

The Persistence of Sexism and Racism at Universities

Exploring the Imperceptibility and Unspeakability of Workplace Harassment and Discrimination in Academia

Guschke, Bontu

Document Version
Final published version

DOI:
[10.22439/phd.06.2023](https://doi.org/10.22439/phd.06.2023)

Publication date:
2023

License
Unspecified

Citation for published version (APA):
Guschke, B. (2023). *The Persistence of Sexism and Racism at Universities: Exploring the Imperceptibility and Unspeakability of Workplace Harassment and Discrimination in Academia*. Copenhagen Business School [Phd]. PhD Series No. 06.2023 <https://doi.org/10.22439/phd.06.2023>

[Link to publication in CBS Research Portal](#)

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us (research.lib@cbs.dk) providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Download date: 06. Jul. 2025

COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL
SOLBJERG PLADS 3
DK-2000 FREDERIKSBERG
DANMARK

WWW.CBS.DK

ISSN 0906-6934

Print ISBN: 978-87-7568-155-6
Online ISBN: 978-87-7568-156-3

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22439/phd.06.2023>

THE PERSISTENCE OF SEXISM AND RACISM AT UNIVERSITIES

PhD Series 06.2023

Bontu Lucie Guschke

THE PERSISTENCE OF SEXISM AND RACISM AT UNIVERSITIES

EXPLORING THE IMPERCEPTIBILITY AND UNSPEAKABILITY
OF WORKPLACE HARASSMENT AND DISCRIMINATION IN
ACADEMIA

CBS PhD School Department of Organization

PhD Series 06.2023

CBS  COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL
HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

THE PERSISTENCE OF SEXISM AND RACISM AT UNIVERSITIES

*Exploring the imperceptibility and unspeakability of
workplace harassment and discrimination in academia*

Bontu Lucie Guschke

Primary supervisor:

Professor Sara Louise Muhr, Copenhagen Business School

Secondary supervisors:

Professor Brigitte Bargetz, University of Passau

Professor Philomena Essed, Antioch University

CBS PhD School

Copenhagen Business School

Bontu Lucie Guschke

*THE PERSISTENCE OF SEXISM AND RACISM AT
UNIVERSITIES*

*Exploring the imperceptibility and unspeakability of workplace
harassment and discrimination in academia*

First edition 2023

Ph.D. Series 06.2023

© Bontu Lucie Guschke

ISSN 0906-6934

Print ISBN: 978-87-7568-155-6

Online ISBN: 978-87-7568-156-3

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22439/phd.06.2023>

All rights reserved.

Copies of text contained herein may only be made by institutions that have an agreement with COPY-DAN and then only within the limits of that agreement. The only exception to this rule is short excerpts used for the purpose of book reviews.

Acknowledgments

I still remember vividly the moment when, for the first time, I could imagine doing a PhD. I had been invited to a workshop called *Feminism, Activism and Writing*, taking place at Copenhagen Business School. I was a master's student at the time and had been part of several academic workshops and seminars at the university. Still, I had never before experienced *this* – a room full of dedicated feminist scholars thinking, writing, working, discussing, planning, organizing, acting together. Raising difficult questions, sharing personal-political concerns, exploring creative forms of writing, expressing hopes, fears, and dreams, listening to one another, caring about each other. I remember thinking: *If this is what academia can look like, I want in.*

Sara, I will forever be grateful that you invited me to this workshop. Thank you for creating and inviting me into spaces within academia that I had no idea could even exist in this environment. Throughout my PhD journey, you have given me guidance in a way that always allowed me to explore and find out where I want to go and how I want to develop. You have challenged me in a way that allowed me to grow without ever doubting that I have your support. And maybe most importantly, you keep showing me what being an academic can also look like and keep inspiring me to be part of shaping what academia can be. The space you create not only for me but for so many junior scholars to develop and thrive in this system, which so often does not treat us kindly, is invaluable.

Brigitte and Philomena, thank you both so much for agreeing to join the supervision team and supporting me in the process of writing this dissertation. Your careful, critical, and supportive reading of my texts and engagement with my thoughts and ideas have been vital for shaping the work I was able to conduct. Our discussions and exchanges – both in person and over several kilometers via online calls and in writing – have formed and inspired not only this dissertation but also my thinking as a scholar. Thank you for letting me learn from you. I could not have wished for a better supervision team.

Thank you to my colleagues at the Department of Organization and the Diversity & Difference Platform at CBS, who have supported my work over the last years in so many different ways. And thank you to Kathleen Riach, Ana Maria Munar, and Eric Guthey, who have been discussants at

my Work-in-Progress Seminars. Your insights, supportive feedback, and critical questions have strengthened and improved my work. Thank you for your support and encouragement. Thank you also to Lena Olaison, who has been supporting me in my teaching endeavors. Learning from you and working alongside you has been a great source of inspiration for me.

I want to thank everyone who agreed to be part of the interviews for my research. I am especially grateful to those of you who were willing to share your own experiences of harassment and discrimination. I value the trust you put in me highly. Thank you for sharing your accounts to make this work possible.

Further, I feel deep gratitude to all the feminist and anti-racist scholars, activists, writers, poets, and fighters who have walked before me, who walk beside me today, and who will continue walking this path of feminist and anti-racist resistance and solidarity. My work and my life would not be possible in this way without you.

Beate, Jannick, Thomas, Kai, Kaitlin, Farhiya, Sara, and Sine, thank you for thinking, writing, discussing, struggling, laughing, questioning, and exploring together. The collaborative projects we worked on and the articles we co-authored have shaped the thoughts that are the basis of this dissertation. Thank you for letting me learn from and with you.

Jannick and Thomas, you were the first two people I met at IOA when I started my PhD in 2019 and you have become two of my most important colleagues and friends over the past years. Thank you for the inspiration, the support, the rants, the creative adventures, the honest conversations, the anger at the world, and the joy despite it all.

Kai, Michelle, Maria, Irene, Max, Charlotte, Lea, Anna, Alex, and Marie, you have in different ways accompanied me on this journey – as office buddies, as fellow feminist killjoys, as colleagues, as friends. Thank you for laughing and crying together. Thank you for all the hugs. Thank you for the endless discussions over endless amounts of coffee, tea, and wine. Thank you for your kindness, generosity, honesty, and care.

To my friends and loved ones in Copenhagen, Berlin, and so many other places around the world, you know who you are, and you know that you mean the world to me. You are the ones who

remind me again and again that even when everything seems difficult, there is so much ease, joy, and warmth in this world, too. Thank you. I cannot imagine my world without you.

Chris, none of this would have been possible without you, without *us*. Thank you for loving me on my worst days, for believing in me when doubt and insecurity haunt me, for reminding me to rest when my thoughts won't stop spinning, for challenging me even when it annoys me, for inspiring me more than you know, for listening to me when I am angry, for standing up for me and supporting me always. I am so grateful to have you in my life. Thank you for everything, always.

Finally, I am grateful to those who shaped me in becoming who I am today: my mom who showed me what a strong and loving independent woman looks like and always inspired me to become my very own version of that, my dad who dedicated so much of his life to making it possible for me to explore, thrive, and grow in every direction I set my mind to, and my sister who gives me hope that a more equal, just, and kind future is possible and inspires me to keep struggling towards it because with you in it, it will be worth it. Mama, Papa, and Solu, thank you for always believing in me so unconditionally.

Bontu Lucie Guschke

Copenhagen, 12.12.2022

Abstract

This PhD dissertation investigates the reproduction of sexist and racist harassment and discrimination in workplaces at Danish universities. It contributes to feminist organization studies by exploring: (1) How does the dis/organization of Danish universities enable the reproduction of inequalities, specifically in form of sexist and racist harassment and discrimination? (2) What allows sexist and racist workplace harassment and discrimination to be reproduced both on an institutional-structural and an interactional-individual level? (3) How are sexist and racist harassment and discrimination reproduced intersectionally, and what is distinct in how they are reproduced?

Data from the Danish university context provides the empirical basis for the study. The author conducted in-depth interviews with academic faculty at all eight Danish universities. Interviewees were not required to have personal experiences with harassment and discrimination. An approach of anti-narrative research operationalized through embodied queer listening was developed and used in both data generation and analysis to methodologically acknowledge and engage with the interviewees' vulnerabilities as well as autonomy in relation to organizational norms and power structures. It further allowed engaging with both discursive and affective aspects of data generation and analysis.

The findings of the study are structured in six analytical chapters. These outline (I) contextual mechanisms within the Danish academic system that facilitate harassment and discrimination, (II) the unspeakability of racism when speaking of harassment and discrimination, (III) the imperceptibility of harassment, that is, how harassment often becomes affectively noticed before becoming named as such, (IV) ten (de)legitimization strategies that allow harassment and discrimination to persist, (V) expectations in how to speak up about harassment experiences, and finally (VI) insights on the reporting process and its challenges.

The dissertation contributes to research on harassment and discrimination within feminist organization studies, developing both theoretical and empirical insights. Overall, it maintains and details how harassment and discrimination are reproduced in a context of in/formality leading to a reproduction of inequality underneath a layer of unspeakability which leads to a lack of

responsibility. Finally, implications for organizational practice are discussed, suggesting that organizations need to recognize anti-harassment and anti-discrimination as ongoing, relational organizational practices rather than a goal to be achieved, respond with autonomy-fostering care to the vulnerability involved in harassment experiences, and be able to ‘stay with the trouble’ in addressing the affective ambiguities of harassment and discrimination.

Resumé

Denne ph.d.-afhandling undersøger reproduktionen af sexistisk og racistisk chikane og diskrimination på arbejdspladser ved danske universiteter. Den bidrager til feministiske organisationsstudier ved at udforske: (1) Hvordan muliggør danske universiteters dis/organisation reproduktionen af uligheder, specifikt i form af sexistisk og racistisk chikane og diskrimination? (2) Hvad tillader at sexistisk og racistisk chikane og diskrimination på arbejdspladser bliver reproduceret på både et institutionelt-strukturelt niveau og på et interaktionelt-individuelt niveau? (3) Hvordan bliver sexistiske og racistiske chikane og diskrimination reproduceret intersektionelt, og hvad er distinkt ved hvordan de bliver reproduceret?

Data fra den danske universitetskontekst udgør studiets empiriske grundlag. Forfatteren gennemførte dybdegående interviews med universitetsansatte ved alle otte danske universiteter. At de interviewede havde personlig erfaring med chikane og diskrimination var ikke en betingelse. En anti-narrativ undersøgelsestilgang, operationaliseret via *embodied queer listening*, blev udviklet og anvendt i både dataskabelse og analyse for metodologisk at anerkende og engagere sig i de interviewedes sårbarhed, såvel som deres selvbestemmelse i forhold til organisatoriske normer og magtstrukturer. Derudover tilladte denne undersøgelsestilgang engagement med både diskursive og affektive aspekter af dataskabelse og analyse.

Studiets resultater er struktureret i seks analytiske kapitler. Disse fremviser (I) det danske akademiske systems kontekstuelle mekanismer, som faciliterer chikane og diskrimination, (II) racismens usigelighed når der tales om chikane og diskrimination, (III) diskriminationens usanselighed, dvs. hvordan chikane ofte bliver bemærket affektivt førend det bliver benævnt som som chikane, (IV) ti (de)legitimeringsstrategier som tillader at chikane og diskrimination varer ved, (V) forventninger til hvordan man taler højt om oplevelser med chikane, og endelig (VI) indsigter i anmeldelsesprocessen og dens udfordringer.

Afhandlingen bidrager til feministiske organisationsstudiers forskning i chikane og diskrimination ved at udvikle både teoretiske og empiriske indsigter. Afhandlingen fastholder og

beskriver detaljeret hvordan chikane og diskrimination bliver reproduceret i en u/formel kontekst som fører til reproduktion af ulighed under et lag af usigelighed som fører til et fravær af ansvarlighed. Slutteligt bliver implikationer for organisatorisk praksis diskuteret, hvor det foreslås at organisationer er nødt til at anerkende anti-chikane og anti-diskrimination som fortløbende, relationelle organisatoriske praksisser fremfor at være mål som kan opnås, er nødt til at svare med autonomistøttende omsorg for den sårbarhed som er involveret in chikaneoplevelser, og være i stand at 'blive i besværet' når de tiltaler chikane og diskriminations affektive flertydigheder.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	i
Abstract	v
Resumé	vii
Table of Contents.....	ix
List of Figures.....	xii
<i>Pre-script</i>	1
1 Introduction	1
1.1 The Danish context – studying harassment and discrimination when ‘sexism is an issue of the past’ and ‘racism only exists elsewhere’	3
1.2 Why harassment and discrimination?	6
1.3 Positioning the research in feminist organization studies – from occurrence and effects to the reproduction of harassment and discrimination.....	9
1.4 Exploring the reproduction of sexist and racist harassment and discrimination.....	13
1.5 Contribution	15
1.6 Course of action	18
2 Theory	20
2.1 Organization	20
2.1.1 <i>Organization as social-relational processes.....</i>	<i>21</i>
2.1.2 <i>Dis/organization and organizational paradoxes</i>	<i>23</i>
2.1.3 <i>Formal and informal organization.....</i>	<i>27</i>
2.2 Subjects in organization(s)	38
2.2.1 <i>Performativity, norms, and the norm-critical potential of undoing</i>	<i>38</i>
2.2.2 <i>Vulnerability and autonomy</i>	<i>45</i>
2.3 Harassment and discrimination	50
2.3.1 <i>Prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination</i>	<i>51</i>
2.3.2 <i>Discrimination in the everyday.....</i>	<i>58</i>
2.3.3 <i>Discrimination and entitlement</i>	<i>60</i>

2.3.4	<i>An intersectional approach to sexism and racism</i>	64
2.4	Feminist Organization Studies	68
2.4.1	<i>Investigating harassment and discrimination within feminist organization studies.....</i>	69
2.4.2	<i>The occurrence and effects of harassment and discrimination</i>	71
2.4.3	<i>The reproduction of harassment and discrimination.....</i>	76
3	Methodology.....	83
3.1	A critical approach to philosophy of science	84
3.1.1	<i>A relational and performativity-based ontology of embodied being/becoming</i>	86
3.1.2	<i>A feminist epistemology</i>	89
3.2	From intentions to implementation: Study context, design, and research process	92
3.2.1	<i>Research context.....</i>	92
3.2.2	<i>Researcher positionality.....</i>	95
3.2.3	<i>Study design and research process</i>	99
3.3	Anti-narrative research and embodied queer listening in data generation, analysis, and writing	106
3.3.1	<i>Anti-narrative interviewing</i>	108
3.3.2	<i>Embodied queer listening as data analysis</i>	111
3.3.3	<i>Scriptology</i>	116
4	Analysis	122
4.1	Contextual mechanisms facilitating harassment and discrimination.....	125
4.1.1	<i>Power relations and in/formal hierarchies</i>	126
4.1.2	<i>Personal-professional relations in an international academic setting</i>	128
4.1.3	<i>Competition, precarity, and individualism.....</i>	130
4.1.4	<i>The ideal of academic freedom and the glorification of conflict</i>	132
4.1.5	<i>The belief in meritocracy and ‘enlightened’ academia</i>	134
4.1.6	<i>Untouchable ‘star’ academics.....</i>	136
4.1.7	<i>‘The Danish way’</i>	137
4.2	Legitimized othering and the unspeakability of racism.....	139
4.2.1	<i>Legitimized othering</i>	140
4.2.2	<i>The unspeakability of racism</i>	148
4.3	The imperceptibility of harassment experiences	158

4.3.1 Questioning their own perspective.....	160
4.3.2 Losing their sense of self-worth.....	160
4.3.3 Isolating the victim and questioning their belonging	161
4.3.4 Creating dependencies	164
4.3.5 The imperceptibility of accumulative harassment	165
4.4 (De)legitimization strategies	173
4.4.1 Denial.....	175
4.4.2 Passivity.....	176
4.4.3 Derailing	177
4.4.4 Dismissing	178
4.4.5 Avoidance.....	179
4.4.6 Ignorance	181
4.4.7 Individualizing.....	181
4.4.8 Ridicule	184
4.4.9 Non-performative diversity	185
4.4.10 Hierarchization of harassment experiences	187
4.5 Just speak up – in the right way.....	191
4.5.1 Expectations to speak up in the right way	192
4.5.2 The fear of becoming the troublemaker	197
4.5.3 Entitlement and the right to offend	202
4.6 Reporting harassment and discrimination	211
4.6.1 The burden of proof.....	212
4.6.2 The role of emotions	214
4.6.3 The threat of false accusations.....	215
4.6.4 Anonymity	217
4.6.5 Intransparency	219
5 Concluding discussion.....	222
5.1 Harassment and discrimination as part of the in/formal dis/organization of academia	226
5.2 A summary	227
5.3 How much pain does a gram of comfortableness cost?	232
5.4 Contributions to feminist organization studies.....	237

5.4.1 Not by mistake – universities as inherently discriminatory organizations	237
5.4.2 The paradoxical reproduction of contradictory and constantly shifting norms.....	239
5.4.3 Entitlement as a conceptual tool for research on gendered and racialized privileges in organizations.....	241
5.4.4 Harassment as affectively accumulative and imperceptible experience	244
5.4.5 Legitimized othering as a hierarchization of worthiness.....	247
5.4.6 Becoming a problem by naming a problem – individualized approaches to structural problems	252
5.5 Implications for organizational practice	253
<i>Post-script</i>	257
References	258
Appendix	291
Appendix 1: Survey questions.....	291
Appendix 2: Survey respondents’ demographics	295
Appendix 3: Interview participants’ demographics	297
Appendix 4: Interview guide	299
Appendix 5: Interview consent form	306
Appendix 6: Interview logbook.....	307
Appendix 7: Vignettes used for anti-narrative interviewing	308

List of Figures

Figure 1. Overview of the dissertation’s main claims.....	228
Figure 2. Overview of the dissertation’s main claims (detailed).....	229

Pre-script

I feel the urge to write: This study is not about #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter.

The rise of these two global social movements in recent years is not the only reason why we have to address sexist and racist harassment and discrimination. These problems and inequalities existed long before the hashtags went viral, and protesters took to the streets. And they will outlast the span of attention those movements receive. In no way do I want to dismiss the huge importance of both #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter. Yet what I fear is, when #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter cease to be interesting, will we go back to pretending that research on sexism and racism is unnecessary?

So, let me rephrase: This study is not *because of* #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter.

But, of course, it is *about* it. Because:

Yes, me too.

And always, Black Lives Matter!

1 Introduction

I started the research for this study in 2019. It was two years after the first major wave of #MeToo had traveled around the globe with millions of testimonials of sexual harassment being shared online (Burke, 2022). Despite its global spread and influence, it almost seemed as if the #MeToo movement had not really reached Denmark. It had until this point been largely ignored, ridiculed, or deemed as having gone too far in the Danish context (Askanus & Hartley, 2019; Skewes et al., 2021). While in some countries, #MeToo triggered discussions about different types of harassment and discrimination – for instance, demanding intersectional analyses and particular attention to racism and racist harassment resulting in the #MeTwo movement against racist harassment and discrimination in Germany (Gavras et al., 2019) or discussions around the Black feminist origins of #MeToo in the US (Burke, 2022) –, in Denmark such conversations were

largely absent in both public and academic discourse. Nonetheless, or maybe exactly because of that, I decided to study sexist and racist harassment and discrimination.

About 1.5 years into my PhD studies, public engagement with problems of harassment and discrimination changed. In the summer of 2020, the brutal murder of the Black American man George Floyd by the police triggered thousands of #BlackLivesMatter protests not only in the US but in several countries around the world, including in Denmark. In Copenhagen, more than 15,000 people joined the main #BlackLivesMatter protest, making it the largest protest against racism or racist harassment and discrimination in Denmark in the past decades, despite continuous work by Black Lives Matter Denmark and other anti-racist organizations. Shortly after, in the fall of 2020, the Danish #MeToo movement gained new steam. In a large comedy show, prominent Danish media personality Sofie Linde spoke publicly about the sexual harassment she had experienced throughout her job, which triggered what might be called the second wave of #MeToo in Denmark. Throughout this second wave, sexual harassment was called out as a systemic problem in a variety of industries and organizations, including at universities (Einersen et al., 2021).

I am writing this introduction to my dissertation at the end of 2022. Against the background of the peaks of #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter seemingly lying in the past, some might say that the main wave of interest in calling out, investigating, and fighting sexist and racist harassment and discrimination is already over again. So, is it still relevant to study harassment and discrimination? My answer to this question is that it is more relevant now than ever. What #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter have shown us and continue to show through the feminist and anti-racist activism and work that is certainly still going on even if less publicly visible is: we do have a problem and it is not going to disappear by pretending it does not exist. We need to invest time, care, and resources into understanding how the sexism and racism that so many continuously experience persists. Attention towards these issues might come in waves but the problems of sexist and racist harassment and discrimination do not;

they persist,

they stick,

they stay,

they are reproduced in our societies, our workplaces, our universities – until we do something. One PhD dissertation will certainly not be the silver bullet that changes it all or provides all the answers, but my aim with this dissertation is that the insights I offer can play their part in gaining a better understanding of how sexist and racist harassment and discrimination are reproduced, specifically at Danish universities.

1.1 The Danish context – studying harassment and discrimination when ‘sexism is an issue of the past’ and ‘racism only exists elsewhere’

My investigation is set in the context of Denmark, specifically, I take Danish universities as my empirical setting. Why conduct a study on harassment and discrimination in one of the countries that are often seen as front-runners when it comes to social equality, one might ask? Indeed, Denmark, as part of Scandinavia and the Nordics, is often perceived as a role model for equality. However, study results paint a different picture. The World Economic Forum’s (2022) Global Gender Gap report, for instance, positions Denmark’s Nordic neighbors Iceland, Finland, Norway, and Sweden on ranks 1, 2, 3, and 5 respectively, while Denmark is positioned on rank 32. Considering the category of ‘Economic Participation and Opportunity,’ arguably the most relevant category for a study on workplace harassment and discrimination, Denmark scores even lower and lands on rank 54. Looking at harassment and discrimination specifically, a study conducted by the European Agency for Fundamental Human Rights (2015) revealed that the EU average of women having experienced some form of sexual harassment lies at 45%, while in Denmark 83% of respondents reported experiences of sexual harassment. This means that Denmark achieved the third highest score in this study, yet contrary to the Global Gender Gap report landing a high rank is of course not the favorable outcome here.

Despite statistical evidence pointing to the contrary, a postfeminist myth of equality prevails in Denmark, putting forth the idea that gender equality has been achieved and no further efforts against different forms of discrimination are required (J. F. Christensen & Muhr, 2019; Ronen, 2018). Denmark may be best described as a ‘postfeminist gender regime’, in which feminism is simultaneously celebrated and disavowed, so that – significant progress towards equality notwithstanding – equality remains an unfinished and contested project (Utoft, 2020). As argued

by Utoft (2020, p. 328), “Danes generally champion the success [of] feminism in the past by declaring that gender equality constitutes a defining Danish, cultural value [...but deny] the need for further feminist activism, politics or intervention in the present [...for instance by opposing] legal initiatives to support the economic and political empowerment of women, [...and being hesitant as to] whether and how work organisations should address gender (in)equality” (see also Dahlerup, 2018; Skewes et al., 2019, 2021).

In other words, in Denmark, it is commonly maintained that ‘sexism is an issue of the past’. When it comes to racism, the line of argument is slightly different. Here, it is claimed that racism simply does not exist in Denmark, instead ‘racism only exists elsewhere’, such as in the US or the UK. The idea of Danish racial exceptionalism mobilizes a collective ignorance towards Denmark’s colonial past (and present) and draws upon a narrow definition of racism as intentional discrimination based on asserted biological difference to uphold that ‘real’ issues of racialization and racism do not exist in Denmark (Danbolt, 2017; Goldberg, 2006; Keskinen et al., 2009; Loftsdóttir & Jensen, 2012). Concepts such as ‘sanctioned ignorance’ (Habel, 2012) and ‘colonial ignorance’ (Danbolt, 2017) have been developed to describe how ideas of the welfare state are mobilized as beacons of tolerance and equality to silence discussions on racist harassment and discrimination, leaving racism largely unchallenged (Hvenegård-Lassen & Staunæs, 2019; Skadegård & Jensen, 2018; see also Wekker, 2016).

At the same time, racialized logics have been found to organize large parts of Danish society. For instance, an ideal of ‘equality as sameness’ that is upheld within Nordic welfare states fosters notions of desired ethnic homogeneity (Gullestad, 2002; Hervik, 2011; Holck & Muhr, 2017). As Holck and Muhr (2017, p. 3) outline: “As the [Danish] welfare model is historically built on the presumption of an ethnically homogenous population, solidarity through mutual identification (to ensure support for high levels of redistribution) has hitherto been extended to citizens with an ethnic Danish background. This focus on ethnic heritage that follows the historical development of the Danish welfare model makes it difficult to embrace and value differences related to ethnic background; from very early on, ethnic minorities have been seen as a population with special problems and difficulties.” Relatedly, scholars have not only identified how racial logics organize welfare state practices (Padovan-Özdemir & Øland, 2022; Vertelyte, 2022) but also media

representations (Andreassen, 2007; Smedegaard Nielsen, 2019; Yilmaz, 2016), educational settings (Bucharadt, 2016; Jaffe-Walter, 2016; Khawaja, 2022; Li, 2021; Yang, 2021)), aesthetic and cultural production (Thorsen, 2020), the migration system (Arce & Suárez-Krabbe, 2018), the labor market (Spanger & Hvalkof, 2020) and the everyday lives of minorities (Hassani, 2022; Khawaja, 2010; Lapiņa, 2018).

