MSc in Human Resource Management and Organizational Psychology

How has the #MeToo Movement Contributed to Changes in Attitudes, Awareness and Understanding of Sexual Harassment in Icelandic Banks?

In what ways has the #MeToo Movement led to Changes in Behaviour and Initiatives in the Icelandic Banking Industry?

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30 ECTS thesis to MSc in Human Resource Management and Organizational Psychology
i. Abstract

The purpose of this research is to investigate how the #metoo movement has contributed to changes in awareness, attitudes and understanding of sexual harassment in the Icelandic banking industry and to explore how the #metoo movement has contributed to organisational initiatives or changes in behaviours in Icelandic banks. A qualitative method was used to conduct a multiple cases study of three Icelandic banks based on semi-structured interviews. There were eleven participants working as executives, human resource managers and branch managers in Icelandic banks.

Responses were coded and analysed through thematic analysis. The results show that the #metoo movement increased awareness around sexual harassment in all three banks. The topic is being discussed more openly and the threshold for addressing and reporting unwanted behaviour or unfair treatment both from colleagues and customers is lower than before the movement. A culture of zero-tolerance for sexual harassment has been initiated by top management in the companies, with strong support from HR departments. Harassment policies and complaint procedures have been re-evaluated and updated in all three banks, and two of the banks modified their annual employee surveys to enforce focus on sexual harassment. Various initiatives such as seminars, lectures and workshops have been implemented to influence the way managers and employees think, talk and act, and to create and support a corporate culture of zero-tolerance. People are encouraged to speak up and address unwanted behaviour. This has revealed some unwanted episodes, and a few employees have lost their job as a result.

The main conclusion of this research project is therefore that the #metoo movement has had a significant and positive impact on the Icelandic banking industry. Even though it is too early to tell if the #metoo movement will lead to lasting changes, it is clear that employees have more awareness of behaviours that constitute sexual harassment and that the tolerance for gender-based discrimination has gone from little to zero within the past year. Nevertheless, more research ought to be done with a wider range of industries and employee groups.

Key words: #metoo, sexual harassment, gender equality, banking industry, zero-tolerance policies, Iceland
ii. Declaration of Research Work Integrity

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature of any degree. This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

By signing the present document, I confirm and agree that I have read RU’s ethics code of conduct and fully understand the consequences of violating these rules in regards of my thesis.

Nov 21st 2018, Reykjavik  090195-3609  Hannah A. Mikkelsen
Date and place  Kennitala  Signature
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1.0 Introduction

The #metoo movement has created many headlines in the past year. It has led to the firing of many well-known actors, politicians and businessmen, but most importantly, the movement has made the general public more aware of sexual harassment and gender discrimination in society. It has given attention to power structures and gender inequalities that are deeply rooted within our culture. People in powerful positions, often men, use sexual harassment or sexual assault to control those who are less powerful such as women and minorities (Jaffe, 2018). The #metoo movement has also shed light on gendered power inequalities that are upheld by powerful norms and that has been supported by tradition, education and religion for centuries. Institutions such as politics, education and legal systems are founded on patriarchal structures, which tend to lead men into powerful and influential positions (Higgins, 2018). These cultural norms and power structures are brought into the workplace, where men remain in charge through formal and informal power structures that tend to favour masculine traits.

The increased focus on patriarchal power structures has led to revelations of systemic abuse of power in various parts of society, sparking critical discussions in social media and in mainstream media. This has resulted in political actions, demonstrations and pressure for companies to review their policies and procedures for dealing with sexual harassment and gender discrimination. This research will focus on sexual harassment in the workplace, with a special focus on the banking industry in Iceland.

The purpose of this research is to investigate if the #metoo movement has led to any changes in knowledge and awareness of sexual harassment in the Icelandic banking industry and to see if the movement has resulted in any initiatives or changes in behaviour in the past year. Has the movement helped clarify and define behaviours that are considered to fall under the definition of sexual harassment?

Sexual harassment, in this research project, is defined as sex discrimination aimed at belittling and marginalising someone based on their gender (Jacobson & Eaton, 2018). It consists of a range of unwelcome sexual conduct ranging from whistles, staring, unwanted physical conduct and offensive language to more serious behaviours such as bribes or threats of sexual compliance as the basis for some employment decision such as a promotion (Jacobson & Eaton, 2018).

Although the effects of the #metoo movement have been many, there has not been a lot of research on the topic yet. This makes it possible to provide an original contribution to current literature. In Iceland, a lot of the research in the past year has been focused on the extent of sexual harassment, rather than the changes in attitudes, awareness and understanding
of the issue. I have therefore conducted a multiple case study focusing on the effect the #metoo movement has had on people’s attitudes, awareness and understanding of sexual harassment in the Icelandic banking industry. The research is focused around two research questions:

RQ1: *How has the #metoo movement changed attitudes, awareness and understanding of sexual harassment in Icelandic banks?*

RQ2: *How has the #metoo movement contributed to organisational initiatives or changes in behaviour in Icelandic banks?*

The primary data consists of interviews with executives, HR managers and branch managers in the Icelandic banking industry. Since there are only three banks in Iceland, a multiple case study approach enables me to investigate the effect of the #metoo movement in the banking industry as a whole in the past year. The reason why I am focusing on the banking industry is because it is a sector that has traditionally been male-dominated, with a reputation of having a masculine culture, around the clock devotion and lack of flexibility to combine work and family life (Roth, 2007).

In Iceland, the financial sector has seen a significant increase of female workers after the 2008 banking collapse (Ertel, 2009; Motola, 2016). Today, Icelandic banks have roughly 65% female and 35% male workers, although there are still certain divisions within banking that are heavily male-dominated, such as corporate finance and investment banking. Nevertheless, males and females are generally equally represented in all levels of management, and Icelandic banks have a strong focus on gender equality (*Annual Report, 2017; Annual Report 2017, 2017; Landsbankinn Annual Report, 2017*). This makes the Icelandic banking industry an interesting case study.

The Icelandic labour market remains gender segregated in many occupations, and there are still industries that struggle with gendered power differentials (*Gender Equality in Iceland, 2017*). At the same time, Iceland has for many years been rated as the most gender equal country in the world and it is the first country to introduce a law that prohibits gendered pay gaps (Government Offices of Iceland, 2018). It is therefore an interesting point in time to investigate the effects of the #metoo movement in Iceland, and to provide an insight into how Icelandic organisations have responded to the movement in the past year.
Since the #metoo movement is still a very new phenomenon, it is hard to say whether or not it will lead to long-term changes in attitudes, behaviours and organisational practises. Changes that have been made so far might not have had enough time to create a significant impact because it can take years to change organisational cultures. For example, Icelandic organisations were legally obligated to implement The Equal Pay Certification as of January 1st 2018. However, many businesses are still in the early implementation phases, because companies have until December 31st to complete the process. This makes it difficult to analyse its impact on gender inequality properly. With this research project I therefore hope to provide an insight into how the Icelandic banking industry has responded to the #metoo movement in the past year.
2.0 Literature Review

2.1 The #Metoo Movement

The #metoo movement was originally initiated by the African American women’s rights activist Tarana Burke in 2006 (Jaffe, 2018; Mendes, Ringrose, & Keller, 2018). The original campaign was designed to support survivors of sexual violence, focusing on young women of colour from low wealth communities. Through a community built on support and solidarity, the #metoo movement showed people that they are not alone and that together they can break power structures that allow sexual violence to marginalise women in society (“Vision,” 2018; Zarkov & Davis, 2018).

On October 24th 2017, the #metoo hashtag began trending on Twitter after the film producer Harvey Weinstein was accused of misconduct ranging from sexual harassment to rape. The actress Alyssa Milano encouraged people to show the magnitude of sexual violence by using the #metoo hashtag. It quickly gained widespread attention and was used 12 million times within 24 hours (Mendes et al., 2018). While some believe that the movement started because of the Weinstein allegations, others claim that the exasperation began after Donald Trump was elected president. People were furious when Trump was elected in spite of the scandalous tape in which he brags about kissing and groping women against their will, claiming that when you are rich you can do whatever you want to women (Marcotte, 2018).

Nevertheless, the #metoo movement made sexual harassment into big news and gave feminism more media visibility and public interest than we have seen in years (Gill, 2016; Jaffe, 2018). Social media has become a catalyst for feminist activism, and the #metoo movement opened up critical and political discussions about how sex and power intersect (Gill, 2016; Gill & Orgad, 2018; Jaffe, 2018). Traditionally, media has trivialised and personalised sexism, framing it as an individual issue rather than a systemic issue shaped by patriarchal notions in society (Gill, 2016). With the help of social media, the #metoo movement revealed that sexism, sexual violence and sexual harassment is more about power and dominance than about sexual attraction (Jaffe, 2018).

2.1.1 The power of social media.

Since October 2017 the #metoo hashtag has been circulating in 85 countries (Gill & Orgad, 2018). According to an analysis by Pew Research Center, roughly half of Americans have been civically active on social media in the past year. The majority of the population believe social media activism are very or somewhat important for accomplishing political goals such as getting attention from politicians, influencing policy decisions and for giving a voice to underrepresented groups (Anderson, Taylor, Smith, & Rainie, 2018).
However, it is still unclear whether or not social media activism is effective in producing viable social changes (Mendes et al., 2018). Some researchers have found that hashtags such as #metoo and #BeenRapedNeverReported raise consciousness and solidarity. Digital platforms have a wide reach and is perceived by many as a safe space to engage in political discussions. Social media movements can contribute to social change by encouraging people to share their stories and to report perpetrators, thereby reducing the stigma around sexual violence. It makes the problem more visible and makes participants perceive the issue as a structural problem rather than unfortunate encounters with “bad apples” (Mendes et al., 2018). Nevertheless, some people believe that social media activism distracts people from issues that are more important. They claim that it makes people believe that they are making a difference when in reality they are not making a lasting social change (Anderson et al., 2018).

Hashtags related to certain events sometimes appear out of the blue and go viral within hours, before quickly losing their appeal (Anderson et al., 2018). For example on June 26th 2015, the US Supreme Court ruled in favour of same-sex marriage. The hashtag #LoveWins was used 10 million times within two days of the event, accounting for 63% of its Twitter presence in three years. #BlackLivesMatter also had periodic increases around important events and gained particular social media presence after five police officers were killed after a protest in Dallas. In contrast to #LoveWins, #BlackLivesMatter has been used actively over a long time period, with almost 30 million mentions on Twitter, averaging 17 002 times per day the past five years (Anderson et al., 2018).

The hashtags #BlackLivesMatter and #metoo have become the archetypal example of modern political engagement on social media (Anderson et al., 2018). The #metoo hashtag has been used on average 69 911 times per day since October 2017. This forces people to deal with sexual violence and harassment collectively, thereby encouraging legal, organisational and cultural changes (Anderson et al., 2018; Gill & Orgad, 2018). Although it is still too early to say whether or not #metoo will lead to lasting changes in society, data from the social media analytics firm Crimson Hexagon and the George Washington University’s Graduate School of Political Management shows that the #metoo hashtag is comparable to the long-term political movement #BlackLivesMatter (Ohlheiser, 2018).

The #metoo hashtag has two significant peaks since 2013. The smallest peak emerged in October 2016 after the publication of a tape where Donald Trump brags about groping women against their will. The largest peak represents the Twitter activity around the hashtag during the month where #metoo went viral after the Weinstein allegations (Ohlheiser, 2018).

The #metoo movement has made sure that numerous perpetrators are being held accountable for their actions. It has encouraged several companies to change their harassment
policies and to implement zero-tolerance policies (Gill & Orgad, 2018). Microsoft for example, used to have contracts that forced employees to settle sexual harassment claims through private arbitration, thus silencing whistle blowers and allowing accusations to stay secret. As a result of the #metoo movement the company scrapped this policy. Employees are now allowed to sue the company for sexual harassment, thus putting pressure on other large companies to follow suit (Paquette, 2017).

2.1.2 From Hollywood to low wage industries.

Soon after the Weinstein allegations, many other Hollywood stars came forward with their stories. For the first time producers and agencies started taking allegations seriously and many famous actors finally faced consequences for their actions. When the Oscar winner Kevin Spacey was accused of sexual assault and inappropriate behaviour, the producers of the movie “All the Money in the World” decided to reshoot all of his scenes and replace him with another actor only a few weeks before its release in December. This increased the movie’s budget with $10 million (Rose, 2018; Zacharek, 2018). The director was afraid that Spacey’s misconduct would create negative publicity to the extent that the movie would have to be taken off the market (Rose, 2018). The streaming giant Netflix also decided to cut all ties with Spacey. After allegations of sexual misconduct and claims that the actor created a toxic workplace, Netflix decided to remove Spacey from the final season of “House of Cards” and not to release the movie “Gore” in which Spacey was both starring and producing (Dalton, 2017).

Nevertheless, “All the Money in the World” was soon back in the spotlight after it was revealed that Mark Wahlberg earned $1.5 million for reshooting his scenes while his co-lead Michelle Williams earned less than $1000, or 0.07% of her male co-star’s pay (Jensen, 2018; Zacharek, 2018). This created quite the uproar both in Hollywood and in other industries, as it showed how unequal conditions males and females may face in the labour market. Both actors are represented by the same agency and Michelle Williams has been in the industry for more than 20 years, receiving four Academy Award nominations (Barnes, 2018). Wahlberg ended up donating his $1.5 million to the Time’s Up Legal defence fund in Williams’ name, and their agency showed their support for gender equality by donating $500 000 in her name as well (Reshef, 2018).

Soon, powerful men from music, media, politics and food industries were accused of sexual harassment, assault and rape, causing many well-known profiles to lose their jobs (Cobb & Horeck, 2018; Tran, 2018; Zarkov & Davis, 2018). The #metoo movement caused sexual harassment to be publicly acknowledged, making it possible to challenge sexist
cultures and demand change (Tran, 2018). For example on September 18th, McDonalds employees in the US went on a nationwide strike after 10 women filed sexual harassment complaints without seeing any initiatives from the fast food chain (Dockterman, 2018). Other industries, such as accommodation, food service, health care and social assistance have taken measures to combat sexual harassment and violence towards women by for example equipping housekeepers with panic buttons or by making sure that women are not working alone late at night (Levine, 2018).

