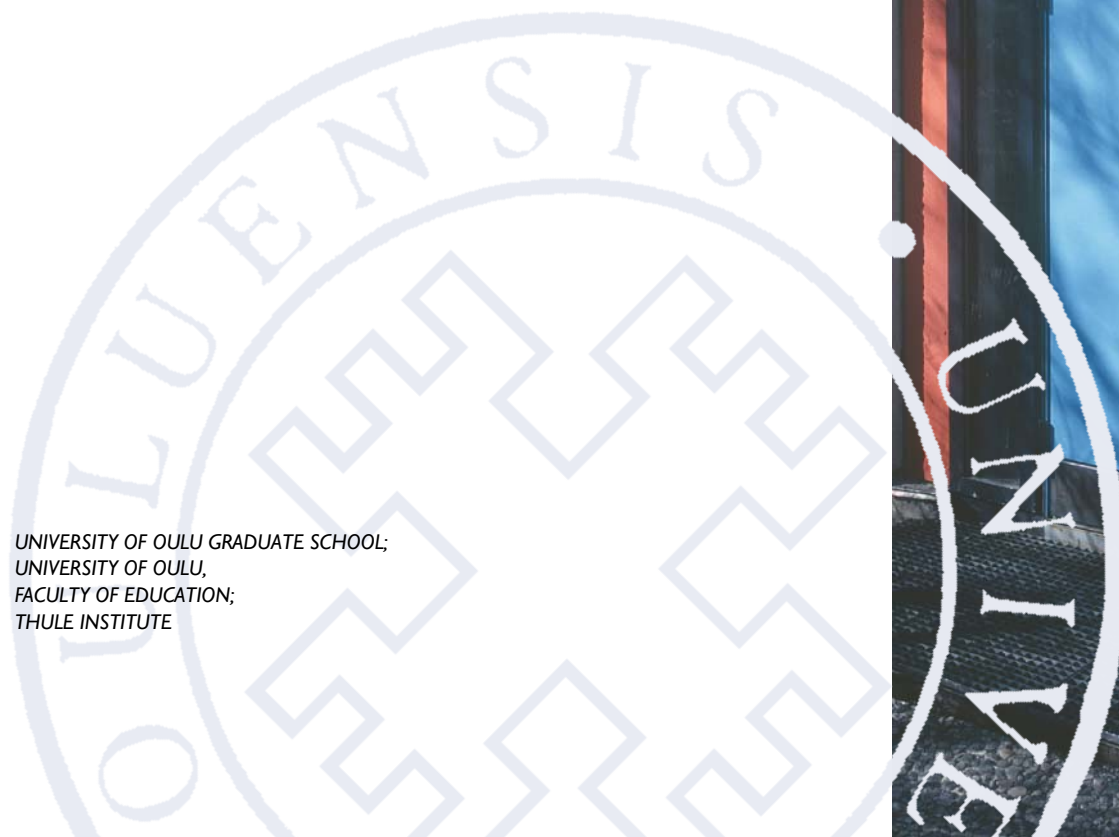
*Mervi Heikkinen*

SEXIST HARASSMENT AS  
AN ISSUE OF GENDER  
EQUALITY POLITICS AND  
POLICIES AT UNIVERSITY

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*MERVI HEIKKINEN*

**SEXIST HARASSMENT AS AN ISSUE  
OF GENDER EQUALITY POLITICS  
AND POLICIES AT UNIVERSITY**

Academic dissertation to be presented with the assent of the Doctoral Training Committee of Human Sciences of the University of Oulu for public defence in Keckmaninsali (Auditorium HU106), Linnanmaa, on 14 December 2012, at 12 noon

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## **Heikkinen, Mervi, Sexist harassment as an issue of gender equality politics and policies at university**

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### ***Abstract***

This study scrutinises sexist harassment and the construction of gender equality policy at the University of Oulu, one of the largest universities in Finland. Furthermore, the study addresses policies that are intended to prevent gender and sexual harassment, the implementation of such policies, and their practical outcomes. Universities are a place of knowledge (re-)production, but research suggests that sexist harassment at least occasionally bothers, and may even call into question, the central tasks of the academy—the creation and maintenance of knowledge.

Acker's theory of gendered organisation is used to frame the analysis of the study on three levels: structures, resources and processes. Lukes's and Olsen's views regarding power are used to locate and make visible blind spots of gender equality work related to sexual harassment. Nussbaum's capabilities approach is used to strengthen the individual agency perspective. Additionally, intersectionality is considered in the analyses. The method of research is a case study. Detailed and intensive knowledge is produced by using various complementary data, analysis methods, vantage points and perspectives.

The research contributes to the conceptual-theoretical discussion of the development of gender equality work at organisations. Based on this study, I argue that it would be reasonable to use the term sexist harassment when individual harassment experiences and organisational harassment incidences are discussed. Additionally, the concepts of sexism and sexist discrimination should be considered, especially when the ideology behind the harassment is addressed. Nussbaum's capabilities approach complements Acker's theory of gendered organisations in a meaningful manner by providing concrete gender equality indicators for organisations' gender equality work.

*Keywords:* equality, gender, harassment, sexism, university



## **Heikkinen, Mervi, Seksistinen häirintä sukupuolten tasa-arvopoliitiikan ja tasa-arvotoimenpiteiden näkökulmista tarkasteltuna yliopistossa**

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### ***Tiivistelmä***

Tutkimus tarkastelee seksististä häirintää ja sukupuolten tasa-arvopoliitiikan rakentumista Oulun yliopistossa, joka on yksi suurimmista yliopistoista Suomessa. Lisäksi tutkimus paikantuu toimenpiteisiin jotka on tarkoitettu sukupuolisen ja seksuaalisen häirinnän ehkäisemiseen, näiden toimenpiteiden toimeenpanoon ja niiden käytännöllisiin seurauksiin. Yliopistot ovat tiedon tuottamisen paikkoja, mutta tutkimuksen mukaan seksistinen häirintä vähintäänkin tilanteisesti häihtää ja voi jopa kyseenalaistaa akatemian keskeisten tehtävien – uuden tiedon tuottamisen ja ylläpitämisen – toteuttamista.

Ackerin sukupuolistuneiden organisaatioiden teoriaa käytetään analyysin kehikkona kolmella tasolla: rakenteet, resurssit ja prosessit. Lukesin ja Olsenin valtakäsitteitä käytetään paikantamaan ja tekemään näkyväksi tasa-arvotyön katvealueita, jotka liittyvät seksuaalisen häirinnän eliminointiin. Nussbaumin inhimillisten kyvykkyysien lähestymistapa käytetään vahvistamaan yksittäisen toimijan perspektiiviä. Lisäksi analyysissa otetaan huomioon intersektionaalisuus. Tutkimusmenetelmänä on tapaustutkimus. Yksityiskohtaista ja intensiivistä tietoa tuotetaan käyttämällä vaihtelevia ja toisiaan täydentäviä aineistoja, analyysimenetelmiä, näkökulmia ja perspektiivejä.

Tutkimus osallistuu käsitteellis-teoreettiseen keskusteluun sukupuolten tasa-arvotyön kehittämisen organisaatioissa. Tutkimukseen perustuen esitän, että olisi perusteltua ottaa käyttöön käsite seksistinen häirintä, kun häirintää tarkastellaan häiritettyjen näkökulmasta kokemuksen tasolla, ja käyttää käsitteitä seksismi ja seksistinen diskriminaatio viitattaessa häirinnän taustalla vaikuttavaan ideologiaan ja häiritsijän teon luonteeseen. Nussbaumin inhimillisten kyvykkyysien lähestymistapa täydentää mielekkäällä tavalla Ackerin sukupuolistuneiden organisaatioiden teoriaa, koska se tarjoaa konkreettisia indikaattoreita organisaatioille niiden työssä tasa-arvon edistämiseksi.

*Asiasanat:* häirintä, organisaatio, sukupuoli, tasa-arvo, yliopisto





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## List of Original Publications

The thesis is based on the following articles, which are referred in the text by their Roman numerals:

- I Heikkinen M (2003) Gender and Sexual Harassment and Coercion at the University of Oulu – Challenges for Measures. In Sunnari V, Kangasvuo J & Heikkinen M (eds) Gendered and Sexualised Violence in Educational Environments. *Femina Borealis* 6: 150–162.
- II Heikkinen M (2007) Gender, Power and Citizenship in Circumpolar North - Gender and Sexual Harassment in University Revisited. In Proceedings of the Fourth Northern Research Forum: The Borderless North Oulu and Tornio in Finland, and Haparanda and Luleå in Sweden October 5–8, 2006: 198–207.
- III Heikkinen M & Sunnari V (2012) Unfulfilled Bodily Rights in Higher Education: Development of Sexual Harassment Policies during the past two decades. *Journal of Citizenship Teaching and Learning* (in press).
- IV Heikkinen M (2011) Tapaustutkimus yliopiston tasa-arvopolitiikasta: seksuaalinen häirintä. [Case study on university gender equality politics: sexual harassment] *Aikuiskasvatus* 31(3): 174–183.
- V Heikkinen M, Pihkala S & Sunnari V (2012) A European E-learning Program on Gendered and Sexualized Violence: Developing A Feminist Pedagogy of Non-violence. In Smith C, *et al.* (eds) *Feminist Cyberspaces: Pedagogies in Transition*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 176–201.

The position in the byline order indicates each author's responsibility and contribution for a study design, data analysis and interpretations, and reporting. Articles are supervised by Docent Vappu Sunnari.



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# 1 Introduction

In this introductory chapter, I present the research focus of the entire study. What follows is a discussion of gender equality laws and their implementation in relation to sexist harassment at university, previous research on sexist harassment, and gender equality issues at university. At the end of this chapter, I present the research tasks of this study.

## 1.1 Sexist Harassment<sup>1</sup> as a Question of Gender and Equality Politics

This study scrutinises sexist harassment and the construction of the gender equality policy at the University of Oulu, one of the largest universities in Finland. Furthermore, the study addresses policies that are intended to prevent sexist harassment, the implementation of such policies, and their practical outcomes. Universities are a site of knowledge (re-)production, but, according to the research, sexist harassment disturbs and even prevents the creation and maintenance of knowledge. Anderson (1995), Gundara (2010), Lynch *et al.* (2010), and Lynch (1999, 1995) argue that a legacy of exclusive and negative imaginations rife with sexism, racism, xenophobia, and so forth already exist in society. Equal representation, participation, access, and conditions (Olsen 2011, Lynch *et al.* 2010, Lynch 2000, Lynch 1995) in higher education are thus central feminist concerns, since equality is indispensable for the full exercise of people's capabilities, choices, and freedoms (Baker *et al.* 2004). Moreover, education offers the potential to counter inequalities in other social institutions and systems (Baker *et al.* 2004, Gundara 2010, Nussbaum 2005). One form of inequality that is observed in this study is gender and sexual harassment, which is understood as a manifestation of sexism and, therefore, conceptualised as sexist harassment in accordance with Benokraitis (1995, 1997), Husu (2000, 2001), Silius (1992), and Sunnari (2010). The two aspects – gender and sexuality – are strongly interconnected and mutually constructive in western cultures. The comprehensive term 'sexist harassment' enables framing and examining the phenomenon in its entirety, including the diverse forms of sexist harassment directed towards a person or group. The research aims to better elucidate 'sexist harassment', especially as a policy problem

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<sup>1</sup> In this compilation report, I use the umbrella term 'sexist harassment' when referring to the researched phenomenon. When I am referring to the research articles, the term 'gender' and/or 'sexual harassment' is used according to how their authors/sources used the terms.

in universities, and to provide guidance for the further development of implementation strategies for organisational sexist harassment policy.

Sexist harassment experiences and policy implementation are examined through a case study, under the framework of Acker's (1990, 1992, 1998, 2000, 2006) theory of gendered organisations. This theory analytically focuses on processes, structures, and resources. The examined case is further reflected from the perspective of Nussbaum's (2000a, 2000b, 2005) human capability approach – an approach that aims to grasp better the challenges that gender equality – and human rights-based approaches do not fully reach. In this study, the capabilities approach, in particular, arises from the point of view of bodily integrity<sup>2</sup>, which is profoundly intertwined with the realisation of other human capabilities, such as the senses, imagination, and thought that are informed and cultivated by higher education. Sexist harassment is preventing the full realization and even development of one's capabilities; sexist harassment should thus be understood as a form of discrimination as well as injustice.

English philosopher Miranda Fricker (2007) has developed an ethical conceptualisation of this phenomenon. Epistemic injustice provides new insights into sexist harassment as a policy and politics issue. It also motivates equality work and promotion within higher education organisations from an epistemological point of view. Fricker's (2007) formulation of epistemic injustice has two manifestations – hermeneutical and testimonial injustice, both of which are relevant when sexist harassment as an issue of politics and policies is elaborated.

Sexist harassment is suffused with various power relations on individual and organisational levels. Connections between sexuality, violence, and power have been researched in intimate relations as well as in organizations (Acker 1992). According to Magnusson *et al.* (2008), a necessary requirement is a more comprehensive understanding of the intertwined processes of gender equality in relation to abstract constructions of the nation and the state, to the regulations of political practices related to gender equality, and to the production of femininity and masculinity. Previously mentioned relations would consist of, for instance, heterosexuality as a norm, discrimination as an abuse of power, and the politics of gender equality within organisations. This understanding is important to attaining success in equality policy implementation on an organisational and on individual level (*ibid.*) on complex issues, such as sexist harassment.

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<sup>2</sup> This is one of the ten capabilities that Nussbaum (2011) identifies.



Limited research has been conducted on the practical implementation of sexist harassment prevention policies in universities and on how to enhance such initiatives. The complexity of this sexist harassment policy problem in universities is better elucidated through a longitudinal case study. In the case study, the issue is examined by using various data that can be classified as follows: (1) Policy data consisting of the most central organisational policy documents that address harassment and (2) harassment data including the experiences of an individual who has encountered some forms of sexist harassment. In this study, sexist harassment is viewed as a manifestation of discrimination that is a barrier to realising equality and, along with gender, intertwined with various other identity signifiers.

## **1.2 Gender and Sexual Harassment in Gender Equality Law and its Implementation**

Finnish universities have a statutory responsibility to promote gender equality. The Finnish Act on Equality between Women and Men states that the authorities shall promote equality between women and men purposefully and systematically, especially by modifying the circumstances that prevent the achievement of equality (Section 4 of the Act on Equality between Women and Men 1986). The authorities, educational institutions, and other bodies involved in training and education shall provide equal opportunities for the educational and occupational advancement of women and men (Section 5, *Ibid.*). Educational institutions shall pay special attention to equality in student selection, in teaching arrangements, and in the evaluation of studies, as well as to the policies that aim to prevent gender and sexual harassment and its elimination (Section 6, *Ibid.*). Moreover, the law prohibits both immediate and indirect discrimination (Section 7, *Ibid.*). Discrimination consists of sexual harassment and harassment based on one's gender, as well as any order or advice to conduct gender-based discrimination (*ibid.*). The act directly addresses employers and exerts pressure to take responsibility for ensuring the execution of the protection that the law entitles (Section 8d, *Ibid.*). Employers' procedures are considered to be the type of discrimination prohibited by this law if they abdicate their responsibility to use available measures to eliminate harassment after being informed about it (Act on Equality between Women and Men). In a case in which a victim of harassment feels that an educational institution has neglected its duty to take appropriate action to stop harassment, the law provides a measure for further action. The victim of harassment can claim com-

pensation for discrimination from a district court under the Finnish Equality Act. In addition, harassers may be held liable under the Criminal Code of Finland and the Finnish Tort Liability Act. Harassment in a working environment can also be deemed to constitute discrimination in the workplace or a violation of the Finnish Occupational Safety and Health Act. In a case in which sexual harassment includes intentional violations of physical integrity, the provisions on assault and sexual offences governed by the Criminal Code of Finland may also apply (The Ombudsman for Equality).

In Finland, organisations – including higher education institutions – are under statutory obligation to draw up an equality plan<sup>3</sup> – a document in which systematic attention is paid to the significance of gender in an organisation. In order to ensure that gendered power relations become visible, equality plans publicise and clarify gender as a meaning, gender as an organising principle within organisations, as well as gendered power relations. The 1995 reform of the Equality Act provided tools for actively engaging in equality practices. Those working within universities were provided legitimacy and tools by the Act to carry out equality work – an effort that is most concretely manifested in the drawing up of equality plans. This situation continues to pose a challenge to universities and their actors in terms of transforming methods and policies into more equality-based practices.