There has moreover been critique of the Danish academic structures being racist and exclusionary towards Black scholars and scholars of color, particularly women, and their knowledge(s) (Midtvåge Diallo, 2019; Thorsen, 2019). While the ‘postfeminist gender regime’ and the notion of Danish racial exceptionalism influence many spheres of Danish society, universities provide additional contextual factors allowing harassment and discrimination to persist. A claim, or arguably myth, of meritocracy, that is, the (self-)perception of being a meritocratic, fair, and critical organization that employs objective measures of quality and excellence, persists at universities (Deem, 2009; Scully, 2002; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012). However, for universities as much as for other organizations, this claim of meritocracy has been revealed to be biased and exclusionary towards those who do not fit social and organizational norms that influence measures of quality and excellence, revealing meritocracy to be a myth (J. F. Christensen & Muhr, 2019; Deem, 2009; Ferree & Zippel, 2015; McNamee & Miller, 2013; Noon, 2010; Scully, 2002; Simpson et al., 2020; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012).

Furthermore, as Simpson et al. (2020) suggest, it is not people’s merit that determines organizational rewards but rather what the author’s term ‘deservingness’, understood as performative evaluative processes through which merit is recognized and given value. That is, even if we set aside that norms of quality and excellence are already biased, not everyone’s merit will be recognized, as “merit must be given recognition and value to be seen as deserved [...and] merit comes to be performatively constituted as deserved through embodied performances of gender that rely on traditionally [white, heteronormative] masculine enactments and displays” (Simpson et al., 2020, pp. 182–183). This allows organizational inequalities to prevail as legitimate and deserved, under the guise of being meritocratic and therefore justified (cf. Sandel, 2020). Thereby, the myth of meritocracy veils problems and challenges that pinpoint unjustified inequalities as these would question established norms of ‘deservingness’, which leads

to problems of sexist, racist, and other types of harassment and discrimination being sidelined, dismissed, and reproduced (Castilla, 2008; Dar et al., 2020; Scully, 2002; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012). Sustaining these insights, studies have found Danish universities to be places of consistent sexist and racist harassment and discrimination (Andreassen & Myong, 2017; Guschke et al., 2019; Hvenegård-Lassen & Staunæs, 2019; Skewes et al., 2019; Thorsen, 2019).

The dominant Danish narrative of not having any problems with gender and racial inequality – either having overcome them or not having had them in the first place – makes it particularly challenging to address existent problems of racist and sexist harassment and discrimination in Denmark. At the same time, it points towards the need to highlight those issues in research, as otherwise they risk being sidelined in public and academic discourses. Moreover, by focusing on the Danish context, I aim to broaden the contextual field in which studies on harassment and discrimination at universities are currently mainly positioned, namely in the US and the UK. While many of the findings from these geographical settings might be translatable to other country contexts, there is a need for research outside the Anglo-Saxon sphere to be able to reflect on specific contextual conditions that shape how harassment and discrimination occur and are being reproduced (Emejulu & Sobande, 2019; Essed & Trienekens, 2008; McDonald, 2012).

1.2 Why harassment and discrimination?

What I focus on in this study are *harassment* and *discrimination*. *Harassment* and *discrimination* link to a variety of different terms and concepts, such as assault, violence, bullying, offensive behavior, incivility, or humiliation – all of which could have been the core concepts to build this study around. I chose *harassment* and *discrimination* as the two concepts to work with primarily because they capture as accurately as possible the experiences that were described to me during my interviews. Often, the interviewees themselves called what had happened to them harassment or discrimination. They are thus empirically relevant. However, I realized throughout my study that the terms *harassment* and *discrimination* are used in a variety of different ways, both empirically and theoretically referring to different practices and behaviors. Those usages are not only heterogeneous, at points they are even contradictory. Referring to Williams' (1988) collection

of and deliberation about ‘keywords’ as words that are socially relevant and prominently used yet contested in meaning, *harassment* and *discrimination* might be described as such keywords. The contestation around these keywords does not lead to a loss in relevance. Quite the opposite, they continue to be used extensively while being contested, sometimes mobilizing a variety of meanings at once. They become polysemous but persistent because of that quality (Williams, 1988).

One way to work with such polysemous keywords could be to trace as many definitions as possible to identify what connects them at their core and develop one overall definition of harassment and discrimination – and, indeed, as part of my theory chapter I will outline how harassment and discrimination have been theoretically engaged with in existent scholarship. However, I will refrain from developing or deciding upon one core theoretical definition of harassment and discrimination. I could also rely on a legal definition as the democratically agreed upon definition that eventually everyone has to adhere to, such as the European Union’s definitions of discrimination as ‘where one person is treated less favourably than another is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation on grounds of sex/racial or ethnic origin’ and harassment as ‘unwanted conduct [...] with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person and of creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment.’

¹ From this legal perspective, harassment is identified as one way how discrimination can be expressed.

¹ In the European Union, ‘*Directive 2006/54/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 July 2006 on the implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation*’ and ‘*Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin*’ would be most relevant for this study. Here, harassment and discrimination are defined as follows:

Directive 2006/54/EC, Article 2, Definitions: “1. For the purpose of this Directive, the following definitions shall apply: (a) ‘direct discrimination’: where one person is treated less favourably on grounds of sex than another is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation; (b) ‘indirect discrimination’: where an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice would put persons of one sex at a particular disadvantage compared with persons of the other sex, unless that provision, criterion or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate aim, and the means of achieving that aim are appropriate and necessary; (c) ‘harassment’: where unwanted conduct related to the sex of a person occurs with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person, and of creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment. [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32006L0054]

Council Directive 2000/43/EC, Article 2, Concept of Discrimination: “Concept of discrimination 1. For the purposes of this Directive, the principle of equal treatment shall mean that there shall be no direct or indirect discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin. 2. For the purposes of paragraph 1: (a) direct discrimination shall be taken to occur

While I do not reject these legal definitions, I maintain that it is not the terms' strict delineation but exactly their quality of being contested and used heterogeneously that makes them relevant for my study. Instead of identifying and fixating one clear definition of *harassment* and *discrimination* as terms, I, therefore, propose that a more relevant question is what it does to use the keywords *harassment* and *discrimination*. What is their function, or what do they mobilize? The word *harassment* mobilizes an understanding positioned at the interactional-individual level. Speaking of harassment puts focus on individual experiences of being harassed and the behavior of one person harassing someone else. However, as I will argue throughout this dissertation, harassment is also anchored at the institutional-structural level because it reproduces and is reproduced by structural inequalities. The word *discrimination* functions to grasp this institutional-structural anchoring as it allows identifying and highlighting harassment as (a form of) discrimination. Referring to the above-outlined definitions by the EU, while legal definitions foreground that discrimination can take many forms with harassment being one of them, focusing on the function of the terms *harassment* and *discrimination* pinpoints the necessity to use them together to highlight that harassment is not only an interactional-individual behavior and experience but a form of discrimination and thereby institutionally-structurally anchored. Hence, all harassment (which takes place on the interactional-institutional level) is a form of discrimination (and thus anchored on the institutional-structural level) but not all forms of discrimination are harassment. In other words, even though discrimination is not necessarily linked to harassment, harassment is necessarily linked to discrimination. While I do not investigate all possible forms of discrimination in this study, I do investigate harassment as (a form of) discrimination. This is the point that I want to stress in this study by employing the two terms *harassment* and *discrimination* together.

where one person is treated less favourably than another is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation on grounds of racial or ethnic origin; (b) indirect discrimination shall be taken to occur where an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice would put persons of a racial or ethnic origin at a particular disadvantage compared with other persons, unless that provision, criterion or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate aim and the means of achieving that aim are appropriate and necessary. 3. Harassment shall be deemed to be discrimination within the meaning of paragraph 1, when an unwanted conduct related to racial or ethnic origin takes place with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person and of creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment.” [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000L0043:en:HTML]

In addition, building upon theory as well as empirical insights from conducting my study, I suggest that the joint usage of the words *harassment* and *discrimination* fulfills two functions: First, it rules out the possibility that the occurrence was just a misunderstanding or part of normal conduct but instead places it within a system of inequality and mistreatment. Second, by acknowledging what happened as ‘wrong’, it demands placing blame or at least responsibility and accountability for the occurrence. These suggestions link to a claim Sara Ahmed makes in her article ‘Sexism - A Problem with a Name’ in which she advocates the importance of using the term ‘sexism’ and giving it meaning. Ahmed (2015, p. 9, italics mine) writes, “to name something sexist is not only to name something that *happens as part of a wider system* [...] but also to give an account of that something as being *wrong and unjustifiable*.” As (key)words, *harassment* and *discrimination* arguably function to pinpoint specific occurrences within a wider system of inequalities, that someone must be held accountable for. And it is this emphasis on accountability, or rather a lack thereof, which already provides a hint as to why so many strategies are employed at universities to delegitimize any claims of harassment and discrimination and why it is so difficult to speak (up) about experiences of harassment and discrimination, both of which will be explored in more detail in this dissertation.

Understanding harassment and discrimination in this related way links to how they are used as concepts in the field of research I position my study within, namely feminist organization studies. It further allows me to connect them to feminist, anti-racist, and queer theories which my research is inspired by. While I will expand on these connections in the theory chapter, I now turn towards how my research is positioned in feminist organization studies as the field to which I aim to contribute.

1.3 Positioning the research in feminist organization studies – from occurrence and effects to the reproduction of harassment and discrimination

Prior research has established that harassment and discrimination exist in organizations (ESTHE, 2016; FRA - European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015; Larssen et al., 2003; Latcheva, 2017; Nordic Council of Ministers, 2020). In addition, research within (feminist) organization studies has explored the occurrence of both sexist and racist harassment and discrimination, finding that

both persist across a variety of industries, including the university sector (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002; Cassino & Besen-Cassino, 2019; Humbert, 2022; Lipinsky et al., 2022; Lopez et al., 2009; Loy & Steward, 1984; McDonald, 2012; Murrell, 1996; Reilly et al., 2016; Texeira, 2002; Welsh et al., 2006). It has further been established that harassment and discrimination have detrimental effects both for individuals and organizations, ranging from job loss and withdrawal at work (McLaughlin et al., 2017; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Richardson & Taylor, 2009; Solomon & Williams, 1997; Willness et al., 2007), over mental and physical health problems (Chan et al., 2008; Sojo et al., 2016), including depression (Friborg et al., 2017; Houle et al., 2011), burnout (Takeuchi et al., 2018), post-traumatic stress disorder (Avina & O'Donohue, 2002) and dissociation (Adams-Clark et al., 2019), to financial consequences for the organization (Chawla et al., 2021).

Taking these insights on the occurrence and the effects of harassment and discrimination as a basis, a body of research within organization studies has focused on investigating the reproduction of harassment, as one form of persistent discrimination. That is, inquiring, how come that harassment continually occurs in organizations? One stream of research investigates harassment as part of a broader frame of workplace incivility (Berdahl & Raver, 2011; Chawla et al., 2021; Cortina, 2008; Cortina et al., 2013; Daniels & Thornton, 2019; Kabat-Farr et al., 2020; Perry et al., 2020). Such studies argue that harassment occurs in a climate of intolerance and disrespect (Cunningham et al., 2021; Hulin et al., 1996) and correlates with other forms of interpersonal mistreatment and uncivil behavior by individuals (Lim & Cortina, 2005; Robotham & Cortina, 2019).

In another stream of studies, feminist organization scholars predominantly highlight the role of gendered and racialized organizational power structures in reproducing harassment and discrimination (E. Bell et al., 2019; McDonald, 2012). Feminist organization research has investigated how gendered and racialized power structures are inscribed within and enacted through heteronormative, misogynist, and racist organizational cultures (Alvinus & Holmberg, 2019; Fernando & Prasad, 2019; Hennekam & Bennett, 2017; Phipps & Young, 2015), unequal workplace structures (Acker, 2006; Ortlieb & Sieben, 2019), exclusionary organizational networks (Ortlieb & Sieben, 2019), as well as normalized sexist and racist organizational behavior (Hlavka,

2014). It has further been found that strategies that rely on ignorance, stigmatization, threats, and exclusion allow harassment to persist within organizations (Ahmed, 2017; Bourabain, 2020; Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005; Calder-Dawe & Gavey, 2016; Clair, 1994; Diekmann et al., 2013; Dunlop & Lee, 2004; Feagin, 1992; McDonald et al., 2016; Mills, 2010; Olson et al., 2008; Richardson & Taylor, 2009; Sbraga & O’Donohue, 2000; Whitley & Page, 2015).

I position my study in the field of feminist organization studies with an aim of contributing particularly to the above-outlined research that investigates the reproduction of harassment and discrimination by paying attention to gendered and racialized organizational power structures. As a common denominator, these studies conceptualize harassment and discrimination in the context of management and organization, framing them not just as something that happens between and is caused by individuals, but as a problem linked to the organization itself and how it is managed. However, harassment and discrimination are often researched as instances of mismanagement, as something managed or organized wrongly, within an otherwise well-functioning organization. Taking inspiration from dis/organization literature, which understands paradoxes and contradictions as integral parts and routine features of organizations and argues that organization and disorganization are not only interconnected but mutually dependent and thus inseparable (Cooper, 1986; Guschke & Sløk-Andersen, 2022; Plotnikof et al., 2022; Putnam et al., 2016; Trethewey & Ashcraft, 2004), I maintain that current study approaches foreclose the possibility of recognizing harassment and discrimination as fundamental parts of organization. In other words, there is a lack of research that investigates harassment and discrimination as reproduced as part of the very dis/organization that upholds the organization.

What much of the research in the field of feminist organization studies also has in common is a focus on power structures and their working within the organization. I recognize and agree that this is paramount to be able to investigate harassment and discrimination as part of wider systems of sexist and racist inequalities and that it provides a leverage point for analyzing how these inequalities link to organizational cultures, workplace structures, social networks, or normalized organizational behavior. However, it also creates an institutional-structural bias that shows in a detachment of such studies from investigating harassment also on an interactional-individual level. While a focus on power structures theoretically acknowledges that harassment,

as a form of discrimination, is structurally anchored yet interpersonally reproduced, analytical investigations remain focused on the prior while neglecting the latter. And while there are studies focused on the interactional-individual level, those are primarily concerned with the occurrence and effects of harassment rather than its reproduction. Critically addressing this separation, I suggest that understanding harassment as structurally anchored yet interpersonally reproduced requires an investigation both on an institutional-structural as well as an interactional-individual level.

Finally, I identify an important discrepancy between two types of studies: on the one hand, there are the studies that highlight the high occurrence and particularly damaging effects of harassment and discrimination based on both gendered and racialized inequalities, particularly for Black women and women of color (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002; Cassino & Besen-Cassino, 2019; Murrell, 1996; Texeira, 2002); on the other hand, there is a scarcity of explicitly intersectional analyses on the reproduction of harassment and discrimination. Feminist organizational research investigates harassment and discrimination largely from a gendered perspective and with a focus on sexual harassment. In recent years, some studies have provided important insights into the intersection of gender, race, and ethnicity in harassment and discrimination, such as Bourabain's (2020) study on everyday sexism and racism experienced by early career scholars and Mandalaki and Prasad's (2022) account of specific gendered and racialized experiences of 'in-betweenness' in academia. By and large, however, there is still a need for intersectional studies that investigate how sexist and racist types of harassment and discrimination are reproduced intersectionally. Importantly, emphasizing intersectionality also includes investigating what might be distinct about their reproduction considering that sexist and racist power structures might function differently in organizational contexts.

Positioning my research within feminist organization studies, I thus identify three specific research needs: first, investigating the reproduction of harassment and discrimination as part of the very dis/organization that upholds the organization; second, examining harassment and discrimination both on an institutional-structural as well as an interactional-individual level; and third, conducting intersectional analyses of how sexist and racist harassment are reproduced. In

addition, I have argued that there is a need for situating studies on harassment and discrimination outside the contexts in which they are currently often situated, namely the US or the UK, to attend to specific contextual conditions that might influence how harassment and discrimination are reproduced. Relating to this, I have motivated my decision of conducting my research in Denmark, and specifically, my choice of taking workplaces at Danish universities as my empirical context as universities exhibit additional relevant contextual factors that support the reproduction of harassment and discrimination. These considerations lead me to pose the following research questions that this study aims to address:

How does the dis/organization of Danish universities enable the reproduction of inequalities, specifically in form of sexist and racist harassment and discrimination?

What allows sexist and racist workplace harassment and discrimination to be reproduced both on an institutional-structural and an interactional-individual level?

How are sexist and racist harassment and discrimination reproduced intersectionally, and what is distinct in how they are reproduced?

1.4 Exploring the reproduction of sexist and racist harassment and discrimination

In my investigation of these research questions, I am theoretically inspired by dis/organization literature as well as queer and feminist theory. As the theory chapter will attend to in more detail, I use this theoretical background to delineate organizations as social-relational processes of in/formal dis/organization and to conceptualize subjects in organizations as relationally tied, and thereby ontologically vulnerable, and performatively constituted in a continuous process of becoming. In addition, I employ theories on prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination as well as Black feminist theories on racism, sexism, and intersectionality to develop my understanding of intersectional types of harassment and discrimination as based on prejudiced attitudes and stereotypical attributes and expressed in different forms, such as everyday harassment. These

theoretical insights provide inspiration for my analysis which I conducted in a reflexive mode of induction, that is, I work with an open mind yet neither an empty head nor empty heart.

Empirically, I investigate these questions through a qualitative, interview-based study in the context of Danish universities. I interviewed 34 academic employees, including PhD fellows, postdoctoral researchers, assistant professors, associate professors, full professors as well as department heads and institute leaders. My aim was to speak both with people who have experienced harassment and discrimination as well as people who did not, some of whom might claim to have nothing to do with harassment and discrimination. I was curious as to what they understood harassment and discrimination to be, if they perceived them as problems in their workplace, if so how, in what forms or expressions, and for whom. Moreover, I inquired how harassment and discrimination are and, in their view, should be dealt with at universities.

I was interested to grasp not only the 'straight', normative, accepted, and expected narratives but to explore how the way in which harassment and discrimination are understood might link to organizational norms, expectations, and power structures. My research was therefore guided by an approach of anti-narrative research (Riach et al., 2016). Anti-narrative research aims to understand how, why, and at what cost idealized organizational narratives and subjectivities are formed and sustained, attending to both organizational structures and their governing function as well as individual differences in the repetition of these normative structures. This approach allowed me to pay attention to both institutional-structural and interactional-individual level factors. Moreover, I developed the practice of embodied queer listening (cf. Gill, 2012; Landreau, 2012) in data generation and analysis to operationalize anti-narrative research. This enabled me to attend to embodiment, affect, and atmosphere not as disturbances to qualitative interviews but as an insight into the 'flows' of affective intensities (cf. Ayata et al., 2019; Brennan, 2004) and what these might reveal about organizational structures and their interactional-individual reproduction. Embodied queer listening thereby made it possible to give space and voice to what was affectively present even if this seemed to 'not make sense' or not be explainable, attending to that which might not be speakable in a viable way.

It also allowed me to reflect on my own embodied experience as a woman of color researching sexist and racist harassment and discrimination, making it possible to integrate these reflections

into the analysis in a meaningful way. I found a way to write myself into this dissertation. As I will extend in the methodology chapter, this includes allowing myself to write in ways that might at points stray from academic norms of writing – one might argue that I engage in ‘writing differently.’ Yet, considering the variety of ways that now exist to write differently, with essays, articles, and books deviating from usual forms of academic text in structure, wording, form, and tone (Burø, 2020; Gilmore et al., 2019; Grey & Sinclair, 2006; Helin, 2019; Parker, 2014; Pullen, 2006; Pullen & Rhodes, 2015; Weatherall, 2018), I wonder how ‘different’ my writing would have to be to still claim to be writing *differently*. How many norms of academic writing do I need to break to truthfully make this claim? And is it possible to make this claim when writing a dissertation, considering that I do conform to certain academic writing norms as I want my work to be recognized as of high enough quality academically to deserve the PhD title?

Thus, I refrain from promising that I have written this dissertation differently (and eventually disappoint the readers). Instead, I have crafted a text about which I can say with confidence: it sounds like me. This is what I sound like when I explore racist and sexist harassment and discrimination at Danish universities. Sometimes, you will find me very present in the text, hearing what I felt and thought and struggled with. At other points, I will be more distanced, giving central stage to other voices, such as those of theorists or interviewees. You will find poems and vignettes as much as you will find classic interview quotes and figures. I think – and hope – that this way of writing allowed me to bend academic norms enough to make space for myself and my knowledge yet not too much to fall out of the frame of what a PhD dissertation is.

1.5 Contribution

The main claim I make based on the findings of this study is that sexist and racist harassment and discrimination are reproduced in an entanglement of formal and informal organizational structures, processes, and practices that dis/organize academia. In tracing this entanglement and its effects throughout my analysis, I assert that harassment and discrimination are not issues of mismanagement or unfortunate mistakes in an otherwise well-functioning organization. Rather, they are part of the very way in which academia works, that is, how it is dis/organized.

Furthermore, showing how harassment and discrimination are reproduced in contradictory structures, processes, and practices of formality and informality points to a significant insight into the working of harassment: namely that harassment functions through contradictory and constantly shifting norms that destabilize the victim's perspective, their autonomy, and their sense of self – leaving victims at a loss as to what really happened, how to evaluate it, and how to get out of it.

While these insights provide an answer to the first research question, I also engage with the question of how harassment and discrimination are reproduced on *both* an institutional-structural *and* an interactional-individual level, as well as with the intersectionality of sexist and racist harassment and discrimination. To address the prior, I investigate harassment on an interactional-individual and an institutional-structural level and moreover explore how both are linked in the reproduction of harassment as a form of discrimination. Exploring the embodied and affective experience of harassment at an interactional-individual level, I find that due to an unaddressed paradox of accumulative and imperceptible harassment experiences harassment remains unrecognized on an interactional-individual level. In addition, I develop the concept of *legitimized othering* to show how harassment and discrimination are dismissed on the institutional-structural level. The concept pinpoints how the process of defining and labeling some groups as legitimately different allows the implicit dehumanization of such non-normative groups in the organization which, consequently, makes it possible to dismiss problems of harassment and discrimination, for instance as misunderstandings, rather than recognizing them as institutional-structural problems. To consider how the misrecognition of harassment and discrimination on both interactional-individual and institutional-structural level are linked, I consistently pay analytical attention to organizational structures, processes, and practices that are implicated in the reproduction of harassment and discrimination, and how these are shaped by organizational norms which are understood as embedded in institutional structures yet reproduced in interaction between individuals. This allows me to pinpoint how individual interaction influences institutional structures and vice-versa. Here, one example is the (mal)functioning of the reporting process that is anchored within male-centric legal norms which, on the one hand, are reproduced by those acting within the reporting process and, on the

other hand, recreate gendered and racialized inequalities in the organization that allow such reproduction of male-centric norms.

To address the question of how racist and sexist harassment and discrimination are reproduced intersectionally, and what is distinct in how they are reproduced I develop and draw upon an affective and embodied analytical sensitivity for the reproduction of racist harassment and discrimination which, as I find, would otherwise remain *unspeakable*. Based on my research, I develop the concept of the *unspeakability* of racism to pinpoint how experiences of racist harassment and discrimination are not recognized and remain invisible and silenced, in other words *unspeakable*, even when sexist discrimination and harassment are addressed within the organization. I maintain that this provides an important contribution to understanding the often-unquestioned reproduction of racist harassment and discrimination, at universities and in the Danish context.

By showing how sexist and racist harassment and discrimination are enabled through the very dis/organization of universities – rather than by being issues of mismanagement within an otherwise well-functioning organization – and identifying harassment as both an interactional-individual and an institutional-structural level problem, my study contributes to research within the field of feminist organization studies in the following ways. First, it allows extending research that has focused on the role of gendered and racialized power structures in organizations, and how these are inscribed within and enacted through heteronormative, misogynist, and racist organizational cultures, unequal workplace structures as well as exclusionary organizational networks (Bourabain, 2020; Calder-Dawe & Gavey, 2016; Fernando & Prasad, 2019; Hennekam & Bennett, 2017; Ortlieb & Sieben, 2019; Phipps & Young, 2015; Whitley & Page, 2015). Second, it provides novel insights into the affective, embodied dimensions of harassment experiences yet without detaching these from their normative structural anchoring (cf. Ahmed, 2014a). Third, it offers an intersectional analysis that investigates both sexist and racist types of harassment and discrimination as well as their intersections thereby addressing the general need for analyses that go beyond a one-sided focus on gendered discrimination and sexual harassment and, more specifically, the call for more research on race and racism in (feminist) organization studies (M. P.