However, there are concerns that the #metoo movement has mainly made it easier for powerful and privileged women to speak out (Gill & Orgad, 2018). The most visible women are often well-known, confident and powerful enough to be heard, while vulnerable women are still struggling with being taken seriously. For example in 2011, when the New York hotel maid Nafissatou Diallo accused Strauss-Khan of sexual assault, there was little support from the media and the public (Zarkov & Davis, 2018). Today, the media seems to lean towards taking the side of the accusers rather than the accused, which is a step in the right direction. Nevertheless, the problem with this is that the media often lets the general public decide whether or not a person is innocent or guilty, and individuals may suffer severe and irreparable damages to their career and reputation (Thompson, 2018; Zarkov & Davis, 2018).

### 2.1.3 Potential pitfalls of the #metoo movement.

According to Emma Severinsson, a PhD student in history at Lund University, the #metoo movement shows characteristics of a classic feminist movement (Måwe, 2018b). Although the #metoo movement has increased awareness of sexual harassment and malpractice in the workplace, it has also revealed numerous incidences in which sexual harassment has not been dealt with appropriately. According to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in the USA, only 6-13% of those who experience sexual harassment file a formal complaint out of fear for retaliation (Helms, 2018). In Norway, numerous whistle-blowers have been met with negative reactions, retaliation and some have even been fired (Kvam, 2018). Several large-scale surveys reveal that those who file formal harassment complaints are much more likely to lose their jobs than those who remain silent (Dobbin & Kalev, 2017). In fact, Dobbin and Kalev (2017) found that many organisations experience a decrease in the number of minority women after implementing training programmes and reporting systems.

Although many people view the #metoo movement as a positive influence, many researchers are concerned that it will not lead to lasting changes (Bertotti & Maxfield, 2018). One problem is that women often leave workplaces where sexual harassment is not dealt with
appropriately. Another problem is that some companies adopt cosmetic changes in order to avoid legal sanctions, thus failing to hire and retain women in core positions (Dobbin & Kalev, 2017). According to a survey of 1,100 people, around 20% say that the workplace has provided additional training and that there have been concrete improvements to the reporting systems that deal with sexual harassment. In the same survey, around 15% say that the company has implemented new policies or procedures to encourage people to report misconduct (Bertotti & Maxfield, 2018). Several researchers have found that training programmes are not particularly effective at defeating sexual harassment (Bertotti & Maxfield, 2018; Dobbin & Kalev, 2017; Schrobsdorff, 2018). It is much more important to create a work environment in which employees feel comfortable talking about what makes them uncomfortable (Schrobsdorff, 2018).

The #metoo movement has definitely increased awareness and openness around sexual harassment in the workplace, however, both men and women have experienced negative consequences as a result of the campaign (Helms, 2018). In a survey done by Bertotti and Maxfield (2018) half of the men and one third of the women reported that they know someone who has been unjustly or wrongfully accused of sexual harassment. Men have reported that they feel uncomfortable mentoring or being alone with women because they fear that the slightest indiscretion will be met with allegations of sexual harassment (Helms, 2018). At the same time, women are losing out on career opportunities because men are afraid of hiring and working with women because of the potential career damages of unjust and false accusations (Helms, 2018).

**2.1.4 The time’s up movement.**

In January 2018, the Time’s Up movement was initiated by rich and famous Hollywood actresses. The movement was accompanied by the Time’s Up Legal Defence Fund, aimed at reducing workplace inequality (Levine, 2018). The fund raised $22 million and received more than 2700 requests by May (Levine, 2018). The fund aims to help women in low wage industries to hold perpetrators accountable. Lack of financial security makes these workers vulnerable to discrimination and exploitation. Perpetrators are therefore likely to get away with their behavior, thus maintaining sexist power structures (Langone, 2018; “Time’s Up Now,” 2018). Since power inequality is one of the root causes of sexual harassment, an important way of eradicating sexual harassment in the workplace is to ensure equal economic opportunities (Langone, 2018; “Time’s Up Now,” 2018).
2.2 #Metoo in the Nordic Region

The Nordic countries have strong legislations against gender discrimination and sexual harassment, requiring employers to prevent and respond appropriately to sexual harassment in the workplace (Måwe, 2018a). Nevertheless, the #metoo movement uncovered numerous cases in the past year, highlighting the fact that sexual harassment and gender discrimination is common in Nordic workplaces despite it being illegal. A review conducted by the Nordic Information on Gender (NIKK), a Nordic cooperative body under the Nordic Council of Ministers, found that one possible explanation for the ineffectiveness of the Nordic legislation is that sexual harassment is particularly prevalent in sectors with low levels of job security (Måwe, 2018a). Workers in sectors with high levels of short-term and freelance contracts are more likely to experience sexual harassment because they are in vulnerable positions where they are at a greater risk of being fired if they report a perpetrator (Måwe, 2018a; Ward, 2018).

2.2.1 Sweden.

Out of all the Nordic countries, Sweden is the place where the #metoo movement had the greatest impact (Måwe, 2018b). Feminism has received strong political support for the last 15 years, thus the culture of silence was already partly eliminated before the movement started. However, the #metoo movement made it more acceptable to talk about sexual violence and sexual harassment in the rest of society, and women report being met with support and belief when they tell their stories. Both labour unions and employers have taken steps to improve their routines when it comes to handling harassment, which has made it easier for workers with short-term contracts to report incidents (Måwe, 2018b; “Metoo skakade om – ”slut på tystnadskulturen”,” 2018).

According to the media metrics company Retriever, a total of more than 68 000 articles, TV and radio stories have been published in Sweden since the #metoo movement started in October 2017 (Farran-Lee, 2018). One year after the movement, around one third of Swedes report that they are experiencing less sexual harassment and sexual violence, and that the relationship between men and women has changed for the better (Andersson, 2018). Numerous well-known men from politics, media and entertainment have been publicly accused and fired as a result of the movement, followed by other industries such as education, sports, food service and civil protection (Farran-Lee, 2018). However, the Swedish broadcasting council has received more complaints than ever for being one-sided and biased. Various media channels have published names of men who have been accused of very serious actions, without sufficient documentation or a chance to defend themselves (Simonsen, 2018).
2.2.2 Denmark and Finland.
In Denmark and Finland, the #metoo movement has received a substantial amount of media attention, however there has not been many calls for action compared to the other Nordic countries (Måwe, 2018b). Although the media quickly revealed inappropriate behaviour from powerful men in politics and entertainment, Danish and Finnish men were quick to ridicule the movement and the testimonies of victims (Måwe, 2018b). Many Danes thought the movement had gone too far and perceived it as a witch hunt (Simonsen, 2018). Nevertheless, the #metoo movement has highlighted power structures, created meaningful debates and made it more acceptable to speak out and report perpetrators (Drefvelin, 2018). In January, the first call of action was made in the Danish theatre and film industry where more than 1200 members signed a petition for zero-tolerance against sexism, assaults and harassment (Drefvelin, 2018; “OVERBLIK: MeToo-bevægelsens vej fra Hollywood til Danmark,” 2018).

One significant difference between Denmark and Finland versus other countries is that the media did not disclose the names of the perpetrators, making the debate more factual and objective (Wind-Friis & Roligaard, 2018). For example in Sweden and France, several men were quickly fired and awards were revoked, without allowing the alleged perpetrators a due process. Some cases were so serious that the accused has gone to court on the grounds of defamation. In Sweden there is already one case that has ruled in favour of the accused (Wind-Friis & Roligaard, 2018). This has led to a debate on whether or not the media should be allowed to disclose names of alleged perpetrators, and the media has been urged to consider the seriousness of the accusations before disclosing names. Is the person in question in such a position in the society that it is relevant for the public to know their name (Hansen, 2018)?

2.2.3 Norway.
The #Metoo movement had a huge impact on all the political parties in Norway, especially within the Labour Party. It became clear that inappropriate behaviour had not been dealt with properly and that there was a lack of structure and routines on how to deal with accusations (“#Metoo i Norge - og i verden,” 2018). The party managements were under scrutiny and it was revealed that several shop stewards had remained silent and accepted the mistreatment of young women within several political parties (“#Metoo i Norge - og i verden,” 2018; Måwe, 2018b). The political parties are characterised with close cooperation, trust and power structures, combined with working late at night and over the weekends, often including dinners and parties. Many members have therefore found it challenging to separate work and fun, and the boundaries had not been clearly defined (Norum, 2018). After the
#metoo revelations however, behaviour that used to be brushed under the carpet or ignored is not accepted anymore (“#Metoo i Norge - og i verden,” 2018).

In Norway, the #metoo movement developed through interaction between social media and traditional media channels (Orgeret & Arnesen, 2018). By not disclosing names of alleged perpetrators, the media was able to portray sexual harassment as a structural problem, rather than going off the rails and attacking individuals. This made people aware of the extent of power asymmetries in the Norwegian society that facilitate systematic harassment, and made it possible to discuss it as a cultural problem (Orgeret & Arnesen, 2018; Simonsen, 2018). However, also in Norway there has been a strong focus on certain individuals, especially Trond Giske, the deputy leader in the Labour Party. He was accused of a range of inappropriate behaviours over his many years in the party. As soon as the media made his name public the discussion quickly went off topic. Nevertheless, when cases revolve around important political leaders that are later asked to leave their posts, names will eventually have to be disclosed (Simonsen, 2018). All in all, the #metoo movement in Norway has been an important topic the past year. The movement has led to several calls for action in various sectors and in October a large group of women demonstrated in front of the parliament building (Måwe, 2018b).

### 2.2.4 Iceland.
Iceland has been at the forefront of gender equality for decades. In 1961, the parliament passed a law on wage equity and in 1980 Iceland elected a female president, the first woman in the world to be democratically elected Head of State (Gender Equality in Iceland, 2017). The 24th of October 1975, 90% of Icelandic women (roughly 25 000) took a day off work and refused to do household chores, in order to emphasize the importance of women’s contribution to the economy. Schools, kindergartens, shops and factories were closed and fathers had to bring their kids to work (Gender Equality in Iceland, 2017; Sigmarsdóttir, 2018). Although gender equality has been on the agenda since the early sixties, the #metoo and Time’s Up movement have highlighted current issues that need to be dealt with (King, 2018).

The #metoo movement has led to several calls for actions in various sectors after more than 400 female politicians came forward with stories of drugs, bullying and rape threats (Måwe, 2018b). According to Friða Rós Valdimarsdóttir from the Icelandic Centre for Gender Equality, #metoo has ensured that sexual harassment is taken seriously, resulting in many perpetrators being fired as a result of the movement (Måwe, 2018b). The government is taking initiatives to make sure that the country does not simply move on, but that the culture
changes for good (King, 2018). The government is therefore allotting more money into defeating sex crimes, developing guidelines for workplaces on how to handle cases of sexual harassment and trying to find ways to reduce gender segregation in the labour market (King, 2018; Måwe, 2018b).

In contrast to the other Nordic countries, foreign women came together and published their stories in a private Facebook group called #metoo Kvenna af erlendum uppruna (#metoo Women of foreign origin) (Ciric, 2018). The group had more than 600 members who published stories of workplace discrimination, domestic violence and rape (Ciric, 2018). Foreign women felt left out, as they were not represented in the beginning of the movement. Their stories reveal prejudice, discrimination, degradation, manipulation and abuse of the worst kind, combined with lack of support from people who were supposed to help and protect them (“#Metoo áskorun kvenna af erlendum uppruna á íslensku og ensku,” 2018). Foreign women are more vulnerable to abuse because of their lack of language skills, making it harder to seek the right information and to get the support that Icelandic women enjoy (Demurtas, 2018).

2.3 Gender Equality in the Workplace

Power inequality in organisations is considered to be one of the root causes of sexual harassment. Thus, ensuring gender equality in the workplace and providing equal economic opportunities for men and women is one of the most effective ways of eradicating sexual harassment in the workplace (Langone, 2018; “Time’s Up Now,” 2018).

Various cross-country analyses and individual country analyses have found that there is a negative and significant relationship between gender inequality and economic growth (Arora, 2012; Karoui & Feki, 2018; Kim, Lee, & Shin, 2016; Klasen & Lamanna, 2009; Pervaiz, Irfan Chani, Ahmad Jan, & Chaudhary, 2011). Integrating the female population is essential for growth and competitiveness because it ensures that valuable talent and ideas contribute to the economy (The Global Gender Gap Report 2017, 2017).

Gender inequality reduces the available human capital and artificially reduces the talent pool. Women make up roughly half of the world’s population, thus excluding highly qualified females whilst promoting less qualified males will decrease the average ability of the workforce (Klasen & Lamanna, 2009; OECD, 2018a). Societies that are more gender equal tend to be happier, healthier and more trusting, as well as more inclusive (OECD, 2018a). Furthermore, gender-equal economies tend to be more prosperous than gender segregated economies and enjoy higher per capita income (Arora, 2012; OECD, 2018b).
2.3.1 Gender equality in the Nordic region.

The Nordic countries - Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden - (the Åland Islands, the Faroe Islands and Greenland are excluded from most studies for practical reasons, i.e. the availability of statistics) have been frontrunners for gender equality for many years. The countries support gender equality at home, at work and in public through policies that encourage men and women to participate fully in paid employment (OECD, 2018a).

Nordic governments have recognised that gender gaps often emerge during the first years of parenthood (OECD, 2018a). The local governments therefore encourage full-time employment of parents with young children by offering subsidised day-care and generous paid parental leave for both parents. Norway was the first country to introduce a non-transferable paid paternal leave in 1993, encouraging shared child rearing responsibilities between the sexes. Iceland and Sweden are the countries in which men are most likely to take parental leave, yet fathers use less than 30% of the paid leave days (OECD, 2018a).