Recognising inequality issues drives the concrete implementation and monitoring of equality plans. Equality work is supported by publicity, legislation, and decisions that demand conformance to considering gender equality in all decision making, planning, and implementation, as well as in the analysis of the effects of measures. This phenomenon is referred to as the mainstreaming of equality, and it requires a commitment by decision makers and planners to equality promotion as part of their tasks. To achieve this goal, these people must have sufficient basic knowledge about the state of equality. Such knowledge can be acquired through gender-segregated statistics, evaluations, and impact analyses. Thus, researchers and universities should be highly involved in such tasks.

Laws regulating gender politics in academia, such as gender equality laws, try to handle universities' autonomy with delicacy, attempting to combine administration and self-administration (Müller 1999). Direct and indirect strategies are combined with a legal obligation for universities to write gender equality plans

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<sup>3</sup> The equality plans of organisations can also be viewed as gender agreements (Rissanen & Kolehmainen 2004) that involve negotiations of power and gender significance. The drawing up of equality plans has also increased the need for expertise in the field of equality.

that are based on gender equality surveys. These strategies leave universities the freedom to carry them out and be responsible for the end result – to improve the realisation of gender equality as stated in the Finnish Act on Gender Equality between Women and Men. The instruments and indicators<sup>4</sup> to assess the actual improvements in gender equality are under development focusing merely on the easily available statistical information and therefore representational equality, which is important but not sufficient. Müller (1999) sees insufficiencies in that university driven autonomous approach to realise gender equality, an approach which also gives tremendous importance to the micropolitical level. Acker (2006) identifies and writes about the same problematics. She proposes a solution, according to which successful change projects that include gender equality and equal opportunity promotion and enactment seem to have three characteristics: 1) they are focused on a limited set of inequality-producing mechanisms; 2) they combine social movement and legislative support from outside the organisation with active support from insiders; and 3) they involve coercion or sanction (Acker 2006). That threat could be, for example, penalties for either an organisation or an individual, or bad publicity or reputation.

Various feminist researchers work to identify not only structures that impede equality in universities but also cultures that legitimise these barriers. Some gender inequality issues, such as overt and covert discrimination as well as sexual harassment and sexism, are at least partially transformed into organisational issues and gender equality politics (Müller 2000). Müller's (2000) typology on higher education organisations' responses to gender equality politics distinguishes the following *structures and resources*: active formation, reluctant opening, passive tolerance, and factual prevention of effectiveness.

1. Active formation indicates that gender equality policy is implemented in the structure and culture of the university organisation. It includes a gender equality plan, equal opportunities officer, central equal opportunities commission, decentralised equal opportunities officers, annual reports about gender equality, public discussions about gender equality issues, including those amongst rectors, all signifying that gender discrimination may still occur in institutions.
2. When reluctant opening characterises a university, contradictory strategies and cultural patterns concerning gender equality policies are evident. Here,

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<sup>4</sup> Walby's (2007) proposal for indicator for work place sexual harassment is promising to be further developed for institutions of higher education as well.

gender equality guidelines are accepted and implemented in personnel strategy and appointment regulations, but powerful actors often passively or actively prevent them from being effective. An important issue at such universities is that students and staff are involved in gender equality. In addition, the university's equal opportunities officer is often described as being 'overloaded', without sufficient material support.

3. Universities that can be characterised as passively tolerant or as an organisation of 'de facto prevention' have not yet incorporated gender equality into personnel strategy. In such cases, an equal opportunities plan does not exist and is not currently being formulated. The university's equal opportunities officer has not yet been freed from her other duties, and the equal opportunities office is difficult to find, or discrete contact is impossible. A central equal opportunities commission does not exist, and the installation of decentralised equal opportunities officers is rejected. In such institutions, chancellors and rectors do not see gender discrimination as a problem, while sexual harassment is not viewed as being a possible policy issue because its prevalence is not recognised.
4. Factual prevention of effectiveness generally pertains to under-resourced and under-developed gender equality work. The idea of having a permanent gender equality officer is not accepted in universities with such a structure (Müller 2000: 157–160).

Grünberg (1999) identifies<sup>5</sup> the requirements for *processes* that are needed to drive a significant effect on reducing sexual inequalities and to have an effective approach to gender equality in higher education. She points out the necessity to have gender-disaggregated statistics and gender-sensitive research to formulate the local gender equality problem. Climate may perhaps be the most challenging to measure, but it is an important central dimension in relation to gender equality. Grünberg (1999) refers to pedagogical initiatives and results in improving the educational atmosphere that supports gender equality in the classroom, initiatives that support the creation of space within universities where women can develop a sense of solidarity, and programmes that enable individuals to legally approach issues, such as sexual harassment. Furthermore, the design and number of special-

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<sup>5</sup> Access, inclusion, climate, and promotion were focal points in a two-year regional project in countries in eastern and central Europe and the former Soviet Union. "Good Practice in Promoting Gender Equality in Higher Education" started in 1998 within the framework of the larger UNESCO programme, "Women, Higher Education, and Development" using a transformative model of gender equity by Larkin and Stanton (1998).

ised gender-specific courses, as well as the institutionalisation of Women's and Gender Studies in universities, contribute to social change, thereby influencing the power structures within and outside higher education institutions (*ibid.*). Direct and indirect gender-based discrimination is an explicit area of legislation in various countries, including Finland<sup>6</sup>. However the implementation of policies has been lax, at least in the Finnish context, which is still missing compulsory training of university staff and students. At the University of Oslo, all supervisors are requested to sign a declaration that they have acquainted themselves with the new sexual harassment policy of the university. The guidelines are intended to take power relations into consideration and to focus on university culture, that is, on what is considered proper behaviour within its domain (Søyland *et al.* 2000).<sup>7</sup>

### *European and global dimensions to sexual harassment*

It was the Irish government that encouraged the European Commission to take the final steps towards producing a Union-wide initiative on sexual harassment (Collins 1996). A specific sexual harassment directive was enforced by the EU in 2002 (Zippel 2004). Article 2, No. 2 of the Equal Treatment Amendment Directive 2002/73/EC<sup>8</sup> defines direct and indirect discrimination as well as harassment and

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<sup>6</sup> In a 2008 report of the UN's committee on the elimination of discrimination against women (CEDAW committee), an issue was specifically pointed out. The committee requires Finland to take active measures to prevent sexual harassment in schools and include the topic in teacher education, as noted in their concluding observations for Finland (CEDAW/C/FIN/CO/6):

'181. The Committee notes with concern the lack of a gender perspective in early childhood education and the overall gender neutrality of the educational curriculum and teaching materials. It also notes with concern the high rate of girls experiencing sexual harassment at school and the lack of adequate training for teachers to address such a phenomenon.

182. The Committee requests the State party to undertake a comprehensive curricula review and to introduce gender-sensitive curricula and teaching methods that address the structural and cultural causes of discrimination against women. It also requests that gender issues and sensitivity training be made an integral and substantive component of all teachers' training.'

<sup>7</sup> Søyland *et al.* (2000) describe the Norwegian case in which, in 1994, the Norwegian Working Environment Act was given an important additional provision, stating that 'an employee shall not be exposed to harassment or any other form of improper behaviour'. The University of Oslo published a study on sexual harassment among postgraduate students and research fellows at the Faculty of Arts, indicating that 11% of the female students had experienced unwanted sexual attention, initiated mostly by a male teacher or a male supervisor. A follow-up measure was put in place: a contact group was established to whom a victim of sexual harassment could turn, including a professional follow-up. Professional ethical guidelines for supervisors were also produced, and the entire academic staff was sent a copy, with attached separate declaration to confirm that the supervisor had read the following guidelines.

<sup>8</sup> '2. For the purposes of this Directive, the following definitions shall apply:

sexual harassment. The current common definition of sexual harassment is unwanted and one-sided physical, verbal, or visual sexual behaviour in which sexuality and/or gender are used as a means of subordination, questioning, or control. It also involves the misuse of power to undermine another person (Sunnari *et al.* 2003, Sunnari 2010). Gender harassment includes comments and jokes that imply stereotypic and discriminative attitudes. Sexual harassment includes unwanted physical or verbal sexual intentions that go against good manners (seductive behaviour) as well as sexual bribes, compelling, and coercion (Mankinen 1995). In Finland, The Act on Equality between Women and Men classifies these forms of gender and sexual harassment as *gender discrimination*; these ideas are regarded in the present study as *sexist harassment*.

The Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) mandates that the EU and all of its member states provide equal treatment to all, regardless of sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age, or sexual orientation (Rees 2007, Verloo 2006). European Union (EU) politics has increased the need for sensitivity and intersectional analyses of sex, gender, race/ethnic origin, socio-economic background, disability, and age (e.g., Van der Vleuten 2007, Yuval-Davies 2006, Verloo 2006, Bagilhole 2009). Despite these efforts, however, equality perspective-based research on higher education institutions is confronted with the same challenge as are actual policies: It is categorical and misses the complexities of existing discrimination. Walby (2005) perceives that, in the contemporary development of gender mainstreaming policy, the EU has strengths in promoting it to the abstract level, but weaknesses in terms of implementation. Sexual harassment in European Higher Education institutions has been dealt with in various ways, depending on national legislation and university level policies. Prevention of sexual harassment and gender discrimination has been addressed in the European Council's recom-

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— direct discrimination: where one person is treated less favourably on grounds of sex than another is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation,

— indirect discrimination: where an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice would put persons of one sex at a particular disadvantage compared with persons of the other sex, unless that provision, criterion or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate aim, and the means of achieving that aim are appropriate and necessary,

— harassment: where an unwanted conduct related to the sex of a person occurs with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person, and of creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment,

— sexual harassment: where any form of unwanted verbal, non-verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature occurs, with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person, in particular when creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment.

3. Harassment and sexual harassment within the meaning of this Directive shall be deemed to be discrimination on the grounds of sex and therefore prohibited.'

mentations.<sup>9</sup> However, as Zippel (2004) presents in her study, employers' policy statements, complaints, procedures, and even preventive tools, such as awareness campaigns and training sessions, are more inexpensive than initiatives devoted to gender equality issues, such as pay gaps, child care, and parental leaves. The policies against sexist harassment can also be considered cost-neutral or cost-effective because sexist harassment may lower productivity and increase the costs incurred from psychological and health problems (*ibid.*). A research group from the University of Manchester's Centre for Diversity and Equality at Work<sup>10</sup> presents an intervention model for organisations to use to combat sexual harassment (Appendix 1). It provides clear organisational measures and an analysis framework for their development. The group stated the following:

*Taking a consultative and participatory approach can help to shape the organisational culture and ensure there is [a] zero tolerance approach to sexual harassment and that negative behaviours do not become normalised throughout the organisation (Hunt et al. 2010: 668).*

The sexual harassment intervention model by Hunt *et al.* (2010) divides sexual harassment policy implantation into three phases of intervention: primary intervention/prevention, secondary intervention/responding, and tertiary intervention/follow-up. Sexual harassment intervention is defined in policies that have a legislative basis. For successful implementation of the sexual harassment policies, the organisation's management's commitment is necessary in all of the intervention phases. The intervention model (Hunt *et al.* 2010) could serve as a heuristic checklist for organisations developing their own intervention models for sexist harassment.

### **1.3 Sexual and Sexist Harassment in Research**

Varsa (1996) classifies previous research on sexual harassment into three main discourses: human rights, based mainly in the US; socio-political, based in central Europe; and welfare-state, based in Nordic countries. Oré-Aguilar (2001) presents a classification, which resonates with Varsa's model, that categorises conceptual

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<sup>9</sup> Recommendation Rec(2002)5 of the Committee of Ministers to members states on the protection of women against violence; Recommendation CM/Rec(2007)13 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on gender mainstreaming in education; and Recommendation CM/Rec(2007)17 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on gender equality standards and mechanisms.

<sup>10</sup> Hunt, C.M.; Davidson, M.J.; Fielden, S.L. & Hoel, H. (2010).

models of sexual harassment in three parts: the cultural values model, anti-discrimination model, and gender-based violence model. Since Kelly (1987) put forward her efforts, several feminist researchers have considered sexual harassment as one of the most common forms of discrimination in the sexual violence continuum (Thomas & Kizinger 1997, Sunnari *et al.* 2003, 2005, Sunnari 2008, Husu 2001). While ‘sexual harassment’ is a term widely used in research, ‘sexist harassment’, the more extensive conceptualization of the phenomenon, is also used in research e.g. Benokraitis (1995, 1997) Husu (2000, 2001), Silius (1992), and Sunnari (2010).

Previous studies on this issue have noticed that some sexist harassment may remain invisible and unrecognised, because people become accustomed to the harassment as something belonging to so-called ‘normal’ behaviour (Husu 2001), or see it as an unavoidable part of communication with which one needs to cope (Sunnari *et al.* 2005). O’Connor (2000), based on her study in various Irish universities, argues that resistance towards gender discrimination or prejudice can be various in its kind: consciousness or action, structural or subjective determination, and either collective or individual engagement. Improvements in an organisation’s gender equality policies may provide space to report maltreatment, but it is crucial to draft policies that are sensitive to the multiplicity of various groups and individuals that are represented within organisations. Foreign background, race, citizenship, socio-economic background, and gender are significant in terms of one’s social location. These signifiers together influence how a person or a group experiences the protection provided by legislation or how meaningful such legislation is for them (Welsh *et al.* 2006). Similar results are reported on US campuses (Hill & Silva 2005) and in international comparative research on sexual harassment of college students (Paludi *et al.* 2006) – individuals in some groups are not willing to report their harassment experiences. Additionally, more attention should be paid to age, because sexist harassment is particularly common towards young women as indicated in Finnish Gender Equality Barometer (Nieminen 2008). However, positions of authority and power imbalance (Lee 1998) in traditionally hierarchical organisation, such as universities, are considered central when elaborating sexist harassment experiences, policy implementation of sexist harassment prevention, and its outcomes.

Research reveals that sexual harassment as a component of sexist harassment is rarely reported. Gender equality surveys conducted for staff in the University of Oulu indicate that harassment is recognised and named and that it happens (Rönkä 2008). Some studies indicate that sexual harassment has not been reported



because it has not been considered such a big problem (e.g. Hill & Silva 2005: 36). Furthermore, people who have reported sexual harassment have encountered negative consequences from their colleagues or supervisors (Wilson & Thompson 2001). It is worth examining the extent to which and the seriousness with which sexist harassment has been taken into consideration, or whether it is belittled or its existence denied entirely as part of decision-making processes concerning a university's gender equality politics and discourses. Sexual harassment discourses are expressed, conceptualised, and functionalised in the central documents of the organisation as a modification of desires, beliefs, concepts, and awareness, as well as deeper covert dimensions, such as ideologies, according to a Wilson's and Thompson's (2001) study. Information campaigns aimed at preventing sexist harassment do not necessarily ensure the development of emancipatory knowledge that would enable positive change in a modern organisation. The discourse of sexual harassment itself may produce conditions for sexist harassment by renewing the subject positions of the harassed and the harasser. Moreover, presenting harassment as a sexual activity may encourage some to think about harassment and to act in a harassing manner (Wilson & Thompson 2001). Brewis, based on her 2001 study, presents the following dimensions in the sexual harassment discourse: talk about mutual desire, gendering, sexual essentialism, and heterosexism. Despite its narrow scope, sexual harassment discourse has been able to challenge and reinterpret life in organisations, thus clearly representing an attempt to intellectually capture the organisation. Power may be discursive, but it is also political and has consequences, as Brewis (2001) states. In addition to bodily and discursive locations, intellectual location is also made through sexual harassment. Lee (1998) points out that, in terms of sexual harassment in PhD supervision, women are denied positions as fellow intellectuals and, instead, inappropriately gendered and made unwelcome in sexual ways.