Bell et al., 2021; Dar et al., 2020; Liu, 2021; Mandalaki & Prasad, 2022; Nkomo, 2021; Rodriguez et al., 2016).

In addition to the contributions to research, my study is relevant for addressing problems of sexist and racist harassment and discrimination in society and organizations wherefore I offer implications for organizational practice. Building upon my analytical insights, I argue that new organizational responses need to be developed that are capable of addressing harassment and discrimination exactly at that level of organizational structures, practices, and processes rather than trying to tackle it as an unfortunate and exceptional issue of mismanagement. To that end, I suggest that organizing against harassment and discrimination means questioning and changing normative patterns and collective practices through ongoing relational efforts, fostering practices of norm-critical reproduction with a difference (cf. Butler, 2004; J. F. Christensen, 2018; Fotaki & Harding, 2018; Riach et al., 2016). I unfold this suggestion in three pillars: first, organizations need to recognize anti-harassment and anti-discrimination as ongoing, relational practices rather than as a goal to be achieved; second, organizations need to respond with autonomy-fostering care to the vulnerability involved in harassment experiences; and third, organizations need to be able to ‘stay with the trouble’ (Haraway, 2016) in addressing the affective ambiguities of harassment and discrimination.

1.6 Course of action

The dissertation is structured into five chapters. After this introduction follows the theory chapter detailing my theoretical understanding of organization, subjects in organization, and discrimination. It further positions the study within feminist organization studies. In the subsequent methodology chapter, I discuss my ontological and epistemological background, describe the context, design, and process of my study, and detail how I employed anti-narrative research operationalized through embodied queer listening in data generation, analysis, and writing. It follows the analysis which is structured in six parts. I begin with outlining contextual mechanisms that dis/organize universities while also facilitating harassment and discrimination. Next, I introduce two concepts I developed, legitimized othering and the unspeakability of racism,

and outline how these concepts support an intersectional analysis of harassment and discrimination. The subsequent parts of the analysis trace and draw out how workplace harassment and discrimination travel within the organization, starting from the imperceptibility of harassment experiences, via detailing ten (de)legitimization strategies that allow harassment and discrimination to persist, to outlining the challenges of ‘just speaking up’ in the right way and, finally, addressing the difficulties of reporting harassment and discrimination. I conclude by discussing the main insights my dissertation offers, how it contributes to the field of feminist organization studies and what implications it has for organizational practice, specifically for how to organize against harassment and discrimination.

2 Theory

The aim of this chapter is two-fold. First, I outline the theories that inspire and inform my work. That is, I will draw upon them to understand and analyze my empirical data. To this end, I begin by describing the theoretical basis for how I understand organization as social-relational processes of organizing (2.1). Further, I theoretically discuss how I understand subjects in organizations, building upon an understanding of recognition-based subjectivities and a notion of subjects as inherently vulnerable *and* autonomous (2.2). Finally, I discuss theories that provide a basis for my understanding of harassment and discrimination (2.3). The second aim of this chapter is to outline the field of research that my study aims to contribute to, namely feminist organization studies. I provide an overview of the relevant theories and empirical research developed in this field, and in reference to the argument provided in the introduction show how my study is positioned within this research field and what contribution it may offer (2.4).

2.1 Organization

The broad aim of my research, as detailed in the outlined three research questions, is to investigate how harassment and discrimination are reproduced in workplaces at Danish universities. Investigating how something is *reproduced* in an organization asks about the *processes of organizing* that allow something, here harassment and discrimination, to continuously exist. Organization is in this research project therefore primarily understood as processual. I am interested in the processes of organizing – and the organizational structures and practices that shape and are shaped by these processes – rather than the organization as an entity, or container, within which something (else) happens. I am curious to explore the reproduction of harassment and discrimination as part of the structures, processes, and practices that organize Danish universities. Investigating the reproduction of harassment and discrimination is thus an inquiry into the organization of Danish universities.

2.1.1 Organization as social-relational processes

With this starting point, I follow a now well-established stream within organization studies that challenges the perception of organizations as entities and instead suggests understanding organization as a process of becoming (cf. Hernes, 2014). Instead of focusing on *the* organization, or organizations, emphasis is from this perspective laid on the act of organizing, or organization as a verb. This leads to two important shifts of perspective. First, if the process of organizing is in focus, the existence of organizations is not taken for granted but organizations need to be continuously reproduced through the act of organization – “the task at hand becomes one of exploring how that state of organization is continuously obtained” (J. F. Christensen, 2020, p. 83). Second, a process view prompts organization scholars to move away from an understanding of organizations as inherently stable until change occurs; instead, organizations are seen as continuously adapting, even if this means adapting to new conditions to avoid change, in other words, stabilizing.

Following this shift towards a processual conceptualization of organizing – a focus on becoming rather than being – in this study, I work with an understanding of organization as social-relational processes of organizing in which an interplay of (formal and informal) organizational structures, processes, and practices organize, and thereby continuously reproduce, organization(s). I will unfold this understanding throughout this chapter.

An important aspect implied in this understanding of organization is a conception of organization as social-relational rather than rational-bureaucratic. Dominant scholarship in the early days of organization research conceptualized organizations as ideal rational systems, such as Taylor’s (1911) principles of scientific management, Fayol’s (1916) principles of management, or Weber’s (1924) administrative bureaucracies. Such scholarship focused on - and emphasized a need for - rationality, standardization, and predictability, as well as impersonality, technicality, and authority to ensure clear divisions of labor (primarily between work and responsibility) facilitated by clear hierarchies, central decision-making, and formal rules. Taylor, Weber, Fayol, and other organizational theorists at the time argued that organizations, to function well, needed to be rid of anything that was not rational. It thus implied a disregard for any personal, irrational, emotional, or social aspects of organizing.

One reaction to these expressions within organization studies is heavy criticism of the dehumanized view of organization(s). As McMurray and Pullen (2019, p. 1) write, “rationality is just one perspective on, or feature of, organizing. Moreover, it is a perspective which is partial in the absence of a concern with emotion, culture, aesthetics, ethics, agency and collaboration.” Critics of this rational view on organization, which manifested over decades following these first expressions, maintained that the functioning of rational organizations was not a result of this being the most natural, ideal form of organization but rather a self-fulfilling prophecy based on the performativity of dominant rationality-based organizational theories (McGregor, 2000). The dominance of, for instance, principles of scientific management has created organizations that function only under such principles, re-inscribing the principles’ ‘truth-value’ based on their performative power.

In questioning perceptions of organizations as rational systems, another stream of research started to conceptualize organization(s) as social and relational systems. While the existence of rational, bureaucratic, and standardized structures and processes within organization was not denied, rationality was ‘dethroned’ as the ideal way of organizing, and the presence of relational and social aspects of organizing was acknowledged as a key part of organization. As part of this move, organization research for instance turned towards organizational culture (cf. Kunda, 2006; Schein, 2004) and a more comprehensive view of organization structure (cf. Mintzberg, 1983) but also the environment in which organizations operate, as explored in institutional theory (cf. DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Understanding organizations as social systems thus allowed for a variety of new approaches to studying organization, focused on understanding how organizations are shaped by internal and external influences.

This is where I identify the clear link to a processual view of organization. Understanding organization as processual implies paying attention to (interlinking) structures, processes, and practices of organizing, and these are shaped socially and relationally. In this study, I will continuously use the formulation ‘*organizational structures, processes, and practices*’ with the aim of stressing the social-relational and processual understanding of organization in contrast to an understanding of organization as rational systems or bureaucratic entities. Similarly, with a

focus on social-relational aspects of organization, I attend to organization as constantly changing rather than expecting stability.

2.1.2 Dis/organization and organizational paradoxes

As I follow a stream of organizational research that acknowledges and accounts for the social-relational aspects in processes of organization, I also explicitly home in on the ‘messiness’ of organization. To be able to pay analytical attention to this ‘messiness’, I mobilize and engage with dis/organization literature (see also Guschke & Sløk-Andersen, 2022 where we employ and outline a similar theoretical frame). In opposition to organization studies that focus on rationality, certainty, and order (Fayol, 1916; F. W. Taylor, 1911; Thompson, 2003; Weber, 1924; Weick, 2006), dis/organization scholarship argues that disorganization and disorder are inherent elements of organization (Cooper, 1986, 2001; Hassard et al., 2008; Plotnikof et al., 2020, 2022). As Tretheway and Ashcraft (2004, p. 81) formulate it, the aim is to challenge the “enduring myths of rationality and order that shape the prevalent logics of organizational theory and practice.” Challenging traditional views on organizations as ordered settings, dis/organization scholars argue that irrationalities, contradictions, and paradoxes are an integral part of organization (Cooper, 1986, 2001; Hassard et al., 2008; Putnam et al., 2016), a consequence of how “organizations and their members are pulled or are purposefully moving in different, often competing directions” (Tretheway & Ashcraft, 2004, p. 81). This stands in stark contrast to organizations having been considered rational enterprises within which tension has been framed as problematic and something to be eliminated (Cooper, 1986; Mumby & Putnam, 1992; Wendt, 1998). As presented by Knox (2015), traditionally disorder has been understood as intimately related to the ‘problem’ of uncertainty with writers such as Thompson (2003, p. 159) identifying uncertainty as ‘Other’ and “what ‘organization’ is meant to overcome”, and Weick (2006) describing organization as the pursuit of certainty or, at least, reducing uncertainty.

Yet, not least since Cooper claimed that “in its most fundamental sense, organization is the appropriation of order out of disorder” (1986, p. 328) as well as “the forcible transformation of undecidability into decidability,” (1986, p. 323) scholars have examined how organization and

disorganization go hand in hand, suggesting these seemingly opposite phenomena to be not only interconnected but even mutually dependent. According to Trethewey and Ashcraft (2004, pp. 82–83) “organizational tensions are not simply ruptures or anomalies” but rather “routines features of organizational life that attest to the fundamental irrationality of organizing.” Putnam and Ashcraft (2017, p. 346, italics in original) further claim that “*paradox is integral to the ontology of organization*. In other words, the very process of engaging in organizing is fundamentally a paradoxical activity. [...] *Paradox is not only normal; it is constitutive of all organization*.” By acknowledging disorder and disorganization as integral to organization (Knox et al., 2015; Putnam & Ashcraft, 2017; Trethewey & Ashcraft, 2004), investigating uncertainty, contradictions, paradoxes, and tensions is acknowledged as part of organization studies – and, importantly, without an aim of necessarily overcoming or releasing such contradictions and tensions.

One concept that allows investigating contradictions and tensions and has been studied thoroughly in organizational research is the concept of organizational paradoxes (see Smith & Lewis, 2011 for an overview). A paradox can be defined as “the simultaneous presence of contradictory, even mutually exclusive elements” (R. E. Quinn & Cameron, 1988, p. 2) that are interrelated and persistent over time. These elements can refer to perspectives, feelings, messages, identities, interests, practices, processes and more (Lewis, 2000). Such “contradictory yet interrelated elements [...] seem logical individually but inconsistent and even absurd when juxtaposed” (Smith & Lewis, 2011, p. 382). Yet rather than an ‘either-or’ of the involved elements, paradoxes describe a ‘both-and’ in the sense that paradoxes are “BOTH unities, clarities, univocal AND multiplicities, ambiguities and polyvocal complexities” (Knudsen, 2004, p. 104).

The juxtaposition of the interrelated, yet contradictory elements of a paradox creates tension. Smith and Lewis (2011) differentiate between ‘latent’ and ‘salient’ tension arising from paradoxes. Tension is described as *latent* when it arises from contradictory, yet interrelated parts embedded in organizational processes that exist due to organizational complexity. Following the above-outlined views on organization as processual, social-relational, and disordered, it can be argued that organization always includes latent tension based on processual organizational paradoxes. Taking the example of organizational change, as outlined above, a processual view prompts

organization scholars to understand organization as processes of continuous adaptation, thereby moving away from an understanding of organization as inherently stable until change occurs. With a focus on paradoxes and tension, this can be extended and reformulated to argue that organization is not constructed in a binary of either change or stability but exists through a constant paradox of both change and stability which always involves latent tension. *Salient* tension then describes contradictory, yet interrelated elements that are explicitly experienced or perceived by organizational actors. Latent tension can thus turn into salient tension when its presence is cognitively (or, I would add, emotionally, bodily, affectively) recognized by organizational actors (Smith & Lewis, 2011).

A paradox view has been useful in a variety of fields of organizational research to identify existent paradoxes and the tension they create. Taking feminist organization studies as an example, scholars have pinpointed paradoxes between gendered and professional identities (Putnam & Ashcraft, 2017), for example being a woman and being a leader (D. M. Martin, 2004) or being a woman and being an engineer (Jorgenson, 2002), visibility paradoxes that juxtapose invisibility with simultaneous and related hypervisibility of, for instance, Black women in professional settings (Karambayya, 1997; Zanoni et al., 2010), and a meritocracy paradox within which ideals of fairness and neutrality contradict (and often conceal) the existence of biases and stereotypes (Castilla & Benard, 2010; Putnam & Ashcraft, 2017). Moreover, organization scholars have over the years explored a variety of tensions, for instance between collaboration and control (Sundaramurthy & Lewis, 2003), or exploration and exploitation (Andriopoulos & Lewis, 2009; Raisch & Zimmermann, 2017; Smith & Tushman, 2005).

Importantly, the concept of organizational paradoxes not only allows to recognize paradoxes as inherent to organization but enables a rethinking of strategies for reacting to such paradoxes and related tension – both in organizational practice and research. A common reaction to paradoxes and emergent tension is avoidance through defensive coping strategies that might include complete denial of the paradoxical elements or splitting the contradictory elements to address only one of them (Fredberg, 2014; Lewis, 2000; Miron-Spektor et al., 2018; Putnam et al., 2016). Yet, consistent with approaches of dis/organization, it can be argued that disengagement with paradoxes through avoidance is dysfunctional as paradoxes will not disappear by being ignored

(Jay, 2013; Lewis, 2000; Putnam, 1983; Putnam & Ashcraft, 2017; Smith & Lewis, 2011) – especially not if they are acknowledged as inherent to organization. Instead, paradoxes need to be encountered.

A suggestion for encountering and coping with paradoxes is to embrace paradoxes through acknowledgment of inconsistency and a related need for flexibility in organizing. This means that paradoxes are not seen as a problem but rather an opportunity for finding strategies that can be flexibly adapted to the contradictory organizational needs that are present. Such approaches are commonly referred to as adopting a ‘paradox mindset’ (Beech et al., 2004; Lewis & Smith, 2014; Lüscher & Lewis, 2008). A paradox mindset involves two important aspects: first, an acknowledgment of paradoxes as persistent and expected elements of organization, and second, an approach of addressing paradoxes and emergent tension proactively, comfortably, and flexibly. Such proactive and flexible coping with paradoxes works by making the apparent contradiction meaningful, and thereby productive rather than paralyzing (Lüscher & Lewis, 2008; Vince & Broussine, 1996). This can be achieved through constantly and purposefully iterating between alternatives so that they are in effect attended to simultaneously (Smith & Lewis, 2011). In sum, individuals “shift their expectations from rationality and linearity to accept paradoxes as persistent and unsolvable puzzles” (Smith & Lewis, 2011, p. 385), and “[i]nstead of being threatened by tensions, they search for effective new ways to continuously [...] and flexibly maneuver between them” (Miron-Spektor et al., 2018, p. 30).

Another way to deal with paradoxes suggests a closer engagement with power in relation to paradoxes (Fairhurst et al., 2016). Instead of adopting a power-neutral position which assumes both poles of a paradox to have equal force, an approach attentive to power structures might reveal insights about which element of the paradox is attended to primarily and comes to ‘win’ over the other (Schad et al., 2016; van Bommel & Spicer, 2017). As argued by Fairhurst et al. (2016, p. 177) “paradox insights will be elevated when scholars recognize the multiple approaches by which power informs, and is informed by, paradoxical dynamics.” This could also mean paying attention to the performativity of paradoxes, investigating how organizational members engage in reproducing paradoxes as part of (normative) processes of organization and how paradoxical elements could be reproduced differently (Putnam & Ashcraft, 2017). Thus, combining these

perspectives on how to cope with paradoxes, a third aspect can be added to the notion of the paradox mindset, namely an attentiveness to existent power structures that affect the interrelated, yet contradictory elements of a paradox.

2.1.3 Formal and informal organization

In this study, I will attend to the dis/organization of Danish universities and explore how harassment and discrimination are reproduced within contradictory and paradoxical organizational structures, processes, and practices. One aspect I will pay attention to is how formality and informality entangle in such dis/organization. With the general acknowledgment of disorder, and the particular conceptualization of organizational paradoxes and the notion of a paradox mindset, I maintain that dis/organization literature provides a relevant and interesting perspective for scrutinizing the entanglements of formal and informal organizing. While formal and informal organizing might be engaged with by focusing on one or the other, or by conceptualizing them as co-existent yet separate parts of organization – in both cases with the aim of retaining a neat and ordered understanding of organization –, a perspective on dis/organization allows to highlight and attend to the contradictions that occur between informal and formal organization. While this approach will become more tangible in the analysis, it is important to remember it when engaging with the following theoretical parts on formality and informality. While several perspectives will be introduced in turn, I approach them from the underlying conviction that within organization processes of organizing formality and informality entangle in complex and contradictory ways that might lead to paradoxes and tension. It will be of core importance to pay attention to such tension, contradiction, paradox, messiness, and disorder to understand how harassment and discrimination are reproduced as part of in/formal organization.

Theories on formal organization have experienced what one could call a turbulent journey within organization studies, from being *the* demarcated object of study in early organization scholarship, over being critiqued severely from both theoretical and political-normative perspectives to what du Gay and Lopdrup-Hjorth (2016) identify as a ‘fear of the formal’ in contemporary organization

studies. As du Gay and Lopdrup-Hjorth describe it, in reference to Barnard (cf. Barnard & Andrews, 2002), “formal was not merely ‘a’, but rather *the* central criterion with which ‘organisations’ were differentiated from other social phenomena” (2016, p. 10, italics in original) while today “‘formal organisation’ appears old-fashioned and out of tune with the revolutionary demands of the present” (2016, p. 7, italics in original). The various discussions concerning formal organization evolved primarily around the functionality and appropriateness of formal organization from different perspectives. While scholars in line with Barnard would argue that the existence of an overall organizational purpose or goal, and the formal ordering of the organization according to this purpose, is essential for the functioning of an organization (Barnard & Andrews, 2002), critics of the idea(l) of formal organization such as Argyris (1987, p. 233) claim that formality is inappropriate and dysfunctional as a form of organizing due to a “lack of congruency between the needs of healthy individuals and the demands of the formal organisation.” From the latter perspective, it is not a dehumanized organizational purpose that should be in focus, but rather the needs of individual workers.

Some perspectives point to an advantage of formal organization that seemingly combines organizational purpose with employee needs, describing the need for formal organization as follows:

“If the need for formal organisation is denied and as a result there are no written or explicitly recognised prescribed bounds to the work roles, then, clearly, no one really knows what decisions he [*sic!*] or anybody else is authorised to make. Every time an individual in the company faces a problem, his [*sic!*] first thought would have to be: ‘Is it my responsibility to deal with this or not?’ In the absence of prescribed bounds he [*sic!*] does not and cannot know. Therefore he [*sic!*] will have to decide first whether or not to act. Then, if he [*sic!*] decides to do so, he [*sic!*] will have to make decisions on what action to take. But, once he [*sic!*] has made his [*sic!*] decision, others may question his right to do so. [...] There is need to avoid situations in which the use of personal networks, manipulation of other people, lobbying of support etc., is required by the individual to discharge the work of his [*sic!*] role. The absence of clear-cut statements about authority, responsibility and

task, create such situations [...] The degree of formal organization required is that which will ensure that all necessary decisions are made which will keep at a low level inter-personal jealousy and confusions about authority” (W. Brown, 1965a, p. 69).

Brown (1965a, 1965b) highlights a need for formality in order to clearly identify who is authorized as well as responsible to take decisions in which situations. Moreover, he contrasts such formal role allocation with decisions otherwise being influenced not only by confusion but also by manipulation and interpersonal jealousy. Considering this from the perspective of the problems of harassment and discrimination in organizations, it could be argued that stopping the reproduction of these problems requires a clear formal allocation of authority and responsibility so that managers and leaders, for instance, know *that* they are to act when harassment and discrimination occur, and know *how* to act, namely unmanipulated by personal networks or preferences. Du Gay and Lopdrup-Hjorth (2016, pp. 31–32) argue similarly when they write:

“When one dispenses with formality and in its place puts ‘informality’, ‘spontaneity’, and ‘improvisation’ [...], it is only a matter of time before organisations start to disintegrate, responsibilities become hopelessly confused, and organisational members are invited to pursue private priorities at the expense of organisational goals. Whether in the public or the private sector, the necessity of having guidelines for conduct, and clearly demarcated roles, is of paramount importance.”

The unstopped and un(der)addressed reproduction of harassment and discrimination would then be explainable as part of a disintegration of organization in the public, here university, sector. In lack of formal organizational structures, no one feels responsible to fight discrimination and support those who have been harassed, and no one can effectively be held accountable for a lack of taking such responsibility as it was never properly, read formally, assigned. Moreover, if someone takes up the task, their engagement would likely be infused by ‘private priorities’ rather than organizational goals; a notion that might explain a constant point of concern, namely that senior academics, when they are accused of acting in harassing or discriminatory ways, are

protected thanks to close-knit personal ties they hold to head of departments and other decision-makers who then act and decide based on personal rather than organizational priorities.

What Brown (1965a) as well as du Gay and Lopdrup-Hjorth (2016) seem to refer to here is the use of formal power positions to create order and accountability for decisions. Such expression of power relates to what Fleming and Spicer (2014) call ‘coercive power’ in organizations. Fleming and Spicer (2014) developed a framework that identifies four faces of power in organization,² namely coercion, manipulation, domination, and subjectification. Overall, they define power as “the capacity to influence other actors with [...] political interests in mind. It is a resource to get things done through other people, to achieve certain goals that may be shared or contested” (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 239). While coercion and manipulation describe ‘episodic’ expressions of power, that is, they are direct and rather explicit, domination and subjectification are delineated as ‘systemic’ expressions of power, working rather congealed as well as being more enduring institutional structures. In short, *coercion* refers to the direct expression of power by an individual who has the capacity to exercise power due to their formal position and/or their access to organizationally relevant and valuable resources. As Fleming and Spicer (2007, p. 14) summarize, workers who experience coercive power “are simply told what to do ‘or else’.” Formal organization thus explains this first face of power as from the perspective of formal organization, the exercise of power is shaped by the formal role or position one holds (cf. Merton, 1957), and potentially the resources this gives access to. In Fleming and Spicer’s (2014, p. 250) words: “The upshot [of formal organization theory] is that formal bureaucratic authority is the central characteristics of modern organizations, and it is from whence the power of the manager flows.”

Yet, as the authors also point out, “there was frequently a certain disconnect between the authority of the office and the power these individuals were able to wield [...as] individuals in organizations do not just derive their power from their positions of authority, but other sources too” (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 250; see also French & Raven, 1959; Raven, 1992). To understand this disconnection, one needs to pay attention to other expressions of power. This is where it becomes relevant to understand how aspects of formal organization interact and entangle with

² Fleming and Spicer (2014) further develop their framework to include four faces of power *through*, *over* and *against* organization, terming these four sites of power. However, for the purpose of this study, it is most relevant to mobilize their four faces of power *in* organization where the other three sites of power will not be discussed.

informal organizing. Exploring how power works in organization thus arguably provides a useful entry point to identifying and following processes of organizing beyond formal order, as some expressions of power – namely, manipulation, domination, and subjectification – remain unexplained if informal processes of organization are not taken into account.

Next to coercion, Fleming and Spicer (2014) identify three further faces of power, all three of which work rather informally. *Manipulation* works primarily through the mechanism of agenda setting. This means that individuals influence which issues are being discussed, how they are discussed, and what is accepted within the boundaries of legitimate topics. Importantly, manipulation works by making the construction and manipulation of such rules of legitimacy seem objective and value-free (cf. Kanter, 1977; Salznick, 1949), concealing their effect as expressions of power. *Domination* takes place through the establishment of ideological values that become hegemonic, thus dominant, and through their domination come to appear natural, inevitable, and unquestionable. These ideologies are expressed through shared assumptions and organizational ideals and preferences. They are often inscribed within an organizational culture and enacted through everyday organizational behavior. *Subjectification*, the fourth and final face of power, works on the level of identity, subjectivity, and emotion. Power is expressed by determining an actor's sense of self, their identity, and emotions, in accordance with a dominant social order. It is thus the individuals themselves who control their very being to fit existent power structures. To put the two systemic faces of power in relation to one another, “[d]omination may ‘naturalize’ an extant social order whereas subjectification normalizes a particular way of being in that social order” (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, pp. 244-245).