Although Nordic gender gaps in labour market participation and employment are among OECD’s smallest, there are still some large gaps and occupational segregation. Foreign-born women are underrepresented in paid work and Nordic women remain grossly underrepresented in managerial positions, with Danish women representing around 27% of managers, yet representing 47% of the labour force (OECD, 2018b, 2018a).

Furthermore, part-time work is much more common amongst women than men in the Nordic countries, suggesting that the two genders do not have equal opportunities in the labour market (Måwe & Jacobsson, 2018). In Norway, Sweden and Iceland roughly 30% of women work part-time. The percentage is slightly higher in Denmark at 35.3% and lower in Finland at 20.5%, the latter being significantly lower due to the early rise of female employment in the country (Måwe & Jacobsson, 2018).

2.3.2 Gender equality in Iceland.

According to the 2017 Global Gender Gap Report, Iceland has closed more than 87% of its gender gap, ranking as the number one country for the ninth year in a row. Iceland is one of the fastest-improving countries in the world when it comes to gender equality, having closed more than 70% of its gender gap in Politics. No other country has closed more than 60%, and only four countries have crossed the 50% threshold (The Global Gender Gap Report 2017, 2017).

The labour force participation of Icelandic women peaked in 2016 at almost 80% compared to 87% for men. The same year, 48% of women aged 25-64 had tertiary education compared to 33% of men in the same age group (Statistics Iceland, 2017). Still, the unadjusted pay gap in 2016 was at 16.1% on average for hourly earnings (hourly earnings
include basic wages, regular bonuses and overtime payments). Women’s earnings were on average 22% lower than those of men, the latter having an average income of 742K ISK and women an average income of 582K ISK (Statistics Iceland, 2017). In order to eliminate the gendered pay gap by 2022 the Icelandic government enforced a new law that makes it the employer’s responsibility, not the employee, to prove that decisions regarding pay are based only on relevant aspects (Government Offices of Iceland, 2018). Part of the pay gap can be explained by working hours, as men work on average 10 hours more than women per month, and some can be explained by gender segregation in the labour market (Statistics Iceland, 2017).

International research has found that in addition to the above mentioned factors, parts of the gender pay gap in Europe can be explained by the number of years with full-time work experience (Gow & Middlemiss, 2011). In all the Nordic countries women are more likely than men to work part-time. Data on parental leave suggest that women are most likely to sacrifice work over family responsibilities (OECD, 2018b). This could have the effect of women being perceived as less committed to their jobs, causing society to perceive women as inferior compared to men in the labour market. Society may therefore perceive that women contribute less to society than men because they work less on average, confirming women’s lower status in society (Auspurg, Hinz, & Sauer, 2017; Gow & Middlemiss, 2011).

Between the years 2003-2007 the Icelandic economy thrived and fathers used an average of 3 months’ parental leave (Sigurdardottir & Garðarsdóttir, 2018). After the 2008 financial crisis the government reduced the maximum payments for parental leave, causing fathers, especially those with high income, to take shorter leaves of absence from work. Since then, women have become increasingly responsible for child rearing while men have become less involved (Sigurdardottir & Garðarsdóttir, 2018).

In the UK, women were being made redundant at twice the rate of men in some areas after the financial crisis because companies were trying to avoid the costs related to extended maternity leave and flexible working rights (Durbin & Fleetwood, 2010). Whether Icelandic women ended up working less out of free will, redundancies or government cuts, the financial crisis resulted in a significant setback of labour force participation of the female population in Iceland. This could have negative consequences for gender equality in the labour market, thus increasing the risk of unequal power distributions and sexual harassment within organisations.
2.4 Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

2.4.1 Defining sexual harassment.
Sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination that is aimed at belittling and marginalizing someone based on their gender. Sexual harassment consists of unwelcome sexual conduct that “unreasonably interferes with an individual’s job performance, or creates an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment” (Jacobson & Eaton, 2018). Behaviours can range from rather “innocent” behaviours such as whistles, staring, requests for dates or unwanted physical conduct and offensive language, to more serious behaviours such as bribes or threats of sexual compliance as the basis for some employment decision such as a promotion or training (Jacobson & Eaton, 2018). There are many different definitions of sexual harassment, which causes prevalence estimates to vary dramatically. One can often find conflicting or widely different data, which is something one should be aware of when researching this topic (McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2012).

2.4.2 Increased risk factors for sexual harassment.

2.4.2.1 Gender.
According to statistics and surveys internationally, women are far more likely to experience sexual harassment than men (Dammen, 2018; De Judicibus & McCabe, 2001; Ibe, 2017; Kirk, 2017; Ross, 2016; Stockdale, Visio, & Batra, 1999). For example, Statistics Norway found that 7% of women were sexually harassed in 2016, but only 2% of men (Dammen, 2018). In the United States, surveys indicate that 60% of women and 20% of men experience sexual harassment (Goldstein, 2018). In the UK, some polls indicate that 14% of the population have experienced sexual harassment at work, 20% among women and 7% among men. Other UK researchers have found that 52% of women have experienced unwanted behaviour at work (Kirk, 2017; Ross, 2016). It is hard to say exactly how widespread sexual harassment is in the workplace, as numbers are very inconsistent and sexual harassment tends to be severely underreported (Goldstein, 2018). Nevertheless, women remain the main targets of sexual harassment.

2.4.2.2 Breaking gender stereotypes.
Both women and men who deviate from traditional sex-role stereotypes are more likely to experience sexual harassment, especially in male-dominated workplaces (Berdahl, 2007a; McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2018; Stockdale et al., 1999; Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald1, 1998). For example, women in male-dominated workplaces experienced more sexual harassment the more masculine their personalities were, according to a study by Berdahl (2007). Similarly, homosexual and feminine men, or men who are not following
stereotypical masculine gender norms are at a greater risk of experiencing sexual harassment than men who follow traditional patriarchal behavioural norms (Lilleslåtten, 2017; Stockdale et al., 1999; Zalesne, 1998). Sexual harassment may therefore occur between two men, where one is trying to prove that he is manlier than the other one based on some masculine ideal such as athletic ability or courage (Berdahl, 2007a). People who contradict traditional gender norms may be perceived as disrupting or threatening to the masculine culture, and the dominant group may perceive the minority as intruders (McDonald, 2012; Vogt, Bruce, Street, & Stafford, 2007). Sexual harassment may therefore be used as a way of intimidating the minority in order to maintain the established power structures (McDonald, 2012).

2.4.2.3 Workplace culture.
According to Stockdale et al. (1999), workplaces that had some form of sexual harassment awareness training were less tolerant of sexual harassment than those that had not offered such training. Researchers have found that sexual harassment is more prevalent in male-dominated workplaces, workplaces in which men occupy the majority of management positions and in occupations traditionally dominated by men (Berdahl, 2007b; Vogt et al., 2007). Women working for male supervisors often perceive the workplace as being more tolerant of sexual harassment than women working for female supervisors, as did women who were among the first females in their position (Stockdale et al., 1999).

Masculine work environments tend to favour masculine traits such as dominance, aggression and competitiveness, which is likely to attract individuals with traditional gender-role attitudes (Vogt et al., 2007). In such environments sexist attitudes are more common, and sexualised behaviour is more likely to be tolerated by management. Male workers are more likely to have sexist ideologies and hostile attitudes towards women. Thus, sexual harassment may be perceived as normal interactions and people who protest inappropriate behaviour are seen as the deviation from the norm (De Judicibus & Mccabe, 2001).

2.4.2.4 Power and authority.
In most aspects of society men hold significantly more power than women, and the workplace is certainly no exception (Goldstein, 2018). Even in the Nordic countries, one of the most gender equal regions in the world, women remain underrepresented in managerial and executive positions, and they are overrepresented in part-time work and low-paid professions (The Global Gender Gap Report 2017, 2017). For example in Iceland and Norway, women represent only 10-26% top management and executive positions, depending on the industry and company size, and roughly 40% of representatives in the Parliament are
female (Kilden, 2017; NRK, 2017; Statistics Iceland, 2018). Men tend to be overrepresented in influential positions, and harassers tend to either be in a position of power or they want to exercise power through harassing (Lilleslåtten, 2017). According to Goldstein (2018), power makes people more impulsive and less worried about one’s effect on others, because being in a position of power sometimes means that there are no consequences.

In organisations where men hold the majority of managerial positions, women are likely to have little power and they are therefore at larger risk of experiencing gender discrimination and sexual harassment. This often results in women getting fired or quitting, further decreasing their chances of moving up in the organisational hierarchy (Lilleslåtten, 2017). Increasing the number of women in managerial positions can contribute to changing the organisational culture and reducing the tolerance for harassing behaviours, both because women are less likely than men to harass, and because men often harass women occupying less powerful positions (Dobbin & Kalev, 2017; Pina, Gannon, & Saunders, 2009). Reducing the power inequality between the genders is therefore considered to be an effective way of decreasing the prevalence of sexual harassment in the workplace (Dobbin & Kalev, 2017).

### 2.4.2.5 Profession and industry.

Sexual harassment is much more prevalent in industries and professions characterised as having atypical working hours, freelance work or temporary working schedules, and in workplaces where employees spend time alone with customers or clients (Dammen, 2018). Such industries include healthcare, foodservice, politics, tourism & hospitality and creative industries such as film, media, publishing and performing arts. These industries tend to lack regulations, and people often work alone, with little authority and minimal opportunity for stable employment (Hennekam & Bennett, 2017). These industries tend to have large power differentials, and men often have most of the decision-making power. This increases the likelihood of sexual harassment, as the aforementioned factors can contribute to the creation of an environment in which inappropriate behaviours are tolerated, ignored and normalised (Hennekam & Bennett, 2017; Johnson & Madera, 2018).

For example in the US, the commercial real estate industry is heavily male-dominated. Women represent roughly 20% of the workforce, and only 14% of senior executives (Misonzhnilc, 2018). In this industry, 90% of females and 84% of males report that sexual harassment happens, and half of the women have experienced sexual harassment. Moreover, women in the commercial real estate industry face gender discrimination when it comes to promotions and pay, with many women experiencing that they are paid significantly less than their male peers (Misonzhnilc, 2018).
Another industry in which workers experience high rates of sexual harassment is the foodservice industry. Most sexual harassment claims in the US come from the restaurant industry, and data suggest that 90% of women and 70% of men experience sexual harassment at work (Johnson & Madera, 2018). The typical worker is young, female and works for a male manager, while older men often occupy managerial and higher paying roles (Jennings, 2017). The industry has high turnover rates compared to other industries, thus victims often leave the workplace instead of filing complaints (Jennings, 2017; Johnson & Madera, 2018). Lastly, restaurant workers often rely on tips, making workers and managers less likely to take harassment from customers seriously (Johnson & Madera, 2018).

2.4.2.6 Age.
Research, statistics and polls generally show that sexual harassment is most prevalent in the age group 16-24 and 16-34 (Dammen, 2018; “Få har planer mot seksuell trakassering,” 2018; Ross, 2016; Storvik, 2018). In Norway, the number of females in the age group 16-24 who experienced sexual harassment in 2016 was almost the double of the national average. In the UK, a poll showed that 19% of women in the age group 18-34 had experienced workplace sexual harassment, compared to 7% in the age group 55+ reported (Dammen, 2018; Kirk, 2017). Young workers tend to be more vulnerable because they tend to have low status and power in the workplace and they are often in their first job. They might be unsure where to draw the line, or they are hesitant to file complaints because of potential repercussions or damage to future employment prospects (Fox Rothschild, 2014; Schoeff Jr., 2006). Furthermore, many teens get their first job in the foodservice industry or as a seasonal worker, occupations that generally have high turnover rates. Thus, workers often find a new job rather than dealing with the issue (Nelson Law Group, 2017).

2.4.3 Individual consequences of sexual harassment.
Despite laws, policies and procedures, sexual harassment remains a problem in organisations. Sexual harassment is considered to be counterproductive work behaviour, and the negative outcomes on the organisational and individual level are well documented (Chan, Lam, Chow, & Cheung, 2008; McDonald, 2012; Page & Pina, 2015; Pina et al., 2009; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). According to two meta-analyses, sexual harassment in the workplace can have a negative impact on workers’ health and result in negative job-related consequences (Chan et al., 2008; Willness et al., 2007).
2.4.3.1 Psychological and emotional responses.
Sexual harassment can be considered as a traumatic event and has consistently been associated with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety and depression (Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Larsen & Fitzgerald, 2011). Symptoms of PTSD include emotional numbing, flashbacks and sleep disturbances. Other common emotional responses are anger, fear, irritability, lowered self-esteem, alienation, helplessness and vulnerability (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). There is a clear relationship between sexual harassment and psychological distress, which in turn can affect physical health in the form of eating disturbances, alcohol and drug abuse (Chaiyavej & Morash, 2009; Chan et al., 2008; Harned, 2000; Vogt et al., 2007; Willness et al., 2007).

2.4.3.2 Job-related consequences.
In addition to the psychological and physical distress that can result from sexual harassment, there are several negative job-related outcomes associated with sexual harassment. The psychological distress can affect focus and motivation, thus negatively affecting job performance and promotional opportunities (Chaiyavej & Morash, 2009). Victims of sexual harassment sometimes face repercussions, get fired or quit, damaging their future career prospects (Lilleslåtten, 2017). Women in male-dominated environments may experience being isolated from informal events such as after-work drinks or off-site meetings, which is an important barrier to career progression (Atkinson, 2011; McLaughlin et al., 2018).

2.4.4 Organisational consequences of sexual harassment.
Sexual harassment can result in various negative consequences at the organisational level. Victims often experience reduced job satisfaction and reduced organisational commitment, and job performance and productivity are likely to deteriorate. People may start withdrawing from work through behaviours such as tardiness, absenteeism, task avoidance and increased sick leave (Chan et al., 2008; Willness et al., 2007). These outcomes can be very harmful to organisations, and may lead to legal sanctions, negative publicity, increased turnover and subsequent recruitment and training. In fact, Willness et al. (2007) found that the reduced productivity resulting from sexual harassment can cost up to $22,500 per person. Thus, organisations can benefit greatly if they manage to eliminate sexual harassment in the workplace.