In the university context, everyday practices may be oppressive, unfair, and isolative for certain groups of people. Inequality issues, such as barriers to participation, social structures, and gendered divisions of labour; the complexities of social positioning, gender, and class expectations; and psychic narratives/internalised oppression regarding worth, self-efficiency, and confidence, influence the validation and creation of knowledge (Morley 2000). Findings from various studies indicate that exclusionary mechanisms in academia exist (e.g., Osborn *et al.* 2000, Glover 2000, Müller 1999, 2000, Husu 2001, O'Connor 2000, Grünberg 1999), and evidence-based arguments have provoked a concern about gender balance in decision making and about the complex idea of the gendered

construction of scientific excellence (Rees 2007). Discrimination in the academia is a complex phenomenon and has complex consequences, because science is both a profession and a body of knowledge (Rees 2007). According to Rolin, equality in academia would create better opportunities for scientific dialogue and, therefore, increase the objectivity of scientific knowledge (Rolin 2000).

In Finnish universities, sexual harassment has been studied foremost as a part of gender equality surveys conducted for gender equality plans (Mankkinen 1995, 1999, Sinkkonen 1997, Varjus 1997, Naskali 2004, Kantola 2005). Other types of sexual harassment research have been conducted very little. There are, however, a few notable examples. Husu (2001) examines sexual harassment at eleven Finnish universities as hidden discrimination. Katja Björklund (2010), in her dissertation, examines stalking and sexual harassment experienced by university students.

At the University of Oulu, sexual harassment has been an area of research. Through data collected from students on various occasions, prevalence as well as shifts in forms of harassment have been elaborated (Rautio *et al.* 1999, 2005, Sunnari *et al.* 2005). Students' experiences of study burdens and abuse were studied in the 1990s. According to two studies, 17 per cent of the students responding to the survey (n=665) had experienced sexual harassment (Rautio *et al.* 2005, Sunnari *et al.* 2005). In the most recent gender equality survey for staff conducted in 2008, out of all respondents (n=377), about 10 per cent had experienced insulting innuendos, 'dirty talk' or sexually suggestive jokes.

Gender equality has received considerable attention within this general development (e.g., Rees 2007), and some studies have been carried out to identify the barriers to gender equality within higher education institutions in Europe (Mackinnon & Brooks 2001, Osborn *et al.* 2000, Glover 2000, Müller 1999, 2000, Bagilhole 2000, Husu 2001, O'Connor 2000, Grünberg 1999).

Apart from Europe, Australia and North America have initiated vigorous academic discussions about sexual harassment policies and policy development (Saguy 2002, 2003, Zippel 2003, 2004, 2006, Bacci 1999, 1998, 1994, Bacci & Jose 1994), and this issue is important in African, Asian, and South American universities as well (e.g., Paludi *et al.* 2006). Sexist harassment is one of the barriers to equal access, inclusion, participation, and promotion; it maintains a hostile climate in academia.

Studies that have been conducted on the area in relation to universities cover sexual harassment, campus violence, discrimination, and the implementation of sexual harassment policies from power and discourse perspective. However, what have not been done sufficiently are more holistic studies on sexist harassment as

an issue of university organisations' gender equality politics, policies, and actual gender equality work, as well as longitudinal case studies aiming to understand the changes, improvements, and the difficulties of such processes as part of organisational culture and community challenges.

### *The research tasks*

My study investigates sexist harassment experiences at university, politics and policies that are intended to prevent sexist harassment, and the implementation and outcome of such policies within university organisation. I use Acker's theory of gendered organisations to frame the analysis on three levels: structures, resources, and processes. Lukes's and Olsen's power theories are used to locate and make visible blind spots of gender equality work related to sexual harassment. A component of Nussbaum's capabilities approach is used to strengthen the individual agency perspective. Additionally, intersectionality is considered.

The first research task was to explore gender and sexual harassment as a form of sexist harassment and as a qualitative indicator of gender inequality at the University of Oulu. Articles I–V were used for this purpose. Gender and sexual harassment perspectives were elaborated together in Article II, which is based on the narrative of a female student at the Faculty of Technology. This topic was selected based on the contradictory results concerning gendered and sexualised harassment at the Faculty of Technology at the University of Oulu (Sunnari et. al 2005).

The second research task was to analyse the development of the sexual harassment policies of the University of Oulu during the past two decades (Article III) and the development of the gender equality organisation in the university (Article IV). Article III analyses the development of the sexual harassment policies and grievance procedures at the university during the past two decades. The formation and development of the gender equality organisation within the university are examined in Article IV, with focus on the organisational distribution of power.

The third research task was to study the implementation and outcome of policies and practices for intervening and preventing sexist harassment at the university as a gender inequality question. In practical terms, this task entails elaboration of gender equality policies (Article III), a gender equality organisation, (Article III), and an educational programme addressing sexist harassment (Article V).

As a whole, this research contributes to theory building on gender equality work within organisations with the aim of supporting the realisation of human capabilities, social as well as epistemic justice, and equal respect at the university.

The thesis consists of five chapters. In Chapter 2, I present the conceptual-theoretical framework of my study: These central concepts are chosen to further discuss gender inequality, which is manifested as sexist harassment. In Chapter 3, I present my methodological-theoretical framework and the design of the study. I also present how I understand knowledge and objectivity, as well as how knowledge was acquired in this study. Chapter 4 summarises the main research results, and Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the results and strategies for advancing policy implementation and development to improve gender equality within a higher education institution.

## 2 Conceptual-theoretical Framework of the Research

In this chapter, the study's most central theoretical conceptualisations and concepts are discussed. First, I present the theory of gendered organisations, as complicated by current discussions and practical challenges of intersectionality, gender equality, bodily integrity, sexism, inequality, discrimination, and power.

### 2.1 The Theory of Gendered Organisations

The theory of gendered organisations formulated by Joan Acker (1990, 1992, 1998, 2000, 2006) provides the central analytical structure for the study. It is a framework that facilitates the identification of diverse organisational dimensions: structures, processes, and resources of the researched phenomenon. In the theory of gendered organisations, Acker (1990, 1992, 1998) presents and identifies how these three dimensions reproduce and maintain gender.

The documents that define an organisation's activities form part of the *organisational structure* (Acker 1990). In higher education organisations, structures that direct activities include basic curricula, job requirements, university profiles, research strategies, and the agreements made with the Ministry of Culture and Education, which is coordinating the state funding for universities in Finland. Such documents include the legislation and agreements that direct organisational activities – that is, university laws – as well as all information materials and publicly presented values.

When examining the organisational processes, Acker has focused attention on the dimensions of processes that reproduce and maintain gender within organisations. With such organisational processes, Acker refers to activities that are made up of people's conversations as well as manners of thinking and acting, which remarkably define everyday functions of an organisation. Acker (1992) separates these processes into four different dimensions: divisions, interactions, images, and self-definitions. In practice, according to Acker (*ibid.*), these processes are intertwined rather than separate entities.

1. In organisations, *divisions* are created in terms of tasks, pay, and hierarchies through power and subordination. These divisions produce gender in a manner whereby certain tasks are regarded as better suited for women than for

men and vice versa, for example, in top university positions. In practice, segregation – that is, gender division in higher education – persists.

2. *Interaction*, regulating interpersonal relations, is a basic activity in an organisation, with gender an important part of this activity. Formal interactions in a university organisation include teaching situations, negotiations, speeches, meetings, and appraisals. Informal interactions include discussions during breaks or discussions over lunch or coffee, during which teachers and staff are separated from students or excursions, as well as field trips, or summer schools, during which people work together.
3. The created *symbols, images, and awareness* regarding an organisation visually inform the gendered structures. Images of organisations, such as schools, hospitals, armed forces, factories, and universities, are created. Advertisements allowed in the premises of an organisation may be regarded as part of that organisational image. Creating images and awareness also might involve ethical issues related to gender equality.
4. In a process of *self-definition*, a person perceives behavioural and attitudinal opportunities, as well as the requirements set for these, that define his or her own agency (Acker 1990, 1992). Self-definition pertains to working on one's identity, including its gendered component. It is a multi-dimensional and reciprocal process of an organisation and its actors. In higher education, self-definition may include future aspirations for a specific discipline but in reciprocity with the possibilities available from the organisation.

In addition to economic, ideological, and political resources, working human bodies are the *organisation's resources* as Acker (1992: 254) points out. Embodiment and sexuality arrange an entire organisation by creating various divisions (for example, segregation, pay gaps, men's and women's break facilities), interaction, images, and self-definition (Acker 1992). When organisational practices and policies are examined, the supposed universal person manifests, for example, disregard for unwanted sexual attention or sexist harassment. Consequently, this situation excludes certain bodies as equal, intellectual, and deserving of dignity. The gender produced in organisations is linked with other societal organisations that maintain and produce gender, and these determine the status of bodies in society as a whole (Acker 1992). Furthermore organisational resources may be understood as simply financial resources, but may also refer to work and additional assignments for employees, such as gender equality work in universities.

Acker perceives that, to avoid oversimplifying realities, the category of gender must be understood as fundamentally complicated by class, race/ethnicity, and other differences (Acker 1992, 2006). That is, class, race, and gender should be regarded as complexly related aspects of the same on-going practical activities, rather than as relatively autonomous intersecting systems (Acker 1992, 2000). The author suggests that in these complexly related intersecting systems the most important aspect is sexuality in current western societies (Acker 2006). Heterosexuality is easily assumed in organisational processes and in the interactions necessary to these processes. Homosexuality is disruptive of organisational processes because it flouts the assumptions of heterosexuality, and homosexuality still carries a stigma that produces disadvantages for lesbians and gays (Acker 2006), transsexuals and transgenders (Husu 2001, Lehtonen & Mustola 2004), queer (Cosier 2009, Kumashiro 2009), and gender non-conformative people.

Acker (2006) has been developing an analytic approach, which she names *organisational inequality regimes* to conceptualise *intersectionality*<sup>11</sup> and identify *barriers* to creating equality. She defines inequality in organisations as ‘...systematic disparities between participants in power and control over goals, resources, and outcomes’ (2006: 443). These disparities include those encountered in decisions, such as how work is organised; opportunities for promotion and interesting work; security in employment and benefits; pay and other monetary rewards; respect; and pleasures in work and work relations (*ibid.*). Additionally, I emphasise bodily integrity, because all organisations are made up of physical bodies, and how these bodies are treated and respected influences the practical functioning of an organisation. Embodiment therefore exists as a ubiquitous pervasive dimension in organisational functions. Acker defines organisational inequality regimes as ‘*the interlocked practices and processes that result in continuing inequalities in all work organizations*’ (Acker 2006: 441). Work organisations, such as the university in the present study, are critical locations for investigating the continuous creation of complex inequalities, because much societal inequality originates from these organisations (*ibid.*). Work organisations are also the target of many attempts to alter patterns of inequality (Acker 2006); such attempts include the definition of gender equality and equal opportunities in legislation.

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<sup>11</sup> Intersectionality is generally regarded as strictly connected to social theory that focuses on complex and multiple forms of discrimination/privileges, multiple dimensions of inequalities, and relations of oppression, dominance, and violence (Hornscheidt 2009).

## 2.2 Gender Equality

Nordic countries are acknowledged as forerunners in gender equality initiatives. In Finland, women obtained the right to study at university in 1901 without dispensation, and, in 1906, Finnish women were the first in Europe to achieve the right of suffrage as well as the first in the world to be afforded the right to be electoral candidates. Olsen's (2011) comparative analysis of Nordic countries (Norway, Sweden, and Finland) and Anglo-Saxon nations (UK, US, and Canada) gives rise to important perspectives on equality. In Nordic countries, significant gains include redressing social inequalities, especially in groups; establishing labour movements, women's groups, and civil rights groups; as well as effective collaboration and organisation amongst various other actors. In Anglo-Saxon nations, the emphasis has been on the protection of individual liberal rights. Nordic gender equality work also reaches the above-mentioned sectors. The cumulative ideals of equality start from the basic understanding of equality as foundational/intrinsic equality, followed by equal opportunity and equality of condition, and ending with equality of outcomes – the most far-reaching ideal of equality (Lynch 2000, Lynch 1995, Olsen 2011). Nordic equality has a long history, and universities in Nordic societies have been developing their infrastructure towards greater gender equality. Nevertheless, progress in gender equality has been slow, as indicated by, for instance, the low percentage of women in top university positions compared to their completed PhD degrees in the twenty-first century. Nordic gender equality researchers (Magnusson *et al.* 2008) define the current situation as a contradiction between the seemingly universal acceptance of a general discourse on gender equality and scepticism about its practical consequences, as well as resistance to attempts to produce gender equality. This contradiction is crucial to understanding the complexities of the issues. Gender and equality are phenomena that are constructed, maintained, produced, and reproduced in relations amongst individuals, groups, and societal structures.

Verloo and Lombardo (2007) present three gender equality views that feminist traditions have articulated and the strategies for gender equality to which these traditions are linked as presented in Table 1. These views – liberal feminism, radical or cultural feminism, and postmodern feminism – seek to respond to the following fundamental macro-level questions: '*what is the problem of gender equality*' (Verloo and Lombardo 2007: 22) and '*how could the problem of gender inequality be solved?*' (*ibid.*, 26).



In the ‘equality as sameness’ approach, the problem is seen to be that women have been excluded from the political arena and decision-making process. The proposed solution is to include women, as they are, in the gendered world – that is, in politics and decision-making organisations – without challenging the underlying male norm and dominating hierarchical gender relations, which Verloo and Lombardo (2007) terms ‘patriarchy’. The idea is that each individual, regardless of gender, should have access to rights and opportunities and should be treated according to the same principles, norms, and standards, thereby aspiring for gender neutrality (Squires 1999, Verloo 2005). Contrary to the previous in the ‘equality as difference’ view, ‘male as norm’ is problematised. The solution to inequality is then to seek recognition of non-hegemonic gendered identities and inclusion of differences. The notion of positive actions that require considering gender in employment, promotions, and participation in decision making originates from this approach (Squires 1999, Verloo 2005). In the previous views, ‘exclusion of women’ or ‘existence of a male as a norm’ were problematized and, in the ‘equality as diversity’ view, the gendered world is problematized (Verloo & Lombardo 2007). The solution is to adopt diversity politics, a process that implies the continuous questioning of established categories and meanings for the purpose of displacing them. The strategy for change should also involve empowerment as an expression of the on-going feminist debates over the meaning of gender equality (Verloo 2005, Verloo & Lombardo 2007). The diversity view continues as intersectionality debate, which is perhaps the most challenging current feminist debate about gender equality.

**Table 1. Feminist traditions and views on gender equality by Verloo & Lombardo (2007).**

<hr/> <b>Postmodern feminism:</b> Equality as diversity Political strategy for equality: gender mainstreaming and empowerment <hr/>
<b>Radical or cultural feminism:</b> Equality as difference Political strategy for equality: positive actions <hr/>
<b>Liberal feminism:</b> Equality as sameness Political strategy for equality: equality of opportunities <hr/>

The intersectionality debate pertains to how gender equality is framed in the context of the multiple differences and inequalities that exist because of race, class, age, sexual orientation, ethnic origin, ability, and other complex issues that main-

tain inequalities (Acker 2006, Berger *et al.* 2009, Yuval-Davis 2006, 2011, Walby 2009, Lorde 1988, Nussbaum 2000b). Some feminists are concerned over losing gender and gender equality in the intersectionality debate (Woodward 2004, Squires 2005). According to Verloo and Lombardo (2007), however, the current political and theoretical debate acknowledges the relevance of intersectionality to gender equality policymaking (Verloo 2006, Bell 1991). Verloo and Lombardo (2007: 26) conclude that, while clearly relevant, it seems to be still at an embryonic stage when it comes to policymaking.

Gender equality policy implementation that promotes practical gender equality work within organisations has challenges that relate to the very conception of equality. In practice, *equal treatment* often means that women are all treated in the same manner (Verloo & Lombardo 2007), but are not treated in a manner equal to the way men are treated. *Positive action measures*, which target the special needs of women, can significantly promote good practices and eliminate obstacles. Many EU countries have instituted positive action measures to address the barriers that women experience in the sciences (Rees 2007). *Gender mainstreaming* has yet to be systematically tested in universities and requires a more complex approach to promote gender equality than does either equal treatment or positive action. Gender mainstreaming is about integrating gender equality into processes, policies, and practices. Tools, such as gender-disaggregated statistics, are used, and equality indicators for policy formulation, delivery, monitoring, and evaluation are constructed. Rees (2007) contends that gender mainstreaming moves beyond a concern over numbers; it focuses on the gendering of the science itself and challenges the idea of the gender neutrality of the social construction of excellence and merit. Additionally, the principle of gender mainstreaming focuses on respect and dignity for the individual, both as a professional – that is, sexual harassment and bullying are prohibited – and as an individual – in other words, promoting an organisational culture that discourages excessive work hours and encourages a better work/life balance.