Manipulation, the expression of power through manipulating, that is, changing in one's favor the topics on the agenda and the legitimacy of their scope, relies heavily upon being able to utilize social networks in one's interest. Research on the power of social networks shows that building and maintaining networks makes it possible to exercise manipulative power despite expressions of coercive forms of power by individuals that control relevant resources. Informal processes thus seemingly alter and even subvert processes of formal organization. As a review by Kilduff and Brass (2010) shows social network theory has developed around four leading ideas, namely an emphasis on relations between actors, the embeddedness principle, the notion of structural

patterning that underlies the complexity of social relations, and, finally, a conviction of the utility of social network connections, that is, that social networks have important effects for individuals and groups. The latter aspect is of relevance regarding manipulative power in organizations as research found links between social networks and organizational decisions, for example, promotion (Burt, 1992) and social influence (Sparrowe & Liden, 2005). While these decisions should, from the perspective of formal organization, be taken based on formal positions and related responsibilities and resources, social network research reveals the workings of informal power structures within such processes of formal organization.

It has moreover been established that social networks establish a sense of belonging and (re)produce shared norms, trust, and (expectations of) reciprocity (Kilduff & Brass, 2010). Upon this basis, Kanter (1977) found that social networks recreate conformity pressure, leading to homosocial reproduction within networks. This led her to argue that managers look to successors that are similar to them, in terms of social background and organizational experience, which often includes a bias concerning their own gender (Kanter, 1977). What Kanter described as 'homosexual reproduction' in exclusive management circles that remain closed to 'outsiders' has later been termed homosociality, homophily, or homosocial bonding (Essed, 2004; Ibarra, 1992). Conceptions of homosocial networking describe primarily the tendency to form same-sex network relationships, and under consideration of the above-outlined effects of social networks, further show how social networks enable informal expressions of power through determining who gets access to closed circles and whose interests are heard, supported, and promoted within the organization; or in Fleming and Spicer's (2014) sense, power is expressed through (informal) manipulation of agendas and access.

The question of how formal organization might 'react' to the existence of informal expressions of power in forms of manipulation arises. With 'react' I do not mean a direct, impersonated, or agentic interaction between formal and informal organization but rather refer to the consideration of formal and informal power struggles that might occur. Or, thinking from the perspective of dis/organization, which paradoxical enactments of power might become visible when formal organization 'meets' manipulation. To reflect on this question, it is helpful to ask what would guide organizational members in their behavior towards a formal 'organizational

goal' and how can it be ensured that such behavior is unbiased by personal concerns. Thinking back to the role of responsibility and accountability in formal organization, what motivates those assigned a formal role to act responsibly, and how is such responsibility delineated? Such considerations of responsibility and accountability within formal organization link to an important, yet often sidelined discussion within theorizing on formal organization, namely notions of ethics within formal organization.

Scholarly developments on ethics in formal organization have primarily taken place in relation to the idea of an 'ethos of bureaucracy'. An ethos of bureaucracy refers to an underlying idea of ethical-administrative duties that should guide the behavior of bureaucrats, or more broadly administrators within formal organizations. Within Weber's (1978) foundational writing on bureaucracy, one already finds the understanding that public bureaucracies are based on an ethos as well as foundational values (see also S. R. Clegg, 2012; du Gay, 2000). One could argue that theorizing on bureaucracies and formal organization was from the get-go (also) an ethical endeavor, but that this ethical dimension "tends to be side-lined when discussions of bureaucracy and/or post-bureaucracy are directed primarily at their technical capabilities as organizational forms or socio-technical systems" (Willmott, 2011, p. 258).

Taking a closer look at the ethics of formal organizing reveals that the idea of an ethos as an essential part, underlying the work of bureaucracies and the tasks of administrators, is present within the work of a variety of scholars writing about formal organization (Chapman, 2000; S. R. Clegg, 2012; Dobel, 2005; I. Hunter, 1994; Minson, 1998; Willmott, 2011). Within such scholarship, an ethos of bureaucracy, or an ethos of office, is linked to the overall functioning of a formal organization as much as to explicit notions of fairness and integrity, for instance maintaining that "equity and probity are assured only by office-holders who, being dedicated to the ethos of office, are committed to providing the very highest standards of administrative service" (Willmott, 2011, pp. 287–288). It is argued that the norms and objectives of the bureaucracy itself are made up so that they represent ethical requirements, that is, a distinct ethos (du Gay, 2013; I. Hunter & Minson, 1992). Lopdrup-Hjorth and Roelsgaard Obling (2019, p.

835) describe this ethos for public bureaucracies within the context of Western³ countries to consist of the following ethical requirements: “acting within the confines of the law, abstaining from lying, exhibiting party political neutrality, setting private commitments aside, refraining from using the office for illegitimate purposes, and giving free and fearless advice all constitute norms of conduct that constitute the ethos of bureaucracy.” These ethical requirements are inscribed within the idea(l) of a formal organization and thus underly any behavior within it. They should influence the behavior of people with a formal role within the organization who are bound to act responsibly and according to their accountabilities as they are led by such an ethos of bureaucracy. On the other hand, these same organizational members are likely to be influenced by manipulative expressions of power, for instance through social networks as has been outlined above, which reveals a potential point of contradiction and tension between formal and informal organizing.

Lopdrup-Hjorth and Roelsgaard Obling (2019, p. 835) argue that the ethical requirements within this ethos manifest in a deep ‘sense’ that influences “daily expressions in the questions one asks, the complaints one makes, the encouragement one offers, the rebukes one imposes, the advice one offers, the initiative one assumes, the directives one chooses to enforce zealously or to quietly ignore, the decisions one postpones, the responsibilities one avoids.” In other words, daily acts within the organization are enactments of this ethos. However, as the authors emphasize, it is a ‘sense’ that needs to be cultivated through training and application (Lopdrup-Hjorth & Roelsgaard Obling, 2019). They are therefore careful to note the potential discrepancies between the ideals of bureaucracy and its manifestation and realization in organizational form, which leads to another question triggered from the perspective of dis/organization scholarship: How do employees engage with the potential contradictions and tensions between mechanisms of formal organization, including an ideal ethos of bureaucracy, and existent expressions of manipulative power and other forms of (formal and informal) organizing that do not uphold such ethics? This is where Fleming and Spicer’s (2014) systemic expressions of power, domination and subjectification, become insightful.

³ In this dissertation, I use the term ‘Western’ when it is used either by authors whose work I refer to or by the interviewees who were part of my study. In my own understanding of the term, I follow Mohanty’s (2003b) claim that ‘Western’ is not a geographically or spatially defined category but rather a political and analytical construct that as Abdellatif (2021, p. 61) stresses is “socially constructed around [...] white supremacy.”

Domination and *subjectification* both rely on the establishment of an ideology that becomes hegemonic and remains relevant, and powerful, through shared assumptions as well as organizational ideals and norms. Through such mechanisms of domination, existent structures such as organizational hierarchies come to seem natural and inevitable as well as unquestionably in the interest of the organization. Such expressions of power might therefore work in tandem with formal organizational structures and hierarchies, reinforcing them through informal processes, yet might also establish ‘parallel’ organization structures within the formal organization (Zand, 1974), leading to contradictions and paradoxes between formal and informal expectations (cf. Guschke & Sløk-Andersen, 2022).

The existence of dominant norms is maintained through rewards, such as recognition (cf. Kenny, 2012), for living up to normative expectations and punishments for breaking them, where punishment often remains implicit (cf. J. F. Christensen et al., 2021). According to Fleming and Spicer (2014, p. 261), active consent is not forced from organizational members, as would be needed within coercive and manipulative frames of power, but instead established “by enlisting and accentuating moments of self-determination, reputational self-management, and trust to further certain interests” (see also S. Clegg & Courpasson, 2004; Reed, 2012; Romme, 1999). It becomes the interest of the (good) organizational member to agree to seemingly neutral organizational structures – and thereby foster and strengthen the expression of organizational power in form of domination and subjectification. Organizational members, one could argue, simply do not *want* to dissent, as consent seems to be in their interest. This is shown, for instance, in studies on inequalities within organizations in which organizational members come to believe that they act in their own (organizational) interest despite fostering inequalities that harm their concerns (Contu & Willmott, 2003).

Subjectification takes such expressions of power to the level of subjecthood by suggesting that hegemonic ideologies influence individuals’ identities and sense of personhood. Power is used to build and establish identities in organizations that make individuals act according to dominant organizational norms and interests in the name of free self-expression and autonomy. Autonomy thereby becomes a resource utilized for organizational goals rather than an obstacle to be disciplined or coercively controlled (P. Miller & Rose, 1990); as employees assess their self-worth

according to dominant organizational norms, they autonomously decide for acting within the realm of what is acceptable and appropriate within the organization. Autonomy is hence simultaneously affirmed and negated in the sense that “respect for the individual is equated with complying with the values of the [organization]. To challenge the values enshrined in this ‘respect’ is ‘a crime against the [organizational] culture” (Willmott, 1993, p. 526). Organizational members come to engage in identity work to establish self-disciplining identities that regulate one’s identity to fit the ideal employee self (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). By being linked to a sense of self, subjectification might be the face of power that is most difficult to identify by those subjected to it (Fineman & Sturdy, 1999; Fleming & Spicer, 2014; Gabriel, 1999; Sturdy, 1997).

Domination and subjectification, similarly to manipulation, are not established through aspects of formal organization but rather in informal, less tangible, and seldom clearly visible structures, processes, and practices of organizing. Organizational culture plays an important role in establishing and maintaining domination and subjectification by providing an ideological basis upon which such expressions of power can be built. Working as rewards systems for ideological consent, “corporate cultures [...] *systematically* recognize and reward individuals, symbolically and materially, for identifying their sense of purpose with the values that are designed into the organization” (Willmott, 1993, pp. 515–516, italics in original). Organizational cultures thus influence employee behavior not by directly manipulating or coercing their actions, but by “managing what they think and feel” (Willmott, 1993, p. 516) through mechanisms of domination and subjectification. Negative feelings of shame, guilt, or anxiety become useful for employees’ self-disciplinary behavior – those who do not conform to the organizational culture feel ashamed and guilty for not complying with what is dominantly perceived to be right and good. Becoming affectively entrapped, employees are controlled often without noticing and without much possibility of resistance. Willmott (1993, p. 528) further maintains that such affective entrapment, in form of domination and subjectification through organizational culture, might be worse than direct and explicit coercion such as in formal organizations, as it leaves no space for free and critical thinking:

“In the ideal-typical bureaucratic, rule-governed organization, employees are at least permitted to think what they like so long as they act in a technically competent

manner. [...] In principle, communication between employees that challenges or ironicizes bureaucratic authority is tolerated so long as the rules themselves are not overtly violated. In contrast, in organizations with a strong corporate culture, such 'disloyal' communication is at best strictly coded if it is not entirely tabooed."

In his work on organizational culture and normative control, Kunda (2006) argues similarly to Willmott yet emphasizes that employees do not necessarily fall trap to such forms of domination and subjectification through unquestioned consent to the power that controls them. He highlights the possibility of employees developing a 'distanced' orientation towards the organizational cultures and the values inscribed in it which allows them some resistance towards the seduction into organizational norms. Instead of basing their sense of personhood fully on organizational ideals, they preserve and assert a critical, or rather cynical, self-identity purposefully contrasting the ideal employee self. By still performing the role of the ideal employee, yet consciously, they are able to sustain themselves within the organizational culture without fully subjugating themselves to it. However, a side-effect of such 'cool alternation', that is, the simultaneous distancing from and compliance with organizational norms, is the incapability to resist hegemonic organizational norms actively as the possibility of engaging in the cynical ironizing of the culture is interpreted as evidence of the organization's commitment to freedom of expression, openness, and criticality (Kunda, 2006); any form of resistance is incorporated and devoured by the organizational culture as part of its values, without leading to actual change.

In sum, based on the above outline I establish that organization includes both formal and informal structures, processes, and practices that lead to different expressions of power. Formal organization enables coercive forms of power through clear organizational roles commonly supported by access to material resources, yet importantly it also allows for – at least an ideal of – an ethos of formal organization that encourages ethical organizational behavior and a clear allocation of responsibility for upholding ethical requirements. Entangled with such formal organization are a variety of informal structures, processes, and practices of organizing, most relevant here to highlight the working of organizational culture in form of normative control or culture control where power is exercised in forms of domination and subjectification, as well as the manipulative power of social networks. In my study of how the dis/organization of Danish

universities enables the reproduction of harassment and discrimination, I will analytically mobilize and engage with these outlined aspects of formal and informal organization, including their entanglement and the resultant contradictions and tensions.

2.2 Subjects in organization(s)

As has been outlined, I understand organization as social-relational processes that are shaped by formal and informal aspects of dis/organization. Such an understanding holds organizational members, that is subjects, and their role in organization(s) at its core, wherefore it is equally important to provide a thorough theoretical basis for how I understand subjects and their relation to organizational structures, processes, and practices. First, I outline how I conceptualize subjects as recognition-based and constrained by social and organizational norms. Drawing upon the notion of performativity (Butler, 1993, 1997, 2004, 2006) allows me to conceptualize the interplay between subjects and organization, that is while subjects are constraint by social and organizational norms, such norms only exist by being continuously reproduced by subjects who are thus part of continuously reproducing (and potentially changing) the organization. Understanding subjects as recognition-based moreover conceptualizes them as ontologically relational and in a constant process of subjective becoming. Extending this line of thought, in the second part, I engage with questions of vulnerability and autonomy, suggesting that ontologically relational subjects are both inherently vulnerable and autonomous.

2.2.1 Performativity, norms, and the norm-critical potential of undoing

In this dissertation, I build upon an understanding of recognition-based subjectivities whose recognition is constrained by social norms, based upon Judith Butler's notions of performativity and undoing (1993, 1997, 2004, 2006). Butler developed and unfolded these concepts throughout their writing, employing them mainly in the areas of gender and sexuality, specifically in relation to queer theory. Building upon the theories of Foucault, Freud, Lacan, and Hegel, Butler developed a theory of the subject as relationally tied and in (continuous) need for recognition (from others), where this recognition is anchored in systems of social norms. As Fotaki and

Harding (2018, p. 37) summarize: “First, we are constantly engaged in a struggle to be conceived of as persons, and this requires that we be recognized by others (people and culture) as persons, and meanwhile giving recognition ourselves to others. Second, recognition is given within the limits of the prevailing norms.” Combining the notion of recognition-based subjects with ideas of a system of social norms, Butler’s scholarship illuminates how subjectivity, or rather subjective becoming, is the process of “social organization through which certain performative acts come to be recognized as viable subject positions, while others are disavowed” (Riach et al., 2016, p. 2074).

Introducing the notion of performativity, Butler theorizes that subjects are performatively constituted through the reiteration of (normative) language, discourse, and acts, as this iteration of norms allows the recognition of subjects, thus enabling viable, intelligible subjectivities. From this perspective, the power of normativity is described in how “certain norms, ideas and ideals hold sway over embodied life, provide coercive criteria for [what is deemed] normal [...and] govern ‘intelligible’ life” (Butler, 2004, p. 206). All of Butler’s further theorizing rests upon this performative and processual ontology, conceptualizing the performative as creating subjects (and not the other way around) and subjects as “always in a process of becoming” (Harding, 2007, p. 1761).

Relating this to gender, in contrast to essentialist or social constructionist ideas that proclaim that a subject has or performs a specific gender (identity), Butler foregrounds the performativity, that is the performative power, of gender, so that gender is conceptualized “as constitutive (as literally making the material of the embodied self)” (Fotaki & Harding, 2018, p. 7). By being performed repeatedly, certain ways of performing gender become normalized. Through this normalization, certain (gender) norms become ‘fixed’ as the basis of being recognized as an intelligible subject. In this process, normative performativities “claim the place of nature or claim the place of symbolic necessity, and they do this by occluding the ways in which they are performatively established” (Butler, 2004, p. 209). Norms thus come to seem normal and natural due to their performative power. Ahmed (2006a), in thinking through the notion of performativity, describes normativity as orientation of bodies. What bodies ‘tend to do’, that is what they orient towards, is not just given, but shaped by norms and their constant repetition. When bodies reiterate norms,

the effort of repetition seems effortless – it is the path of least resistance, as they are already oriented towards the norm. Once a body breaks a norm, this breakage becomes recognized as effort and punished.

As Butler argues, the normative way to perform gendered subjectivities is according to heteronormative hierarchal binary understandings of gender and sexuality. Subjects need to perform gender according to (hetero)normative understandings to be recognized as intelligible subjects. Speaking to queer theory, Butler describes (and criticizes) these norms as (1) a heteronormative linkage between gender and sexuality and (2) understanding gender as a binary. First, their critique questions the coupling of gender and sexuality, and the idea that gender presupposes a specific sexual practice. This excludes and ignores the lived realities of decoupling gender and sexuality, allowing any gender to coincide with any sexual orientation. Second and relatedly, Butler challenges the reduction of gender to heterosexuality. Next to presupposing that a person always desires someone from ‘the opposite sex or gender’, this heteronormative linkage between sexuality and gender predetermines a (hierarchal) binary between man/woman and masculinity/femininity. Opening this binary allows the possibility for various forms of how to perform gender and sexuality. According to Butler and opposing (hetero)normative understandings, sexuality is not constrained by gender, while gender is not predetermined by forms of hegemonic heterosexuality.

Yet, as outlined above, in heteronormative structures people cannot just perform gender and sexuality apart from normative ideas, as it clashes with needs to be recognized as viable subjects. The need for recognition as intelligible subjects and how recognition is related to following normative ideas of gender and sexuality makes the question of “how to embody a norm [... a] question of survival, of whether life itself will be possible” (Butler, 2004, p. 217). Butler describes these gender norms as (unnecessarily) exclusionary, even violent to those who do not, or cannot, perform them. Yet, “norms are powerful, and failure to conform with them means we do not exist socially” (Fotaki & Harding, 2018, p. 37). We might perform normative (gender) identities, even if they injure us, “to prevent ourselves from experiencing the consequences of abjection” (Fotaki, 2011, p. 49).

This links to the notion of undoing (Butler, 2004). Butler insists that subjective becoming is a process of ‘doing’ while at the same time being a process of ‘undoing’. One way of describing this process of undoing is to understand it as a subject producing its (normative) coherence (such as, ‘doing gender’) to be recognized as a viable, intelligible subject, at the cost of ‘undoing’ its own complexity. In this process of undoing, idealized subjectivities are formed and sustained based on normative conditions. Describing this as ‘undoing’ stresses the effort involved in continually striving for subjective coherence and maintaining the semblance to the norm – relating to Ahmed’s (2006) claim of normative reiteration seeming effortless, this might not be the case if it requires the simultaneous undoing of parts of oneself, in Ahmed’s word if one is oriented differently. It further speaks to “the paradox of identity as apparently fixed but inherently unstable” (Fotaki & Harding, 2018, p. 18). At the same time, “the notion of undoing elucidates the constant threat that subjects face of ‘being undone’ by others” (Guschke & Sløk-Andersen, 2022, p. 33). As their recognition (as subjects) depends on others, they constantly risk losing their subjectivity and identity, being undone, if they do not perform according to the social norms that govern intelligibility.

Taking these insights beyond their applicability on gendered norms and Butler’s notion of ‘doing gender’, the concept of performativity allows grasping how social norms govern intelligibility in such a way that subjects come to reproduce them unquestionably due to their constant need for recognition to remain intelligible. The threat of ‘being undone’, that is, not being recognized as an intelligible subject within prevailing norms, leads to an (often unquestioned) repetition of social norms (Butler, 2004). As I together with colleagues Jannick Friis Christensen, Kai Inga Liehr Storm, and Sara Louise Muhr have summarized in a review article on norms: “Norms influence behavior (and expectations). [...] Norms are enforced by (the threat of) repercussions for those who deviate. [...] Norms become salient in interaction where they regulate belonging and exclusion. [...] Norms achieve stability over time by being repeated, formally and informally, between people” (J. F. Christensen et al., 2021, p. 6).

Simultaneously, the often unquestioned and unnoticed individual repetition of said norms reproduces them at a structural level. The latter is important to understand how norms are reproduced, highlighting that they cannot exist without repetition. As Christensen (2018) argues,

norms, upon their repetition, receive a state of false naturalness, meaning they become ‘true’, yet not based on nature but due to the performative power they exercise on subjects. Due to the norms’ performativity individuals act according to such normativities in a constant strive to remain intelligible. These norms, their existence reliant upon their continuous repetition, remain unquestioned, unopposed, and unnoticed, and become part of the ‘normal’. The normalization of normative behavior – norms becoming ‘true’, natural, unquestionable – is thus anchored within the interdependency of subjectivity-governing normative structures and individual repetition thereof, the combination of these interlinked mechanisms leading to the normalization of normative behavior. Thinking about organization, organizational norms constrain what subjectivities can be viably performed in the organization, including how subjects can act, yet at the same time, only their acts of repeating such organizational norms reproduce them. Organizational norms enable and constrain subjects, yet only through the repetition of norms – in interaction between subjects – are organizational norms reproduced. Detrimentally, if such organizational norms are exclusionary or discriminatory, such as norms based in (white-)heteropatriarchy, these influence possibilities of be(com)ing on an individual level accordingly, for instance enabling sexist and racist harassment and discrimination, which in turn continuously recreates and upholds exclusionary and discriminatory racist and sexist organizational (and arguably societal) structures.

Yet, the notion of undoing also links to the potential of agency and resistance that is inherent in Butler’s performative ontology. As a subject’s becoming is based on social norms, and these norms are dependent on constant repetition and iteration, “the inevitable failure of repetition of the performative” (Fotaki & Harding, 2018, p. 19) holds the possibility of change. From this perspective, undoing holds the potential of resisting and adapting the iteration of social norms, thereby changing these norms and the subjectivities that are conceivable. This resistance rests upon reflexively undoing subjectivities by revealing their constructed and performative qualities, the constraining effects of their normativity, and potentially articulating alternative performativities that “question the terms of recognition upon which [they] depend” (Riach et al., 2016, p. 2075).

In queer theory and practice, the notion of norm critique has been developed to highlight this potential, and need, for continuously challenging normative boundaries and related power structures (J. F. Christensen, 2018; IGLYO, 2015). Drawing upon the idea of queering as a rejection of categorical thinking, norm critique aims at continuously questioning and testing the limits of the norms that structure social and organizational relations, standards, and expectations (Arifeen & Syed, 2020; J. F. Christensen, 2018; Ghorashi & Ponzoni, 2014; Plotnikof & Graak-Larsen, 2018). Norm critique works through revealing norms in a double-movement of uncovering their false naturalness and their performative power which as outlined above if unnoticed leads to the constantly re-enforcing process of normative citation and proposing that norms could be otherwise (J. F. Christensen, 2018). Importantly, norm critique does not strive to eventually simply introduce new norms but to constantly push and transgress the limits of normativity. At the same time, it needs to be acknowledged that norm critique is not a non-normative practice, that is it does have a normative basis and it cannot overcome norms. With its basis in queer theory and practice, norm critique is built upon the underlying normative notion of critiquing and transgressing norms for the purpose of questioning practices of power (in form of normative reproduction) that disavow certain subjectivities. This describes its normative basis. As for how it is practiced, norm critique can be described as engaging in a continuous practice of normative repetition *with a difference* – yet if it is upheld that subjective becoming is not possible without normative citation, norms can be stretched, extended, transgressed but never simply dismissed or escaped.

One perspective this form of critique links to is Michel Foucault's power-truth nexus. Foucault (1997) bases the relationship between power, truth, and the subject at the core of critique. He argues that critique is "the movement by which the subject gives himself [*sic!*] the right to question truth on its effects of power and question power on its discourses of truth" (Foucault, 1997, p. 47). Critique is thus the questioning of the power of (one) truth and of the truth or legitimacy of power. The aim of critical work should not be to 'find out' what is true, good, or real, but rather to reveal the connections between mechanisms of power and truth. Relating this to norm critique, Foucault's critique can be understood as the practice of revealing norms and proposing that they could be otherwise, instead of taking them for granted. To start with the

latter part of taking norms for granted; Foucault (1997, p. 47) describes as ‘governmentalization’ “this movement through which individuals are subjugated in the reality of a social practice through mechanisms of power that adhere to a truth”. In the language of queer theories and norm critique, his concept of ‘governmentalization’ relates to the idea of an unquestioned repetition of social norms due to their state of false naturalness (J. F. Christensen, 2018). The ‘movement’ describes the continuous repetition of norms, outside which norms cannot exist (Butler, 1993). This movement, the repetition of norms, works through ‘mechanisms of power that adhere to truth’, which links to the state of false naturalness. Norms acquiring false naturalness means they become ‘true’ based not on nature but due to the performative power they exercise on subjects, thus invoking ‘mechanisms of power’. Lastly, the ‘subjugation of individuals in the reality of social practice’ describes the performativity of said norms (Butler, 2004) which leads to certain subjectivities being viable while others being disavowed (Riach et al., 2016). Critique, in Foucauldian terms and from a norm-critical perspective, then aims at revealing these norms through a double-movement of uncovering their false naturalness and their performative power which if unnoticed leads to the constantly re-enforcing process of normative citation – in other words to “question truth on its effects of power and question power on its discourses of truth” (Foucault, 1997, p. 32).