2.5 Sexual Harassment Theories and Models
There are several theories around sexual harassment, some with more empirical support than others. For example, biological theory posits that sexual harassment stems from
a natural desire to find mates and to reproduce (Berdahl, 2007b). This theory has very weak empirical support and has been criticised for trivialising sexual harassment and minimise perpetrator responsibility by assuming that actions are beyond one’s control (Sibley Butler & Schmidtke, 2010). Other theories are more concerned with the sociocultural environment, hypothesising that sexual harassment is the result gender expectations held by society, or by the economic power men have over women in society (Pina et al., 2009). There are also theories regarding the power inequalities within organisations, as well as social-cognitive theories arguing that sexual harassment is the result of unconscious and automatic responses triggered by power-sex associations (McDonald, 2012; Pina et al., 2009). This chapter covers some of the newer theories that have received empirical support from various researchers.

2.5.1 Vulnerable-victim theory.
Vulnerable-victim theory suggests that vulnerable workers are the main targets for sexual harassment in the workplace (McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2012). The theory posits that power inequality is essential in predicting the likelihood of experiencing sexual harassment. Women, young workers and minorities are therefore at greater risk than men to experience sexual harassment due to their general lack of power in organisations (De Coster, Estes, & Mueller, 1999; Einarsen, 2000). Women are considered to be most vulnerable when they are in positions with low power, non-authority positions and if they have less education and tenure. Single, young women and minority women are also considered to be especially vulnerable (De Coster et al., 1999).

When it comes to the type of workplace, female-dominated occupations, male-dominated workplaces, private organisations and large organisations increase the risk of women experiencing sexual harassment (De Coster et al., 1999; Einarsen, 2000). The danger of getting caught is lower in large and hierarchical organisations, thus lowering the threshold for sexual harassment. In small and transparent organisations on the other hand, perpetrators are at greater risk of facing repercussions and social consequences (Einarsen, 2000).

Since men are often in positions of authority, they are the most likely to be perpetrators according to the vulnerable-victim theory. People tend to engage in behaviours that harm others whilst at the same time resulting in the least danger to themselves (Einarsen, 2000). As mentioned earlier, power makes people more impulsive and less worried about one’s effect on others, because being in a position of power sometimes means that there are no consequences (Goldstein, 2018).
2.5.2 Power-threat theory.

The power-threat theory suggests that women in positions of power are more likely to experience sexual harassment than those in vulnerable positions (McLaughlin et al., 2012). This form of sexual harassment is also known as contrapower sexual harassment. It occurs when someone occupying a less powerful position (e.g. subordinate) harasses someone in a more powerful position (e.g. their manager) (Lampman, Crew, Lowery, Tompkins, & Mulder, 2016). Contrapower sexual harassment is widespread in academia, where male students harass female faculty members, challenge their authority and exhibit disrespectful behaviours (E. DeSouza & Fansler, 2003; Lampman et al., 2016). Interestingly, a study by Mohipp and Senn (2008) found that individuals are less likely to perceive contrapower sexual harassment as harassment than sexual harassment in which individuals in powerful positions harass vulnerable workers.

Several studies have found that women are far more likely to experience contrapower sexual harassment than men, and that perpetrators are most likely to be male (E. DeSouza & Fansler, 2003; E. R. DeSouza, 2011; Lampman et al., 2016; Mohipp & Senn, 2008). The power-threat theory posits that those who threaten men’s dominance are likely to be harassed in order to undermine their authority and to equalise power. Thus, contrapower sexual harassment has more to do with “keeping women in their place” and reinforcing traditional gender norms through control and domination than it has to do with sexual attraction (E. DeSouza & Fansler, 2003; E. R. DeSouza, 2011; McLaughlin et al., 2012, 2018).

Nevertheless, it is possible that female supervisors report higher levels of sexual harassment because they are more likely to label behaviours as sexual harassment than other workers. They generally have more education and training, making them more capable of recognising and reporting sexual harassment (McLaughlin et al., 2012).

2.5.3 Organisational theory.

This theory claims that sexual harassment can be explained by power and status inequalities within organisations and by organisational norms (Pina et al., 2009; Sibley Butler & Schmidtke, 2010). Power can be derived from one’s position and authority within the organisation and by social power related to one’s membership of a majority group (Sibley Butler & Schmidtke, 2010). The theory does not label power differentials as gender-specific, accepting the possibility that women in powerful positions may harass workers in less powerful positions (Pina et al., 2009).

According to organisational theory, workplace norms contribute to creating a climate that either facilitates or inhibits sexual harassment (Sibley Butler & Schmidtke, 2010). The theory assumes that the workplace climate determines the perceived tolerance for sexual
harassment. Thus, organisations with unclear sexual harassment policies will experience higher levels of sexual harassment that those with zero-tolerance policies because it signals to employees and victims how their claims are likely to be treated (Pina et al., 2009; Sibley Butler & Schmidtke, 2010). Organisational climate can also be an indication of power differentials. A climate that tolerates sexual harassment could for example indicate that men hold considerable amounts of formal and informal power within the organisation (Sibley Butler & Schmidtke, 2010).

2.5.4 Sex-role spillover theory.
This theory hypothesises that sexual harassment occurs because workers bring gender-based beliefs and expectations into the organisation (McDonald, 2012; Pina et al., 2009). Women are therefore more likely to experience sexual harassment when occupying non-traditional roles such as police officer, blue-collar occupations or powerful positions such as CEO (Burgess & Borgida, 1997; Pina et al., 2009). Women in masculine work environments may be perceived as less vulnerable and less feminine. This reduces the likelihood of them being perceived as victims of sexual harassment because supervisors may perceive them as less in need of protection (Burgess & Borgida, 1997).

Furthermore, masculine workplaces tend to attract hypermasculine men, i.e. men with extreme and exaggerated masculine attributes (Rosen, Knudson, & Fancher, 2003; Stockdale et al., 1999). Men in such environments tend to have sexist attitudes towards women and perceive violence and aggression as acceptable expressions of power and dominance (Stockdale et al., 1999). If disrespectful treatment is common and the work environment is characterised by lack of professionalism, there may be lack of pressure from management to tone down hypermasculine behaviours (Stockdale et al., 1999). However, researchers seem to agree on the fact that hypermasculine workplace cultures tend to improve once more women are introduced to the work groups (Rosen et al., 2003).

2.5.5 The glass ceiling.
Workplace authority is one of the main causes for gender discrimination and sexual harassment in organisations (Bishu & Alkadry, 2017; Durbin & Fleetwood, 2010). The “glass ceiling” can be defined as artificial barriers that prevent qualified women from advancing upward in organisations (Bell, McLaughlin, & Sequeira, 2002; Bishu & Alkadry, 2017). Attitudinal and organisational bias create barriers for women and minorities by systematically restricting women’s access to career opportunities and economic benefits (Bishu & Alkadry, 2017).
Decisions such as hiring, firing, promotion, division of tasks and allocation of financial rewards are often made by senior managers, who tend to be male (Durbin & Fleetwood, 2010). For example in Sweden, only 13% of corporate leadership positions were held by women in 2013, and in Norway only 6% of executives were women even though they account for roughly 50% of the workforce (Ibe, 2017). More often than not, senior managers are male, and they tend to favour males when selecting individuals for the higher ranks of organisations (Bishu & Alkadry, 2017; Durbin & Fleetwood, 2010).

Unfortunately, the glass ceiling might be hard to combat, as research suggests that gender has a status value on its own (Auspurg et al., 2017). For example, both men and women consider it to be fair that women receive lower wages than men even when individuals have identical qualifications (Auspurg et al., 2017). Other studies indicate that women are perceived as being less capable than men in top management positions. Men often act as if they are more competent than they actually are, resulting in both genders perceiving men as more competent than women (Hysom, Webster, & Walker, 2015; Storvik, 2018).

A study done by Fortune Magazine, where 250 top manager evaluations were analysed, found that 76% of the women received negative feedback on their personality, whereas only 2% of the men received such feedback (Storvik, 2018). In 2015, a Norwegian business school, Markedshøyskolen, replicated the experiment by presenting students with two leaders: Hanna and Hans. They both had the exact same characteristics and qualifications. The students perceived Hanna as an inferior leader compared to Hans and rated her significantly lower than her male equal (Storvik, 2018).

2.5.6 Critical mass theory.
A Norwegian study from 2016 investigating more than 20 000 companies found that the gender of executives had no impact on company performance. It also found that companies with more women in management and boards performed better than those dominated by men (Storvik, 2018). Several researchers have found that gender-balanced teams generally outperform nongender-balanced teams, because women significantly improve collaboration and diversity (Bear & Woolley, 2011; Hoogendoorn, Oosterbeek, & Van Praag, 2013; Schwartz-Ziv, 2017; Woolley, Chabris, Pentland, Hashmi, & Malone, 2010).

Nevertheless, many companies marginalise women by putting them into management positions without giving them legitimate power. Thus, women who manage to break the glass ceiling often experience that they have less authority than their male peers, consequently resulting in lower financial rewards and benefits (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010; Bishu & Alkadry, 2017).
Research often find that a critical mass of 35% is needed in order for team productivity and performance to increase (Schwartz-Ziv, 2017). If the minority gender (often women) is below the 35% threshold they are likely to become tokens who represent the minority, rather than being perceived as individual workers with individual opinions (Schwartz-Ziv, 2017). The majority may try to dominate the minority by exaggerating differences and isolating the minority. For example, women may experience being “mistaken” for secretaries or the wives of male workers (Atkinson, 2011).

2.6 Safety and Health at Work

Sexual harassment is a widespread problem in the workplace internationally (Page & Pina, 2015). Several large international organisations such as the European Union, the International Labour Organization and the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women have addressed the issue and contributed to the establishment of collective agreements, laws and policies in order to battle sexual harassment in the workplace (McDonald, 2012).

2.6.1 The European framework directive on safety and health at work (directive 89/391 EEC).


The 2002 EU directive (No. 73/EC) on “equal treatment of men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion, and working conditions” states that “employers and those responsible for vocational training should be encouraged to take measures to combat all forms of sexual discrimination and, in particular, to take preventive measures against harassment and sexual harassment in the workplace, in accordance with national legislation and practice” (Directive 2002/73/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council 76/207/EEC, 2002).

2.6.2 The act on working environment, health and safety in workplaces No. 46/1980.

In Iceland, employers are obliged to ensure a safe working environment that prevents hazards in an appropriate and satisfactory manner (EU-OSHA, n.d.-a). The Administration of
Occupational Safety and Health (AOSH), an institution under the Ministry of Social Affairs, is working towards preventing accidents and health damages in the workplace (“Administration of Occupational Safety and Health,” n.d.). AOSH is responsible for enforcing the legislation ratified by the Ministry of Social Affairs, and is currently following the Act on Working Environment, Health and Safety in Workplaces No. 46/1980, whose aim is to “ensure a safe and healthy working environment which in general is in accordance with the social and technical developments in society” (Act on Working Environment, Health and Safety in the Workplace, 1980, p. 1; “Administration of Occupational Safety and Health,” n.d.). The Act covers all workplaces on land with one or more persons, and it applies to owners and employees of enterprises.

Article 65 a stipulates that employers are responsible for making a health protection schedule that includes preventative measures and measures to be taken to reduce work-related illnesses and accidents. Article 66 of Act No. 46/1980 stipulates:

“The aim of health protection measures shall be:

a. to increase the likelihood that workers will be protected against all forms of health risks and health damage that may result from their work or working conditions,
b. to increase the likelihood that work will be organized in such a way that workers will be assigned tasks to which they are suited, and to promote their mental and physical adaptation to the working environment,
c. to reduce absenteeism from work due to illness and accidents by raising safety levels and maintaining workers’ health in the workplace,
d. to promote workers’ mental and physical well-being” (Act on Working Environment, Health and Safety in the Workplace, 1980, p. 20).

2.6.3 Regulations on bullying, sexual harassment, gender harassment and violence at work.

In 2004, the Ministry of Social Affairs passed regulation No. 1000/2004 to prevent inappropriate behaviour in the workplace. It covers bullying, sexual harassment, mental and physical violence (Reglugerð um aðgerðir gegn einelti, kynferðislegri áreitni, kynbundinni áreitni og ofbeldi á vinnustöðum., 2015). Regulation No. 1009/2015 on bullying, sexual harassment, gender harassment and violence at work further improved the 2004 regulation, and aims to prevent bullying, sexual harassment, gender-based harassment and violence at work. It aims to promote mutual respect in the workplace and to increase awareness and understanding around behaviours that are categorised as bullying, sexual harassment, gender-based harassment and violence (Reglugerð um aðgerðir gegn einelti, kynferðislegri áreitni, kynbundinni áreitni og ofbeldi á vinnustöðum., 2015).
Based on Article 65 a of Act No. 46/1980 and Regulation No. 920/2006, employers are obliged to conduct a risk assessment in which risk factors of bullying, sexual harassment, gender-based harassment and violence in the workplace shall be identified (Reglugerð um aðgerðir gegn einelti, kynferðislegri áreitni, kynbundinni áreitni og ofbeldi á vinnustöðum., 2015). Such factors include age, gender ratio, cultural background, the nature of the work and where the work takes place. The employer shall also make a prevention plan which states actions to be taken to prevent bullying, sexual harassment, gender-based harassment and violence at work (Reglugerð um aðgerðir gegn einelti, kynferðislegri áreitni, kynbundinni áreitni og ofbeldi á vinnustöðum., 2015).