### *Bodily integrity as an indicator of equality*

Nussbaum's conception of the capabilities approach is philosophical (2000a, 2000b, 2005). It is closely related to human rights, providing the philosophical underpinning for basic constitutional principles and covering both 'first-generation rights' that are political and civil liberties and 'second-generation rights' that are economic and social rights. In her own words, Nussbaum (2005:

175) argues that *'the capabilities approach makes it clear that securing a right to someone requires making the person really capable of choosing that function'*.

The 10 central human functional capabilities in Nussbaum's list are (1) life; (2) bodily health; (3) bodily integrity; (4) senses, imagination, and thought; (5) emotions; (6) practical reason; (7) affiliation; (8) other species; (9) play; and (10) control over one's environment (Nussbaum 2000b). The items are, to some extent, differentially constructed by different societies (Nussbaum 2000a). Nussbaum has constructed an approach that is based on a cross-cultural normative account of central human capabilities that remains open-ended and can be contested and remade. The relationship between rights and capabilities would be to view rights as 'combined capabilities', which may be defined as internal capabilities combined with suitable external conditions for the exercise of function (2000b). Realising one of the items on the list of combined capabilities entails not only promoting the appropriate development of people's internal powers, but also preparing the material and institutional environment so that it is favourable to the exercise of practical reason and other major functions (Nussbaum 2000b, 2000a).

Nussbaum is convinced of people's capability to produce an account of these elements that she considers to be necessary to genuine human functioning. She is also convinced that human capabilities commands a broad cross-cultural 'overlapping consensus', and that the list can be endorsed for political purposes by people who otherwise have very different views of what a complete, good life for human beings is. The list is supposed to accord emphasis to quality of life assessment and political planning. It enables the selection of capabilities that are central, whatever else the person pursues. The list is therefore appropriate for supporting political purposes in a pluralistic society. Part of the idea of the list is that its components can be more concretely specified in accordance with local beliefs and circumstances. The core idea appears to be that of the human being as a dignified free being who shapes his/her own life in cooperation and reciprocity with others, rather than passively being shaped or pushed around by the world. Equality defines this relation accurately. Nussbaum (2000a) is interested in the boundary level at which a person's capability is 'truly human', i.e. 'worthy' of a human being. The idea therefore reflects a notion of human worth or dignity. The approach makes each person a bearer of value, as well as an end in a society in which individuals are treated as worthy of regard, and in which each is in a position to live humanly (Nussbaum 2000a: 231). Furthermore, Nussbaum argues that *'[a] focus on capabilities as social goals is closely related to a focus on human equality, in the sense that discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex, na-*

*tional origin, caste, or ethnicity is taken to be itself a failure of associational capability, a type of indignity or humiliation*' (Nussbaum 2000: 86). Emphasising that capability, not functioning, is the appropriate political goal is also important (Nussbaum 2000a, 2000b).

Bodily integrity is the most central capability from the point of view of this study. I therefore limit my elaboration to it. *Bodily integrity* pertains to being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and sexist harassment<sup>12</sup>. Consequently, many apparently non-violent practices count as forms of violence. Nussbaum (2005) emphasises that they should count as forms of violence because the effect is the same on capabilities as actual bodily violence. Violence or the threat of violent acts diminishes numerous valuable capabilities, and fear is itself a form of psychological violence given that it takes its toll on people's lives (Nussbaum 2005: 168). Moreover, even when a person enjoys legal equality, threats of violence including sexual harassment and actual violence often prevent them from effective participation (Nussbaum 2005).

### **2.3 Sexism as a Form of Inequality and Discrimination**

*Sexism* is an ideology of sex and gender supremacy, to which constructions of gender and sexuality are central. Lorde (1988: 352) puts it as follows: '*Sexism, the belief in the inherent superiority of one sex over the other and thereby the right to dominance*'. Overt, covert, and subtle types of sexism have various outcomes that devalue women, in particular, but also other human beings that do not fit within the ideological confines of supremacy (Benokraitis 1995, 1997, Hsu 2001). According to various feminist researchers, sexism is a hegemonic ideology and, therefore, prevails in all levels of society, culture, organisations (including universities), and individual relations. Sexism may be intertwined with racism, classism, and xenophobia, as well as with other differences in, for example, race/ethnicity/nationality, socio-economic class, and age. Thus, researchers have also considered the concept of multiple oppression, discussed also as intersectionality (Collins 1999, McCall 2005, Hornscheidt 2009, McLaughlin *et al.* 2006) to better explain the complexity of sexism. Feminism holds that sexism should be

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<sup>12</sup> The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1994) defines violence against women as '*any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life*'.

challenged and changed because people—men, women, and other individuals with various sexual orientations—should be valued as equals with equal worth.

Feminist and queer theories have contributed to the discussion on intersectionality: (a) by a radical separation of gender and sexuality, so that the internal dynamics within the production of homosexuality and heterosexuality is understood (McLaughlin *et al.* 2006), and (b) on challenging sexual and gender categories by destabilising binary distinctions between women and men, as well as the heterosexual/homosexual divide (Richardson 2006). Queer theory's deconstructionist approach to gender aims to disrupt and denaturalise sexual and gender categories in ways that recognise the fluidity, instability, and fragmentation of identities, as well as a plurality of gendered subject positions. Distinctive for feminist writers has been focus on a materialist analysis of gender: how heterosexuality is related to the maintenance of male domination and gender hierarchies, the materiality of the body, and the things done to bodies, such as violence (McLaughlin *et al.* 2006, Richardson 2006). Sexual and gendered identities are also the product of local situations and contexts. However, race, ethnicity, disability, and cultural location have been accorded greater significance as variables of sexual and gendered identities in these discussions (McLaughlin *et al.* 2006). Furthermore, these important social divisions not only interact, but are also mutually constitutive of one another (Erel *et al.* 2008). As also McCall puts it, '*one could even say that intersectionality is the most important theoretical contribution that women's studies, in conjunction with related fields, has made so far...*' (2005: 1771).

Sexism refers to identifiable attitudes, policies, and practices that affect individuals' lives. Sexism operates on that basic level that structures what we come to think of as 'reality'. In this manner, sexism limits our possibilities and personhood by internalising beliefs that distort our perspectives (Rothenberg 1988). In addition to individual-level prejudices, organisational and structural levels also characterise discrimination and, therefore, words such as 'sexism' and 'oppression' capture *the comprehensive, systemic nature of the phenomena*, i.e. the systems of beliefs, policies, practices, and attitudes that interrelate with incredible intricacy and subtlety (Rothenberg 1988). Sexism can be conscious or unconscious, intentional or unintentional; thus, people can passionately believe that they are not sexist but only misunderstood (*ibid.*, 7).

Frye (1988) argued that the discrimination that she conceptualised is oppression; one's life is confined and shaped by forces and barriers that are not accidental or occasional, and hence avoidable, but are systematically related to one

another. Frye describes this experience as that of '*being caged in*' (1988). She also indicates that oppression can be difficult to recognise and identify. One can study the elements of an oppressive structure with great care, and some good will result from it without understanding the structure as a whole and the people whose motion and mobility are restricted and whose lives are shaped and reduced (Frye 1988).

Gender and sexuality, in addition of power and violence, are central concepts in studies on sexist harassment (Epstein 1997, Thomas & Kizinger 1997, Sunnari 2010). Generally, gender can be understood as the socio-cultural production of one's personality and related to one's biological sex. Gender is classified traditionally as masculine, feminine, androgyny, and non-differentiated (Unger & Crawford 1996). Sexuality is generally classified within main categories of hetero-, homo-, bi-, and transsexuality. These 'categories' are questioned, and how the meaning and importance of these categories should be understood is under theoretical debate (Ferree 1998).

Butler (2006) has been analysing gender and elaborating the link between gender and sexuality by looking into how gender is produced or acted upon. The author argues that forms of sexual practice do not produce certain genders, but that under conditions of normative heterosexuality, policing gender is sometimes used as a way of securing heterosexuality. Butler (*ibid.*) points out that sexual hierarchy produces and consolidates gender. As an individual attribute, sex inequality takes the form of gender – on any way by which gender is performed. Sexual harassment may be seen as the paradigmatic allegory for the production of gender. The act of harassment may be one in which a person is "made" into a certain gender and therefore a provisional distinction between gender and sexual discrimination is important. This view is in relation to the sexist claim that a woman exhibits her womanness in the act of heterosexual coitus, in which her subordination becomes her pleasure – an essence emanates and is confirmed in the sexualised subordination of women. Therefore, the sexual harassment resembles heterosexist relations or reproduces it and could be reasonably seen as sexist harassment. The sexual harassment of gay people may thus take place not in the service of shoring up gender hierarchy, but in promoting gender normativity.

Various classifications have been developed throughout the years in an aim to appropriately and comprehensively define sexual/sexist discrimination. '*Quid pro quo harassment*' pertains to claiming sexual favours in exchange for certain privileges, and '*environmental harassment*' refers to behaviour that causes victims to feel defensive in their work or educational environment (Thomas & Kitzinger

1997). '*Sledgehammer harassment*' denotes the most extreme case of offensive physical assault and '*dripping tap harassment*' represents the everyday repetition of encounters that may be ignored, such as whistling and leering looks at body and clothing (Wise & Stanley 1987); this form of harassment is the most common (Wise & Stanley 1987, Thomas 1997). '*Heterosexist harassment*' includes the idea that the central reason for the existence of harassment is a normative and binary understanding of gender, in which the assumed desire for the 'opposite' gender is central, whereupon homosexuality is forbidden (Sunnari 2010, Epstein 1997). Epstein (1997) further explicates the idea of heterosexist harassment and identifies four factors implicated in the following power relations: (1) Gendered and sexual relations are built up in line with other differences, such as age, race, ethnicity, class, and/or disability (i.e., intersectionality); (2) Heterosexuality is the norm, and exceptions from this norm are punishable; (3) Harassment of homosexual men or men who are assumed homosexual is part of the building of power structures; and (4) Sexist harassment is a pedagogy whereby men and women are educated to accept the heterosexual norm.

From the perspective of Epstein's (1997) conceptualisation, harassment can be examined as misogynist behaviour produced and reproduced by a culture of hegemonic masculinity. In addition, women and men, transgender, intergender or gender-variant people and people with sexual orientations other than heterosexual are also discriminated. The phenomenon in its various forms is understood as a manifestation of gender discrimination (Thomas & Kitzinger 1997): that is, by obtaining power from cultural representations of gender to construct a sex-based hierarchy. However, gender or sex discrimination does not fully define the core of sexism. I therefore argue that the umbrella concept of '*sexist harassment*' (e.g., Sunnari 2010) is appropriate in referring to all the aforementioned harassment incidences, and that gender and other identity signifiers intersect. When talking generally about the phenomenon behind sexist harassment incidences and the ideology, I use the term '*sexist discrimination*'. Thus, sexist discrimination is parallel with other forms of discrimination. These concepts are highlighted in the current research to identify a slight difference in emphasis from previous studies, and at the same time, to ensure the continuation of research tradition.

The prevalence of the discrimination framed as sexist harassment presents challenges to the further consideration of equal rights and human capabilities in achieving wider gender equality. In its various forms, sexist harassment constitutes one of the inequality areas within academia, which is attempted to be dealt with in the politics of university gender equality. However, policies have been

considerably single category-based and insufficiently sensitive to various vulnerabilities.

## **2.4 Inequality and Discrimination from a Power Perspective**

Power is a fundamental concept in a discussion of discrimination and social inequality. Neutral rules, policies, and practices will continue to perpetuate discriminatory patterns in the structure of current society unless they are carefully examined and then modified or eliminated. Therefore, acknowledging the socio-historical past and traditions of institutions and organisations is crucial; these traditions include universities that excluded women because these institutions used to be solely the domain of white men.

Discriminatory actions by individuals and organisations are not only pervasive in every sector of society, but also cumulative with effects (Rothenberg 1988). Thus, the process of discrimination may extend across generations, organisations, and social structures in self-reinforcing cycles, passing the disadvantages incurred by one generation in one area to future generations in many related areas (e.g., socio-economic background effects on educational aspirations and possibilities) (e.g. Dale 2010). Inequality and underrepresentation exhibit national patterns, which cannot be fully explained by individual prejudices or random change (Rothenberg 1988, Rees 2007). Olsen's (2011) view of power is grounded on a comparative study on equality in Nordic and Anglo-Saxon democratic societies, as well as on an influence on decision making. Lukes's (2005) perspective of power focuses on control over political agendas. Together, these theoretical views provide a sufficient basis for looking more closely into sexist discrimination as an inequality problem within an organisation suffused by power, policies, and politics.

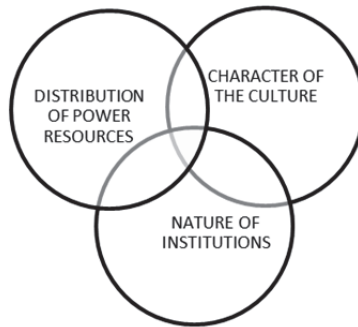
Olsen (2011) presents power as a capacity that is asymmetrically distributed across society. Power is typically attained through command over other resources. Olsen identifies three levels of power: (1) situational, (2) institutional, and (3) systemic/societal. Three central forms of power – economic, ideological, and political – are each based on different, but often closely related, types of resources. The balance of power in society largely reflects the access of groups to these resources – for example, gender balance, representation of ethnic, sexual, linguistic minorities, and their ability to organise, within the context of the capitalist system (Olsen 2011). According to Olsen (2011), in capitalist societies, the most important resources are (1) material or economic resources (i.e., wealth, capital,



property, jobs) (2) normative or ideological resources (i.e., the media, education), and (3) explicitly political resources (i.e., influence over state policy).

Power has a fluid meaning in that, through organisation and access to alternative power resources, other actors can increase their strength, altering the balance of power in society. In this case, the issue is about *situational power*. Power is inscribed in the dominant institutions in society. Oppressed people's ability to organise and the kinds of actions they may take are determined largely by institutional rules. The power used in these measures is conceptualised as *institutional power*. According to Olsen (*ibid.*), all central social institutions – for example, the state, the educational system, including universities, and the media – are permeated by institutional biases that are reflected in the dominant culture, popular norms, attitudes, values, practices, and traditions. Unlike situational power exercised by actors, however, power expressed through institutional biases often goes virtually undetected because such biases are widely accepted as commonsensical. The important point is that the 'generally accepted' or dominant standards and values of society that are socially constructed, as well as continually renewed and defended, are not often acknowledged; they are simply taken for granted and left unquestioned, consequently serving to secure the position of the powerful (Olsen 2011). This view of Olsen's relates closely what Lukes refers as third dimension of power that operates on an ideological sphere (2005). For *systemic power*, power resource theorists highlight two broad, central types of resources that can enable the oppressed groups to shift the power balance in society. The first types of resources that they emphasise are organisational/associational ones – to speak with 'one voice'; the other comprises political resources that represent the interests of oppressed and other organised groups in the state (Olsen 2011).

Researchers and theorists often seek to demonstrate that the distribution of power resources – i.e., the balance of power in society, the nature of institutions, or the characteristics of the dominant culture – are the central determinants of the nature and levels of social inequality in society. However, the separation of these variables is entirely artificial, Olsen argues (2011). They are inextricably and symbiotically linked to one another, as schematically illustrated in Figure 1.



**Fig. 1. Determinants of social inequality in society (by Olsen 2011).**

As seen above, Olsen analyses power from a structural point of view. Lukes approaches power through organisational processes that are linked to decision making. The focus in Lukes's conceptual analysis of power (2005) is on control over political agendas, although not necessarily exclusively through decisions. Conflicts that appear in control over political agendas may be observable both overtly and covertly or latently. Lukes states that the view on power that he presents is 'operational', that is, empirically useful in that hypotheses can be framed in terms that are in principle verifiable and falsifiable (Lukes 2005). He draws three conceptual maps, which aim to reveal the distinguishing features of three views of power.