Beyond this, critique from this perspective includes proposing that norms could be otherwise. Foucault (1997, p. 47) introduces the practice of ‘voluntary insubordination’, describing it as “reflected intractability; [...] the desubjugation of the subject in the context of [...] the politics of truth.” For norm critique, this describes the idea of norm transgression through the disruption of the reproduction of norms. The notions of ‘*insubordination*’, ‘*intractability*’, and ‘*desubjugation*’ evoke the agentic act of resisting and not subordinating which requires a certain unruliness. At the same time, it acknowledges both the risk and potential of desubjugation within a prevailing set of norms, namely risking misrecognition but also opening up for transgressing the prevailing norms. Critique as a practice of ‘voluntary insubordination’ thus links to the simultaneous potential and risk in the practice of ‘undoing’ (Butler, 2004). Such reading of the idea of ‘undoing’ which stresses the potential of resisting or adapting the iteration of social norms – thereby revealing their constructed and performative qualities, the constraining effects of their

normativity, and potentially articulating alternative performativities – can thus be said to lie at the core of norm critique. Recognizing the possibility for norm critique, I build my research upon an understanding of subjects as constrained by social norms yet also capable of resisting and changing prevailing norms.

2.2.2 Vulnerability and autonomy

My understanding of subjects in organizations conceptualizes them as in need of recognition from others, where recognition is constrained by social and organizational norms. Such norms, however, are only reproduced by being reiterated in interaction between subjects, which bears the potential of norm-critical repetition with a difference. Inherent in this understanding, subjects are ontologically relationally tied to one another which raises questions about vulnerability and autonomy. That is, one might assume from this that subjects are inherently dependent on and thereby vulnerable to one another which might mean that they lack autonomy if the latter is understood as a capability of independent individuals. As I will argue in the following, I refrain from this individualistic understanding of autonomy and instead argue that ontologically relational subjects are both inherently vulnerable and autonomous.

Building upon a relational ontology, I conceptualize vulnerability as a primary condition of human existence that emphasizes the dependency of human beings upon one another. To understand the relevance of conceptualizing vulnerability in this ontological sense, it is helpful to first differentiate it from common understandings where vulnerability is understood as synonymous with weak or exposed to (risk of) injury. In other words, a person, a group, or even an environment is rendered vulnerable in a sense unwanted permeability. Etymologically, vulnerability can be traced to the late Latin word *vulnerābilis*, related to the Latin *vulnerāre*, meaning “to wound” and *vulnus*, that is, “a wound.” Cambridge Dictionary defines being vulnerable as being “able to be easily physically, emotionally, or mentally hurt, influenced, or attacked.” Oxford Dictionaries extends the definition to being “exposed to the possibility of being attacked or harmed, either physically or emotionally; [or being] in need of special care, support, or protection because of age, disability, or risk of abuse or neglect.” These definitions thus

similarly equate vulnerability with injurability, that is, being exposed to injury or attack and therefore in need of support and protection.

An ontological understanding of vulnerability as an inherent condition of human being(s) however does not reduce vulnerability to injurability. Instead, it is maintained that while injurability results from the exploitation of vulnerabilities, vulnerability emerges from subjects being relationally tied to one another and therefore inherently vulnerable to each other. As Butler (2016, p. 16) suggests concerning the understanding of vulnerability as an ontological condition of relational human being(s):

“[I]f we accept that part of what a body is (and this is for the moment an ontological claim) is its dependency on other bodies and networks of support, then we are suggesting that it is not altogether right to conceive of individual bodies as completely distinct from one another. [...T]he body, despite its clear boundaries, or perhaps by virtue of those very boundaries, is defined by the relations that make its own life and action possible.”

Everyone is vulnerable in an ontological sense, while some might be at particular risk of injury if their vulnerability is exploited.

Such an understanding of vulnerability as part of a relational ontology highlights two aspects, namely the link between vulnerability and dependency and between vulnerability and affect. If we contend that humans are ontologically vulnerable beings, this means that we are fundamentally dependent on others as well as the social and material conditions that are essential to sustain us. Dependency is part of human being. Similarly, to be vulnerable indicates a human capacity to affect and be affected. Linking back to Spinoza's understanding of bodies as being contingent upon their affective relations with other bodies (cf. Spinoza, 2006), a relational ontology that emphasizes vulnerability similarly argues for the inherent capacity of bodies to (be) affect(ed), creating “a constitutive openness in the subject, regardless of whether it is wanted or not” (Sabsay, 2016, p. 285). As summarized pointedly by Sabsay (2016, p. 279): “[T]his relational perspective is based on the subject's radical dependency and capacity to affect and be affected, which, in turn, indicates the vulnerable and embodied character of subjectivity.”

Importantly, a turn to vulnerability allows highlighting the role of affect and emotion yet without decoupling it from existent power structures that influence affectivities and the possibilities and effect of emotion (cf. Fotaki et al., 2017; Pullen et al., 2017). This becomes visible in the differentiation that is possible between ‘precarity’ and ‘precariousness’ to use Butler’s term, or elsewhere termed ‘permeability’ and ‘precariousness’, differentiating between “(1) vulnerability as the capacity to be affected (which might be acknowledged or disavowed)—I call this permeability; and (2) vulnerability as a condition that is differentially distributed and might relate more straightforwardly with Butler’s notion of precariousness” (Sabsay, 2016, p. 286). Permeability, or precarity, thus describes the ontological condition of vulnerability that cannot be managed, changed, or opposed. Precariousness, in contrast, highlights the influence of social and material conditions, subjective positionality, and implication in existent power structures that make some more or less vulnerable than others. It is thus possible to say that some subjects find themselves to be more vulnerable than others in the sense of precariousness, yet all subjects are inherently vulnerable in terms of their precarity or permeability, that is, able to affect and be affected.

Mackenzie et al. (2013) propose a similar differentiation between *inherent* and *situational* vulnerability, yet extend this by a third form, or as they call it source, of vulnerability which is important in the context of harassment and discrimination, namely *pathogenic* vulnerability. *Inherent* vulnerability is intrinsic to the human condition, thus relating to Butler’s (2016) notion of precarity and Sabsay’s (2016) definition of permeability. *Situational* vulnerability is defined as context-specific. It can be caused and influenced by the personal, social, political, economic, or environmental situations of individuals or groups. It is mediated by social context, either enduringly, intermittently, or in a short term, similar to the notion of precariousness (Butler, 2016; Sabsay, 2016). Finally, *pathogenic* vulnerability describes a subset of situational vulnerabilities that “arise when a response intended to ameliorate vulnerability has the paradoxical effect of exacerbating existent vulnerabilities or generating new ones” (Mackenzie et al., 2013, p. 9). This can for instance be the case when a person who is responsible for taking care of a situationally vulnerable person misuses their position of power to undermine the autonomy of the vulnerable person, such as in an abusive parent-child relationship. As this describes a particularly morally and ethically troubling source of vulnerability, the authors describe it in a

separate category. It further highlights a bidirectionality between care responsibilities and vulnerability. While vulnerability can implicate a need for care, relations of care can similarly extend existent or create new vulnerabilities as a person in a position to take care of vulnerable others can misuse this care responsibility, and related power difference, to exacerbate the vulnerability of those they are responsible to care for (Dodds, 2013).

As outlined, such pathogenic vulnerability aims to undermine the *autonomy* of the vulnerable person. This aspect allows for a relevant insight into how autonomy can be conceptualized in relation to vulnerability, as it reveals that a vulnerable person can be autonomous as long as their autonomy is not undermined. To understand this, it is important to stress that autonomy from this perspective is not conceptualized as an individualistic capability of an independent subject. Instead, the relational understanding of vulnerability I draw upon – and the separation of permeability as the condition of vulnerability inherent to human being(s) from precariousness as the creation of differently distributed vulnerabilities based on material and discursive conditions of power – allows an understanding of autonomy that is similarly relational.

While common understandings of vulnerability as injuribility dismisses the possibility for autonomy by conceptualizing the vulnerable subject as in need of (paternalistic) protection, the understanding of vulnerability as relational instead argues that autonomy is a relational capability and can therefore co-exist with vulnerability. As Mackenzie (2013, p. 41, italics in original) argues, “autonomy—understood as both the *capacity* to lead a self-determining life and the *status* of being recognized as an autonomous agent by others—is crucial for a flourishing life in contemporary liberal democratic societies. It is thus a mistake for an ethics of vulnerability to reject [...] the concept of autonomy.” A relational understanding of autonomy neither moves away from a conception of self-determination and autonomy nor does it dismiss these as non-essential for a fulfilled human life. It does however stress the social constitution of autonomous agents, that is it emphasizes that the development and exercise of autonomy require social support. A person cannot enact autonomy if not supported socially to (learn to) do so.

Two aspects are to be highlighted to properly understand how relational theorists argue for an understanding of autonomy as a socially constituted capacity. The first concerns the development of autonomy and the second its exercise. One basic premise of a relational understanding of

autonomy is that autonomy involves a variety of skills and capacities which must be learned or trained. Autonomy is thus not an inherent human capacity. These skills, according to Mackenzie (2013) include cognitive capacities, such as reasoning and information processing skills, capacities of questioning and critically reflecting upon social norms and values, introspective skills related to self-reflection and self-knowledge, emotional-affective capacities that allow sustaining intimate personal relations and social cooperation, as well as imaginative capacities, such as the ability to envision alternatives to existent courses of action. To develop such autonomy competencies, one has to interact in social relationships, both in terms of learning autonomy capacities from others as much as to enact and train one's own autonomy skills. Relationality, and dependency upon others, are thus necessary conditions for the development of autonomy.

Similar to a reliance on social relationships for the development of autonomy capacities, it requires embeddedness within a social context to exercise, sustain, and uphold one's autonomy. Here, it is important to stress that being autonomous is understood not only as possessing the outlined skills and capacities but as being able to make choices and act in line with the developed skills and emergent beliefs, values, goals, wants, and self-identifications. As it is impossible to choose and act completely independently of others and the social context one is situated in, social relations as well as social structures influence and constrain the ability to act autonomously. Socio-political and socio-historical contexts can for instance provide enabling or constraining factors that make the enactment of autonomy (im)possible for some based on, first, for instance, gendered, racialized, or classed positionalities which allow or restrain the development of cognitive, imaginative or introspective skills, and second, societal conditions that allow or hinder action and choices that are in line with the developed capacities and related values. As Mackenzie (2013, p. 43) sums it up pointedly:

“We form, sustain, and revise our self-identities in relational connections to specific others, and we negotiate our sense of individual selfhood in a specific geographical, historical, and political context and in relation to intersecting social determinants, such as gender, race, ethnicity, ability, and class. These factors provide the context for our choices, which are both enabled and constrained by the opportunities made available within the social environment.”

Henceforth, it is also acknowledged that developing and exercising autonomy can be hindered and obscured by exploitative, repressive, and unjust social and political power structures as well as oppressive interpersonal relationships. Relational approaches endorse and support the value of autonomy and self-determination yet without reproducing the individualism that is commonly associated with liberal conceptions of autonomy. Autonomy can from this perspective be thought of together with relationality, dependency, and vulnerability as it is understood as conditioned by the relational dependency of human beings (upon one another), and consequently “premised on the fact of our inescapable [...] vulnerability to others” (Mackenzie et al., 2013, p. 17). Subjects are understood as inherently vulnerable and relationally autonomous.

2.3 Harassment and discrimination

What I have outlined in the previous parts is a theoretical basis for how I understand organization and how I conceptualize subjects in relation to organization. This is an important foundation for my research as it allows me to investigate how harassment and discrimination are reproduced in organizations. Or, more precisely, it provides the basis for understanding how something is reproduced in organizations and what role subjects play in such processes of reproduction. What I have not delineated yet is my theoretical understanding of harassment and discrimination as that what is reproduced in organizations. In this part, I engage with different concepts relating to harassment and discrimination to provide the final building block to the overview of theories that inspire my research. In line with my processual view on organization and subjective becoming, I understand harassment and discrimination as processes that are reproduced between interactional-individual and institutional-structural level – that is, in short, interactions between individuals reproduce institutional structures which in turn enable and constrain individual interactions – wherefore the concepts I draw upon aim at understanding what influences and enables processes of discrimination and harassment. Further, as I have outlined in the introduction, I understand harassment as a form of discrimination wherefore theoretical insights on discrimination are useful for understanding harassment.

I begin with delineating the relationship between prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination where prejudice is understood as biased attitudes towards specific social groups, stereotypes as the creation of group attributes that relate to biased attitudes, and discrimination as disadvantageous treatment of and behavior towards individuals due to their belonging to a specific social group. From there I move on to discussing two specific notions of discrimination, namely discrimination in the ‘everyday’ (Essed, 1990, 1991) and discrimination based on entitlement (Essed, 2020). Importantly, both allow understanding harassment and discrimination as both institutional-structural and interactional-individual level problems. Beyond this, however, they pinpoint different ways in which harassment and discrimination work, differentiating between harassment and discrimination as normalized and thereby reproduced, and harassment and discrimination as based on a perceived right to offend and reproduced to uphold the privileges that grant such a right. Finally, I turn specifically to sexism and racism as I focus on sexist and racist harassment and discrimination in this study. I provide a theoretical basis for my understanding of each and an outline of how I approach my study intersectionally.

2.3.1 Prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination

Being interested in investigating processes of discrimination demands not only understanding what discrimination *is*, in other words how it is conceptualized but also requires linking it to other relevant concepts that contribute to processes of discrimination. Most relevant to include are here the notions of prejudice and stereotypes. In short, it can be argued that prejudice relates to attitudes towards specific social groups, stereotypes put focus on how group attributes are created, and discrimination describes the unfair and disadvantageous treatment of and behavior towards individuals due to their belonging to a social group. In this way, prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination are interlinked and nurture one another. Understanding the related yet different workings of these concepts is helpful to understand how discriminatory and harassing behavior is created and sustained. I will, throughout this part, draw upon racist and sexist harassment and discrimination as prominent types of discrimination based on stereotypes and prejudice. The insights can however be extended to further, intersectional types of discrimination as well.

Overall, research engaging with prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination differentiates these concepts in the following: “(a) prejudice, an attitude reflecting an overall evaluation of a group; (b) stereotypes, associations, and attributions of specific characteristics to a group; and (c) discrimination, biased behavior toward, and treatment of, a group or its members” (J. F. Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010, p. 3). Historically, such attitudes, associations, and behavior were investigated as consciously produced on an individual level. Over the last decades, however, there has been increasing interest, on the one hand, in unconscious and implicit processes in the working of prejudices and stereotypes and, on the other hand, in the role of social structures in creating, justifying, and sustaining biases that encourage and enable prejudice- and stereotype-based discrimination. As Dovidio et al. (2010) describe it, the broadening of discrimination research has resulted in a simultaneous ‘drilling down’ (into the mind and brain) and ‘expanding upwards’ (into social structures).

In more detail, it can be argued that scholarship on prejudice and stereotypes developed in three waves, each delineated by particular assumptions and dominant paradigms (J. F. Dovidio, 2001; Duckitt, 1992). The first wave, lasting between the 1920s and 1950s, understood social biases, including prejudices and stereotypes, as psychopathology, that is as abnormal and to be treated. The underlying idea was that “prejudice might be localized and removed or treated, containing the problem and preserving the health of society as a whole” (J. F. Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010, p. 13) wherefore prime effort was put into measuring the problem on an individual level and trying to understand its sources, found for instance in family relations or personal problems.

The second wave, taking place roughly from the early 1960s until mid-1990, started with the opposite assumption that prejudices are fundamentally rooted in normal behavior and processes. Significantly, research focused on the role of socialization into dominant norms and the role of such norms in reproducing biases. It was argued that biased behavior based on stereotypes and prejudices is inevitable as it serves the essential cognitive need of categorizing and thereby simplifying the overwhelming complexity of information encountered in daily life. Yet, it was also maintained that interventions could tackle prejudice and stereotypes if set up on a structural level of norms rather than on an individual one. Either way, as Dovidio et al. (2010, p. 13) formulate it, “these orientations helped to divert the focus away from the question, ‘Who is prejudiced?’ – the

answer seemed to be ‘everyone.’” This shift in focus also allowed critical questioning of prior results of self-reported attitudes which suggested that the vast majority of people in Western countries were non-prejudiced by contesting that being well-intended, that is, self-reportedly non-prejudiced, does not automatically translate into non-prejudiced behavior as such acts are structurally implicated.

The third wave, beginning in the mid-1990s, brought back together individual-level investigations and research into social structures by implementing the above-outlined simultaneous move of drilling down and expanding upwards. New conceptual perspectives enabled by technologies in the field of social psychology (cf. J. F. Dovidio & Fazio, 1992; Greenwald et al., 1998) enabled researchers to measure implicit and unconscious attitudes and beliefs, allowing for an empirical foundation of what had been hypothesized earlier. It was possible to measure implicit biases so that further research could be conducted that differentiated between conscious prejudice and biases exhibited by individuals (more closely related to the research conducted during the first wave) and prejudices and stereotypes that were anchored in social structures and reproduced unconsciously (linking to the second wave). A variety of sub-fields developed, for instance researching how people targeted by stereotypes respond and adapt (C. T. Miller & Myers, 1998), or how prejudice unfolds in interaction (J. D. Johnson et al., 2000).

To understand the significance of these developments as well as the relevance of the concepts of prejudice and stereotypes in relation to my understanding of discrimination, I engage with each concept in turn before suggesting how they relate to discrimination. *Prejudice*, understood as an attitude towards a particular target group, is typically conceptualized to consist of three components, namely cognitive (that is, beliefs about a particular group), affective (such as dislike, disgust, anxiety), and conative (that is, a behavioral predisposition to behave negatively towards that group) (J. F. Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010). In the Danish context, one example would be a white Danish woman who is prejudiced towards Muslim men with this prejudice being made up, for instance, of the belief that Muslim men are aggressive (cognitive), a dislike of Muslim men (affective) and a predisposition to behave negatively towards them (conative), for example treating her Muslim male Danish neighbor disrespectfully. Recent scholarship, as has been highlighted, combines individual-level understandings of prejudice with a structural-level

understanding of the role of norms. Such bridging between psychological and sociological perspectives allows emphasizing that beyond the individual prejudiced behavior, prejudices work as mechanisms that sustain a particular status quo, including role differences between groups. The disrespectful behavior by the white Danish woman towards her Muslim Danish male neighbor for instance maintains a power relation between white and non-white Danes. At the same time, another example might be how sexist prejudice against women – such as the belief that women are better caretakers but worse leaders than men (cognitive), a dislike of women who actively invest in their professional careers (affective), and disregarding a woman candidate for a leadership position (conative) – might reproduce gendered power structures and role differences.

The latter example highlights another important aspect of how prejudices work through an interplay of structural and individual-level factors. As the affective reaction in the sexism example shows, prejudices evoke negative reactions for those who deviate from expected roles, such as women who focus on their careers, while those who follow prejudiced expectations might be rewarded with positive reactions as can be identified in cases of benevolent sexism celebrating women as natural caring mothers (cf. Glick et al., 2004; Glick & Rudman, 2010). Individual behavior is thus part of how prejudice becomes a mechanism that reproduces societal power structures, as such behavior rewards and punishes people depending on their alignment with or transgression of role differences that are tied to prejudices. In sum, prejudice can be defined as “an individual-level attitude (whether subjectively positive or negative) towards groups and their members that creates or maintains hierarchical status relations between groups” (J. F. Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010, p. 5).

While research on prejudice is interested in attitudes, studies on stereotypes complement this by focusing on how attributes are assigned to social groups – towards which negative or positive attitudes can then be held. The term *stereotype* was first introduced by Lippmann in 1922, referring to specific pictures that come to mind when thinking about different social groups. Lippmann (1922), like most researchers at the time of the above-described first wave, understood stereotyping as a faulty, individual process. Later, this understanding was overcome by research that conceptualizes stereotypes as cognitive schemas that are used by individuals to process

information about others (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996). Such cognitive schemata are not individually but rather socially anchored. In this regard, the understanding of stereotypes is similar to that of prejudice, yet while the latter focuses on attitudes, the prior emphasizes group associations. Stereotypes work by implying a substantial amount of information about people that go far beyond what can immediately be determined on the apparent surface (J. F. Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010). This information is perceived not only as descriptive but also holds prescriptive value, that is, it generates expectations towards members of the relevant group regarding their anticipated behavior.

The prescriptive elements of stereotypes are created and reproduced both cognitively and socially (J. F. Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010). Cognitively people tend to disregard the existence of stereotypes and instead find situational factors upon which they can attribute their assessment of a particular group and a group member's behavior. In other words, they rationalize their stereotypical attribution which hides the stereotypes and reproduces them unnoticed. Socially, language plays a decisive role in reproducing stereotypes. Due to the distinctiveness of stereotypes to a particular group, people are more likely to draw upon such stereotypical descriptions when speaking of that group. This high communicability of stereotypes contributes to their persistent and continuous existence (Schaller et al., 2002). Such stereotypical language is used not only in interpersonal conversation but importantly also in media discourse, which thereby has an important influence on the transmission of stereotypical attributions.

This descriptive function is strengthened as stereotypes “produce a readiness to perceive behaviors or characteristics that are consistent with the stereotype. At the earliest stages of perceptual processing, stereotype-consistent characteristics are attended to most quickly” (J. F. Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010, p. 5). That is, if a group member behaves according to stereotypical expectations, this behavior will be noticed more quickly than behavior that deviates from the stereotypically expected which in turn – through this confirmation bias – solidifies the existent stereotypes and related expectations (cf. Payne, 2001).

Next to confirmation bias, a vicious circle leads to the continuous reproduction of stereotypes; in other words, stereotypes are further strengthened through the effects of stereotypes. To provide an example, stereotypes about the intelligence of Black people can lead to discriminatory behavior

towards Black children in schools, Black youth in universities, and Black adults in job situations. These experiences of discrimination create a disparity between the educational level of Black and white people. This disparity in turn is taken as an indicator confirming the existent stereotype that Black people are less intelligent than white people. Similarly, people perceive members of groups with lower socioeconomic status (even if this positioning is caused by discrimination) as less competent and less motivated than high-status group members (J. F. Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010; Eagly & Diekmann, 2005; Hoffman & Hurst, 1990; Jost & Banaji, 1994). Research has also investigated how people react to and cope with experiences of being stereotyped. Two aspects are to be highlighted. First, studies found that people tend to adopt structurally anchored stereotypical thinking, even if this is directed against themselves and disadvantages people from their own social group (Jost et al., 2004). Minoritized people for instance draw upon stereotypical conceptions to rationalize their own disadvantaged position.

Second, there have been investigations into the concept of 'stereotype threat'. As Dovidio et al. (2010, p. 6) describe, stereotype threat "occurs when members of a stereotyped group become aware of negative stereotypes about them, even when (a) a person holding the stereotype is not present and (b) they personally do not endorse the stereotype." Stereotype threat then, for instance, leads to lower performance by those who are threatened by stereotypical association, or rather "at risk of confirming, as self-characteristic, a negative stereotype about one's group" (Steele & Aronson, 1995, p. 797). Research abounds on the psychological reasons for these effects yet no studies so far provide sufficient results to fully explain the mechanism (see D. M. Quinn et al., 2010 for an overview). Most likely, stereotype threat leads to heightened levels of anxiety which prevent good performance.

Overall, following Dovidio et al. (2010, p. 6) it can be summarized that "stereotypes represent a set of qualities perceived to reflect the essence of a group. Stereotypes systematically affect how people perceive, process information about, and respond to, group members. They are transmitted through socialization, the media, and language and discourse. [...S]tereotypes [are defined as] associations and beliefs about the characteristics and attributes of a group and its members that shape how people think about and respond to the group."

Taken together, prejudice influences attitudes while stereotypes relate to group attributes. In their combination, they foster discrimination which is the unfair and disadvantageous treatment of and behavior towards individuals due to their belonging to a social group. More precisely, stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination can be understood as interlinked such that discrimination works through a three-stepped process of group categorization (that is, stereotypes), devaluation (that is, prejudice), and exclusion (that is, discriminatory behavior) (El-Mafaalani, 2021). Based on differentiation of in-group and out-group members, discrimination involves both negative behavior towards out-group members and overly positive treatment of in-group members. Discrimination is thus understood as biased behavior that is both directly (that is, negative actions that harm another group) and indirectly (that is, unfair favoring of one's own group) disadvantageous.