2.7 The Icelandic Financial Sector

When Iceland was granted home rule in 1904, the country had a GDP equivalent to Ghana (Gylfason, Holmström, Korkman, Söderström, & Vihriälä, 2010). Although Iceland had been under Danish and Norwegian rule for over 600 years, the nation quickly proved itself successful as an independent country. Over the course of 100 years, Iceland joined Norway at the top of the United Nations Human Development Index in 2006, as a modern welfare state (Gylfason et al., 2010).

During the first half of the 19th century the government was closely involved in the development of the banking industry, and the state owned the largest commercial banks (Central Bank of Iceland, n.d.; Gylfason et al., 2010). In the 1980s and 1990s Iceland started liberalising the economy. State-owned banks were privatised and sold to politically favoured entities who changed laws and regulations with an aim to expand the banking system (Benediktsdottir, Danielsson, & Zoega, 2011). After Iceland joined the EEA in 1994, capital controls were removed, allowing banks to set up branches in EU countries and borrow from foreign banks (Benediktsdottir et al., 2011). Icelandic banks enjoyed a good reputation internationally as the nation was known for its political stability, steady growth and high interest rates. This fuelled their rapid growth and international success (Gissurarson, n.d.).

The government answered with reduced intervention, tax cuts and further privatisation of the banks. The rapid growth combined with lack of regulation and supervision resulted in increasingly risky investments to risky borrowers (Arnarson, Kristjánsson, Bjarnason, Sverdrup, & Ragnarsdóttir, 2011). The banks suddenly became reckless and unethical, fuelled by short-term thinking and corruption (Eichacker, 2016; Háskóli Íslands, 2018). Several of the politicians responsible for regulating the banks had huge stakes in the companies, allowing bankers and shareholders to reap significant private benefits while shifting risk to domestic and foreign taxpayers and foreign creditors (Gissurarson, n.d.).
2.7.1 Increased gender equality in the banking industry.

Before the financial crisis, the ruling party was overwhelmingly male. The banks hired young, ambitious and inexperienced men into well-paid positions (Arnarson et al., 2011; Carlin, 2012). The ruling elite was ethically and culturally homogenous, resulting in a business culture that favoured similarity, while ostracizing anyone who challenged the group values (Arnarson et al., 2011). The banking industry was built around masculine values of aggression, competitiveness and risk-taking, with ambitious and inexperienced men at the forefront (Motola, 2016). Political leaders and high-profile bankers claimed that the unique business intuition of Icelandic men was the secret to their international success (Gissurarson, n.d.).

The Icelandic banking adventure ended abruptly in October 2008, when Iceland’s three main banks, Landsbanki, Glitnir and Kaupthing, crashed within a week. Combined, the three banks, who were all run as private organisations, accounted for 85% of the nation’s bank assets (Gylfason et al., 2010). Soon after, the government collapsed and the main banks were nationalised. Women started to seize power in the government, in banking and in business. Female CEOs replaced the men who led the banks into the crisis, a female prime minister was elected and women soon represented 52% of the seats in parliament (Carlin, 2012; Motola, 2016). The financial industry was rebuilt on female values, focusing on sustainable investments, risk aversion, openness and long-term thinking, as opposed to the previous system of masculinity, aggression and short-term thinking (Carlin, 2012; Ertel, 2009).

Today, the Icelandic banking industry consists of three banks; two state-owned banks and one privately-owned bank. They have all been recognised and rewarded for their corporate governance and professionalism. CSR and gender equality are strong strategic priorities, and the government is actively involved in ensuring that financial institutions operate according to current laws and regulations.

2.7.2 The Icelandic banks.

After the collapse of the Icelandic banking system in 2008, three new banks were founded on the ruins of their predecessors. The assets of the privately-owned Glitnir was sold to the government and turned into Íslandsbanki, Kaupthing turned into Arion Banki and Landsbankinn’s failed assets were transferred into a new bank with the same name (Bloomberg, 2018; Icelandmag, 2017; Landsbankinn, n.d.). Today, only Arion Banki operates as a private company (Bloomberg, 2018).

Since their establishment in 2008, all three banks have strived to be an attractive workplace for women and men and they are working actively on achieving gender equality.
(Annual Report 2017, 2017). The CEO of Íslandsbanki, Birna Einarsdóttir, has since 2008 promoted gender equality in the internal and external environment (Icelandmag, 2017; Íslandsbanki, 2016). Íslandsbanki has contributed to providing equal opportunities for men and women in professional advancement, pay and representation in management. The bank has also increased awareness around the benefits of gender equality for individual companies and society. Íslandsbanki therefore received a Gender Equality Award for 2016 (Íslandsbanki, 2016).

The overall gender ratios are roughly 65% male and 35% female in all three banks (Annual Report, 2017; Annual Report 2017, 2017; Landsbankinn Annual Report, 2017). Figure 1 and 2 show gender ratios in various parts of Landsbankinn and Arion Bank. Figure 3 shows the overall gender ratios in management at Íslandsbanki (Íslandsbanki did not have available data for the gender ratios in the different organisational levels). All three banks strive to have at least 40% representation of each gender at all organisational levels, and especially in management (Annual Report, 2017; Annual Report 2017, 2017; Landsbankinn Annual Report, 2017).

![Gender ratios at Arion Bank](image-url)

*Figure 1* Gender ratios at Arion Bank. (Annual Report 2017, 2017).
Figure 2 Gender ratios at Landsbankinn. (*Landsbnakinn Annual Report, 2017*).

Figure 3 Overall gender ratios at Íslandsbanki. Data obtained through Ragnar Torfi Geirsson at Íslandsbanki.
Landsbankinn was the first Icelandic bank to receive the Golden Seal of PwC’s Equal Pay Audit, which has been awarded to the company twice (Landsbankinn Annual Report, 2017). Meanwhile, Arion Bank is the first Icelandic bank to be awarded the mandatory Equal Pay Certification by the Ministry of Welfare. All three banks are currently working on implementing the Equal Pay Certification, and Arion Bank is now the largest Icelandic company to be awarded the certification (Arion Bank, n.d.; Jafnréttisstofa, 2018).

Since 2008, the Icelandic banks have gone from corrupt and reckless to become frontrunners in corporate governance. Both Arion Banki and Íslandsbanki have been recognised for excellence in corporate governance by the Icelandic Chamber of Commerce (Annual Report, 2017). There is a strong focus on personal and professional development, and the banks offer a wide range of courses and seminars for employees in order to ensure continuous improvement and greater job satisfaction. In Landsbankinn, employees are encouraged to seek education outside of the bank if necessary. In 2017, 84% of employees participated in training, both in-house and externally, with an average of 10.5 hours of training per each full-time position (Landsbankinn Annual Report, 2017).

As a response to the #metoo movement, the banks are now reviewing their equal rights policies and action plans regarding bullying, discrimination, gender-based and sexual harassment, emphasising that they have zero-tolerance towards any such behaviours (Annual Report 2017, 2017).

2.7.3 #Metoo in the financial sector.
While the #metoo movement has rattled industries such as media, entertainment, politics and academia, Wall Street has remained conspicuously quiet. Many bankers and executives claim that the industry cleaned up more than a decade ago (Abelson, 2018). Compared to other industries, there are very few examples of cases in the financial sector in which high-profile and powerful men have been dismissed because of misconduct (Tan, 2018). However, current Wall Street employees who have been asked to describe personal experiences and observations tell of situations where they have been grabbed, kissed, humiliated and approached by colleagues and bosses (Abelson, 2018).

There are strong financial and cultural forces in the financial industry that discourage employees from speaking out (Abelson, 2018; Griffin, Recht, & Green, 2018; Tan, 2018). Victims have a lot to lose by going public with allegations and are often silenced by forced arbitration and large settlements with nondisclosure agreements (Bain, 2018). This makes it possible for firms to hide from the public and victims are pressured to stay quiet because of the amount of money they could lose by going public. Pointing fingers could alienate bosses,
colleagues and rivals, and is therefore considered risky an industry that values reputation, discretion and relationships (Abelson, 2018).

The financial industry is often characterised as a masculine environment. Female directors claim that sexual harassment rarely is discussed at the board level because directors do not consider it a problem (Green, 2018). In a study conducted by Roth (2007), 36% of the women had experienced sexual harassment. However, none of these women had used their firms’ formal policies or grievance procedures in order to report the problem. Thus, the directors might not have reason to believe that sexual harassment is a problem in their company if they are to rely on formal complaints.

Nevertheless, there are a few cases from Wall Street that has reached the media. In February, Lauren Bonner, an executive at Point72 Asset Management, filed a gender discrimination lawsuit against the founder of the company, Steven Cohen (Tan, 2018). She claims that the firm hired and promoted fewer women than men, paid women less than male peers with equal or fewer responsibilities and that female candidates from college need 20-25% higher GPAs than male peers to get the same position (Picker, Giel, & Zweben, 2018; Van Voris, 2018). Bonner believes that after she filed a harassment claim against a member of the promotion committee, Cohen turned against her and sabotaged her promotion to director (Picker et al., 2018). The firm has excluded Bonner from senior leadership meetings, diminished her responsibilities and paid her less than male peers (Tan, 2018; Van Voris, 2018).

Bonner’s case brought #metoo to Wall Street, after having managed to escape public attention through arbitration clauses in employment contracts. Although Point72 claims that Bonner is required to arbitrate the case privately within the firm, she has chosen to go public because the situation is so bad (Kolhatkar, 2018; Van Voris, 2018). People are afraid of derailing their career by filing formal complaints. In a small, male-dominated environment, filing a discrimination lawsuit can make it troublesome to find a new job. Bonner believes that when women are systematically undervalued and underpaid compared to their male peers, they start to believe that they are lucky to even be there (Kolhatkar, 2018).
3.0 Methodology

3.1 Procedure

The research was a multiple case study of three organisations, with a qualitative approach. It was an instrumental case study aimed at providing insight into the effect of the #metoo movement in the Icelandic banking industry (Grandy, 2010). The case study was developed around the topic of sexual harassment and the #metoo movement, which resulted in the selection of Icelandic banks. Since there are only three banks in Iceland, the selection of cases allows for comparisons to be made within the sector as a whole (Crowe et al., 2011). An instrumental case study approach can be used to explore a particular phenomenon such as the #metoo movement in depth. By researching all three Icelandic banks, it is possible to identify patterns and themes that can be compared between the cases (Grandy, 2010). Table 1 shows an overview of the cases selected for this research.

The primary data consisted of semi-structured interviews based on questions discussing the #metoo movement in Iceland (see appendix B). A qualitative approach was used because it allows for in-depth discussion around a particular phenomenon. This approach makes it possible to compare the individual cases if varying themes and patterns emerge.

After the sample was identified, potential participants were contacted via email. Some never answered, while some referred me to the HR department because they believed that they would have more valuable insights to contribute with. I was able to arrange ten interviews with participants from three different banks. There was a total of eleven interviewees, as one of the interviews was conducted with two HR managers. Table 1 shows an overview of the case studies, and what type of people that were interviewed in each company. The banks are quite similar in size, with between 800-1000 full-time positions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIRM</th>
<th>SECTOR</th>
<th>FORMAL SEXUAL HARASSMENT POLICY</th>
<th>NUMBER OF INTERVIEWEES</th>
<th>INTERVIEWEES</th>
<th>NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Financial services</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>CEO, COO, Executive Director, HR Manager, Branch Manager</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Financial services</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>HR Manager, Branch Manager (3)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Financial services</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>HR Manager (2)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The advantage of conducting semi-structured interviews is that researcher is present to explain questions that the interviewee found unclear or confusing. The researcher can ask for more detailed answers on topics that are relevant for answering the research question, making it easier to ensure that relevant information is obtained. The disadvantage of the approach is that the sample size is very small and only represents a fraction of the employees in the companies. Since sexual harassment is generally underreported, there might me a gap between managerial awareness and employee awareness of sexual harassment. Furthermore, the presence of the researcher could influence the results, with regards to skills and experience with conducting interviews.

3.2 Participants
There were eleven participants in the current study, three males and eight females aged 38-65 years. The participants are all Icelandic and are employed in Icelandic banks. To find the sample, a non-probability purposive sampling method was used (Bryman & Bell, 2015). The participants consisted of executives, human resource managers and branch managers. The reason for approaching this group is that they are the ones that generally develop and implement policies and procedures, and they are the most likely to receive and handle complaints regarding sexual harassment. The initial sample consisted of a few individuals that were considered relevant to the research question. New participants were then found using a snowball sampling method, in which the initial sample were asked to recruit new participants through their acquaintances (Bryman & Bell, 2015).

Table 2
Overview of educational background of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Degree</th>
<th>No University Degree (N=1)</th>
<th>Undergraduate Degree only (N=2)</th>
<th>Postgraduate and Undergraduate Degree (N=8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banking School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business and IT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As illustrated in Table 2, the banks employ a diverse group of employees, which is reflected in the background of the participants in this study. The participants have varying work experience within the banking industry, spanning from seven months to 31 years. Five of the participants have worked in banking almost all of their careers, for 20-31 years, and five of the participants have worked in the banking industry for 6-13 years. One participant started working in the banking industry seven months ago. Those who have worked outside of banking have experience from consultancy, IT, legal practice and HR.

3.3 Data Collection

Nine interviews were conducted in a private meeting room at the workplace of the interviewees during office hours. One interview was conducted at a café after office hours, in a private and quiet corner. All interviews were recorded and later transcribed by the interviewer. The interviews were semi-structured and exploratory, following a list of questions to be explored around the topic of the #metoo movement and sexual harassment in the workplace (see appendix B). Before the interviews started, each participant was asked to read and sign a consent form (appendix A), stating that all information will be kept confidential and that no names will be disclosed. All participants signed the form. The interviewees were then informed that the interview was being recorded. Each interview lasted 15-30 minutes.

Two interviewees asked to read the interview questions prior to the interview. Thus, some participants were more prepared than others. A few of the participants stated that they would not be very good at talking English, and they had some trouble finding the right words to describe certain things. Thus, some information might have gone unmentioned because of language barriers.