The first view of power involves a focus on behaviour in decision making regarding issues over which there is an observable conflict of interests (as observed in policy preferences) revealed by political participation. In the framework of the one-dimensional view, power is understood as influence or control given the capacity of one actor to affect another; such influence changes the probable pattern of specified future events (Lukes 2005). The first view of power focuses on studying decision making through observable behaviour, either first hand or by reconstructing behaviour from documents, informants, newspapers, and other appropriate sources. Thus, power can be analysed only after careful examination of a series of concrete decisions which are assumed to involve direct (i.e., actual and observable) conflict of selected key issues (Lukes 2005: 19). Conflict between preferences is also assumed to be crucial in enabling an experimental test of power attributions. In the one-dimensional view of power, interests are assumed to be understood as policy preferences, so that a conflict of interests is equivalent to a conflict of preferences. This view opposes any suggestion that interests may be

unarticulated or unobservable and, above all, that people may actually be mistaken about, or may be unaware of, their own interests.

The two-dimensional view of power allows for consideration of the ways in which decisions are prevented from being considered in potential issues over which a conflict of (subjective) interests is observable; this conflict is embodied in expressed policy preferences and sub-political grievances (Lukes 2005). The two-dimensional view involves examining both decision making and non-decision making. Lukes (2005: 22) presents Bachrach and Baratz's (1963: 39) definition according to which '*a decision is a choice among alternative modes of action*' and '*a non-decision is a decision that results in suppression of a latent to manifest challenge to the values or interests of the decision maker*' (*ibid.* 44). The second dimension of power reveals that identifying potential issues, which non-decision making prevents from being actualised, is crucial. Why do some issues remain covert and unarticulated in politics? Methodologically, the second view of power is individualistic because the issue revolves around the probability of individuals realising their will despite the resistance of others. The power to control political agendas and exclude potential issues, on the other hand, cannot be adequately analysed unless it is seen as a function of collective forces and social arrangements. A common denominator between the first and second power dimensions is a focus on observable conflict: overt or covert; additionally, interests are consciously articulated and observable. However, Lukes (2005) notes that control takes many fewer total and more mundane forms through the control of information, through the mass media, and through the process of socialisation. Moreover, the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent a conflict from arising in the first place. The second view of power is therefore insufficient; a third dimension that considers the issue more carefully is needed.

The three-dimensional view of power – a third view of power – aims at a deeper and more satisfactory analysis of power. It involves a thoroughgoing critique of the behavioural focus of the first and second views as too individualistic and allows for consideration of the ways in which potential issues – such as sexist discrimination – are kept out of politics, whether through the operation of social forces and institutional practices or through individual decisions. The three-dimensional view addresses the socially structured and culturally patterned behaviour of groups and practices of institutions, which may be manifested by individual inaction that sustains the bias of the system in ways that are neither consciously chosen nor the intended result of specific individual choices. This manifestation is especially important to consider in relation to such socio-cultural dis-

criminative patterns of behaviour as sexism. Power analysis should therefore pay attention to an organisation and its procedures because, (1) while a policy or action of a collective may be manifest, it is not attributable to specific individual decisions or behaviours because of (2) the phenomenon of systemic or organisational effects, from which the mobilisation of bias results. The perceptions, cognitions, and preferences of people may be shaped in a way that promotes acceptance of their roles in the existing order, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, because they regard it as natural and unchangeable, or because they value it as beneficial. In these cases, the issue is false or manipulated consensus. The use of power can occur in the absence of actual observable conflict, which may have been successfully averted although an implicit reference to potential conflict remains. A latent conflict, which consists of a contradiction between the interests of those who exercise power and the actual interests of those they exclude, is not necessarily expressed; those who wield power may not even be conscious of their interests. Identifying these interests rests on empirically supportable and refutable hypotheses presented in this study in relation to sexist harassment. In the following Table 2, sexist harassment is presented as an organisational policy question from a power perspective.

**Table 2. Sexist harassment as an organisational policy question from a power perspective (Olsen 2011, Lukes 2005).**

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ONE-DIMENSIONAL VIEW TO POWER:

Sexist harassment as a problem is identified; it can be openly discussed as a part of organisational policy-making processes, e.g., in a gender equality plan.

TWO-DIMENSIONAL VIEW TO POWER:

Sexist harassment as an overt and covert policy issue is identified. Individual experiences may not be so easily reported, but in anonymous surveys they prevail.

THREE-DIMENSIONAL VIEW TO POWER:

Sexist harassment may not be understood as a policy problem at all, but rather as natural, unchangeable, and even beneficial to those who experience harassment.

Sexist harassment may be understood as a policy problem but averted.

Sexist harassment may be considered as policy problem by those who exercise power despite the fact that it is not considered as such with those who execute or experience it.

Empowerment

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### 3 Methodological-theoretical Framework of the Research and its Design

In this chapter I present my methodological-theoretical framework and the design of the case study. I also present how I understand knowledge and objectivity, as well as how knowledge was acquired in this study. The epistemological basis of my research is grounded in the feminist philosophy of science, and the central concepts are situatedness, situated knower and situated knowledge, standpoint, partiality of knowledge and intersectionality (Haraway 1991, Harding 1987, 1991, 2004, 2008, Anderson 2009, Rolin 2005a, Rolin 2005b, Lykke 2010).

#### 3.1 Epistemological Standpoint

Feminist epistemology and the philosophy of science de- and re-constructs the ways in which the concepts used in science and practices of knowledge attribution, acquisition of knowledge, as well as its justification influence inequality among disadvantaged, subordinated, or underrepresented groups (Anderson 2009). Feminist epistemologists have also traced failures of deficient conceptions of knowledge, knowers, objectivity, and scientific methodology, and they strive to reform scientific conceptions and practices in a way that would serve the interests of these groups and benefit their needs (Anderson 1995, Anderson 2009, Harding 2008, Rolin 2005a).<sup>13</sup>

Knowledge reflects the particular perspectives of the knowing subject. Moreover, knowledge and power are internally linked. As Harding (2008: 117) puts it, *'they co-constitute and co-maintain each other'*. Taking this statement into a societal context, it means that the way societies are structured has epistemological consequences. Feminist researchers are interested in how gender situates/locates these knowing subjects. Particular relations of knowers – to what is known and in relation to other knowers – are conceived in feminist epistemology as situated. What is known, and the way that it is known, thereby reflects the situation or

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<sup>13</sup> According to Anderson (1995, 2009), knowledge practices may maintain subordinated groups in a disadvantageous position by 1) excluding them from inquiry, 2) denying them epistemic authority, 3) denigrating cognitive styles and modes of knowledge that differ from the mainstream ones labelled for instance as 'feminine', 4) producing theories that represent subordinated groups as inferior, deviant, or significant only in the ways they serve dominant group's interests, 5) producing theories of social phenomena that render subordinated group's activities and interests, or gendered power relations, invisible, and 6) producing knowledge (science and technology) that is not useful for people in subordinate positions or oppressed groups, or that reinforces gender or other social hierarchies.

perspective of the knower. This aspect of a social location produces privileged knowledge, social role, or individual identity.

According to Harding (1987, 1991, 2004, 2008), scientific inquiry is unavoidably linked to standpoints, but some standpoints are epistemologically better than others. For Harding, standpoint means engagement to a certain social positioning, a consciously acquired standpoint. The traditional assumption in epistemology, according to which conditions for knowing are the same regardless of who the knower is, are questioned, with the argument that a person's position partially determines what kind of awareness he or she develops and that, therefore, his or her experiences within the social reality also differ. This assumption should also be taken into consideration in the analysis of knowledge (Harding 2004). Therefore, Harding argues that the whole concept of objectivity should be understood differently: objectivity is not freedom from standpoints or locating oneself above them but rather presenting the world from a specific socially located point and explicating it in a scientific inquiry (*ibid.*). Haraway has a slightly different view on the matter, but she argues that the objectivity of research requires that the researcher locates her/himself and attempts to make the limitations and partiality of one's research transparent (Haraway 1991). For her, the concept of *partiality* is central to the redefined objectivity of the research. According to Haraway we need 'the *ability partially to translate knowledges among very different – and power-differentiated – communities*' (Haraway 1991: 187). She continues that situated and embodied knowledges are against various forms of unlocatability and, therefore, irresponsible knowledge claims. Haraway (1991) writes as follows:

*We need the power of modern critical theories of how meanings and bodies get made, not in order to deny meaning and bodies, but in order to live in meanings and bodies that have a change for a future.*' (Haraway 1991: 187)

Furthermore the standpoint of the research may be located in methodological choices, i.e., in how the researched phenomenon will be conceptualised, as well as which kind of data are considered relevant for it and which are considered problematic (Rolin 2005b). Additionally, the researcher's societal background and experience through it may be relevant for the justification of knowledge in following ways: 1) the researcher writes her/his experience into the research data, 2) influences the data that are available for the researcher<sup>14</sup>, and 3) his or her back-

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<sup>14</sup> For instance, the gender and age of the researcher may influence informants' trust and how much they are willing to share their experiences with the researcher.

ground guides data analysis by a social reality shared with the currently or previously researched persons (Rolin 2005b).

In order to gain insight into the researched phenomenon, it is important to describe my own standpoint. During the time period of two decades that my research concerns, I have been a student, PhD student, and an employee in the same university. I have been actively involved in the everyday life of the university and also practiced participatory observation. Data collection and PhD research has deepened my knowledge of gender equality work at the university in relation to sexist harassment. Becoming acquainted with foreign universities' gender equality politics and their activities in preventing sexist harassment, as well as visits to other universities, have produced deeper views of my own university and research topic, so that I can understand both the particularities as well as the generalities of the university that I am researching. I have myself experienced sexist harassment and witnessed it on some occasions and in different forms during my studies and work at university. These include situations that are not easy to define. I have also encountered difficulties in raising the issue and seeking advice within the existing grievance procedure. Eventually, I have also realised a need to open up public discussion and concern about the equal respect of all people who are learning and teaching at the university.

This my previously described personal standpoint to conduct research relates to a larger standpoint of an epistemological concern on power structures. Standpoint epistemology consists of an idea that it is possible to make visible, heard, and seen the disparities that societal power structures reproduce, which could be otherwise covered by ideologies. Therefore, research that is politically engaged can also be understood as such an endeavour. Feminist standpoint theory's argument (Harding 1987, 1991, 2004, 2008) concerning privileged knowledge applies particularly to the knowledge that addresses societal power structures. An argument for privileged knowledge is closely attached to Harding's attempt to redefine the concept of objectivity. Harding states that the thought of an objective research free from a standpoint or above all standpoints is false. According to Harding (2008), a goal in research should be '*strong objectivity*', which requires taking into a serious consideration the standpoint of the marginalised, i.e., perspectives and voices of those who are not in a dominating position. In addition to gender, for example, sexual orientation and social class influence what kinds of experiences people have from their societal reality. Commitment to a certain standpoint is understood as a commitment to certain values. Value judgements guide inquiry toward concepts, tools, and procedures (Anderson 2004). Demand

to do justice to the subjects of study and other inquirers – to respect them as equals, to respond to their arguments, evidence, and criticism to secure the objectivity of science as a social practice – reveal that justice, not value-neutrality, offers the proper model of objectivity in science, argues Anderson (2007). Researchers' moral and societal values lead to selecting the choice of the research topic or the application of the research results to practical problems (Rolin 2005b).

### **3.2 A Case Study as a Research Strategy**

A case study is a commonly used method studying organisational behaviour (Aaltio & Heilman 2010). In a case study, a case refers to a progression of events or a phenomenon and a small set of sub-cases, or just one particular case that is under empirical investigation (Laine *et al.* 2007). A case study – a thorough and thick description of the researched phenomenon that also can be described as a research strategy (Aaltio & Heilman 2010, Laine *et al.* 2007) – is characterised by 1) holistic analysis of a naturally appearing phenomenon, 2) an interest in social processes, 3) usage of various data and methods, 4) utilisation of previous studies, and 5) blurriness of the case and the context (Laine *et al.* 2007). Usage of several different methods enables triangulation, meaning that the information received from different data can be compared, resulting in increased validity of the study (Aaltio & Heilman 2010). The approach is inductive rather than deductive, but it can be also considered idiographic; it tries to explain and understand the individual case in its own unique context (*ibid.*).

One of the central questions in a case study is '*What can we learn about the case?*' Since a case study usually elaborates complex and longitudinal phenomena, it is well suited to answer questions of 'how' and 'why'. The aim of a case study is to increase understanding about the studied case and about the circumstances under which it became what it is. The ultimate meaning of the case emerges during the research. For a researcher, it is important to separate a case and the object of the research. The latter refers to the topic that the case instantiates. Identification of the object of the research helps to locate the case within previous academic discussions. The case influences the concepts used, and the selected concepts influence the case. The case study researcher determines what the case is about – what are its central dimensions? (Laine *et al.* 2007.). A theoretical frame and strong conceptual foundation give important focus to the material and are especially important elements of an analysis (Aaltio & Heilman 2010). Answers to the



research questions are sought through intensive and contextual case observations and not from generalizations (*ibid.*).

A case study approach provides a useful strategy for this study, which aims to understand gaps in gender equality policies in higher education institutions that may be broader than a particular case. Furthermore, according to case study analysis (Laine *et al.* 2007), the connection between distinctive episodes and the politics of operation within an organisation have an important role. In the researched phenomenon, the case is ‘*sexist harassment at university as an issue of gender equality politics and policies*’, and the object of the study is ‘*gender equality at university*’. The research is conducted in a real-life context, at a particular university. Detailed and intensive knowledge is produced by using various complementing data, methods, vantage points, and perspectives (Yin 2009, Laine *et al.* 2007). Moreover, previous studies conducted by our research group and other researchers who have conducted research concerning the University of Oulu were utilised as background data (Rautio *et al.* 2005; Rautio *et al.* 1999; Sunnari 2000; Uhari *et al.* 1994a, 1994b).

The case study scrutinises the policy work framing sexist harassment and the construction of gender equality work addressing sexist harassment at the University of Oulu, which is one of the largest universities in Finland. The University of Oulu has an emphasis on technology, medicine, and natural sciences, but has three smaller faculties as well, those of educational sciences, business, and the humanities. A variety of disciplines is represented, with a total of approximately 16,000 students and 2,800 staff in the year 2012. The university has a multidisciplinary ethos, but individual faculties have distinctive cultures and atmospheres (Rautio *et al.* 2005). During the past two decades, gender equality work has been carried out in the University of Oulu with the support of legislation and, since 1995, required by law. The first gender equality plan of the University of Oulu was published in 1997; sexual harassment was mentioned as one of four specific problems that needed to be addressed by relevant policies (Gender Equality Plan of the University of Oulu 1997).

### **3.3 Data Collection**

As is typical of case studies, the research data of this study are diverse, as listed in Table 5. The examination focuses on key materials (Yin 2009, Laine *et al.* 2007); therefore, only the most central gender equality policy documents of the University of Oulu, and just those parts that explicitly address gender and sexual harass-

ment, have been selected for analysis. The data collection targeted individuals who have experienced gender and sexual harassment at the University of Oulu, and only those who had dealt with gender and sexual harassment cases were interviewed. This decision relates to an attempt to address through research those whose voices would not be otherwise heard, those who may be discriminated against, and those who may be on the margins of the organisation (Harding 1987, 1991, 2004, 2008, Liamputtong 2007). As in case studies in general, the purpose of this research is to point out gaps in knowledge and the need to develop further policies (Yin 2009). Therefore, this case study does not aim at generalisations but aims to further policy discussion on the matter based on the research results.

Between the years 1990 and 2010, nine separate studies dealing with student maltreatment,<sup>15</sup> the burdens of study,<sup>16</sup> gender equality among personnel,<sup>17</sup> and the gender and sexual harassment experiences of students and personnel<sup>18</sup> were conducted at the University of Oulu. All nine studies, each with separate data, included writings on sexist harassment experienced or encountered in that university. These writings comprise the first body of data in this study – the compilation of data on sexist harassment experiences (Data A). This harassment data is used for two purposes: from the data, the forms of sexist harassment were sorted according to type; additionally, the data opened up a view onto the awareness of students and personnel with respect to sexist harassment policies that exist in the university. The harassment data enabled critical identification of the shortcomings of gender equality policies focusing on sexist harassment.