Importantly, research differentiates between explicit and implicit reproduction of prejudices and stereotypes, both of which can lead to discriminatory behavior. The differentiation highlights that people may be more or less aware, or conscious, of the prejudices and stereotypes they reproduce, and relatedly their discriminatory behavior. Taking the example of racism, contemporary approaches to racism acknowledge the existence of open and intentional forms of racism, which can be said to result from explicit individual beliefs about the inferiority of racialized people. Yet, increasingly focus is put on implicit forms of racism which are found to permeate Western societies differently than explicit racism. These implicit forms of racism operate more subtly, and often outside of the individuals' awareness, who might even exhibit ambivalence between racist biases and personal standards as well as social norms that disregard such biases (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; J. F. Dovidio, Gaertner, et al., 2010). Prejudices and stereotypes that are structurally anchored can thus be reproduced implicitly, without direct awareness or intent, of the involved person. Nonetheless, these implicit reproductions of prejudices and stereotypes lead to discrimination.

One example hereof is the phenomenon of institutional discrimination, which "refers to the existence of institutional policies [...] that unfairly restrict the opportunities of particular groups of people", without requiring explicit individual support of such discrimination as it suffices that individuals unquestioningly accept such policies, as they 'seem normal' (J. F. Dovidio, Gaertner, et

al., 2010, p. 313). Institutional discrimination is thus linked to individual action but functions outside explicit individual awareness. Institutional racism, for example, describes the toleration or support of institutional practices, processes, policies, and laws that unfairly restrict the opportunities of people racialized as non-white (J. F. Dovidio, Gaertner, et al., 2010; Feagin, 2006). Such institutional racism might develop out of intentional individual biases, for instance against immigrant groups, or from implicit motivations to support one's own group. However, once set in place – in processes, policies, and laws – institutional racism does not require the active and conscious support of individuals or even their awareness of the existent discrimination. “[I]nstitutional racism becomes ‘ritualized’ in ways that minimize the effort and energy individuals and groups need to expend to support it” (J. F. Dovidio, Gaertner, et al., 2010, p. 313), wherefore institutional discrimination works until it is actively stopped.

In sum, discrimination can be defined as both individual behavior and institutional practices that create, sustain, and reproduce advantage for some groups over other groups, where the individual behavior can take place both explicitly and implicitly and can be structurally encouraged and supported. Discrimination is thus a concept that is anchored both on an interactional-individual as well as an institutional-structural level.

2.3.2 Discrimination in the everyday

Upholding that discrimination is anchored *both* interactional-individually *and* institutional-structurally, a recurring challenge in research has been to conceptualize and analyze discriminatory and harassing behavior without a bias to either level or a divergence between for instance individual forms of harassment versus institutional forms of discrimination. Instead, theoretical concepts are needed that allow pinpointing and highlighting the co-workings of institutional-structural and interactional-individual level factors in reproducing harassment and discrimination. Philomena Essed's (1990, 1991) concept of 'everyday racism' provides an important advancement towards understanding the entanglement of the institutional-structural and the interactional-individual level in conceptualizing discrimination. While Essed developed the concept specifically for racism and racist discrimination, I suggest that it holds relevant

insights for conceptualizing discrimination as such, including but not limited to racist discrimination.

Essed (1990, 1991) mobilizes the term ‘everyday’ to bring together structural and interactional aspects of racist discrimination and to create a clear link between institutional and individual racism. Arguing that “[t]he distinction between institutional and individual racism is misleading and insufficient to explain the (re)production of racist inequality in society” (Essed, 1991, p. 286), she suggests that conceptualizations of racism – and as I extend other types of discrimination – need to “link details of micro experiences to the structural and ideological context in which they are shaped” (Essed, 1991, p. 286). The concept of discrimination in the everyday transcends a separation between the interactional-individual and institutional-structural by conceptualizing the everyday as always encompassing an individual-structural interplay. That is, discrimination in the everyday is more than just a collection of unrelated acts, instead, Essed (2000, p. 189) argues that the everyday consists of ‘situational activations’ of power relations in interactional practices that reinforce inequalities on a structural level. The everyday thus always encompasses an interplay of the interactional-individual and institutional-structural, that unfolds in such ‘situational activations.’

Creating this link between individual experience and institutional structures allows understanding the detrimental effect even seemingly ‘small’ instances of harassment and discrimination can have. Essed (1991) argues that these experiences are not less significant, especially as they happen far more often than overt forms of discrimination. Moreover, the constant experience of micro-aggressions triggers prior experiences, so that “[n]ew experiences of racism activate memories of previous experiences of racism and influence one’s expectations about the future” (Essed, 1991, p. 287). Through this mechanism of an experience of discrimination activating memories of prior experiences and influencing future expectations, discrimination becomes inscribed as a constant threat. Put differently, discrimination – at least the threat thereof – becomes a presence rather than singular acts; a presence that influences which ways of being and acting are viable as well as which spaces are accessible for those being discriminated against. Living under such constant threat of being discriminated against might for instance lead to preventively withdrawing from certain spaces or situations.

As a presence in the everyday, discriminatory behavior moreover becomes difficult to address. You learn to expect discriminatory behavior and constantly try to prevent it from happening; you blame yourself if you experience it despite your preventions – “if something happens, you have failed to prevent it” (Ahmed, 2017, p. 24) – which leads to a dangerous entanglement of self-blame with a need for speaking up. As always-already (potentially) existent in any situation, discrimination often remains unquestioned and unopposed. Thereby the everyday-ness of discrimination can easily make discriminatory and harassing behavior seem part of ‘normal’ conduct, normalizing it in interactional practices and thereby reinforcing it on an institutional-structural level.

2.3.3 Discrimination and entitlement

The notion of discrimination in the everyday highlights the difficulty of recognizing discriminatory and harassing behavior that passes as a normal part of the everyday despite the ‘situational activation’ of power relations that reproduce inequalities in such interactions. This might assume that neither the harassed person nor the perpetrator is necessarily aware of engaging in discriminatory or harassing behavior and reproducing institutional-structural inequalities in their interaction. There are, however, situations in which people seem to act in harassing and discriminatory ways in full awareness – or at least when made aware of their behavior being discriminatory, they nonetheless insist on their right to act as they please. A second concept developed by Philomena Essed is helpful to grasp this slightly different form of discrimination, which she defines as based on entitlement.

Specifically, Essed (2020, p. 443) defines entitlement racism as “the insistence on the right to use any discourse and images as freedom of expression, also when racially offensive.” It connects an individualistic idea of freedom of speech with the presumption of being entitled to enact this freedom without regard for any consequences this might have for other people. The speaker presumes to deserve priority over others and (more) space for their expressions, that is, have “a license to openly claim this [racist statement ... so that] racist discourse, presented as freedom of expression, gets to be licensed in spite of the universal right to live free from discrimination”

(Essed, 2020, p. 443). Importantly, the concept of entitlement racism does not critique the conception of freedom of speech as a right per se. Rather, it warns against individualistic interpretations of this right that deny any responsibility towards others. As Essed argues in an interview, “people seem to feel that they have the right to offend – that the freedom of expression is interpreted not as a freedom to be used for the common good, to be used in a way that does not humiliate others, but as a license to offend” (Muhr & Essed, 2018, p. 188). When the right of freedom of expression becomes ‘a license to offend’, it disregards the need to use existent rights responsibly and under consideration of the related rights of affected others; it becomes “reckless [to] claim the right here and now that you can say anything you want. Such absolute individualism borders on narcissism and desensitizes to the needs of others” (Muhr & Essed, 2018, p. 191). It reveals a lack of care and respect for the feelings, needs, and rights of others involved.

The concept reveals two important insights as to how racist, sexist, and other related types of discrimination and harassment occur differently from what I have discussed as everyday discrimination. First, a move from everyday to entitlement shows how discriminatory and harassing utterings and acts move from rather subtle and concealed to open, blunt forms of discrimination. While everyday discrimination does not have to be implicit, it commonly tends to be so (Muhr & Essed, 2018) which leads to difficulties in recognizing such acts as racist, sexist, or otherwise discriminatory. Discrimination based on entitlement is openly discernible. Its danger lies in the consequence that despite its bluntness it becomes legitimate and acceptable (Muhr & Essed, 2018). Second, and relatedly, the common conception of the perpetrator in acts of everyday discrimination is a person who is not necessarily aware of the effect of their acts, they might not recognize their own behavior as discriminatory. With discrimination based on entitlement, however, the perpetrator is well aware that their act is discriminatory or harassing, yet they claim the right to act in discriminatory and harassing ways despite being aware of it. As Essed (2020, p. 444) argues, with easy access to a plethora of (online) media, no one can claim not to know when discourses are discriminatory and, for instance, racially humiliating, yet “against the background of the celebration of the neo-liberal individualism [...] anything ‘me-me-me’ wants to say ‘should be possible.’” Hence, people feel entitled to ignore the affected person’s claims. As Essed explains:

“Opposite everyday racism and sexism, these examples [of entitlement racism and sexism] are out in the open, without any effort to disguise them, and are used in a way where the offender often claims a right to be able to behave in this way” (Muhr & Essed, 2018, p. 184).

It is important to highlight, that entitlement in this conception is a classed, racist, and gendered concept. Those who feel entitled, are primarily middle-class white men (and to some extent middle-class white women) who based on their structural positioning are equipped with and used to a sense of entitlement. While lower class individuals might, due to a lack of financial or social resources, be well aware of the inability to simply claim what they believe they deserve, people from the middle class are less used to such restraints. Similarly, men more than women are brought up with an acceptance of their needs and wants. It is conceptualized as ‘manly’ to be assertive and even aggressively take what one has a right to. Finally, racist structures have historically and socio-politically positioned white people as the original bearers of (human) rights while Black people were structurally excluded from such claims. As formulated pointedly by Essed (2020, p. 447, italics in original), “[a]gitated, annoyed, irritated or otherwise negatively emotionally impacted, he somehow feels authorized to express these feelings. This kind of empowerment is grounded in the lived experience of entitlement in a societal system that attached premium worthiness to masculine *whiteness* and white (American, middle-classed, able-bodied, heterosexual) *masculinity*.”

Being anchored within entitlement, discrimination then also serves the purpose of upholding the privileges that grant such entitlement. To do so, entitlement discrimination relies on implicit dehumanization which allows defining some groups as less worthy, and thus less deserving of a dignified life and dignified treatment. The humiliation of people in this group is thereby legitimized which in turn upholds privileges and related entitlements. To understand this mutually reinforcing working of entitlement and discrimination, it is worthwhile to unfold the relations between entitlement, dehumanization, dignity, and humiliation.

In the broadest sense, dehumanization describes the perception and/or treatment of a person or group as less than human. Explicit dehumanization has commonly been studied in conflict and war settings in which dehumanization is used to legitimize aggressive behavior against the enemy which would otherwise be hindered by moral constraints (Haslam et al., 2010). The enemy is

described as lacking what is defined as important human attributes, such as intelligence or rationality, and based on this lack defined as subhuman. European colonialism including the transatlantic slave trade was based upon the most blatant and overt form of dehumanization in which Black people were explicitly described as only three-fifth human (Essed, 2020). Other forms of dehumanization involve the comparison of groups of people to animals, for example, calling Jews rats and people of African descent monkeys (Essed, 2020) revealing an underlying degradation of animals below humans or the description of immigrant groups as viruses or germs (Haslam et al., 2010).

Importantly, dehumanization can occur more implicitly as well. First, it can be revealed in dehumanizing treatment which “harshly violate[s] moral principles about how human beings should be treated [...] even if the maltreated person is not explicitly perceived as lacking humanity or as being nonhuman by the perpetrator” (Haslam et al., 2010, p. 189). An example hereof may be the treatment of refugees at the borders of the European Union (EU). While the EU member states and their political representatives would not openly express that refugees are seen as less worthy human beings the treatment of people who are deliberately left to die on boats in the Mediterranean Sea and in over-crowded refugee camps clearly reveals dehumanizing treatment.

Both in its explicit and implicit forms, dehumanization serves the purpose of creating an ‘us-vs.-them’ dichotomy that creates such groups based on ascribed normative and idealized values, traits, and attributes. The others’ being, their mere existence, as well as their way of being is deemed less than human. It ensures the domination of ‘us’ over ‘them’ by naturalizing and thereby legitimizing such domination and the concomitant repressive, and otherwise considered immoral, treatment of people who are deemed less worthy human beings. Dehumanization thus serves as a form of moral disengagement (Bandura, 2002; Opatow, 1990) that allows to “place the others outside of the boundary within which normal rules of morality and fairness apply” (Haslam et al., 2010, p. 189). Being placed outside moral engagement allows acting against the dehumanized group without feelings of shame, remorse, or guilt which would otherwise accompany such immoral behavior. The lack of such moral emotions, in turn, makes continuous dehumanizing behavior possible and likely as shame and guilt would usually work to inhibit

aggression. In sum, dehumanization “may include affirmation of a group's superiority, enablement of violent behavior, justification of past aggression, or blocking of unpleasant feelings” (Haslam et al., 2010, p. 190).

Essed (2020) combines the concept of dehumanization with those of humiliation and dignity to argue that humiliation serves to uphold systems of oppression which, implicitly or explicitly, define some ‘others’ as less than human, that is, less deserving of a dignified life. She uses a negative account of dignity to explain “how it is being violated in terms of physical, social, economic and cultural humiliations and forms of dehumanization” (Essed, 2020, p. 449). Such a negative conception of dignity highlights how systems of domination are built to guarantee dignity for some while denying it to others who are thereby denied equal human worth. Essed (2020, p. 449) further suggests the concept of ‘dignity hurt’ to emphasize “the subjectivity of social, cultural or ethnic-racial pain involved” in being denied one’s dignity (see also Essed, 2009).

Racist and sexist humiliations in form of entitlement discrimination thus serve the purpose of upholding existent regimes of power and systems of domination that define some groups as less deserving of human worth. Simultaneously, the conception of these groups of people as less deserving of a dignified life and dignified treatment allows entitlement discrimination to continue as it legitimizes the humiliation of those who are deemed less worthy. If a group is defined as less worthy, less human, it easily becomes legitimate to not care about their feelings, needs, and rights. It reveals a dangerous vicious circle that allows the continuous reproduction of racist, sexist, and other types of discrimination.

2.3.4 An intersectional approach to sexism and racism

In my research, I focus on *sexist* and *racist* harassment and discrimination. As I am primarily interested in the processes of sexist and racist harassment and discrimination and how these are reproduced, it is not of core interest to this study to redefine or reconceptualize what sexism and racism are. Nonetheless, I deem it important to outline how I understand sexism and racism, and how I conceptualize them as intersecting forms of oppression. Audre Lorde (Lorde, 1984, p. 45) defines sexism and racism as follows: “Racism: The belief in the inherent superiority of one race

over all others and thereby the right to dominance. Sexism: The belief in the inherent superiority of one sex and thereby the right to dominance.” Important in this definition is that both sexism and racism are forms of oppression that aim to create a hierarchy between those who are superior and dominant, and those who are inferior and oppressed. Essed (2020, p. 448, highlights in original) provides a similar definition of racism and foregrounds that the groups that are positioned as superior and inferior are ‘identified as different’:

“Racism is about the creation of **hierarchies of worthiness** attached to groups of people identified as different in terms of (attributed) racial, or cultural (ethnic) factors. It is a historically anchored ideology, structure and process, where one racial or ethnic group privileges its members on the basis of attributed preferred values and characteristic, in order to legitimate the disadvantaging of other groups. These values and characteristics are used to assess the worthiness of **human beings** and **ways of being** in terms of related degrees of entitlement to ‘be’, to be validated, and to develop.”

Racial differences thus do not exist per se but are created, for instance, based on factors of culture and ethnicity, to privilege one group and disadvantage another. I draw upon these understandings of racism and sexism as forms of oppression, acknowledging that racism and sexism can then be expressed in a variety of ways, for instance through normalized everyday racist and sexist harassment and discrimination or racist and sexist harassment and discrimination based on entitlement.

I further adopt a perspective that understands sexism and racism as overlapping rather than independent and separate forms of oppression. This means that there is, for example, not one universal form of gendered oppression. Sexist domination works differently depending on whether the person is ‘identified as different’ and inferior also based on race or ethnicity, sexuality, class, or other categories that are employed to create and uphold power hierarchies. This perspective is commonly referred to as *intersectionality*. The term intersectionality was coined by the lawyer and scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989. In a paper titled ‘Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics’, Crenshaw (1989) argued that considering the

experiences of women separately and independently of the experiences of Black people missed to acknowledge the particular experiences of Black women. Importantly, she claimed that being Black and being a woman could not simply be ‘added’ upon one another. Instead, the experiences of marginalization based on gender and race frequently reinforce each other, calling for an explicit analysis and acknowledgment of their intersection. While one of Crenshaw’s main aims was to challenge how the justice system responded to cases of gender and race discrimination – with her groundbreaking work making it possible in the US to make a legal discrimination claim based on the intersection of gender and race rather than one or the other –, her work has been picked up, used, and developed further wide beyond the sphere of jurisprudence.

One example is the concept of ‘misogynoir’ coined by queer Black feminist Moya Bailey. It describes misogyny directed towards Black women based on both race and gender (Bailey, 2021; Bailey & Trudy, 2018). While one could arguably use the expression anti-Black sexism to describe the same phenomenon, giving this particular form of oppression a name helps to acknowledge its existence on a structural level (cf. Ahmed, 2015). Further, it provides a good example of an intersectional analysis that goes beyond simply listing simultaneous marginalizations (anti-Black + sexism) but makes it possible to explicitly point to the existence of a particular experience of oppression that is based on being marginalized as a Black woman in a structurally racist and sexist environment. Notably, the concept of intersectionality is not aimed at simply delineating particular individual identity categories but puts focus on analyzing the overlap of forms of oppression on a structural level to then be able to make claims as to what effects these have on particular groups of individuals.

While the term Crenshaw coined is certainly most widely used today, she was neither the only nor the first scholar to work on conceptions of overlapping and intersecting forms of oppression. Ideas of intersectionality, despite not being called this, are prominently present in the writing of Black feminist scholars (whom Crenshaw openly took inspiration from) before 1989. In 1978 the Combahee River Collective, a group of Black feminist scholars and activists, published ‘A Black Feminist Statement’ (Combahee River Collective, 2014, p. 271) which was one of the first texts explicitly formulating a need for “the development of integrated analysis and practices based upon the facts that the major systems of oppression are interlocking.” As Beverly Smith, one of

the authors of the Collective's statement recalled: "[W]e really worked and struggled to develop a political analysis that took into account the multifaceted aspects of our identities and our conditions" (Smith interviewed in K.-Y. Taylor, 2017, p. 101). The Collective (2014, p. 274) explicitly refers to gendered, racialized, heteronormative as well as classed systems of oppression that "in our lives [...] are most often experienced simultaneously."

The intersections between gender, race, and class have been common topics in Black feminist scholarship. Angela Davis (1983, p. 122) describes the "coupling of sexism and racism" as "mutually strengthening". Audre Lorde (1984, p. 45), in her description of racism, sexism, and heterosexism, shows clearly how all three of them are based on the same "belief of inherent superiority" of one group over the other, as well as a consequent belief in a "right to dominance". Lorde (1984, p. 116) further reminds us that even those of us who are marginalized to some extent might be ignorant of our own privileges: "Those of us who stand outside that power often identify one way in which we are different, and we assume that to be the primary cause of all oppression, forgetting other distortions around differences, some of which we ourselves may be practicing." Her reminder speaks to the need to acknowledge that one marginalization cannot be measured against another with one being worse or better, and one form of marginalization does not simply eradicate other privileges a person might nonetheless hold. The difficulty of understanding the notion of intersectionality lies in resisting intersectional practice as a simple listing of categories of privilege and marginalization for an individual person. Instead, working from an intersectional perspective means questioning and visualizing the structural entanglement of identity categories as they play out differently on different bodies in different situations. As Oda-Kange Midtvåge Diallo (2019, p. 223) puts it: "[I]ntersectional identities are not static and impact on us differently in different environments. Any discussion about the pervasiveness of race, class and gender should also include the fluidity that accompanies it" (see also Abdellatif, 2021).

Intersectionality might thus be better described as an analytical tool than a theory which raises questions as to how intersectionality may be employed in research. As Essed (2020, p. 445) formulates it: "As a notion, concept, activist tools, analytical frame, policy instrument and more, intersectionality has gained popularity and, arguably, societal acceptance, beyond expectations.

Theory is one thing, but how intersectional analysis can work in everyday life is a domain still under-researched in the area of race critical studies” (see also Essed & Goldberg, 2002; Solomos & Collins, 2010). This, she argues further, is partly due to “the unresolved conceptual tension underlying the very idea of multiple, but still separate, factors as intersectional occurrence” (Essed, 2020, p. 445) and “the tension between the fact that any experience is uniquely received in the context of a unique constellation of life experience (this particular event, that particular location, these specific actors involved) but also shared, because at a higher level of abstraction an event like this (white male verbal aggression against female of color) fits a standard scenario of gendered everyday racism” (Essed, 2020, p. 446). An intersectional perspective stresses the intricacy of interlinking oppressions *and* a simultaneous need for understanding how these intersecting oppressions are organized and incorporated into a socio-political and socio-historical context (Carrim & Nkomo, 2016; Holvino, 2010; Liu, 2018; Rodriguez & Scurry, 2019). For my study, it demands being attentive to *how* intersectionality comes to matter in the context of this study rather than simply assuming that it does.

2.4 Feminist Organization Studies

I have in the previous parts outlined how I understand organization, how I theorize the interplay of organizational structure, processes, and practices and individual interaction through Butler’s theory of performativity and the related understanding of norms and norm critique, and how I conceptualize subjects as inherently vulnerable and autonomous. I have further discussed several theoretical perspectives that help me understand discrimination and harassment. These theories provide the theoretical inspiration I draw upon to engage with my empirical research and thus help me answer the research questions I posed. These research questions are relevant to the field of feminist organization studies which is the field I aim to contribute to with my research. In this field, scholars have explicitly engaged with workplace harassment and discrimination in organizations, establishing what is known about the occurrence, effects, and reproduction of harassment and discrimination. This knowledge is important to position my study. In the following, I outline the theoretical and empirical insights on workplace harassment and discrimination that have been established in and around the field of feminist organization studies.

Moreover, I use this overview to show how my study is relevant within the field, that is, what it aims to contribute to feminist organization studies. I begin with a brief historical overview of how this area of research has been established and developed from the late 1970s until today before turning towards the two main streams of contemporary research on workplace harassment and discrimination: first, a stream of research focused on investigating the *occurrence* and *effects* of harassment and discrimination; second, scholarship focused on understanding the *reproduction* of harassment and discrimination in organizational settings (a similar overview in a much shorter form has been presented in Guschke et al., 2019; Guschke, Just, et al., 2022; and Guschke & Sløk-Andersen, 2022).

2.4.1 Investigating harassment and discrimination within feminist organization studies

When research on harassment advanced in the late 1970s, academic discussions on *sexual* harassment were primarily approached from a gendered perspective, while *racial* discrimination was investigated within the field of (anti-)racism research. In organization studies, a more dominant focus lay on gender-based harassment and discrimination. Nonetheless, intersectional perspectives were present in some of the research at least after Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term intersectionality in 1989. Discussions under the label of ‘sexual harassment’ started in the late 1970s, the first conceptualizations of this phenomenon typically being ascribed to Till’s (1980) empirical categorization and Fitzgerald et al.’s (1988) Sexual Experience Questionnaire, as well as Crenshaw’s (1989) intersectional perspective. The scholarship on sexual harassment in the 1980s accompanied discussions of legal frameworks to make sexual harassment a punishable act (Crenshaw, 1989; MacKinnon, 1979).

Till (1980) is generally recognized as developing one of the first conceptualizations of what ‘sexual harassment’, as an umbrella term, consists of, namely gender harassment, seductive behavior, sexual bribery, sexual coercion, and sexual imposition or assault. He developed the five categories based on the self-described experiences of a sample of US female college students. Based on Till’s categories, Fitzgerald et al. (1988) developed a self-report inventory framework composed of three related but conceptually distinct dimensions to strengthen the conceptual work

initiated by Till. Fitzgerald et al.'s (1988) so-called Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ) is until today the most referred to conceptual framework for sexual harassment. It describes sexual harassment as consisting of sexual coercion, such as using sexual cooperation in return for job-related benefits; unwanted sexual attention, describing unwelcome and offensive verbal and nonverbal behavior of a sexual nature; and gender harassment, subsuming verbal or nonverbal behaviors that convey hostile and/or condescending attitudes towards women. Despite critique concerning the clarity and reliability of this categorization of sexual harassment (Gutek et al., 2004) and none withstanding the development of some alternative typologies (Gruber, 1992), the SEQ is still the most recognized and used self-report inventory framework to assess sexual harassment.