Eight of the interviews were conducted with one interviewee and the interviewer. One of the interviews was conducted mainly with one interviewee, but the last ten minutes one more interviewee was asked to join by the initial interviewee in order to give further details about some questions. The second interviewee was the chairman of a #metoo committee and could therefore provide some additional information that the initial interviewee was not entirely sure about. The second interviewee was later interviewed alone. Finally, there was one interview in which two human resource managers were interviewed together. This interview was more interactive than the other ones. The interviewees filled out information for each other and added on to what the other was saying. Thus, although I was only able to interview two people at the one bank, they were both well prepared and asked each other for inputs throughout the interview. This gave valuable insights into the topic and ensured that all questions were answered thoroughly.
A few weeks after the interviews, I sent some follow-up emails to the HR department in one of the companies to get further information on the gender ratios in management that was not available online, and that was not obtained during the interviews.

3.3.1 Ethical issues.
All research involves some ethical considerations. Sexual harassment can be a sensitive subject and individuals might be reluctant to share and discuss sensitive information or information that can be traced back to individuals. It is therefore important that the participants are informed about the purpose of the study and that the results are not traceable back to individuals. Due to the sensitivity of some data, the results will be presented as an overview of each organisation.

Furthermore, the Icelandic banking industry is relatively small. It is therefore important to maintain confidentiality of the individual banks and the participants, as individuals could easily be identified if personal details are presented in a way that makes it possible to trace it back to individuals.

3.4 Data Processing
After the data collection, all interviews were transcribed. The data was then analysed through thematic analysis using the software NVivo. The data was sorted according to themes by using the software. Themes were mainly identified from the interview questions, while one theme, gender equality, emerged from the data. The themes were then sorted into two broader categories, as illustrated in Figure 4.

Since the interviews were semi-structured, the same topics and questions were discussed with all the interviewees (see appendix B for interview schedule). Nevertheless, as information emerged, interviews were focused around emerging data in order to gather as much relevant information as possible. For example, when an interviewee talked about specific initiatives that their bank had done within the past year as a response to the #metoo movement, the next interviewee was asked if they knew anything about that initiative, in order to get as much information about the emerging information as possible.

For company A and B, thematic saturation was reached (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso, Blythe, & Neville, 2014; Cohen, 2006). Interviews were conducted until no new themes emerged. In company C, I had difficulties finding participants, resulting in only one interview with two HR managers. It can therefore not be concluded that thematic saturation was reached for case study C. Data was gathered using triangulation of sources; by gathering data from multiple sources within each company, a comprehensive understanding of the
phenomenon was developed. Triangulation also allows the researcher to examine the consistency of data and to converge information from different sources, ensuring validity to some extent (Carter et al., 2014; Cohen, 2006).

Naturally, the researcher’s experience and skills in conducting interviews can influence the data collection and data processing, along with personal biases. Before I started interviewing people I did not expect to obtain as much information as I did because sexual harassment is a sensitive subject. The participants shared a lot more than I was expecting, including sensitive information. For example, one of the executives shared detailed information about an internal survey that was conducted, even though they were alarmed with the results, which revealed much higher levels of sexual harassment than expected. I was also surprised to learn about the extent of actions the banks have initiated as a result of the #metoo movement. In fact, I was expecting that one or more of the banks would not have taken much action at all. To my surprise, all the banks have responded with a variety of initiatives to battle sexual harassment in the past year. Thus, my expectations might have influenced the data collection and data processing, with regards to the questions asked and the interpretation of the data.

Figure 4. Thematic categories.
4.0 Results

Figure 5 shows the themes that emerged during the analysis of the data. The interviews were focused around a rather narrow topic, thus there were not too many themes that emerged. The results will therefore be presented according to the themes presented in Figure 5.

![Themes Diagram]

Figure 5. Overview of results derived from thematic analysis.

4.1 The Effect of #Metoo on Icelandic Workplaces

All the interviewees agree that the #metoo movement has had a significant and positive effect on Icelandic workplaces. Society is discussing sexual harassment and gender-based discrimination more openly and people are more willing to come forward if they are experiencing some form of mistreatment. This is reflected in the workplace, where it has opened up for discussions. People are talking about issues and acting on it, and there is generally more awareness around sexual harassment in the workplace. Both employees and managers have taken the movement seriously, and the Icelandic banks have introduced various initiatives as a result of the #metoo movement (the initiatives will be discussed in further detail in section 4.4):
“I think we, Icelandic workplaces listen to their employees in a different way than before. I think they are listening to the employees in a different way. They take it more seriously when people complain about...not only gender-based inequalities or sexual harassment but also bullying and all kinds of malfunctioning communications basically. I think they take the whole, everything more seriously. All complaints from employees.”

As in many other countries, there have been cases of high-profile men in the Icelandic business environment that have been fired as a result of sexual harassment and sexual violence towards colleagues. The #metoo movement encouraged victims to come forward, and has resulted in a few men being outed in the media:

“I think that shows that if you do stuff like this you, I mean you can’t get away with it anymore. You get the stamp I think now if you do it. You don’t want to be, you don’t want to have it I think.”

Because of the massive media coverage and attention around the #metoo movement, behaviour that people might have been able to get away with a few years ago is now taken very seriously and could have serious consequences for your career. In fact, some men are now having difficulties finding a new job because they have been “stamped” by the media after misbehaving or abusing their power in the workplace.

The general impression is that Icelandic workplaces are waking up when it comes to sexual harassment and gender discrimination. The #metoo movement has created awareness and made people reconsider their behaviour and ways of communicating with their colleagues. The interviewees express that people are treating each other with more respect, both men and women. People are choosing their words more wisely and they are not afraid of addressing colleagues if they see or hear something they do not tolerate. One of the interviewees say that managers are now more proactive in how they deal with issues. Instead of waiting to see how a problem develops, managers are more active in interfering and trying to stop it early so that it does not escalate.

4.2 Awareness and Attitudes

All the interviewees expressed that the #metoo movement has increased awareness around sexual harassment in the workplace. Because of the ongoing discussions in media and social media the general perception is that society and workplaces are discussing sexual harassment more openly. The interviewees say that it is more appreciated to speak up and they feel that people have more courage to come forward if they experience unfair treatment. Employees and managers have set clear boundaries, which has resulted in people addressing behaviour that they would ignore or brush under the carpet about before the #metoo movement:

“Sexual harassment...it wasn’t uncommon a few years ago maybe (...) in those times nobody thought anything of it. Most of that is unthinkable now. I think the effect has
been very strong, but mostly in the last two or three years. I don’t think you see or hear anything of the sorts you heard in the past. I think it’s a great effect and people are choosing their words better in what they write, in what they put in emails and so forth. I think awareness is there, that’s because human resources and all the people have been together in implementing this."

Nevertheless, it is one weakness with case study C that is worth mentioning. In company C, the participants perceived sexual harassment as less of a problem than in companies A and B. For this reason, company C has not had any employee survey since the #metoo movement started. Unfortunately, this research was conducted too early to include the results of this years’ annual survey. The HR managers in company C think that it is possible that they have underestimated the extent of sexual harassment because people’s boundaries and tolerance could have changed as a result of the #metoo movement.

4.2.1 Awareness of male culture.
In company B, the human resource department hired a consultancy company to evaluate the corporate culture in light of the #metoo movement. The company has been focusing a lot on gender equality in the past years, implementing equal pay legislation and ensuring equal power distribution within the company. As a result of the #metoo movement, managers started to look into the corporate culture and ended up conducting a cultural analysis with a consultancy company. Although the banks have high levels of gender equality, company B found that there are still aspects of the corporate culture that has contributed to maintaining a male culture. For example, the meeting rooms have male names and all the pictures on the wall are portraying males. Thus, the #metoo movement helped company B to become aware of aspects of the corporate culture that inhibited complete gender equality:

“I think it has affected the culture in the banking industry. (...) it has created more awareness of gender inequalities that were still within the companies (...) The #metoo movement has not only put focus on the things that go wrong (...) We’ve been more aware of things in our culture that undermine the willingness to change (...) for example pictures on the walls: all men. Meeting rooms with male names. You know, all the little things that perhaps each and everyone is not so important but if you put it all together you realise that there are a lot of things that are maintaining the male values (...) So yes, #metoo has affected a lot.”

The results of the cultural analysis were then presented to all the employees in the bank in order to give everyone a chance to participate in the discussion. The management has also been active in making sure that employees are aware that managers want them to report anything they experience as inappropriate or uncomfortable:

“Basically we’ve been trying to increase awareness that we want people to complain if they have something and we’ve been trying to increase just the basic education and awareness of what is sexual discrimination. Because it’s often so, often people are unaware that they are discriminating and others think he is discriminating”
“it’s a big issue for us to create an atmosphere where people feel safe and can come forward with their stories.”

4.2.2 Increasing awareness through social media.
Many of the interviewees expressed that the #metoo movement has increased awareness through the sharing of stories in various Facebook groups from different industries. Men might read the stories and realise that the examples that were given is actually something that they have done in the past. They have then realised that something that they thought was funny or innocent is something women find uncomfortable or inappropriate. People are therefore more aware of their behaviour and many interviewees say that people think before they talk and are more careful about what they say. For example, small things such as comments about appearance or clothing has completely stopped after the #metoo movement, according to one interviewee. Men no longer behave in certain ways, and after reflecting on their past behaviour they have realised that some things they were saying before is no longer acceptable:

“I think people are more aware. They don’t behave in certain ways (...) I don’t think generally the sexual harassment you know was a big (...) problem here (...) I think it was worse than it is now if you know what I mean.”

Although the #metoo movement has affected people’s awareness and attitudes towards sexual harassment, all three banks express that sexual harassment was not a big problem before the movement. Still, most interviewees think that the workplace is better after the #metoo movement took place, although it was good before. A small group of people have expressed confusion and insecurity as to where the limit goes for what people consider as sexual harassment. Nevertheless, the majority of employees view the movement as a positive influence that has helped clarify boundaries and set the standard for behaviour in the workplace.

4.3 Tolerance
All the interviewees perceive that the tolerance for sexual harassment has decreased significantly since the #metoo movement came to Iceland. People have much lower tolerance for all kinds of harassment, especially verbal harassment and gender-based jokes:

“it’s obvious that the tolerance from little to zero. There’s absolutely no tolerance for it I would say. Not what we hear at least.”

“We have zero-tolerance for sexual harassment and also for gender discriminations in words, in action, you know (...) Before was possibly called not tasteful, but now we call it rude, it’s just rude comments.”

Behaviour that was tolerated before is no longer tolerated by either managers or employees. After various initiatives and discussions people are now talking about sexual harassment more
openly and they have more confidence to step forward and speak up if they are experiencing some sort of harassment from colleagues or customers:

“We’ve heard from women that they have found some inner strength not to accept things they have been accepting so forth. I don’t know exactly what kinds of things but that’s what we’ve heard, the #metoo movement has given them some way that they feel more comfortable in taking a step, putting some limits.”

“jokes that were funny they’re not funny anymore and people are unafraid to say this is not tolerated. And also in general, I feel within the people I hang around, it has definitely changed the perception of what’s allowed to say and what not.”

4.3.1 Zero-tolerance.

In company A, some managers realised that women were reluctant to report misbehaviour from customers because they were afraid of being viewed as trouble makers or they were afraid of losing a big customer. The top management has therefore made it clear that the company has zero-tolerance for sexual harassment from all stakeholders:

“[before the #metoo movement] we might just have spoken to the guy and say “if it happens again then you know da da da da…”. But I didn’t have that tolerance, it was just…it happened and he was out.”

“I have also said that we have no tolerance for those issues from our customers because I noticed that some staff they were worried about telling us that the customers is doing something. And then, because they are worried that you know, what can they do, it’s a very important customer. I have said no one is important enough customer that we accept that behavior (…) I am not going to say that we lost a customer that gave us so and so much money (…) I would lose big customers to support staff in this”

As a result, both managers and employees have become more aware of the behaviour of customers. Managers are reacting immediately, and making it clear that any sort of rude comments or inappropriate behaviour is not going to be tolerated:

“you should also be more aware of it as a manager. Is it happening in your team? And you should react immediately. That is another message that we have been sending out. And what I have been possibly most pleased about is that our male managers, I think I have heard three cases, male managers with a more junior lady from the bank in a meeting with a client. And the client is giving funny comments about the female, and the manager, the male manager of the bank said “we don’t tolerate that kind of talk”. And it’s not her that needs to say it, her manager is on the case immediately. So it’s very good.”

4.4 Initiatives

Various initiatives have approached as a result of the #metoo movement within the Icelandic banks. For example, all three banks have re-evaluated and changed their harassment policies and all three companies have offered training programs to their employees in order to educate them on what sexual harassment entails, and what steps they can take if there is something they want to report.
### 4.4.1 Changes to harassment policies and complaint procedures.

The results show that all three banks have updated and re-evaluated their harassment policies and their complaint procedure as a result of the #metoo movement. Company A and B have worked on making the procedure clearer and increasing employees’ awareness around the policies. Company C has made a clearer distinction between formal and informal complaints. Before the #metoo movement, all complaints in company C was handled internally, whereas now, formal complaints are handled externally and informal complaints are handled internally:

“we have been as well re-evaluating our response plan when we get complaints. (...) Making that plan more clear so people know better when they decide to come with a complaint; what’s going to happen, how is the process going to be”.

“we are actively going through them and changing what we think needs to be changed. Both the policies, the awareness of the policies and the ease for employees to come forward.”