The second body of data consists of the same university's gender equality policy documents, including three gender equality plans from 1997 to 2010 and two guidelines of the University of Oulu regarding situations of gender and sexual harassment that were published in Finnish in 2001, and in 2009 a somewhat amended version was published in English. These relevant policies were mapped, and the ones that have explicit sections on or references to gender and sexual harassment were identified, with the aim of constructing the second body of data, which is here called policy data (Data B). With this policy data, the aim was to create a picture of the understanding of the phenomenon among the university gender equality policymakers, how gender and sexual harassment is defined, and to whom the policies are addressed. In addition to actual policy documents, doc-

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<sup>15</sup> 1994 collected by Uhari *et al.*

<sup>16</sup> 1996 and 1997 collected by Sunnari.

<sup>17</sup> 2009 collected by Rönkä.

<sup>18</sup> 2002, 2006, 2009, and 2010 collected by Heikkinen.

uments related to the court cases from the university archive in which gender equality law was held as well as student course assignments are included with the policy data (Data B).

**Table 3. A list of data used in the research.**

DATA A: SEXIST HARASSMENT DATA	ARTICLE
1. Qualitative data from students, staff members, and exchange students	
1.1. Gender and sexual harassment among all faculties' students and staff; 18 web-form and e-mail responses (2001) by Heikkinen	Article I, III Article II, III
1.2. Gender and sexual harassment at the Faculty of Technology, a PhD student interview – two meetings (2006) by Heikkinen	Article III
1.3. Sexual harassment among all faculties' international exchange students; seven web-form answers (2009) by Heikkinen	
2. Surveys for students	
2.1. Student abuse at the Faculty of Medicine (1994) by Uhari <i>et al.</i>	Article III
2.2. Student abuse at all faculties (1995–1996) by Rautio <i>et al.</i>	
2.3. Study burden of all faculties (1996–1997) by Sunnari	
3. Surveys for staff	
Gender equality surveys: all faculties (1995); School of Economics (2002); Faculty of Educational Sciences (2007); all faculties (2009) by Rönkä	Article III, IV
4. Query for gender equality contact persons	
4.1. E-mail query sent to all gender equality contact persons (n=70); 30 responses (2010–2011) by Heikkinen	Article V
4.2. Six phone interviews with students' and staff's sexual harassment contact persons (2011) by Pesonen	
DATA B: POLICY DATA	ARTICLE
5. Policy documents: University of Oulu gender equality plans	
5.1. Gender equality plan (1997)	Article III
5.2. Follow-up report on gender equality (2002)	
5.3. Gender equality plan for the years 2004–2006	
5.4. Gender equality plan for the years 2008–2010	
6. Policy documents: Guidelines for problem situations at the University of Oulu	
6.1. Gender and sexual harassment. Guidelines for problem situations (2001)	Article III
6.2. Prevention of bullying and harassment at the University of Oulu (2009)	
7. Documents: Court cases	
Five court cases where a complaint was filed based on gender equality law where the University of Oulu was the other party	Compilation report
8. Students' course assignments in the 'From Violence to Caring' programme	
8.1. 300 students' (2006–2010) study journals, course feedback forms, and assignments in a web environment	Article V
8.2. Interview with a former student (2011) by Heikkinen	Article V

The research data presented in Table 3 consists of a longitudinal collection of diverse data. It was collected from students and staff from the University of Oulu over the past two decades. Solely for the purpose of this study, only two sets of data presented in the Table 3 were produced: Data 1, Qualitative data from students, staff members, and exchange students and Data 4, Query for gender equality contact persons. As education is central part of policy Data 8, students' course assignments in the From Violence to Caring programme are considered as part of policy data.

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

In the case study analysis, connections between distinctive episodes and the politics of an organisation are regarded as having an important role. The phenomenon is researched within its real context and by using various complementary data, methods, and standpoints; the aim was to produce detailed and intensive knowledge (Yin 2009, Laine *et al.* 2007). The novel data analysis approach that was developed for the purpose of this study corresponds to critical qualitative content analysis (Stan 2010, Mayring 2000, Metsämuuronen 2011). In each sub-study, analysis was varied in an aim to capture the data and its nuances in the most suitable manner (Ramazanoglu & Holland 2002). Analysis has components from thematic (Lapadat 2010), narrative, comparative, and complexity (Yin 2009, Reilly & Linds 2010) analyses. The reading and analysis was aimed at securing an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question (Denzin & Lincoln 2008). The central analysis frame was the theory of gendered organisations, and the central concepts used in analysis were gender, (hetero)sexuality, violence, equality, power, and discrimination. A brief description of the most important features of the analysis method application in each sub-study is presented as follows.

For Article I, new data were collected. The main aim of the data collection in Spring 2002 was to provide an anonymous arena for students and staff to tell about experiences of gender and sexual harassment and their thoughts related to it. Students and staff were encouraged to write by presenting provoking questions: Does gender and sexual harassment and coercion continue even after the organisational, societal, and juridical emphasis on equality issues in the late 1990s? Is there a need to discuss the topic anymore? If harassment occurs, how does it take place? Is there a need for more efficient actions and, if so, what might they be? The study also made it possible to evaluate the policies, decisions, and instruc-

tions at the University of Oulu that consider harassment and whether the impact has been sufficient. The written reports of the sexist harassment encounters were analysed according to the qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2000), and the following issues were deemed important: what constituted harassment in the case, who was a harasser, in what situation the harassment took place, the relationship between the harasser and the victim, what kind of measures the victim took, whether he or she told the incidence to anyone, and what the consequences were. Each written report was crystallised with its specific elements. The aim of the analysis was to give voice and coverage to people's encounters.

Article II draws attention to gender *agency* and *strategy* in academia, for example, how the female engineer constructs and enacts her agency in engineering, and how gender is reproduced in these formation processes of one's agency. I used *intellectuality* and *embodiment* as special analytical dimensions. I focused on a discursive construction of intellectuality, since it is typical or self-evident in academic circumstances, and embodiment, because it has not been regarded as important, meaningful, or at least most central in academic activities. Special focus was on sexist harassment experiences. The research data is from a biographical narrative of the female engineering researcher produced in an interview that was conducted in 2006 at the University of Oulu. The barriers to and strategies of a female researcher in the field of engineering were identified and numbered into an interview transcript, and the main themes emerged were tabled. Content analysis resulted in identifying the three main categories of barriers, areas of negotiations, and three main categories of individual strategies in response to overcome those barriers

Article III focuses on deficiencies in current gender and sexual harassment policies at the university. The sub-study was conducted together with Vappu Sunnari. From the two bodies of data presented in the Table 5, only those parts that refer explicitly to gender and sexual harassment were coded and selected for the purposes of this study and for further analysis. These two separate sets of longitudinal data dealing explicitly with gender and sexual harassment enabled the examination of the accuracy, scope, coverage, and development of the gender and sexual harassment policy at the university. The harassment and policy data were at first analysed as separate entities. During the second round, by comparing these data, I was able to elaborate the scope of the gender and sexual harassment policy and locate its deficiencies. From the harassment data, the various forms of sexist harassment were analysed, and the main categories were formed. In this analysis, both deductive and inductive reasoning were applied. Categories were deduced

based on previous research gender and sexual harassment and theories of sexist harassment. New gender and sexual harassment categories were produced through induction; that is, particular forms of harassment expressed in the data formed new categories. The complexity of the gender and sexual harassment phenomenon became apparent through the data analysis process, and complex understanding was enhanced when the harassment and policy data were compared. The analysis continued through a comparison of these six main gender and sexual harassment categories with gender and sexual harassment policies. The comparative analysis resulted in the identification of eight main forms of deficiency in current sexist harassment policies at the university.

In Article IV, the deficiencies of the university's gender equality politics, those focusing on gender and sexual harassment, in particular, were located. The most important data relative to this article are the gender equality policy documents of the University of Oulu – gender equality plans and guidelines for gender and sexual harassment intervention – three gender and sexual harassment cases, and contact persons' phone interviews regarding received training. Typical for a case study (Yin 2009, Laine *et al.* 2007), the examination focuses on key data. Only the most central gender equality documents have been selected for analysis, data collection is limited to the gender equality actors, and the interviewees are gender and sexual harassment/equality contact persons.

Article V is about reflections on the meaningfulness of Information and Communication Technology (ICT)-based learning environments for studying gendered and sexualised violence. The sub-study was done in collaboration with Suvi Pihkala and Vappu Sunnari. The students' course assignments were analysed in terms of what they wrote about their feelings, and the implications for student self-empowerment were examined. The data comprise the course assignments students produced during their studies, including study journals and feedback forms written by 300 students from 15 European countries, collected between 2006 and 2010. Qualitative data analysis was carried out on student writing on themes derived from the theoretical development of non-violent pedagogy; this study is therefore deductive in nature. The experiences of one student were brought up in a study as an example of a typical case of gender and sexual harassment that did not result in an official report. A student wrote in her study journal that she had experienced gender and sexual harassment twice in university, once abroad while an exchange student, and once in Finland during her academic studies. This case was elaborated more closely with the aim to locate the difficulties for official reporting and interference.

## **4 Overview of the Main Results of Empirical Studies**

The main results of the five articles are presented here in the framework of Acker's theory of gendered organisations on three levels: structures, resources, and processes. Articles I and II deal with sexist harassment experiences, which I here elaborate from the point of view of organisational processes; Articles III and IV deal more specifically with organisational structures; and Articles I–V deal with organisational resources. Lukes' and Olsen's views to power are used in this study to locate and make visible the blind spots of gender equality work related to sexual harassment. Furthermore, Olsen's view of power enables us to locate power on individual, organisational, and cultural levels, and Lukes' view of power helps to identify the use of power as a part of decision-making processes. The concept of bodily integrity from Nussbaum's capabilities approach is used to strengthen the individual agency perspective. Intersectionality is also addressed.

### **4.1 Experiences of Sexist Harassment**

In Articles I–V, based on various data, it is evident that university undergraduates, doctoral students, and staff experience gender and sexual harassment, although the forms have changed to some extent, as have the ways in which people discuss the issue. When we examined the data, a number of forms and diversity of practices of harassment were identified. First, sexist jokes were the most usual form of sexual harassment mentioned by students from different disciplines and different data groups. It is possible that the jokes were presented in the guise of humour, but often they also constructed and maintained a hostile environment and an atmosphere of ridicule. This type of behaviour and tolerance towards it strengthens sexist attitudes. Second, sexist study material was mentioned as a form of harassment, particularly pertaining to the older data. Third, sexual and sexist innuendos were discussed in the data, representing a type of sexist positioning of the harassed. In some cases, the innuendo seemed to represent pressure to provide sexual services and was used to maintain a macho-oriented culture. Fourth, some students and staff members experienced visual harassment, such as overly long gazes. Fifth, a fear of becoming coerced into providing sexual services was reported by some undergraduate and post-graduate students. In one long-term academic relationship between a PhD research supervisor and a student, this type of

harassment broke the student's trust in her supervisor, and she was not able to continue her research.

The forms of harassment identified in the data were therefore diverse, and harassment practices were discriminatory. Attitudes and the discriminatory characteristics of harassment indicate the sexist nature of the harassment. Borderline academic and leisure-time activities, such as free time around excursions, conference trips, field trips, and field investigation periods may increase vulnerability to harassment. This may be interpreted such that formal academic structures may actually provide better protection for bodily integrity compared to more informal settings.

People experiencing harassment are quite often psychologically alone in the situation and unsure of how to deal with it, even when the harassment occurs in or as a group. This indicates that a discriminatory attitude may become a dominant one that it is not easy to question. As a result of the experienced sexual harassment, some were unaware of the options for reporting it or seeking help, or did not want to report it or did not know how. Some who reported it faced difficulties in bringing their case to a satisfactory conclusion, and some have ultimately quit their studies or jobs. Individually experienced deficiencies in sexual harassment policy implementation are presented in Table 4.

**Table 4. Individually experienced deficiencies in sexual harassment policies.**

Experience	Deficiency in policy implementation
Non-reaction: tolerance/quitting one's job or studies because of sexist harassment	Non-identification of the phenomenon, understood as an individual problem/not identified as a communal matter
Unawareness of the options for reporting sexist harassment and seeking help. An attempt to cope with the situation alone because of language barriers, visitor status, minority gender, etc.	Lack of awareness of policies
Unwillingness to report sexist harassment because of fear of negative consequences for oneself	Lack of protection, guilt
Inability to report sexist harassment because of underdeveloped grievance procedures	Lack of support persons
Unsuccessful reporting of sexist harassment because of dysfunctional grievance procedures	Lack of education, incompetent support persons

Although it is individually experienced, sexist harassment takes place within organisations; therefore, it should be the organisation's responsibility, not just the



individual's responsibility, to solve it. Some victims of harassment have stood up for their rights and, in some cases, the perpetrators were reprimanded. 'Sexist harassment' is a complex phenomenon. Sharing experiences about sexist harassment requires first becoming aware of the phenomenon. First, the person must conceive of and define the 'experienced harassment' as exceptional behaviour in order to name it as sexist harassment. While writing about it, they must admit it as a problem on some level. The harasser is certainly responsible for the harassing behaviour, and the organisation has a responsibility to make clear policy stating that harassment is not tolerated. A small percentage of the total number of students and staff officially reported their sexist harassment experiences. However, in each data collection, a larger population talked about their experiences.

For a synthesis of the empirical data on sexist harassment experiences, I argue that: (1) sexist harassment is not just an individual harm, but rather organisational; therefore, an organisation-level examination of the phenomenon is needed; (2) practices and attitudes characterising sexist harassment experiences indicate whether the harassment is sexist' and (3) qualitative empirical data indicate that sexist harassment is not a single category harm; there are multiple categories relating to how a person is treated and to their decision to seek help.

## **4.2 Struggles with Sexism on a Micro-political Level – a Case**

Article II was focused towards the context of gender and sexual harassment experiences and the micropolitics of individual-level power struggles in the Faculty of Technology. For Article II, empirical data were collected with a semi-structured thematic interview that was conducted in two phases in 2006; it formed a life-span narrative of a current engineering professional. The aim was to get deeper insight into the everyday life of an engineering department at the university from a gender perspective. The focus on personal experiences of agency and strategy within everyday life in a university organisation prompted a defining of the meaning of various intersections such as gender, social class, nationality, and age, which have become relevant as a result of the increasing international mobility of the staff in universities. I used intellectuality and embodiment as special conceptual analytical dimensions when analysing the data – intellectuality because it is typical or self-evident in academic contexts; embodiment<sup>19</sup> because it has not been regarded as important or meaningful in academia. However, both are in

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<sup>19</sup> This concept has a close relation to Nussbaum's bodily integrity.

relation to the capabilities approach (Nussbaum 2000a, 2000b) and therefore should also be addressed in related policy research.

The female engineering researcher faces on-going ambivalence in her job. Due to her academic skills and intellectuality, she is offered an opportunity to carry out her studies. However, she faces sexist harassment, such as questioning her capability as an academic project leader because she is a woman. Her being a woman in the field of engineering has resulted in various contradictory expectations that are intertwined with gender, appearance, social behaviour, areas of interest, and career aspirations. These expectations produce an extra burden for her *credibility*, which she has to deal with when organising and planning work on her projects. Furthermore, she promotes gender equality by creating opportunities for other women to enter the field; this comes in addition to her work in the disciplinary field as ‘*an academic house work*’ (e.g. Morley 2000). The conditions for agency within a university organisation in her case were surrounded by barriers and strategies crystallised into three main categories, as presented in Table 5.

**Table 5. Experiences of everyday barriers and individual strategies to cope with them.**

Barriers	Strategies
Language – Finnish not mother tongue	Proof of one’s expertise
Citizenship – not Finnish	Assertiveness
Gender – not male	Alliance with others

Hidden gendered perceptions exist in male-dominated work life, as indicated in the statement made by the interviewee: ‘*I think it is degrading that, if you are a woman, competence is not enough*’, and ‘*What I have learned is that you do not have to accept it. If you get these types of comments you should educate them that it is discrimination*’.