Of particular importance for consecutive studies was the separation of sexual and gender harassment. As Leskinen et al. (2011) have noted, this allows acknowledging and analyzing how gender-based harassment might be devoid of sexual interest, meaning motives of harassment are embedded in historical and structural gender hierarchies. Beyond this separation, research has differentiated between the two most common types of sexual harassment at work, namely 'quid pro quo' and 'hostile environment' sexual harassment. 'Quid pro quo' relates to the pressure to accept sexual activity in exchange for benefit (e.g., promotions, salary increases, etc.) while 'hostile work environments' occur when the offender creates an intimidating atmosphere for the victim, which can negatively influence the working environment for this individual (P. A. Johnson et al., 2018). Commonly, studies following these conceptualizations further differentiate between forms of verbal sexual harassment (entailing inappropriate comments, jokes, or questions) and physical sexual harassment (describing any form of unwelcome touching, including hugging or kissing) (McDonald, 2012; Swedish Research Council, 2018). Some studies also refer to non-verbal sexual harassment, such as inappropriate staring, and more recently forms of online violence such as digital sexual harassment (FRA - European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015; Humbert, 2022; Lipinsky et al., 2022). While some literature discusses sexual harassment, sexual assault, and sexual violence on a spectrum of violent gendered and sexualized behavior (McDonald, 2012), for this study I treat sexual assault and violence, including rape, as separate categories from harassment and will not explicitly address them.

2.4.2 The occurrence and effects of harassment and discrimination

Analyzing the academic debates that unfolded since the initial studies in the 1970s, two prominent streams of research in the field of harassment and discrimination are identifiable: first, a stream of research focused on investigating the occurrence of harassment in different settings (ESTHE, 2016; FRA - European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015; Humbert, 2022; Lipinsky et al., 2022; Loy & Steward, 1984; Murrell, 1996) and its multiple, detrimental effects on individuals and organizations (Cortina & Berdahl, 2008; McLaughlin et al., 2017; Nordic Council of Ministers, 2020; Sojo et al., 2016; Willness et al., 2007); second, scholarship focused on understanding the reproduction of harassment and discrimination in organizational settings.

The SEQ and similar questionnaires built the bases for a variety of such studies over the last decades with the primary research interest to assess the occurrence of sexual harassment in different settings (ESTHE, 2016; L. F. Fitzgerald et al., 1988, 1995; FRA - European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015; Larssen et al., 2003; Latcheva, 2017; Reilly et al., 2016). While each study reports differently nuanced results, all of them show that sexual and gendered harassment and discrimination are prevalent in a variety of organizational settings and workplaces. In 2015, an EU study, that included 42,000 women from all 28 EU member states, found that 55% of women had experienced sexual harassment, of which over a third occurred in their workplace (FRA - European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015; Latcheva, 2017). The survey-based study was conducted in 2014 by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. As part of it, women were asked about the varying degrees of sexual harassment they have experienced since the age of 15. Eleven different forms of sexual harassment were asked, ranging from different physical (i.e., unwanted touching, hugging, kissing), verbal (i.e., sexually suggestive comments or jokes), and non-verbal (i.e., cyber harassment) acts. Based on the different forms of sexual harassment investigated, it was found that 45% (strict delineation) – 55% (wide delineation) of women had experienced at least some form of sexual harassment. Of the respondents who experienced sexual harassment, approximately one-third noted that such acts occurred in the workplace (FRA - European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015). In the context of Denmark, 83% of respondents experienced sexual harassment at least once since the age of 15 and 80% in

the last 12 months, making Denmark third overall and second within the last 12 months with the highest occurrence of sexual harassment in the EU-28 countries. It has, however, been argued that sexual harassment might be being reported at a higher frequency by Danish participants due to higher gender equality standards in the country that lead women in Denmark to recognize and name their experiences more clearly as sexual harassment than might be the case in other EU countries (Latcheva, 2017). A currently ongoing EU-funded research project called UniSAFE that investigates gender-based violence in the context of science and research reports similar preliminary results. Based on a large-scale survey with 42,000 participants across 46 higher education institutions (57% students and 43% employees), the researchers show that 74% of university employees experience 'any form of gender-based violence' and 36% report experiencing 'sexual harassment' in their workplace (Humbert, 2022; Lipinsky et al., 2022).

Notably, there is not a similarly detailed framework to assess racist harassment and discrimination and the SEQ does not take racialized aspects of gendered or sexual harassment into account. In general, there is a lack of studies investigating how sexual harassment and gendered discrimination are interrelated with other types of harassment and discrimination (Lopez et al., 2009; McDonald, 2012).⁴ However, research shows that particular groups of people, such as poor Black women, are more likely to be harassed than others (Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002; Fain & Anderton, 1987; see also L. Fitzgerald, 2019 on sexual harassment of low-income women). Cassino and Besen-Cassino (2019) moreover found that in the US context African American woman experience an increased relative risk of sexual harassment in the workplace despite a decline in overall reported harassment cases, which the authors attribute to the greater economic and organizational vulnerability of women of color compared to white women in relation to white men, who were the predominant perpetrators. Berdahl and Moore (2006) describe this phenomenon as a 'double jeopardy' for minority women regarding harassment at work, while others speak of 'gendered racism' or 'racialized sexual harassment' to mark the intersection of racism and sexism in experiences of women of color (Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002; Teixeira, 2002; Welsh et al., 2006). At the same time, women of color are less likely to be perceived as victims of (sexual) harassment (Murrell, 1996).

⁴ The UniSAFE project aims to conduct intersectional analyses of their survey data, but these analyses are not available yet.

Next to these occurrence-based studies, much research has been focused on the effects and consequences of harassment and discrimination. Various studies deal with the question of why experiences of harassment are underreported, paying attention to a reluctance to speak up when being harassed. The study conducted by the European Agency for Fundamental Rights (2015), for example, shows that 35% of women kept even the most serious incident of sexual harassment they had experienced to themselves. Studies that inquired into the reasons for a lack of reporting found that insecurities about whether the encounter ‘counts as’ harassment or discrimination as well as whether they would get help and support are the main underlying reasons for a lack of reporting (Humbert, 2022; Latcheva, 2017; Lipinsky et al., 2022; Welsh et al., 2006). Specifically investigating sexual harassment in academic workplaces, Johnson et al. (2018, p. 3) in a report for the US National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine found that victims of harassment refrain from reporting due to “(1) the dependence on advisors and mentors for career advancement; (2) the system of meritocracy that does not account for the declines in productivity and morale as a result of sexual harassment; (3) the ‘macho’ culture in some fields; and (4) the informal communications network, through which rumors and accusations are spread within and across specialized programs and fields.”

Identifying an experience as sexist and/or racist harassment and discrimination can be even harder for women of color who have to navigate the intersections of racism and sexism in their experiences (Welsh et al., 2006). Further, these insecurities get even stronger when people are faced with the normalization or ridicule of harassment in their social environments. It has been found that reporting experiences of harassment can lead to (1) being socially labeled as overly sensitive, overreacting, or uptight; (2) being met with social stigmas such as being ‘bitter, self-serving feminists’; or (3) being accused of pursuing trivialities and causing unwarranted trouble (Ahmed, 2017; Calder-Dawe & Gavey, 2016; Clair, 1994; Feagin, 1992; Mills, 2010; Olson et al., 2008; Richardson & Taylor, 2009; Whitley & Page, 2015).

These forms of dismissing or stigmatizing the harassed person arguably demotivate and hinder victims of harassment and discrimination to speak up about or report their experiences. As Sbraga and O’Donohue (2000) describe it, victims face a double bind: even though speaking up about and reporting experiences of harassment and discrimination and confronting the

perpetrator are considered appropriate reactions, they are at the same time punished through the above-described mechanisms and thus come at the cost of the victim's reputation and are potentially detrimental to their wellbeing. They are moreover likely to also influence the reactions of bystanders and observers. Studies found that both individual factors, such as personal ethics, as well as situational factors, such as the relationship between the actors and targets and the reactions of other observers, influence bystanders' decisions to intervene or not (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Dunlop & Lee, 2004; McDonald et al., 2016). Relatedly, Brown and Battle (2020) discuss the relationship between ostracism and harassment arguing that ostracism is both an effect of harassment and a reason for not reporting experiences of harassment. That is, victims feel excluded and ignored when experiencing harassment, leading to pain and psychological distress, while also fearing further isolation if they report their experiences.

Whitley and Page (2015) further stress the difficulty of resisting and reporting a person that holds institutional power over you, such as when a senior colleague harasses a junior colleague, or a professor discriminates against a student (see also Diekmann et al., 2013). In these situations, the perpetrator might use their power coercively (such as using direct threats) or manipulatively (such as triggering fear of retaliation) to restrict the victim from speaking up or otherwise resisting the harassing and discriminatory behavior. If the victim does decide to speak up, the authors pointedly describe how stigmatization as a troublemaker (cf. Ahmed, 2017) comes about. Describing the process of a woman considering filing an official complaint against harassment within a university setting, Whitley and Page (2015, p. 43) argue:

“The language of complaint matters. Naming a formal objection to sexual harassment as a ‘complaint’ constructs the behavior of objecting as the action ‘to complain’ about something. When a woman files an objection to sexual harassment she becomes in the language of the institution a woman who complains, and by extension a complainer. This language becomes a way of directing attention away from sexual harassment in exactly the moment that women are insisting that it appear.”

The person who speaks up becomes the one who complains and is thereby perceived as the one who created the problem rather than the one who points out an already existent problem, or as

Ahmed (2015, p. 9) phrases it: “You can become a problem by naming a problem.” Black women are found to be at even greater risk of not being believed when reporting instances of harassment and discrimination (Feagin, 1992; Richardson & Taylor, 2009). Welsh et al. (2006) further note that women of color without full citizenship rights experience even greater hurdles to reporting their experiences with harassment and discrimination as they fear retaliation that affects their citizenship status. Dar et al. (2020, p. 6) poignantly describe the toll of becoming a troublemaker or space invader (Puwar, 2004) as a woman of color scholar:

“As space invaders (Puwar, 2004), our bodies come into conflict with its structures in ways that take a toll on our mental and physical health. The harm on our bodies is felt in the nauseating anxiety as we gather up the courage to tell our manager that they are exploiting colleagues of colour in precarious contracts, the hours of overtime put in to develop repeated applications for promotion, with little hope of them being accepted, and the reading and rereading of our email to the Dean asking why yet another candidate of colour was passed over for recruitment. The pain is in the crossed arms and frowns of a conference audience and the influential professor who whispers ‘troublemaker’ to those around him, and in the venomous review, we receive from an anonymous peer whose mind snapped shut at our first use of the phrase ‘racism’. It is in the shuns we receive from colleagues, who stop inviting us for lunch when we have spoken up for students of colour too often at department meetings, in the silence when it is always only our voices speaking out, and in the emotional labour of absorbing the anger and deflections of defensiveness, or soothing tears of awakening.”

Finally, scholars investigate individual and organizational consequences of harassment and discrimination, examining for instance the ‘toll on [...] mental and physical health’ that Dar et al. (2020) noted. Studies have investigated employment consequences such as job loss and withdrawal at work (Humbert, 2022; Lipinsky et al., 2022; McLaughlin et al., 2017; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Richardson & Taylor, 2009; Solomon & Williams, 1997; Willness et al., 2007). A report by the US National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine found regarding sexual harassment of women in academia:

“[W]omen are often bullied or harassed out of career pathways in these fields [science, engineering, and medicine]. Even when they remain, their ability to contribute and advance in their field can be limited as a consequence of sexual harassment—either from the harassment directed at them; the ambient harassment in the environment in their department, program, or discipline; or the retaliation and betrayal they experience after formally reporting the harassment” (P. A. Johnson et al., 2018, p. 2).

On an organizational level, it has moreover been argued that harassment cases are costly for organizations as numbers from the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission confirm costs of more than USD 50 mil. in monetary benefits over and above litigation dues in sexual harassment cases in 2018 (Chawla et al., 2021). Moreover, a variety of studies revealed health problems including depression (Friborg et al., 2017; Houle et al., 2011), burnout (Takeuchi et al., 2018), anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorder (Avina & O’Donohue, 2002) and dissociation (Adams-Clark et al., 2019) as well as other psychological conditions (Chan et al., 2008; P. A. Johnson et al., 2018; Loy & Steward, 1984; MacKinnon, 1979; Sojo et al., 2016). Studies have further established that effects may be even more intense for ‘invisible’, repeated, everyday experiences of harassment than for more visible yet less frequent instances (Langhout et al., 2005; Sojo et al., 2016). Further, research has emphasized the relevance of investigating emotional consequences, such as feeling embarrassed, angry, sad, guilty, and ashamed, or losing self-confidence (FRA - European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015; Humbert, 2022; Latcheva, 2017).

2.4.3 The reproduction of harassment and discrimination

The reproduction of harassment and discrimination – specifically, how harassment as a form of discrimination occurs, why harassment keeps occurring, and how this occurrence is organized – is investigated in a second stream of research. Research on the reproduction of harassment can be separated into two lines of studies. Some scholars focus on mistreatment in the working environment and argue that harassment is part of general workplace incivility. Others,

particularly feminist organization scholars, maintain that harassment and discrimination are reproduced through engrained gendered and racialized organizational structures, processes, and practices, wherefore in their research, they pay attention to the role of gendered and racialized power structures in organizations and how these are inscribed within and enacted through heteronormative, misogynist, and racist organizational cultures, normalized sexist and racist organizational behavior, unequal workplace structures as well as exclusionary organizational networks. There are surprisingly few overlaps between these fields of study. I will therefore focus on each in turn.

Scholars in the first line of studies, often inspired by or positioned within organizational psychology, position harassment within a broader frame of disrespect and uncivil behavior (Berdahl & Raver, 2011; P. A. Johnson et al., 2018; Perry et al., 2020; Robotham & Cortina, 2019). Research from this perspective highlights the co-existence of, for instance, sexual harassment with other forms of incivility, such as rudeness and condescension (Lim & Cortina, 2005) and advances the argument that a climate of intolerance and disrespect is a predictor for persistent sexual harassment (Cunningham et al., 2021; Hulin et al., 1996). Cunningham et al. (2021) for example focus on the social networks of perpetrators and harassed people in cases of sexual harassment and find that perpetrators are embedded in networks of complicity, that is, a group of supporters or as the authors call them ‘active enablers’, who support and protect any problematic behavior by this person, including but not limited to sexual harassment. ‘Passive enablers’ played an additional role in allowing uncivil behavior to persist “through continually ignoring perpetrators’ bad behavior, turning a blind eye, making light of it or rationalizing it to the point that it was not on their radar” (Cunningham et al., 2021, p. 396). It is thus not only harassment that is reproduced by being ignored or actively enabled but also other forms of incivility.

Lim and Cortina (2005) tested this correlation in a study on interpersonal mistreatment in the workplace, finding that general incivility and sexual harassment are related constructs. This leads them to argue that research on harassment should be integrated with studies on general incivility to avoid these two streams of research being conducted in two divided and disconnected fields. Arguing along a similar line, yet focusing on practical organizational tools against harassment, Robotham and Cortina (2019) argue for interventions towards respectful work environments

after showing in their study that sexual and ethnic harassment are correlated to a general climate of respect in the organization (see Perry et al., 2020 for a similar insight regarding inclusive leadership and work climate). Nonetheless, it is also suggested in this field that marginalized employees are targeted at higher rates and through unique forms of discrimination (Cortina, 2008; Kabat-Farr et al., 2020). Scholars have described this as ‘selective incivility’ and highlighted that people at the intersection of multiple stigmatized identities, such as women of color, are at greater risk of mistreatment (Cortina et al., 2013; Daniels & Thornton, 2019). Chawla et al. (2021) further used the term ‘gendered incivility’ to describe deviant and disrespectful behavior particularly targeted at women. The overall claims made in this line of studies are that perpetrators behave in harassing and discriminatory ways in work environments that foster disrespectful and uncivil behavior, sexist and racist harassment being one form of such incivility.

Next to this first line of studies on the reproduction of harassment, there is research, primarily within the field of feminist organization studies, that focuses on investigating how gendered and racialized organizational structures, norms, and workplace cultures enable and support the reproduction of harassment and discrimination (E. Bell et al., 2019; Fernando & Prasad, 2019; Hlavka, 2014; Phipps & Young, 2015). That is, they conceptualize harassment and discrimination not primarily as something that happens between and is caused by individuals – thus not as interactional-individual level problems – but as problems linked to the organization itself and how it is managed, or more precisely to mismanagement within an organization. From this perspective, scholars identified a variety of factors that influence organizational structures, processes, and practices so that these enable the continuous occurrence of harassment and discrimination. Hlavka (2014) investigates gendered harassment and violence against adolescent women and shows how the reproduction and maintenance of harassment and violence are based on a normalization of sexism and sexualized violence. Another study that deals specifically with the connection between normalized sexism and sexual harassment is Hennekam and Bennett’s (2017) investigation of ‘Sexual Harassment in the Creative Industries’, revealing a similar relationship between normalized sexism and the occurrence of sexual harassment. Next to revealing the influence of normalized sexism on sexual harassment, the authors also relate harassing behavior to specific workplace structures, processes, and cultures. Their study shows

how sexual harassment is being exacerbated by an occupational culture of creativity, informality, and at the same time constant competition as well as gendered power relations within the organization (Hennekam & Bennett, 2017).

Hennekam and Bennett's (2017) research links to another group of studies, which approach the question of persisting harassment and discrimination from the perspective of workplace cultures. Phipps and Young (2015) draw a connection between 'lad culture' and occurrences of sexism, sexual harassment, and sexual assault. They describe 'lad culture' as a potential form of masculinity that is built upon ideas of "reclaiming territory in the context of [...] increased competition between the sexes" (Phipps & Young, 2015, p. 461) and includes the objectification of women, pressure to perform particular forms of (hetero)sexual activity, strong homosocial bonding, and misogynist banter. Fernando and Prasad (2019) also focus on workplace culture and reveal how a culture of reluctance to change that goes hand in hand with the silencing of victims keeps sexual harassment as part of the status quo in workplaces. Alvinus and Holmberg (2019), while focusing on resistance against sexual harassment in the Swedish military, nonetheless highlight the role of organizational norms, institutionalized processes, and a culture of hyper-masculinity in the military that normalizes violence and leads to a continuous existence of harassment. In particular, they reveal – among others – norms of silence and obedience in combination with practices of not reacting to events and reducing or neutralizing events to enable continuous harassment. Kartolo and Kwantes (2019) extend the research on organizational culture towards societal factors, arguing that organizational norms work in combination with perceptions of societal discrimination structures in enabling persistent discrimination; for instance, if employees perceive their societal context to be discriminatory, this perception may influence their perception of organizational discrimination yet this perception is mitigated, that is, strengthened, weakened, or otherwise adapted, by the organizational culture.

In a broader study on gender regimes in organizations, Ortlieb and Sieben (2019) can show how sexual harassment can be understood as part of gendered organizational practices that shape workplaces. The authors focus on the inclusion of women in organizational social events and maintain that these events work to reinscribe and strengthen, rather than break, existent gendered organizational structures, and processes, that is, gender regimes (Acker, 2006). Sexual

harassment comes to be reproduced as part of such gender regimes as they rely upon the reproduction of heteronormative sexuality through sexualized games, conversations about sex, and acts of sexual harassment. Gender regimes, and with them persisting sexual harassment, are moreover upheld by establishing and upholding gender images (for example, through gender-typed presents or gender-coded sub-events), status differences (for instance, through seating arrangements and speaking roles), and gendered bodily expressions (such as comments on female bodies and clothing) (Ortlieb & Sieben, 2019). What connects all these studies is that their analytical focus lies on the level of power structures, for instance by studying gender regimes, while most studies do not directly investigate harassment as an interactional-individual level problem.

Notably, few studies explicitly refer to racist harassment and discrimination. As argued by Mandalaki and Prasad (2022, p. 2), “[a]lthough race is often included in organizational discourses related to diversity [...] contextually situated questions about the subtle ways in which race and racialization materialize remain understudied”. In their study in the context of academia, the authors show how racist discrimination in form of implicit racism is upheld through the model minority myth associated with Asian women. Paying particular attention to the specific experience of Asian women as one group affected by racist discrimination, the study highlights how different forms of racism manifests in idiosyncratic forms that are dependent on historical, political, and social context yet nonetheless contribute to manifesting racial inequalities that organize social relations as “part of a broader racialization project that is formidable in maintaining the racial hierarchies and inequities” (Mandalaki & Prasad, 2022, p. 3). Relating similarly to race and ethnicity in intersection with gender, in a study on discrimination of women of color at Belgian universities, Bourbain (2020) identifies four distinct processes that uphold everyday sexism and racism against female non-white/ethnic minority PhD and postdoctoral researchers. First, the maintenance of nonconsequential equality discourses works a ‘smokescreen of equality’ that prevents actual equality work – in Ahmed’s (2006b) words such diversity work is non-performative; second, formal and informal exclusionary practices lead to ‘everyday cloning’ that hinders non-white women’s careers; third, ‘patronizing’ practices lead to undervaluing of marginalized people and their work; and forth, non-white women are pressured

to assimilate to established norms in ‘paternalistic’ processes. Bourbain’s (2020) study not only provides a relevant and very detailed outline of the organizational processes that allow harassment and discrimination to persist but importantly does so from an intersectional perspective that shows and contextualizes the entanglement of racist and sexist discrimination within a European, here Belgian, context – a perspective still largely absent in most of the research on the reproduction of harassment and discrimination in organizational work settings.

What I identify from this overview is that prior research has established that harassment and discrimination exist in organizations, have detrimental effects on individuals and organizations, and are reproduced through engrained gendered and racialized organizational structures, processes, and practices. In feminist organization studies, the focus lies on investigating the reproduction of harassment and discrimination, understanding harassment and discrimination not as something that happens between and is caused by specific individuals but rather studying harassment and discrimination as problems of the organization and its mismanagement. While this has been paramount to investigate the role of gendered and racialized power structures in organizations, and how these are inscribed within and enacted through heteronormative, misogynist, and racist organizational cultures, sexist and racist organizational behavior, unequal workplace structures as well as exclusionary organizational networks, I maintain that it leads to two weaknesses.

First, harassment and discrimination are from this perspective studied as instances of mismanagement in an otherwise well-functioning organization. Building upon dis/organization literature, however, I refrain from creating an order between proper (non-discriminatory) organization and (harassment-ridden) mismanagement and instead suggest that there is a need for research that investigates harassment and discrimination as part of the very dis/organization that upholds the organization. Second, I argue that a strong focus on power structures leads to an institutional-structural bias, that is most studies are detached from investigating harassment also as interactional-individual level problems. While I agree that attending to power structures is important to investigate harassment as a form of discrimination, I suggest that this can be done without creating a separation from interactional-individual experiences by understanding,

conceptualizing, and analyzing harassment as structurally anchored yet interpersonally reproduced.

Next to these two shortcomings, the overview shows that most research in feminist organization studies is concerned with sexual harassment and gendered discrimination, which points to a need for intersectional analyses in studies on the reproduction of harassment and discrimination. Considering the high occurrence and particularly damaging effects of harassment and discrimination based on gendered and racialized inequalities, there is a need for research that attends to harassment and discrimination as intersectional problems and particularly to the reproduction of sexist and racist harassment and discrimination.

Positioning my study in the field of feminist organization studies and aiming to address the three outlined research needs, my investigation is guided by three research questions. Addressing the need to investigate the reproduction of harassment and discrimination as part of the very dis/organization that upholds the organization, I ask: *How does the dis/organization of Danish universities enable the reproduction of inequalities, specifically in form of sexist and racist harassment and discrimination?* Engaging with the challenge of examining harassment and discrimination as both institutional-structural as well as interactional-individual level problems, I inquire: *What allows sexist and racist workplace harassment and discrimination to be reproduced both on an institutional-structural and an interactional-individual level?* And finally, addressing the shortage of intersectional analyses of how sexist and racist harassment and discrimination are reproduced, I pose the question: *How are sexist and racist harassment and discrimination reproduced intersectionally, and what is distinct in how they are reproduced?*

3 Methodology

“Ideally, a methodology is a coherent set of ideas about the philosophy, methods, and data that underlie the research process and the production of knowledge” (McCall, 2005, p. 1774). McCall (2005) makes this suggestion in an article about how to conduct intersectional feminist research. Homing in on this ideal, the following chapter will outline the ontological and epistemological views that underly my research (3.1), the method I employ, including a description of the context, design, and research process of my study (3.2) as well as my approach to working with data – from data generation over analysis to writing – that I develop and draw upon to produce knowledge (3.3). All three parts are interrelated. That means, for example, that my approach to analyzing affective flows as part of my interview encounters is embedded in my feminist epistemology that acknowledges embodied and affective insights as an important aspect of knowledge production. In their combination, my ontological and epistemological perspectives, my method, and my approach to working with data provide one coherent methodology that guides my research.

I begin by describing my approach to critical research and how it provides the basis for a relational and performativity-based ontology of embodied being/becoming as well as a feminist epistemological approach to investigating the interplay of individual and structural factors enabling the reproduction of harassment and discrimination. The next part describes the context and design of my study as well as my research process, reflecting both on my initial intentions and the actual implementation of the study, considering that “research is hardly ever a linear process, and one rarely ends up where one started out” (Thanem & Knights, 2019, p. 43). As part of situating the study in the context of Danish universities, I reflect on my positionality as a young non-Danish woman of color employed at a Danish university, investigating sexist and racist harassment and discrimination at Danish universities. Moreover, I introduce the method I employed, namely a two-step process consisting of a preparatory mixed-method survey followed by individual, in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Finally, I describe the anti-narrative research approach operationalized through embodied queer listening that I developed to generate and

analyze my empirical data. I conclude the chapter with a reflection on scriptology, discussing how I wrote this dissertation and what role writing played throughout the research process.