“we did review our procedures (...) in the end of last year. And we did change it in maybe one like major way, that if an employee would file a formal complaint about bullying or sexual harassment or violence (...) the sort of investigation would be conducted by someone outside the company (...) We sort of made a more clear distinction between a formal and informal complaint. So the informal procedure would be sort of conducted within the company”

Company A and B have made changes to their annual employee surveys to enforce the focus on sexual harassment:

“we have a yearly poll or survey (...) on this which is pretty big and we are gonna have a special part to check this [sexual harassment]”

“In the end of this survey come a few questions about #metoo”

“We have this survey that we take two times a year and I think it’s recently, maybe just two years, that they have this question: have you had any experience of sexual harassment or know of anyone (...) So they are trying to monitor because of course just a little fraction of those experience it take it any further (...) there are just so few cases that they get into their office at human resources ”

Because of the #metoo movement the companies have now included questions about sexual harassment in their annual surveys in order to get a better understanding of the prevalence of sexual harassment in the workplace. Company C already had questions about this in their annual survey, and therefore did not change it. However, company C was more focused on bullying before the #metoo movement because there were almost no formal sexual harassment complaints. Annual surveys have shown that 0-1% of employees have experienced sexual harassment at work:

“the results had not showed that people were like experiencing sexual harassment. So we weren’t maybe, not focusing on that, that much. And that did, like shifted with the movement. So we are now more just in... talk about it or view it in the same, like it’s about bullying and sexual harassment and, so we are more focused on that one as well.”
4.4.2 Meetings and educational events.
All the banks arranged meetings with managers, and two of them arranged educational events for managers and general staff where a psychologist came in to talk about sexual harassment and gender discrimination. These initiatives were aimed at increasing awareness of what the concepts entail and the possible consequences for individuals and organisations. These initiatives were offered to prepare managers about how they can respond if sexual harassment occurs within their departments, as well as to inform employees about the steps one can take in order to file a complaint or get help with an issue.

4.4.3 Social media and online education.
One of the HR managers said that managers have been active in encouraging employees to speak up through social media:

“We have Workplace (...) Facebook for companies. And we’ve been posting there (...) that we want our employees to show the same courage as these women and step forward if they had something they wanted to talk about. So yeah. Basically we’ve been trying to increase awareness that we want people to complain if they have something and we’ve been trying to increase just the basic education and awareness of what is sexual discrimination. Because it is often so, often people are unaware that they are discriminating and others think he is discriminating.”

One of the banks created an online educational program where employees had to watch videos, answer some questions and at the end commit to following the company’s policies on sexual harassment and gender discrimination:

“We had an online educational program where in the end employees need to commit to those policies and to obey them basically”.

4.4.4 #Metoo survey.
Only one of the companies conducted an internal survey to investigate the situation in their own workplace. The survey was initiated because there had been so much silence within the financial industry compared to other industries:

“especially in November, December, January it was like radio silence, nothing was happening (...) Why aren’t women in finance speaking?”

Company A therefore created a survey where they asked 100 female leaders within the bank if they had experienced gender discrimination while working at the bank. They wanted to see if women would be more willing to share their experiences anonymously than on social media. 30% said yes and 70% said no, and within the past 12 months, 11% of the female leaders had experienced some form of gender discrimination, not limited to sexual harassment. For example, one customer had asked an employee “why do you always smile so sexy to me?”, while others had experienced than men took credit for their ideas. The results were higher than expected and one of the interviewees said that:
“we are very disappointed about that (...) I was shocked (...) we were worried that if that is how it is among the managers, how is it then with general staff.”

Although the banks have not experienced higher frequency of complaints in the past year, interviewees express that people are more respectful when interacting with each other, and that there is less gender-based jokes and gender-based comments:

“We have not received higher frequency of complaints (...) but we have had discussions with employees where (...) they have expressed that they knew so little about this before, that they are very happy to have had this discussion and information”.

To sum up the initiatives discussed above, Table 3 provides an overview of the actions each company has engaged in this past year as a response to the #metoo movement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Type of initiative</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Update/re-evaluate harassment policies</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Update/re-evaluate complaint procedure</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meeting with managers</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Include sexual harassment questions in annual survey</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Educational event with psychologist</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seminars/workshops</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cultural analysis (consultancy)</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lectures/presentations</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#metoo survey</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Staff meetings</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Training programs</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Social network</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employees must consent/commit to new policies</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5 Cases and Issues Uncovered as a Result of the #Metoo movement

In company A and B the #metoo movement uncovered some cases and issues that the management was unaware of. As mentioned earlier, company A initiated a survey where they uncovered that 11% of female managers had experienced some form of sexual harassment or gender discrimination in the past year. The top management and HR department was very surprised by these results, as it was much higher than expected.

In company B, there was one case that came to light as a result of the #metoo movement. During the past year there has been a lot of Facebook groups from various Icelandic industries where women have shared their experiences with sexual harassment. One
of the employees in company B was part of a group for women working in IT and computer science where members shared their stories anonymously. At some point, her story was shared outside of the private Facebook group. The examples she used made it possible for people to know who she was talking about, and the managers in the bank were soon made aware of the story. The bank was not aware of the case until the story was published, and according to the HR department the case was challenging to deal with. It had a big effect on the bank and led to various initiatives. 

In company C, there were no cases uncovered as a result of the #metoo movement:

“no I don’t recall it. We are still more, I mean there are so few since I started working here, there have been so few incidents that can be like viewed as sexual harassment. We are still more working on the bullying part although there are very few cases as well. So no, I don’t think there are, have been uncovered because of the movement in particular.”

As exemplified by the case in company B, the banking industry in Iceland is very small and people might be reluctant to come forward with their story. Even though their story is told anonymously, it can be easy for people to recognize the individuals. Thus, this might be one of the factors contributing to the low levels of activity on Facebook groups in the financial industry compared to many other industries.

4.6 Power Structures

When it comes to power structures, there is not much that has been uncovered in the banking industry. All the banks have for many years had a strong focus on gender equality in management. All three banks have more or less equal power distributions within top management and the board of directors, and two of the banks have female CEOs. The interviewees think that this has contributed to breaking down power inequalities and ensured that the banking industry is a place where men and women have equal opportunities:

“Well, I think banks are a better workplace for women now than most [workplaces] (...) The chances of a woman going into management and so forth, I think they were less before than now, and I think the movement is a factor in providing them with more chances of women moving up in the bank (...) I think the treatment is more fair (...) I have seen treatment that was not fair, far from it, and I think that has improved a lot.”

Still, there are still some departments that are slightly gender segregated because of the difficulty of finding female candidates that are qualified. In company A, managers are experiencing difficulties in maintaining gender equality in corporate consultancy and IT:

“in some positions, we have an inequality because of just how hard it is to find, like, in the branches we have around 70%, 65-70% women and in this corporate consultancy department we have 60% male. But other than that, and especially in managerial positions we have close to 50, basically equal, so there isn’t any power inequalities in that sense, no.”
Nevertheless, the #metoo movement did highlight a few things that people were already aware of in company B. For example, the directors are 73% male and 27% female, and customer service representatives and cashiers are 8% male and 92% female. The #metoo movement put more focus on these inequalities and pressured managers to address it. Another issue that came to light in company B was that a group of powerful men had been going to the gym three times a week in the cellar at headquarters, and it seemed like there was no room for women in this group. The #metoo movement made employees aware of this and put pressure on the bank to look more into how informal power structures like this appear in the bank.

In company C, the HR managers were not aware of any power structures or abuse of power that had been reported or uncovered in light of the #metoo movement. They believe that the reason might be that the banks do not have the same power structures as industries such as sports and politics, where the #metoo movement uncovered many cases compared to other industries. For example in sports, you might have the coach versus the players, where the coach has a lot more power compared to a manager in the bank.

Furthermore, in company C, it was considered harder to misbehave in open office spaces. The interviewees stated that the open spaces would make it hard to misbehave without anyone interfering or witnessing what is going on. Thus, the HR managers in company C believe that there might not be that much potential to abuse your power within the banking industry, which could explain the low levels of sexual harassment:

"Respondent 2: we wonder if the company culture, if the banking (...) you know, is it different (...) If you compare it to other industries, (...) we don’t have the same, perhaps the structure as far as the ability to use your power.
Respondent 1: And it’s all like open planned spaces (...) Respondent 2: If you have intentions to misbehave you know, it’s hard to hide. We work in an open space, I mean, if you have fifty witnesses, if you are supposed to do something indecent you have everybody, you’re like in the spotlight. (...) Respondent 1: I mean, with that visibility there will be someone who steps in”.

4.7 Gender Equality

All three banks have actively worked towards achieving gender equality for several years, and they have all managed to achieve high levels of gender equality in management and top management. One of the banks have had a female CEO for the past ten years, who has been very much involved with ensuring gender equality and equal opportunities for both genders. Still, there are certain areas of banking that are gender segregated in all the banks:

"of course it depends on the departments you know, like somewhere IT it’s more male, somewhere in the back office units it’s more female. It’s been an old tradition so it’s slowly changing. ”

"Respondent 1: there’s one level of management that we have that is overrepresented by men, and that is like heads of departments. And then we have the next level, below that, and like the service managers they are more women than men."
In company A, gender equality has been part of the strategy for many years, which the management sees as a competitive advantage. In the other banks for example, corporate consulting is heavily male-dominated, with one or zero female employees, whereas company A has actively recruited females whenever possible. This has resulted in close to 50% female workers in that division, according to the interviewee. In fact, some departments have requested that managers hire more women because they are tired of the masculine culture.

Still, there are some areas of banking that lack women because there is a lack of women completing education within STEM subjects (science, technology, engineering, mathematics):

“we have some departments like you know (...) corporate finance. They are very difficult hiring women and they are struggling to you know keep them when they are hired. And often they are in some support roles you know. So we are not there yet. (...) I have been in IT for very long time and in the beginning we were very few women and often men, guys came to me and said can’t you hire more women? Because they were tired of this male culture, you know. (...) But of course it’s still you know, a job for the guys. It’s a shame because it’s great for women.”
5.0 Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this research is to provide an insight into how the #metoo movement has influenced the Icelandic banking industry in the past year. The aim is to find out if the #metoo movement has changed attitudes, awareness and understanding of sexual harassment, and if the #metoo movement has resulted in any initiatives or changes in behaviour in the Icelandic banking industry in the past year.

Since the #metoo movement started in October 2017, public debates, demonstrations, social media campaigns and political initiatives have taken place to raise awareness and to combat sexual harassment and gender discrimination. However, there has not been a lot of scientific research on the effects of the #metoo movement internationally since it is such a recent phenomenon. Certain information was therefore obtained from newspapers and magazines, which are generally not the most reliable sources. At the same time, this shows that more research is necessary. It is a current and relevant topic that has the potential to lead to lasting cultural changes. Both the literature and the results of this project show that the #metoo movement has already contributed to legal, organisational and cultural changes, in Iceland and internationally.

In Iceland, most of the research around the #metoo movement is focused on the extent of sexual harassment rather than the changes in people’s attitudes, awareness and understanding of sexual harassment. If, as a result of the #metoo movement, people now have lower tolerance for sexual harassment and are more aware of the problem, current research might exaggerate the extent of sexual harassment. It is therefore important to consider both aspects when investigating the effects of the #metoo movement.

Undoubtedly, more research is needed in order to analyse the long-term effects of the #metoo movement and to draw well-supported conclusions about its effects on workplaces. This research project aims to provide an original contribution to the current literature on the #metoo movement by providing an insight into the situation in the Icelandic banking industry one year after the movement started. The research is focused around the following research questions:

RQ1: How has the #metoo movement changed attitudes, awareness and understanding of sexual harassment in Icelandic banks?

RQ2: How has the #metoo movement contributed to organisational initiatives or changes in behaviour in Icelandic banks?
5.1 Awareness

The #metoo movement has clearly influenced workplaces all over the world. The hashtag is said to be comparable to the long-term political movement #BlackLivesMatter, a hashtag that has been actively used for more than five years (Anderson et al., 2018; Gill & Orgad, 2018; Ohlheiser, 2018). The hashtags have shown that political engagement on social media can result in legal, organisational and cultural changes. The #metoo movement has created massive awareness around sexual harassment and systemic gender discrimination, opening up for critical discussions about sex and power (Gill & Orgad, 2018; Jaffe, 2018).

The results show that in all three banks, there is generally increased awareness around sexual harassment. Changes are being implemented to influence the way managers and employees communicate and act towards each other. This has made people more aware of their behaviours and increased the awareness of how words and actions can impact other people. Awareness and understanding of the extent of sexual harassment within the companies has been raised through workshops, seminars, surveys and meetings within the banks, and by having educational events with psychologists and consultants.

For example, in company B, a cultural analysis was initiated in order to remove old traces of male culture that inhibit gender equality. Furthermore, the threshold for addressing unwanted behaviour or unfair treatment from both colleagues and customers is lower than before the #metoo movement. Because of the widespread social media and media coverage, there is less stigma around the topic, and people are encouraged to speak up by their managers.

Both the #metoo movement and #BlackLivesMatter have shown that social media can be a powerful tool. When used effectively, people can get attention from politicians and ultimately influence policy decisions (Anderson et al., 2018; Gill & Orgad, 2018; Ohlheiser, 2018). In Iceland, the movement has resulted in government initiatives aimed at fighting sexual violence and reducing gender segregation in the labour market (King, 2018).

Internationally, the #metoo movement has made people take sexual harassment more seriously, and ensured that there are consequences for inappropriate behaviour (Dockterman, 2018; Tran, 2018). This is the general consensus among the interviewees as well, stating that behaviours that might have been brushed under the carpet before will now have consequences. Several people have been fired, both in the banking industry and other industries, in the past year over behaviours that might have resulted in no significant consequences before the #metoo movement. However, it is still too early to say whether or not the movement will lead to lasting changes.
5.2 Reporting of Sexual Harassment

When it comes to the reporting of sexual harassment, the results are consistent with the literature. Several international studies show that sexual harassment is underreported and that one of the reasons is that victims are afraid of repercussions (Atkinson, 2011; Fox Rothschild, 2014; Lilleslåtten, 2017; McLaughlin et al., 2018; Schoeff Jr., 2006). In this study, some of the participants mentioned that women often do not report incidences because they are afraid of being perceived as trouble makers, especially if the harasser is a customer.