Accomplishments in work may be judged as work done by the embodied gendered competences. Also one’s outlook might influence the ways in which a person’s academic competences are judged. On the micro-political level, gender equality questions are very personal and challenging to tackle alone. They require awareness and sometimes open confrontation. On the societal level, the question of power is also a question of democracy. How do the structures support the active participation of all societal groups – women and men, socioeconomic classes, nationalities, etc., in science and engineering?

In her study, Salminen-Karlsson (1997) found that female professionals in the field of engineering face expectations ‘*to be good with people*’, which may also

mean that they are not expected to apply for higher-level jobs within the organisational hierarchy. These expectations can cause pressure due to needing to be concerned about what others really think of you as a gendered embodied being. The concept of bodily integrity provides important insights to understand this situation as well as the personal process of agency and strategy within academia.

For a synthesis of this data I argue that: (1) in addition to sexual harassment, gender harassment also takes place in this case. The informant from the Faculty of Technology had various experiences in which her intellectuality or leadership position was questioned because she was a woman, indicating discriminative attitudes, practices, and ideologies indicating sexism, and (2) the article indicates that cultural backgrounds, nationalities, and languages are important to consider in harassment policy implementation. Furthermore, the complex intertwined processes of gender, power, and citizenship should be seriously considered as a part of gender equality work.

#### **4.3 Policies Addressing Sexist Harassment in the University**

Article III focused on sexist harassment and the shifts that have occurred during the past two decades, during which the university drafted its first gender equality plan and revised its gender and sexual harassment policies. Over the past two decades the issue of gender and sexual harassment at the university has gained increasing visibility, although the message that sexist harassment is not tolerated at the university has remained at the same level in policy documents. Despite the existing policies and their development from 1990 to 2011, students and staff have experienced – and continue to experience – sexist harassment. The article explores the shortcomings and insufficiencies of university sexist harassment policies. Comparing the sexist harassment data and the policy documents in the case of the university promoting equality between women and men, the following shortcomings were identified as categories for further elaboration as presented:

### Shortcomings

- Sexist atmosphere not sufficiently addressed
- Ambivalent understanding of the concepts of harassment; normalisation of the phenomenon
- Emotional difficulties in confronting or reporting the harasser
- Borderline places and spaces
- Focusing on the individual instead of the institution
- Ineffective implementation
- Difficulties in measuring prevalence
- Singular identity-based equality policy

Measures against sexist harassment that focus wholly on individual prevention do not address all of the forms of sexist harassment that are manifested on communal and atmospheric levels. Additionally, prevention measures do not work if the phenomenon in its entirety is unclear, i.e., it is not recognised and accurately labelled. A clear need exists to account for the plurality of individual identities. A requirement for respect in relationships between individuals, both students and staff, is needed despite the formality of the academic setting. Moreover, as of this date, the university still does not have a dedicated full time officer for handling gender equality issues or a separate budget for disseminating central policy documents. The university still has not conducted a gender equality survey in English, despite the increasing number of international students and staff, the university's goal to recruit more international students into its programmes, and its plans to fill university posts with international researchers. Therefore, guidelines should be tuned in that direction and those aspects should be addressed in education about sexist harassment. In fact, education about sexist harassment has not been included in new personnel or student orientation programmes or mainstream curricula at the university. Courses are only available in Women's and Gender Studies programme. One way to improve general awareness among the university staff would be to make gender equality studies a qualification criterion and part of the professional requirement procedures. A staff that is capable of implementing and justifying the importance of gender equality and intersectionality-sensitive approach would allow the academic culture to develop a sense of responsibility –

that is, driven by both community and institution – to prevent sexual harassment and implement relevant policies.

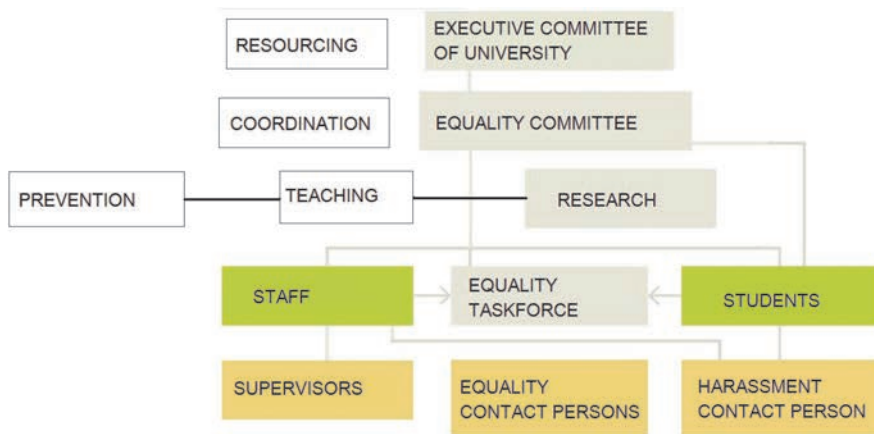
This part of the study opened up perspectives on gender equality policy measures and their development in order to prevent sexist harassment in higher education. Current gender equality bodies such as gender equality committees and gender equality task forces in universities are underdeveloped and under-resourced. More research on these topics is clearly needed. Other general deficiencies include the low reporting rate of harassment. In spite of these deficiencies, the action that the university has taken to eliminate sexist harassment is a step forward. Furthermore, the disparities among EU countries in terms of sexist harassment policy implementation, policy requirements, the dissemination of policies, and sanctions for perpetrators would require more attention, and comparative research for their promotion might be useful here.

For a synthesis based on the data, I argue that: (1) organisational measures are not sufficient, since they focus on the individual level, whereas sexism also operates on organisational and cultural levels (Olsen 2011) and (2) the research results indicate that the university organisation's interpretative framework is lacking critical concepts of sexism to accurately respond to sexual and gender harassment in its various forms. This would indicate a need for education and training about gender and sexual harassment and its sexist nature for all members of the university organisation.

#### **4.4 Organisation to Address Sexist Harassment**

In Article IV, sexual harassment is examined from the point of view of a practical implementation of gender equality politics. The central focus of the examination was gender equality work organisation from the perspective of sexual harassment prevention. In the study structures, the processes and resources of the gender equality work carried out were examined based on the theory of gendered organisations. Gender equality work has moved forward in Finland in the past two decades, since it became obligated to do so with the enactment of a gender equality law in 1995 (Act on Equality between women and men). The first gender equality plan of the University of Oulu was published in 1997. Sexual harassment was mentioned as one out of four problems that needed to be combated with further measures. In subsequent plans, sexual harassment was named as a target area for gender equality policies.

In Figure 2, deficiencies in prevention, teaching, coordination, and resourcing of the current gender equality work in relation to its organisation in the university are identified.



**Fig. 2. Deficiencies in the organisation of gender equality work.**

In previous studies conducted at the University of Oulu, it was noted that most gender and sexual harassment remains invisible and/or unconscious. In a gender equality survey, 10–17% of respondents indicated having experienced harassment. However, the equality contact persons received only a few complaints; three staff members’ and three students’ contact persons said they had been contacted less than once that year according to the data collected in June 2011 for this study. At the end of 2011, all members of the gender equality board were contacted; 70 were sent an e-mail request, 30 replied that they had been contacted a few times throughout the year, but only three gender and sexual harassment cases came up.

There are deficiencies in measures designed to address sexist harassment. The organisation of a gender equality framework, including a gender equality plan, drafted guidelines, and a network of gender equality actors, is extensive and reaches all faculties but, according to this study, it doesn’t function well in terms of intervening or preventing instances of sexist harassment. There are problems with the structures, resources, and operations that are defined in organisational documents, such as grievance procedures. The discrepancy between the very few official complaints and the 10–17% reported experiences of harassment is a challenge for further consideration.

Gender equality work does not have enough resources, and the contact people at the harassment/gender equality board have received little education on the mat-

ter. In order to fulfil the goal of '*gender equality is matter for everyone*', training on equality issues is needed. It would also benefit harassers who do not recognise the characteristics of harassment and, therefore, might be unaware of their harassing behaviour. In an effort to increase expertise on gender equality matters, resources need to be designated to education, which should be mandatory for all personnel. Information, orientation, and education would strengthen personnel commitment, sustainability, and expertise on gender equality questions. Education concerning sexist harassment is not included in any curriculum, personnel training, or orientation of new personnel, despite the fact that education is of primary importance in preventing sexist harassment.

In the first gender equality plan at the University of Oulu gender and sexual harassment was defined as *a special problem* and, in the latter plans, as *a concern of university culture* (Gender equality plan of the University of Oulu 1997). In this apparent shift, it is clear that sexist harassment became a community problem. When sexist harassment was approached as a community problem, attention was paid to equal circumstances and to a shared responsibility for constructing those circumstances. The real ability to use one's intellectual capabilities (Nussbaum 2000a, 2000b, 2005) within the university would require improvements in the university culture. According to the legislation concerning work, life, and education, it is necessary to include gender equality and equal opportunities in the curriculum. Students should be able to study in equal circumstances in order to become aware of the barriers to equality, such as sexist harassment. The curriculum could also include how to concern oneself with the matter and its prevention.

The University of Oulu does not have a full-time staff member dedicated to gender equality to coordinate and develop gender equality within the university. In an effort to develop gender equality measures further, a compilation of statistics of harassment cases, follow-ups and an annual evaluation of the overall situation is important. Executive levels of gender equality work are too under-resourced to be able to inform, educate, or deliver central gender equality documents in English to all students and staff. It should be possible to improve gender equality in English, too. Exchange students studying at the University of Oulu in 2009 suggested that an anonymous web-based reporting channel would make contact or reporting easier for a student.

For a synthesis of the empirical data of this sub-study, I argue that: (1) despite the evidence that various students and members of staff have experienced gender and sexual harassment during the past two decades, the university has taken very limited small-scale actions to combat it, and (2) lax response to the problem con-

stitutes discrimination at the decision-making level (Lukes 2005). Sexist harassment has not been successfully interpreted as a part of organisational politics and area of resource investment. (3) The article identifies the structural areas of gender equality work that require improvement in aim to address sexist harassment in the university accurately.

#### **4.5 Educating a Capable, Caring, Empowered Self**

The article V describes an experiment using a developed study programme and a suitable pedagogical approach to studying sexual and gender harassment, and it further examines intervention by discussing the strengths and disadvantages of such an initiative.

The development of an e-learning programme during the past decade provided an opportunity to examine in praxis what it would mean pedagogically, ethically, and emotionally to include gender, sexuality, and violence in a curriculum. This was done using a programme addressing the specificities and interconnectiveness of these elements in an individual in order to study the matter from a life-span perspective. To this end, certain pedagogical principles that could enhance a caring empowered self were built into the programme and examined, namely: feelings about knowledge construction online, belonging to a virtual learning community, authenticity as a challenge for learning in cyberspace, and interdependency in web-based learning. Sexist harassment, as well as other forms of violence to which gender and sexuality are fundamental, were studied during the programme. This provided an opportunity for several students to elaborate on their own experiences in these matters and allowed some of them to name their experiences as violent for the first time. Hence, issues relating to one's 'bodily integrity' were discussed.

In her study journal, one student described her experience of two separate occasions of gender and sexual harassment in a university setting. One incident happened in her home country of Finland, and the other occurred when she was an exchange student abroad. The student wrote about her experiences of harassment in an academic course in which various forms of gendered and sexualised violence were studied. Her experiences were highly content-related, including learning that the question is not just about individual harm. Systemic discrimination, such as tolerance of sexually harassing behaviour or a sexist atmosphere, discourages the reporting of harassment and negatively influences the agency of the individual (Cairns 1997, Ramazanoglu 1987). In a virtual environment, an



individual has the space to get in touch with his or her feelings related to sexist experience, examine alternative action options, and think through the consequences of those options. The student in question did not make an official report of experienced harassment, but wrote about the incidences in her study journal.

Agency is central to a pedagogy that aims to foster a caring, empowered self. The learning process is interdependent and interactional on a personal and social level. Individuals in such groups may lead the group to knowledge or to a position that may influence the group's political action (Frankenberg 2000, Collins 1999). Can we share, receive, and respond to personal accounts in feminist cyberspace with an emotional intensity that enables the formation of a collective group experience across borders, languages, genders, sexualities, ethnicities, abilities, ages, beliefs, and worldviews? Even given the advantages of e-learning, studying a theme as potentially personal and emotional as violence is not easy. Instructors must offer support while allowing students to work independently. They must take the various backgrounds of the students into account. Balancing the emotional and intellectual is also challenging. Feelings, essential to human understanding, are social and, therefore, shared in large part with groups of others. More might be done to collectively attend to and reflect on feelings, and the e-learning platform would provide a possible space for such attention and reflection, because the articulation of feelings is recorded in the space as written text.

Although it is possible to help another person to do something, Townsend *et al.* (1999) argue that it is not possible to give them power or to empower them. Empowerment must be understood as including both individual conscientisation (power within) and social components. Institutional, material, and discursive contexts must be taken seriously when attempting to support the development of self-empowerment (Herbert 1997). This can lead to politicised power in cooperation with others, which provides the power to bring about change.

For a synthesis of this data, I argue that: (1) This article contributes to the development of gender equality policies within the university, which is characterised by three central pillars: sharing individual accounts, creating collective group experiences, and implementing political action. Emphasis is placed on empowerment and pedagogical structures that support the development of an individual consciousness of the framework of power. (2) The area of gender expertise is significantly influenced by resource distribution, qualification criteria, curriculum, and pedagogy, as well as competencies in gender responsibility, that are issues also of political decision-making within a university.



## 5 Discussion

The challenge for the research was to study sexist harassment experiences at the university, the politics and policies that are intended to prevent sexist harassment, and the implementation and outcome of such policies within the university organisation. The whole research process resulted in two theoretical themes reflective of the areas of sexual harassment and gender equality: the first one is conceptual and the second one is organisational. The concepts of gender and sexual harassment, sexist harassment, sexism and sexist discrimination are, firstly, used to refer to the same phenomenon, also indicating how the phenomenon is understood and how it should be solved. Secondly, it seems essential to elaborate the topic from an individual level to the organisational level in a way that also considers the realisation of individual capabilities within an organisation. Both of these questions are also important in developing the theory further, as that is also an aim of my study. The following Table 6 summarises the research tasks from the point view of organisation theory.

**Table 6. The research tasks of the sub-studies in an organisation theory framework.**

<b>PROCESSES</b>
SEXIST HARASSMENT AS QUALITATIVE INDICATOR OF GENDER INEQUALITY
DATA: Sexual harassment cases (Articles I-V)
Deconstructing the solely 'individual' problem and reconstructing it as an organisational problem
Deconstructing the 'sex/gender' problem and reconstructing as an intersectional problem
<b>STRUCTURES</b>
GENDER EQUALITY POLICIES AND GENDER EQUALITY ORGANISATION
DATA: Policy documents in relation to sexist harassment cases
Locating insufficiencies in current policies and their implementation (Article III)
Locating gender equality organisation, its work and under-resourced areas (Article IV)
<b>RESOURCES</b>
EDUCATION ABOUT SEXIST HARASSMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION
DATA: Pedagogical approach to learning about sexist harassment
Pedagogical development to nurture human capabilities (Articles III-V)
Policy development in a theory of gendered organisations and human capabilities perspectives (Compilation report)

## **5.1 From Individually Experienced Sexual Harassment to Recognition of an Ideology of Sexist Discrimination within an Organisation**

In the beginning of the study and throughout Articles I–V, I have used the concept of gender and sexual harassment. The results clearly indicate that, in terms of sexual and gender harassment, what students experience at university is rather a question of sexist attitudes and practices, a hostile environment, and discrimination. Furthermore, the question is about an organisational culture that tolerates sexism, which also becomes normalized and, at least situationally, is established as the dominating one. All of these factors are in line with the definition of sexism. Sexism is defined as an ideology of sex and gender supremacy to which constructions of gender and sexuality are central. Sexism refers to identifiable attitudes, beliefs, policies, and practices that interrelate and that affect individuals' lives. Sexism limits our possibilities and personhood, i.e., in Nussbaum's terminology, our human capabilities. In addition to individual-level prejudices, organisational and structural levels also characterise discrimination and, therefore, 'sexism' captures the comprehensive, systemic nature of these phenomena.