Other reasons are that workers are not sure who to contact, or how the process works, or they are not sure if the incident is serious enough to report. This shows that even though there are procedures in place, people are still reluctant to report harassers because they are unsure of how it will affect them. These attitudes make it hard for managers to correctly address the issue because they are not aware of the real extent of the problem. Also in the other Nordic countries, the #metoo movement revealed that there was a lack of structure and routines in how to deal with accusations. A culture of silence has therefore been maintained (“#Metoo i Norge - og i verden,” 2018; Måwe, 2018b).

The survey conducted in company A showed the percentage of employees that had experienced sexual harassment within the past year was a lot higher than expected because people were not reporting incidents. The #metoo movement put pressure on management to clarify their policies and procedures, so that employees are more aware of how the process will be carried out. Nevertheless, there has been no increase in formal complaints from employees in the past year. One reason could be that people are addressing problems informally and solving conflicts without having to file a formal complaint. Another reason could be that employees are more aware of their behaviours, resulting in less sexual harassment overall. Of course, another reason could be that there simply has not been enough time so see a significant cultural change.

5.3 Theories of Sexual Harassment

When it comes to theories of sexual harassment, there is not much empirical evidence to support any specific theory. Given the limited scope of the data collection, it is hard to link the results to theories effectively. By interviewing managers and executives, it is hard to say whether or not contrapower sexual harassment is more common than harassment of subordinates by managers. Furthermore, sex-role spillover theory claims that women are more likely to experience sexual harassment when occupying non-traditional roles such as CEO or corporate consultant (Burgess & Borgida, 1997; Pina et al., 2009). In the banking industry however, two out of three CEOs are female, and women are well represented in powerful positions. It is therefore hard to say whether or not these theories are supported by this
research project, as the banking industry is rather unique when it comes to these aspects of employment.

According to the literature, workers in sectors with freelance work are more vulnerable than those working regular hours in permanent position (Dammen, 2018; Hennekam & Bennett, 2017; Johnson & Madera, 2018). The Icelandic banking sector is characterised with professionalism and excellent corporate governance. There is even power distribution between genders and workers are protected by labour unions and corporate policies in the event of workplace conflicts (Annual Report, 2017; Annual Report 2017, 2017; Landsbankinn Annual Report, 2017). This could be relevant when looking at organisational theory, which posits that workplace norms contribute to creating a climate that either facilitates or inhibits sexual harassment (Sibley Butler & Schmidtke, 2010). For example, zero-tolerance policies signals that sexual harassment will be taken seriously, and that there are consequences for inappropriate behaviour (Pina et al., 2009; Sibley Butler & Schmidtke, 2010). Thus, according to organisational theory, the banking industry is experiencing relatively low levels of sexual harassment compared to other industries because of the perceived zero-tolerance for sexual harassment within the companies.

A culture of zero-tolerance on sexual harassment has been initiated by top management, with strong support from the HR departments. Educational programs, seminars, lectures, workshops and publications on social media were used to create awareness and support of a zero-tolerance corporate culture. Some unwanted episodes were discovered and there has been a few cases in which employees lost their job, enforcing the culture of zero-tolerance. This has resulted in some behavioural changes. Employees are more respectful towards each other, and there has been a significant decrease in gender-based jokes.

5.4 Safety and Health at Work

One of the strengths with this research is that it covers the whole banking industry in a country and that HR managers from all companies are represented. This makes it possible to obtain valuable and up to date information regarding policies and procedures, as the HR department is active in developing and implementing these within the companies.

The Nordic countries have strong legislations against gender discrimination and sexual harassment. Regulations require employers to prevent and respond appropriately in case of bullying, sexual harassment and violence at work (Reglugerð um aðgerðir gegn einelti, kynferðislegri áreitni, kynbundinni áreitni og ofbeldi á vinnustöðum., 2015). All the banks are following these regulations when developing their internal policies for dealing with sexual harassment.
After the #metoo movement however, all the banks are re-evaluating their policies and prevention plans. The movement highlighted several weaknesses that made people reluctant to file formal complaints after experiencing something they experienced as uncomfortable or inappropriate. For example, in company C, employees within the bank were responsible for investigating formal complaints before the #metoo movement. Now, formal complaints are handled by an external company while informal complaints are handled internally. The HR department expressed that this has already been giving positive results because it is more comfortable for employees to deal with formal complaints with someone outside of their workplace.

This shows that although there are strong rules and regulations in place, there still needs to be improvements in order for people to feel comfortable to report perpetrators. Nevertheless, the #metoo movement has resulted in meaningful debates and made people discuss sexual harassment more openly, both in Iceland and internationally (Drefvelin, 2018; Orgeret & Arnesen, 2018; Simonsen, 2018). This could result in positive changes to the legal frameworks, thereby improving the safety and health for employees.

5.5 Gender Equality in the Workplace

An interesting aspect of the Icelandic banking industry is that all the banks collapsed in 2008. This enabled them to have a fresh start, which the companies really took advantage of. Prior to the crisis the banking sector was characterised as reckless and corrupt, whereas today, Icelandic banks are known for their sustainable and professional operations (Eichacker, 2016; Háskóli Íslands, 2018). After the government collapsed, the main banks were nationalised, and women took over numerous powerful positions in the government, banking and business arenas (Carlin, 2012; Motola, 2016).

Numerous studies have shown that gender equality has a significant and positive impact on economic growth because it increases the average ability of the workforce and the availability of human capital (Arora, 2012; Karoui & Feki, 2018; Kim et al., 2016; Klasen & Lamanna, 2009; Pervaiz et al., 2011). Today, Icelandic banks are in the forefront of gender equality in the workplace, with equal pay standards and policies that require equal distribution of males and females in management and top management (Annual Report, 2017; Landsbankinn Annual Report, 2017).

As discussed in the literature, gender inequality in workplace authority is one of the root causes of sexual harassment and gender discrimination in organisations (Bishu & Alkadry, 2017; Durbin & Fleetwood, 2010; Langone, 2018; “Time’s Up Now,” 2018). Thus, ensuring gender equality in management is one of the most efficient ways of reducing sexual
harassment in organisations (Bell et al., 2002; Dobbin & Kalev, 2017; Fonda, Covert, Pollitt, Meyerson, & Lipsitz, 2018).

One of the respondents, who has worked in one of the banks for the past 30 years and survived several coalitions, said that in Iceland, the banks are some of the better workplaces for women because the treatment is fairer than in other industries. Women have better chances of attaining management positions, especially after the #metoo movement, he said. When women are represented in key positions, the power inequality between the genders decline. As a result, sexual harassment and gender discrimination is likely to decrease because women are less likely to harass than men, and women tend to be less tolerant of sexual harassment (Dobbin & Kalev, 2017; Pina et al., 2009).

Due to the strong focus on gender equality, the formal power structures are not significantly skewed in the Icelandic banks, although there are certain areas of banking that do not have equal distribution between genders (Dobbin & Kalev, 2017). Therefore, the way that Icelandic banks responded to the #metoo movement might differ from countries in which the banking industry is more male-dominated, because female managers tend to be less tolerant of sexual harassment.

5.6 Limitations

As with any research, there are limitations that must be addressed. In qualitative research it is hard to generalise findings. Although the research covered all three banks in Iceland, the sample size was very small and represented a limited group of employees. The banks are considered to be large companies in Iceland, with 800-1000 employees. This research included a total of 11 participants, with 2-5 participants from each bank. Thus, only a fraction of the employees in the banking industry are represented, and only employees within management and top management were asked to participate. Both the literature and the results show that sexual harassment is underreported. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the participants in this research are not fully aware of the actual extent of sexual harassment within their organisation.

Another limitation of the research is that it is hard to apply the findings to other sectors in Iceland. During the financial crisis, Iceland’s economy was hit especially hard, with the entire financial system collapsing. This allowed the country to do a complete makeover of the financial system and get a fresh start with new people, new policies and new power structures. This allowed Iceland to recover a lot quicker than countries such as Ireland, Spain and Greece. This also makes it hard to generalise the findings to other countries. Moreover, the Nordic region is characterised as the world’s most gender equal countries, with high
standards of living and advanced economies. The findings of this research therefore have limited application to the international banking industry.

There were also a few limitations when it comes to the data collection and data processing. For companies A and B thematic saturation was reached. This was unfortunately not possible for company C due to difficulties in finding participants. As a result, only one interview with two participants was conducted when gathering data from company C. Having two interviewees in the same might influence how the participants answer questions or talk when a colleague is listening in. Nevertheless, this interview was more interactive, and the interviewees had prepared well and answered questions thoroughly.

Lastly, there is limited scientific research around the #metoo movement since it is such a recent phenomenon. Some information was therefore obtained from newspapers and magazines, which are generally not the most reliable sources. Nonetheless, the lack of research indicates that more research is necessary, making this project a valuable contribution to the current literature. The immense media attention and the calls for action from various industries show that the #metoo movement has the potential to create long-term changes, and that it is likely to receive more attention from researchers in the coming years.

5.7 Recommendations for Future Research

Given the limitations of this research, it would be beneficial if future research includes a larger sample, representing employees from more organisational levels. Since sexual harassment is underreported, it would be favourable to have participants from both management and general staff in order to get an understanding of the extent of underreporting.

Since the banks are relatively large companies with many employees and departments, it could be beneficial to conduct a quantitative survey in order to efficiently research a larger sample. This would make it possible to include all the employees and to look at differences within the company. Is there a difference in the occurrence of sexual harassment between female-, and male-dominated departments for example?

It would also be interesting to look at various sectors, since the Icelandic banking industry is quite unique when it comes to gender equality and distribution of power. It could also be interesting to compare Iceland to other Nordic countries because they are relatively similar in culture, politics and gender equality. On the other hand, it could be interesting to compare Iceland to countries with lower levels of gender equality or with male-dominated banking industries.

Lastly, since the #metoo movement is such a recent phenomenon, it is too early to say if it has resulted in cultural changes. It would therefore be beneficial to conduct new surveys
within the Icelandic banks a few years from now and compare them to current findings. This would make it possible to investigate whether or not the past years’ initiatives made a meaningful difference within the companies. Did the #metoo movement result in a cultural change or was it only a short-term phenomenon?

5.8 Conclusion

Both the literature and the results indicate that the #metoo movement has had a significant and positive impact on workplaces in the past year. In the Icelandic banking industry, it is clear that employees have more awareness of behaviours that constitute sexual harassment. The tolerance for gender-based discrimination has gone from little to zero within the past year, and the threshold for addressing and reporting unwanted behaviour or unfair treatment both from colleagues and customers is lower than before the movement. The topic is discussed more openly, and people are encouraged to speak up and address unwanted behaviour. This has revealed some unwanted episodes, and a few employees have lost their job as a result.

A culture of zero-tolerance for sexual harassment has been initiated by top management in the companies, with strong support from HR departments. Harassment policies and compliant procedures have been re-evaluated and updated in all three banks, and two of the banks modified their annual employee surveys to enforce focus on sexual harassment. Various initiatives such as seminars, lectures and workshops have been implemented to influence the way managers and employees think, talk and act, and to create and support a corporate culture of zero-tolerance. This has resulted in some behavioural changes, such as a decrease in gender-based jokes.

Even though it is too early to tell if the #metoo movement will lead to lasting changes, this research contributes to the existing literature by giving an insight into how Icelandic banks have responded to the #metoo movement in the past year. Current research focuses more on the extent of sexual harassment, while this case study focuses on the changes in attitudes, awareness and understanding of sexual harassment. This provides a valuable insight into the current situation in Iceland, which can be used as the basis for comparison with future research to see if the effects of the #metoo movement were short-term or if it led to lasting cultural changes.


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Appendices

Appendix A: Consent form

Participant Consent form for Research Project at Reykjavik University

This research is being carried out by Hannah Gangdal Mikkelsen under the supervision of Dr Þóranna Jónsdóttir.

The research project is carried out as a final project in the pursuit of the degree MSc in Human Resource Management and Organisational Psychology.

The purpose of the study is to investigate if the #metoo movement has led to any changes in awareness and attitudes in the workplace.

Your participation is greatly valued, but participation is strictly voluntary and you may withdraw your participation at any time, without giving reasons and without penalty, even after the data have been collected.

Data collected will be used for the sole purpose of this research project. No names will be disclosed, and all information obtained from interviews will be kept confidential.

If any further information or instructions are needed, do not hesitate to contact me in tel.no. 848-9318 or by e-mail hannahm17@ru.is.

Kind regards,
Hannah Gangdal Mikkelsen

__________________________________________________________________________      ____________
Participant signature               Date
Appendix B: Interview outline

1. **Background Information**
   a. About the manager – education, little bit of background, how long you been in this position, age, gender
   b. Can you briefly tell me about your department? (briefly about the HR practices /structure of the company when talking to HR/CEO)

2. **How do you think the #metoo movement affected Icelandic workplaces?**
   a. What effect did it have on the banking industry?
   b. How has it affected your company?
   c. What kind of actions has #metoo resulted in within your organisation? (e.g. meetings, training, seminars, new policies, communication)

3. **Has the #metoo movement highlighted any power structures or abuse of power within your company? How was this uncovered?**
   a. What role did #metoo have?

4. **How has the #metoo movement affected attitudes and awareness around sexual harassment in the workplace?**  
   *Definition: discrimination aimed at belittling and marginalizing someone based on their gender. Behaviour that creates a hostile, offensive or intimidating work environment. Can range from comments, whistling, inappropriate touching or bribes and threats of sexual compliance.*
   a. How has it affected people’s tolerance for sexual harassment?
   b. In what way has it affected people’s perception of behaviours that are considered to be sexual harassment?

5. **How has the #metoo movement affected awareness around sexual harassment within the company?**
   a. Has there been any cases/issues that have been uncovered as a result of the #metoo movement?
   b. How did the #metoo movement contribute to the awareness of this case/issue?

6. **Are you aware of any changes to policies or procedures within the company as a result of #metoo? Explain.**
   a. Have you (or your department) in any way changed procedures or routines as a result of #metoo? Explain.