Because of the systematic nature of the characteristics of gender and sexual harassment in terms of attitudes, practices, and policies that appeared in the study, I came to the conclusion that, as a phenomenon, they are based on individual-level decision-making and, more profoundly, to a more general level of ideological definitions. Therefore the concepts of sexist harassment should rather be used in harassment cases and, when talking about the general phenomenon, it should be referred to as 'sexist discrimination'. Sexist harassment has not been an area of sufficient focus in policy formulation, nor has it been successfully considered in institutional policies. As Epstein (1997) argues, the question in sexist harassment cases is not solely about sexuality itself but about an ideology of sex and gender supremacy that is intertwined with heterosexism and a hierarchy of various identity signifiers and related cultural behaviours. Furthermore, sexist harassment is a useful term while researching, discussing, and developing policies. In addition, the term 'sexist harassment' indicates an ideology related to the phenomenon that is parallel to other forms of discrimination such as racism, classism, able-bodiedism, etc.

Sexist discrimination is a question and a concern of gender equality politics and policies at university whose elimination requires further consideration. Potential issues such as sexist harassment may be kept out of politics through the opera-

tion of social forces, institutional practices, or individual decisions. According to the sexist harassment data, both strategies – institutional practices and individual decisions – are used to keep sexist harassment off the organisational policy agenda, either consciously or unconsciously. When harassment appears, reactions to it may vary: it may be silenced, belittled, ridiculed, tolerated, or repeated, as presented in Articles I–V. Sexist discrimination may be reasonably considered a key issue in the area of gender equality politics within the university.

This study supports the results of previous studies of various discursive power struggles on sexual harassment (Wilson & Thompson 2001, Hill & Silva 2005, Welsh *et al.* 2006) and difficulty of labelling individual experience as such. Belittling of the actual harassment may be seen as an attempt to prevent a possible key issue from coming into the organisational decision-making area in academia, and resulting in ‘a non-event’ and, respectively, non-decision-making (Pincus 2002), on the second dimension of power (Lukes 2005). The biggest threat seems to be an organisation’s power in academia, which may prohibit gender equality issues, including sexist harassment, from becoming a key issue in the political decision-making area and this may result a lack of adequate resources for sexist harassment prevention, response, and follow-up. Therefore, it is important that this be given further consideration. During the entire research process, repeatedly appeared issues in relation to policy development have been: (1) support for victims of harassment, (2) prevention of sexist harassment, and (3) education on sexist harassment and gender equality. The situation now, at the end of this research, remains the same as it was at the beginning with regard to these three above mentioned issues, i.e., they are under-developed and under-resourced. Table 7 summarises areas in which the university needs to further consider sexist harassment, and it identifies which areas need to be improved.

**Table 7. Reconstructing sexist harassment prevention policies in the university.**

Shortcomings	Proposals for improvement
Sexist atmosphere not sufficiently addressed	Zero tolerance to all forms of sexist harassment
Ambivalent understanding of the concepts of harassment and normalisation of the phenomenon	Education for students and staff, research, gender mainstreaming in policymaking
Emotional difficulties in confronting or reporting the harasser	Improvement of policies and support services to consider power differences
Borderline places and spaces	Including borderline areas in the policy in an attempt to cover them properly
Focusing on the individual instead of the institution	Including a university culture and community approach to preventive measures
Ineffective implementation	Resources
Difficulties in measuring prevalence	Indicators
Singular identity-based equality policy	Intersectional approach
	Applying a human capabilities approach to overall equality politics

The research results of this study also support the idea, that sexist harassment prevention measures should operate on individual, collective, organisational, and managerial levels (e.g. Hagman & Hearn 1999). Despite very limited resources, gender equality actors in the case of the university have some clear accomplishments: they have increased awareness of sexual harassment, created guidelines for gender and sexual harassment in Finnish and English, developed grievance procedures, staff in each of the six faculties are involved to at least a certain extent in gender equality work resulting in its own unique organisation, collaborated with the student union, and established a continuity of gender equality work for almost two decades now. This study indicates that gender equality work in order to improve equality at the university is a long-term commitment both for the individual and for the organisation. It is important to examine more closely how gender equality work can be best arranged within each type of organisation. We need more knowledge about gender equality work (e.g. Brunila 2009) and what role does the organisation play in gender equality work? A tendency to outsource tasks that are not considered core areas of activity or expertise may result hiring of equality consultants, instead of building organisations own internal capabilities and competencies in gender equality issues. Sustainable development in organisational gender equality issues would require consideration of gender mainstreaming as one of the areas of core competency among the staff, including the university administration. For students, this would require knowledge of gender equality

issues with the aim to become active participants in society as a whole and in the university organisation, including using its gender equality policies and getting involved in its gender equality politics.

### *Theoretical and practical grounding for developing equality work in an organisation*

Sexist harassment and other forms of gender and sexual violence are problems in the realisation of human rights and human capabilities that require concerted action internationally, nationally, and locally. To eliminate sexist harassment and discrimination requires more consideration in higher education institutions. These rights, responsibilities, and capabilities are both individual and institutional, and institutions are in a primary position to provide a setting for their realisation and further development. A comprehensive sexist harassment policy for higher education has yet to emerge, and for that purpose Acker's theory of gendered organisations (1990, 1992, 1998, 2000, 2006), and Nussbaum's capabilities approach (2000a, 2000b, 2005), provide promising theoretical grounding, as this study also indicates. The capabilities approach has the potential to consider equal rights and mutual respect. Theoretical methodological development, the importance of conducting research on one's own location or organisation (e.g. Acker 1990, 1992, 2006), and applying a capabilities approach in that location (Nussbaum 2000a, 2000b), while being sensitive to unavoidable partiality and making partiality transparent in empirical research, means realising the principles of strong objectivity. These are epistemological requirements that are also related to the feminist standpoint, and laid out by Harding (1987, 1991, 2004, 2008). Despite their complexity, intertwined concepts of gender, sexuality, and intersectionality have a core value for feminist studies and policy development in relation to sexist harassment. Combination of Acker's and Nussbaum's theoretical work results in a useful grounding for an organisation's equality work. The theory of gendered organisations provides a framework to evaluate equality from an organisational dimension, and the central human capabilities serves as a specific indicators to evaluate the actual realisation of equality from an individual's point of view. Therefore this theoretical combination and formulation posits the possibility of a transformative and empowering policy implementation in the complex area of gender equality within an organisation.

Based on this study sexist harassment may be viewed as an organisational failure to secure the realisation of individuals' bodily integrity. In the following Table 8, research articles are viewed from the point of view of bodily integrity.

**Table 8. Bodily integrity in relation to research articles.**

ARTICLE	CAPABILITY: Bodily Integrity
I	Sexist harassment experiences as unfulfilled bodily integrity result in vulnerability and fear
II	An individual's negotiations of intellectuality, embodiment, and gender in/equality
III	The sufficiency of the scope of sexist harassment guidelines to ensure bodily integrity and policy implementation
IV	The functionality of the gender equality organisation in addressing – i.e., preventing – sexist harassment and supporting victims of harassment
V	Empowerment – a suitable policy approach to sexist harassment prevention and intervention in higher education

The study provides some evidence that sexist harassment has a negative influence on the realisation of the university's main tasks, namely knowledge production and learning. As an insult to one's bodily integrity, it also has a negative impact on other human capabilities.

It seems that the capabilities approach helps to pay attention to the organisational conditions that frame people's actions in their everyday lives. Therefore, the capabilities approach provides an interesting philosophical underpinning for further development of gender equality politics at the university to become more inclusive, equal, and respectful. The capabilities approach promotes and provides practical tools for the intersectional policy-making that Verloo and Lombardi (2007) call for. Moreover sexist harassment deserves special consideration in all educational institutions from pre-school to higher education and in-service education. However, the policies and practices preventing such violence are underdeveloped. Education and training on gender equality issues and policies within the university are rarely available for students and staff.

In equality work, it is important to consider more closely the intersections and conditions that influence individual access, participation, success, and conditions for knowledge production. Equality work should be able address and ensure the realisation of human capabilities.



## 5.2 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Study

A longitudinal case study analysed from the perspective of the theory of gendered organisations provides in-depth knowledge of the phenomenon. One of the central aims of the study was to reveal the complexity of the lived experience of gender in/equality in the university organisation in order to develop organisational policies that more closely address individuals' needs. In the data, the voices of those who have experienced sexist harassment are the key to evaluating the current policies and identifying their deficiencies. Policy recommendations are another focal point in discussing the research results.

It is important to recognise the partiality that is present in this, as in all scientific inquiry. My attempt in this compilation report was to present the data and their analysis transparently, so that the reader can see a solid, evidence-based argument about politics and policy implementation related to sexist harassment in the university. With explicit and careful analysis, it is possible to reproduce a more nuanced web of meaning (Haraway 1991), including its partiality, and therefore aptly define and understand the phenomenon studied. In this research through five sub-studies, the researched phenomenon is approached from various angles, namely individual, communal, and organisational, and through various data experiences, namely policies and education, resulting in an insight into how these policies in relation to sexist harassment are implemented within the university organisation. How do the policies cover the reality, and what are their deficiencies and strengths? Furthermore, how does the gender equality machinery within the university organisation function, and where might it be more operative? However, those who harass have not been taken into consideration in a sub-study. That could have provided some interesting viewpoints, but it has been covered to a certain extent elsewhere (e.g. Husu 2001: 238–241).

Partiality in the study may appear in various ways: 1) It was not possible to use all existing data for research purposes; e.g., reported sexist harassment cases are not systematically filed and archived on the university's premises for later possible purposes, e.g., research. 2) The data are lacking important perspectives such as the experiences of a) those who never told anyone about their sexist harassment experiences, or who never made an official report of sexist harassment, but stayed in university, b) those who left university after such experiences, and c) those who did not have personal experiences but knew someone who had witnessed sexist harassment. 3) People were not able to voice their experiences within a frame of study, since they were missing appropriate vocabulary and, more

importantly, a critical awareness necessary for such naming and labelling that a proper education on gender equality or sexist harassment issues would enable them to possess.

Nussbaum's capabilities approach provides an important asset for further development of gender equality work in organisations. In this study, I did not have a chance to elaborate more than one of them, i.e., bodily integrity. In line with this study, the control of one's environment, a practical reason, and affiliation would certainly be important dimensions for further consideration. *Control over one's environment* consists of two distinctive spheres: political and material. Capability in the political sphere refers to being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life (Nussbaum 2000b). Elaboration of this capability would produce insights concerning decision-making in regard to a policy formulation that prevents sexist harassment in university organisations. *A practical reason* consists of being able to form a concept of good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. These two closely connected capabilities, practical reason and affiliation, stand out as supremely important in Nussbaum's concept, since they both organise and suffuse all the others (Nussbaum 2005). *Affiliation* has two social dimensions: toward others and toward oneself. The capability to affiliate oneself with others means being able to live with others, imagine the situation of the other, and have compassion for their situation. It also means having the capacity for both justice and friendship. This side of affiliation capability relates to the social basis of self-respect and non-humiliation, being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails, at a minimum, protection against discrimination on the basis of race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, caste, ethnicity, or national origin. 'Affiliation' mentions the need for both compassion and self-respect, and it also mentions non-discrimination (Nussbaum 2000a), which are both important in a university organisation, but which are challenged by sexist harassment.

### **5.3 'The Last Word' – Sexist Discrimination as a Concern of Epistemic Injustice**

The issue of inequality in academia is not just a question of direct and indirect sexist discrimination but also of a gender-complex (Rands 2009) discrimination and, moreover, it is also a question of *epistemic injustice*. It seems that the university, which is a knowledge production organisation, commits itself to both testimonial and hermeneutical epistemic injustice by failing to fully recognise the

sexist harassment that takes place within its own domain. Epistemic injustice, which provides a model for locating complexities in the field of knowledge/power/politics/policies, is a concept developed by the feminist philosopher Fricker (2007). Fricker introduced two forms of epistemic injustice: testimonial injustice, which occurs when prejudice causes a listener to give a deflated level of credibility to a speaker's word, and hermeneutical injustice, which occurs earlier, when a gap in collective interpretative resources puts someone at an unfair disadvantage when it comes to making sense of their social experiences. An example of the former might be that the professor does not take you seriously because you are a young woman. An example of the second situation might be that one suffers sexist harassment in an academic culture that still lacks 'sexist harassment' as a critical concept. Testimonial injustice is caused by prejudice in the economy of credibility, and hermeneutical injustice is caused by structural prejudice in the economy of collective hermeneutical resources (*ibid.* 4–6). Both concepts, testimonial and hermeneutical injustice, are useful for making sense of a university's gender equality politics and for identifying gaps in them.

Sexist harassment as systemic discrimination may appear to be testimonial injustice if prejudice on the hearer's part causes him or her to give the speaker less credibility than he or she would otherwise have been given (Fricker 2007). Hermeneutical injustice is in question when a gap in collective hermeneutical resources – shared tools for social interpretation – results in marginalised groups being inadequately conceptualised and ill-understood. These two aspects are crucial evaluative dimensions for functionality in current gender equality politics, as students and staff are provided with very poor education and training on gender equality matters. Becoming an expert in this field is influenced by socially produced power and value arrangements, including gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, social class, and political or religious orientation, because people who are equal in competence do not necessarily reach equal status. Fricker's conceptualisation of power focuses on access to formulating the political agenda. The political agenda within the university may be controlled in a way such that adequate access to sexist harassment issues and decision making concerning prevention policies has not been given to the people it concerns the most.

I conclude here that gender is connected to active participation within academia. Students and staff encounter sexist harassment in universities, which may compromise their intellectual aspirations in addition to their well-being. Gender-based violence does exist in various forms in and outside of academia, and also requires further consideration in terms of renewal of legislation (e.g. Feasibility

study 2010). However, a challenge for gender equality work is to consider the embodiment, sexuality, and bodily integrity of all individuals as important, so that human capabilities are not questioned and the need for their protection is not disregarded in higher education institutions.

Universities should take a more rigorous approach to combating discrimination by using their areas of expertise – conducting research, producing more adequate conceptualisations on gender equality phenomena, providing education and training, and developing innovations for ensuring gender equality, social and epistemic justice. The university should use its autonomy, methodological expertise, and capabilities to conceptualise, to theorise, and to conduct research on the sexist harassment which seems to be one of its continuing concerns around inequality. Clearly elaboration from an intersectional perspective is needed and should be further developed. Furthermore, this should also be done in order to provide higher education – training and teaching about gender equality on the university's premises. Guaranteeing equality for all individuals in universities is the responsibility of higher education organisations, based on the current legislation, international conventions, and resolutions.

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# Appendix

<p><b>Tertiary intervention/FOLLOW UP</b></p>		<p><b>REHABILITATION</b>            Crisis intervention            Legal advice            Psycho-social counselling            Rehabilitation            Systematic monitoring as part of the feedback cycle</p>	<p><b>MANAGEMENT COMMITMENT</b></p>
<p><b>Secondary intervention/RESPONDING</b></p>		<p><b>COMPLAINTS PROCEDURE</b>            Informal network of advisers            Formal responses            Advocacy            Active coping strategies            Supportive environment            Eradication of negative psychological outcomes</p>	
<p><b>Primary intervention/PREVENTION</b></p>		<p><b>INTERVENTION</b>            Assessment of risk factors and antecedents            Regular training using multiple methods            Evaluation of training            Empowerment employees            Formal monitoring of prevalence rates            Shared understanding and goals            Consultative/participatory approach</p>	
		<p><b>IMPLEMENTATION</b></p>	
		<p><b>LEGISLATION/POLICY</b>            Espoused corporate values            Zero tolerance            Predetermined punishments</p>	

A sexual harassment intervention model in an organization by Hunt *et al.* (2010).



## Original Articles

- I Heikkinen M (2003) Gender and Sexual Harassment and Coercion at the University of Oulu – Challenges for Measures. In Sunnari V, Kangasvuo J & Heikkinen M (eds) Gendered and Sexualised Violence in Educational Environments. *Femina Borealis* 6: 150–162.
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