3.1 A critical approach to philosophy of science

I engage in this research with the broad aim of understanding problems that currently inhibit equality. In other words, I have a critical and emancipatory aim of providing insights that allow approaching problems of inequality anew and differently. With this approach, I position my research within the philosophical tradition of critical theory (Bohman, 2005). The underlying argument of critical theory can be described as claiming that science as it is commonly practiced is too abstract and detached from the societal setting within which it is conducted. Scientific projects are taken out of context and therefore miss important relations to the social and human spheres they investigate. Instead, critical theorists argue that contextualization of research and grounding it within a social function are necessary to extend, refine, and develop research beyond a mere abstract, conceptual aim (Bohman, 2005). Based on this, it is further maintained that it is not the rational logic of a theory and its firm grounding within a specific discipline that matters within research but rather the social function of the studies conducted. Scholars need to deliberate and judge the social value of a study to determine its social function, which means that value judgments become an essential part of conducting (critical) research.

One core value-based aim of critical theory is the emancipation of all people from domination. According to Horkheimer (1982, 1993), there are three criteria that critical research should follow to achieve this aim of emancipation. Research should, first, be *explanatory*, that is, explain what is wrong with current social reality; second, be *practical*, specifically by identifying actors for change; and third, be *normative*, which here means providing clear norms for criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformation. A similar process – and one that is more closely linked to the aims of my study – can be identified within critical race theory. Critical race theory emerged as a stream of critical theory within legal scholarship and has since been utilized and developed within a myriad of research fields concerned with the study of racism. It aims for social change and transformation, focusing on the relationship between race, racism, and power

(A. P. Harris, 2015). The critical research emerging from the field can be understood as a three-stepped process: first, the identification of underlying structures, processes, and practices to reveal oppression and the mechanisms upholding it – what could be called the explanatory part; second, the confrontation of these underlying mechanisms including a re-examination of the terms, conditions, and norms of how the problem has been negotiated so far – similar to the outlined practical aims; and third, utilizing the revelation of oppressions and their structural anchoring as a force towards liberatory and emancipatory transformation – thereby adding a normative component (Willis, 2008).

Turning towards critical race theory and related fields of research moreover reveals an aspect that has been neglected in many discussions of critical theory, namely the question of who gets to participate in these discussions in the first place and which voices are excluded as legitimate contributors to scientific discussions. To address this shortcoming, I follow Black feminist scholarly traditions which consistently challenge the ontological and epistemological exclusion of marginalized people and knowledges by calling for a practice of critical research that is both for and by those who are marginalized. Importantly, this questions dominant subject-object relations in critical practice and legitimizes knowledges based on lived experiences from marginalized perspectives (Christian, 1987; Collins, 2002, 2009; Combahee River Collective, 2014; Mohanty, 2002, 2003a). To provide one prominent and striking example, when in 1978 the Combahee River Collective (CRC) first published ‘A Black Feminist Statement’, they demanded a crucial recognition, namely “that black women are inherently valuable, that our liberation is a necessity not as an adjunct to somebody else's but because of our need as human persons for autonomy” (Combahee River Collective, 2014, p. 273). As the recognition of Black women as valuable human persons has been continuously contested in historical as well as contemporary contexts, the CRC’s explicit claim was and is indispensable for establishing an indisputable and unconditional acknowledgment of Black women’s need and right for liberation and autonomy, while positioning them as legitimate subjects within the struggle towards these goals. Black feminist thought thus works from the core aim of questioning who gets to be recognized as a viable subject and challenges the boundaries that exclude certain subjects and their knowledges. Critical research thereby also becomes an ontological and epistemological concern in questioning what it means to

be (human) and know, challenging and re-imagining the perspectives from which knowledge is created, and fundamentally shaking the foundation of how being and knowledge are legitimized.

With this critical perspective on critical theory itself, Black feminist research essentially turns the gaze inwards and practices what critical theory calls for, namely an immanent investigation of the norms inscribed in a discipline or practice of research and a critical questioning as to whether those practices live up to their inherent ideals, in this case, emancipation and democratic participation of all. It thereby also triggers one of the main dilemmas of critical theory, namely the need for epistemic plurality on the one hand, yet on the other hand the risk of either a lack of legitimacy and consistency (can anything be critical theory?) or some form of – potentially arbitrary – epistemic superiority (do those who have established themselves as critical theorists get to decide how to evaluate what critical theory is?) (cf. Bohman, 2005). Turning towards rather than away from this dilemma and providing a critical perspective to it that immanently challenges the normative achievements of the field arguably makes Black feminist theory an essential part of critical theory as a perspective of research.

3.1.1 A relational and performativity-based ontology of embodied being/becoming

Ontologically, my study is grounded within an approach of conceptualizing subjectivities as performative (Butler, 2004), that is, understanding them as shaping-and-shaped-by subjectivity-governing norms. As I have outlined in more detail in the theory chapter, the underlying conception of this understanding is that human beings are constantly engaged in a struggle to be conceived of as subjects, which requires being recognized by others. This struggle for recognition by others is governed by social norms which influence which performative acts come to be recognized as forming viable subjectivities. The notion of performativity then stresses that subjects are performatively constituted through the reiteration of (normative) language, discourse, and acts. That is, the iteration of norms allows being recognized, thus enabling viable, intelligible subjectivities. From this perspective, the power of normativity lies in how norms determine what is deemed normal and acceptable and thereby “govern ‘intelligible’ life” (Butler, 2004, p. 206). In other words, through their performative power norms create or enable subjects.

At the same time, the constant need for normative iteration leaves subjects “always in a process of becoming” (Harding, 2007, p. 1761). In short, one cannot be/come (a subject) without recognition from others, and achieving recognition requires reproducing subjectivity-governing norms. Yet, at the same time, the continuous individual repetition of norms is what reproduces said norms, leading to a mechanism of normative reproduction.

As part of my understanding of subjectivity-governing norms, I acknowledge the ontological significance of (normative) structures, that is, their existence and their influence upon social being(s). By committing to their significance, I maintain that research needs to account for their existence and influence by discovering and describing structures and their functionality in creating or determining phenomena. From this ontological perspective, structures are broadly understood as ‘something that functions’ in a certain context, and that is made up of interlinking elements that co-determine each other (Barbosa de Almeida, 2015). A structure can come about in multiple forms. For instance, the narratives underlying the postfeminist gender regime and the notion of Nordic racial exceptionalism that I described as permeating the Danish context can be understood as a discursive structure that functions to uphold an understanding of equality in the Danish context. Another example is gendered hierarchies and related wage differences within organizations which can be understood as material structures that affect the power dynamics within an organization.

A structuralist analysis would assume that such structures govern all processes of meaning-making, “affirming the priority of *structures* over *subjects*” (Barbosa de Almeida, 2015, p. 626, italics in original). For the context of organizations, this assumption would maintain that structures regulate and control all aspects of organizing. The challenge structuralists run into with this claim is the inexplicability of change. How can change in structures, processes, and practices be conceptualized if the underlying assumption presupposes that structures determine processes and practices and co-determine each other? Where would change *within* an organization be initiated in such a model (that is, change that is not triggered by external events)? In my understanding I, therefore, highlight the important role of structures in creating, maintaining, and regulating processes of being/becoming, but simultaneously acknowledge the existence and significance of other factors, such as individual agency, to influence structures. That

is, the continuous individual repetition of norms that is required to uphold normative structures allows for repetitions with a difference which holds the potential of challenging and changing existent structures (cf. Butler, 2004). Structures are thus significant and influential, yet not fully determining.

Next to this performativity-based ontology, I understand subjects as embodied and relationally dependent, thereby introducing the role of the body and affect from an ontological position. It has been a continuous feminist claim that the dualism between mind and body, and relatedly an ideal of rationality and thinking vis-à-vis acknowledgment of emotion and feeling, needs to be questioned and overturned as part of challenging and transgressing hetero-male-patriarchal normativities of scientific understandings of being. One perspective which can be considered a critical response to the normative privileging of mind over body in academic research, and which holds important ontological consequences, is a turn towards investigating the role of affect and the body. Since the early 1990s, scholars from several disciplines and research fields, including organization studies, have been engaged in such investigations (Ahmed, 2014a; Ashcraft, 2017; Fotaki et al., 2017; Gregg & Seigworth, 2010; C. Hunter & Kivinen, 2022; Kenny & Fotaki, 2014; Massumi, 2015; Pullen et al., 2017; Thanem & Wallenberg, 2015; Vachhani, 2013), a paradigmatic shift often described as the ‘affective turn’ (Massumi, 1995).

Such scholarship often relates to the philosophy of Spinoza as the creator of the concept of affect as it is understood by many of the involved scholars. Spinoza (2006) conceptualized the world as made up of bodies that have the capacity to affect and to be affected by other bodies. To be affected, to Spinoza, essentially means to change somehow yet with the important caveat that ontologically bodies are contingent upon their affective relations with other bodies. In other words, bodies exist as bodies through the capacity to affect and to be affected (cf. Guschke, Christensen, et al., 2022; C. Hunter & Kivinen, 2022; Massumi, 2015). In extension, part of the ‘affective turn’ is to conceptualize human being(s) as essentially embodied and with the fundamental capacity to (be) affect(ed). For my ontological understanding, an embodied understanding of subjects means that I understand human beings as relationally tied (through their capacity to (be) affect(ed)) and therefore ontologically dependent on one another – an

ontological conception that contradicts and transcends the ideal of the disembodied (masculine) human being as put forth through the normative ideal of science.

3.1.2 A feminist epistemology

An ontology that accounts for the interplay of material and discursive structures with an embodied notion of being requires an epistemological approach that is similarly attentive to these interplays. I maintain that we need to pay attention both to structures – material and discursive – that enable the reproduction of harassment and discrimination, as well as to individual understandings – cognitive and embodied – of harassment and discrimination experiences that likewise influence how these issues are reproduced. Epistemologically, I assert that one can learn about the prior through the latter, that is, I suggest that one can recognize structures through their function and thus their effect upon subjects, wherefore I investigate individuals and their subjective understandings to attend to both the institutional-structural and the interactional-individual level in my research. Further, linking to my ontological understanding of subjects as embodied, my epistemological approach attends to different ways of knowledge creation, including embodied forms of knowledge and ways of knowing, as well as approaches to embodied knowledge sharing.

Important for this endeavor is that I challenge the often-assumed separation between mind and body, rationality and feeling, thinking and sensing. As outlined, I do so as part of my ontological understanding of being but as I will explain in the following, it is also part of a feminist critique of privileging masculine-rational forms of knowledge production (cf. Collins, 2009; J. Martin, 2003). As part of the mind-body separation, anyone ‘othered’ against a hetero-male-patriarchal norm of the disembodied scientist, in particular women, people of color, and queer persons as well as their knowledges, has been demeaned, ignored, and subjugated. Challenging such dualisms (mind-body, rationality-feeling, etc.) therefore ties into a feminist practice of revealing dichotomies as socially constructed and ambiguous: “[a] primary concern of feminist theory has been the reification and dichotomization of such concepts as male and female, objectivity and subjectivity, competition and cooperation, and rationality and emotionality” (J. Martin, 2003, p. 69). Especially

from a post-structuralist feminist perspective, it has been paramount to deconstruct binaries, not only to ‘denaturalize’ them but also to reveal their gendered associations that lead to the devaluation of one of the paired concepts, namely that which is associated with the feminine (cf. J. Martin, 2003).

Accordingly, part of the efforts of feminist research has been to “heal[-] unnecessary divisions” (Lorde, 1984, p. 9) between body and mind, sensing and thinking, feeling and knowing, as encouraged by many feminist scholars (for example, Ashcraft, 2017, 2018; Fotaki & Harding, 2018; M. Phillips et al., 2014; Thanem & Knights, 2019). As part of this, it has been paramount to legitimize lived experience as an accepted form of knowledge, as claimed prominently within Black feminist, Chicana feminist, and postcolonial scholarship (Christian, 1987; Collins, 2009; Essed, 1991; Mohanty, 2003a; Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1983). Acknowledging the epistemic value of lived experience allows for forms of knowledge that are rooted in embodied practice and that stem from a multiplicity of perspectives instead of favoring normative and dominant viewpoints. As Essed (1991, p. 286) argues regarding the value of personal accounts of racist experiences: “Accounts are not just stories about racist events, they contain elements of knowledge about racism.” Mohanty (2002, p. 210) similarly emphasizes from a postcolonial perspective that the importance of utilizing lived relations as a basis of knowledge lies in making visible hierarchies of power and domination and how they affect ‘the everyday world’ (see also Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1983). Lived relations and embodied experiences can thus provide access to affective knowledge where “affect [is understood] as socially situated rather than as an individual and depoliticized state of being and experience” (Fotaki et al., 2017, p. 10; see also Pullen et al., 2017; Thanem & Knights, 2019).

Such an epistemological perspective is not necessarily common in organization studies (cf. Thanem & Knights, 2019). Phillips, Pullen, and Rhodes (2014) make the point “that the dominant strains of [organization] research reflect an unnamed masculinity in their orientation.” What they mean by this claim is that organization studies are permeated with normative values of scientificity, objectivity, rigorous method, and hard (quantitative) data, which mirror a stereotypical ideal of masculinity or ‘manliness’ in positioning and privileging ideals of rationality and rigor over qualities such as subjective, affective, and embodied knowledges, methodological

idiosyncrasies, or soft (qualitative) data which are in effect deemed unsuitable and insufficient for ‘proper’ organizational research. As Phillips et al. (2014, p. 316) write pointedly: “The approach that dominates is one where rigor is pursued with a certain scientific rationality – one that valorizes precision, systematicity, objectivity and the advancement of knowledge. [...] Science and the reign of rigorously applied rationality that it promises are not gender neutral, they are genealogically entangled with the meaning of masculinity.”

It is not unique to organization studies but relevant to scientific research as a whole that norms of masculinity tend to legitimize scientific knowledge. As Lloyd (1993, p. 1) writes: “Rational knowledge has been constructed as a transcending, transformation or control of natural forces; and the feminine has been associated with what rational knowledge transcends, dominates or simply leaves behind.” The foundational legitimization of scientific knowledge as authoritative over other, trivial forms of knowledge is hence fundamentally built upon a hierarchical separation between masculinity and femininity where the prior transcends and dominates the latter. As this separation and masculine domination are taken for granted as normative within the field of science, it commonly goes unmentioned and often unnoticed. The masculine is rendered normal and thereby invisible, “its gendered character is not announced by name, remaining powerful through a silence that works to resist contestation by keeping it outside of discursive exchange” (M. Phillips et al., 2014, p. 317).

Opposing the separation of body and mind, I argue that it is important to render these taken-for-granted normative conceptions visible, reveal who and what knowledges they exclude, and rather than privileging one over the other find ways of engaging with cognitive as well as affective and embodied knowledges (understood as always-already entangled)⁵ as part of critical research. My epistemological approach rests upon the conviction that this allows paying attention to both material and discourse structures as well as cognitive and embodied understandings of such structures and their effects and enactments. In the subsequent sections, I will describe how I practice this in my research. At this point, in summary, it is important to note that in this project I

⁵ It may even be argued that mind and body are essentially ‘entangled’ as the mind itself is part of the body and, thus, it is always the body that functions as ‘the knowledge-acquiring apparatus’ (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; discussed in Thanem & Knights, 2019, p. 27).

deem the integrated investigation at these different levels not only a possible but a necessary epistemological stance to critical feminist research.

3.2 From intentions to implementation: Study context, design, and research process

Building upon this ontological and epistemological foundation, I work with a reflexive mode of induction. This means that I am guided empirically by the data I generate, yet my continuous reflections are embedded in and inspired by relevant theories which work as potential guiding lights. Moreover, I work with embodied practices of data generation and analysis to home in on the potential of embodied knowledge creation. With this, I aim to work with my data in an open-minded but not empty-headed or empty-hearted way. In the following, I first outline the context in which I conducted my empirical research and reflect on my positionality within this context. Thereafter, I describe the study design as well as the actual research process, that is I move from outlining my intentions and plans for this study to a reflection on how the research was implemented in practice. As I wrote an article together with Sine Nørholm Just and Sara Louise Muhr based on parts of my empirical data, some of the reflections and descriptions in this part can also be found in the article ‘Organizational norms of sexual harassment and gender discrimination in Danish academia: From recognizing through contesting to queering pervasive rhetorical legitimization strategies’ (Guschke, Just, et al., 2022).

3.2.1 Research context

I conducted my research project in the context of Danish universities. As I started outlining in the introduction, Denmark, as part of the Nordics, is often perceived as a role model for social equality. A post-feminist myth of having achieved gender equality prevails (J. F. Christensen & Muhr, 2019; Ronen, 2018; Utoft, 2020) despite the persistence of problems such as workplace sexual harassment (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2020) and gendered inequality (World Economic Forum, 2022). The idea of Danish racial exceptionalism, built upon ignoring Denmark’s colonial past (and present) and drawing upon a narrow definition of racism as intentional discrimination based on asserted biological difference, upholds that ‘real’ issues of racialization and racism do

not exist in Denmark (Danbolt, 2017; Goldberg, 2006; Loftsdóttir & Jensen, 2012). This works to silence discussions about racial discrimination and leaves racism largely unchallenged (Midtvåge Diallo, 2019; Thorsen, 2019), not least through the ideal of ‘equality as sameness’ promoted within Nordic welfare states (Hervik, 2011; Holck & Muhr, 2017). Furthermore, current conceptions of Danish racial exceptionalism are used to delegitimize research-based understandings of racist discrimination, positioning “researchers as the propagation of dangerous racist thinking with their insistent talk about racial difference” (Danbolt & Myong, 2019, p. 40) and demonizing anti-racist scholars as ‘polarizing and destabilizing figures’ for calling out structural forms of racism (a threat certainly not exclusive to the Danish context, see for example Liu, 2019).

While these mechanisms influence many spheres of Danish society, universities provide additional contextual factors allowing harassment and discrimination to persist. A myth of meritocracy, the (self-)perception of being a meritocratic, fair, and critical organization, veils problems and challenges that do not fit this view, leading to problems of sexism, racism, and other types of discrimination being sidelined, dismissed, and reproduced (Castilla, 2008; Dar et al., 2020; Scully, 2002; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012). Danish universities are no exception here; studies have found them to be places of consistent sexist and racist harassment and discrimination (Andreassen & Myong, 2017; Guschke et al., 2019; Hvenegård-Lassen & Staunæs, 2019; Skewes et al., 2019; Thorsen, 2019). Only two years ago, in October 2020, 689 researchers working at Danish universities signed a petition against sexism at Danish universities, establishing an academic #MeToo movement in Denmark (Fog et al., 2020). The signees included academics from all eight Danish universities: Aalborg University, Aarhus University, Copenhagen Business School, Technical University of Denmark, IT-University of Copenhagen, University of Copenhagen, Roskilde University, and University of Southern Denmark.

All eight Danish universities are public institutions. Copenhagen University (KU), based in Denmark’s capital, is the oldest university in Denmark, having been founded in 1479. Today, it is one of the biggest research and education institutions in the Nordics with ca. 38,000 students and ca. 5,000 academic and 4,500 administrative employees. The foundation for DTU, the Technical University of Denmark, located just outside of Copenhagen, was set in 1829 when it was founded

as The Polytechnic Institute (Den Polytekniske Læranstalt). It was from the beginning an institution with a clear focus on technical education. The university teaches ca. 12,000 students and has ca. 5,900 employees, out of which 2,200 are academics. Aarhus University (AU), founded in 1928 in Jutland, is similar to KU in size, teaching ca. 38,000 students with ca. 8,300 academic and administrative employees.

In the 1960s and 1970s, four more public universities were established in Denmark. In 1965, Copenhagen Business School (CBS) became one of the public universities. The institution was founded in 1917 as the privately funded and run Association for Young Tradesmen's Education (Foreningen til Unge Handelsmænds Uddannelse). Today, CBS is Denmark's only independent business university and has ca. 23,000 students, ca. 1,500 academic employees, and ca. 650 administrative employees. The University of Southern Denmark (SDU) located on Fyn was founded in 1966 as Odense University and was renamed in 1998. It has ca. 3,500 employees, out of those 2,000 are academics and 1,500 administrative staff, and 30,000 students. In 1972 Roskilde University (RUC) was founded with the aim to provide an approach to teaching and research that was different from KU, AU, and SDU, introducing new teaching approaches such as group-based and project-oriented interdisciplinary education. Today, RUC as one of the smaller universities in Denmark teaches ca. 9,500 students and has ca. 1,200 employees. Founded shortly after, in 1974 as the second university in Jutland next to AU, was Aalborg University (AAU), which today employs ca. 6,700 academic and administrative staff and teaches ca. 20,000 students. The IT University of Copenhagen (ITU) is the youngest and smallest university in Denmark. It was founded in 1999 with a focus on IT, data, and digital design. ITU employs ca. 500 people and teaches ca. 2,700 students.

All eight universities officially commit in one or the other way to ideals of diversity, inclusion, equality, and anti-discrimination. ITU, for instance, claims that "the board and executive management at ITU have kept diversity a top priority" (IT University of Copenhagen, 2022a) while Aalborg University asserts that "[g]ender equality and diversity are core values for Aalborg University" (Aalborg University, 2022). In addition, each university has in recent years published a gender equality (and diversity) plan as this has been established as a condition for funding from the EU Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (Aalborg University, 2022; Aarhus

University, 2020; Copenhagen Business School, 2021; IT University of Copenhagen, 2022b; Roskilde University, 2022; Technical University of Denmark, 2021; University of Copenhagen, 2021; University of Southern Denmark, 2021). These action plans outline visions, goals, and initiatives towards equality and diversity among staff and students, however, predominantly writing about *gender* equality. As there is no research-based indication that – due to or despite these plans and initiatives – sexist and racist harassment and discrimination are more or less present at one or the other Danish university, I included all eight universities in my research. It is important to note, however, that I study harassment and discrimination in *workplaces* at Danish universities, and more specifically in *academic* workplaces, which means that I have included neither students nor administrative staff in my study.

3.2.2 Researcher positionality

Methods have politics, and these are mine.

This is who I am.

This is what I've done.

(Anthym, 2018, p. 218)

I conduct this research on sexist and racist harassment and discrimination in workplaces at Danish universities as a young non-Danish woman of color working at a Danish university. I am an insider to (one of) these organizations. Yet, I am also positioned as one of the proclaimed ‘polarizing and destabilizing figures’ who point out discriminatory structures as well as a person at constant risk of experiencing the racism and sexism that supposedly does not exist in Denmark.

Navigating this role, particularly as a non-tenured scholar, can be difficult. My work reveals harassment and discrimination as a persistent problem at Danish universities, which – even though I do not make specific claims about any particular university – includes the institution I work at. I present my work to fellow academics working at Danish universities claiming to know something (problematic) about their workplace. Even though I do not name names or point fingers, I maintain that many at universities are complicit in reproducing harassment and discrimination. I bust the myths that universities are meritocratic institutions, and that Denmark

is a country where sexism only happened in the past and racism only exists elsewhere. At points, this has been an uncomfortable position for creating and sharing knowledge. My insights have been doubted ('It can't be *this* bad.'), my intentions questioned ('Is this research or politics for you?'), and my qualifications discredited ('Don't you think you are a bit too biased to do this research?'). While I agree that research needs to be open for critique, doubt, and questions, the concerns that were voiced were usually not based on how I conducted my research but on who I am as a scholar and what this positionality must mean for my research, aiming to discredit me as a researcher and reject the results I presented. As Ahmed (2017, p. 37) writes: "When you expose a problem you pose a problem. It might then be assumed that the problem would go away if you would just stop talking about it or if you went away." Maybe these concerns arose because, with this dissertation, I expose, I talk about what I expose, and I refuse to go away.

Despite these difficulties, I insist that conducting research on sexism and racism at universities as a woman of color scholar opens a valuable position for knowledge production. I voice my claims and insights from a marginalized standpoint, which in and of itself is certainly not more truthful or accurate, yet one that is often sidelined in dominant knowledge production and can thus provide valuable and important perspectives, including those built upon reflections of lived experiences and the capability to empathize with feeling racialized, gendered, and sexualized in dominantly male white settings (Andreassen & Myong, 2017; Collins, 2009; Hemmings, 2012). It for instance affected how I engaged with the participants of this study. From my position as a woman of color conducting anti-racist and anti-sexist research, I was able to feel with many of the experiences shared by the interviewees. While I utilize these embodied feelings as part of my data generation and analysis, as I will outline in more detail below, I think that being able to feel with interviewees most importantly helped me recognize and acknowledge their accounts as containing knowledge (Essed, 1991). It might also have made it easier for some interviewees to share difficult experiences when the interview in itself might have put them in a vulnerable situation.

At the same time, the encounters between me as the researcher and the interviewees were not free of the gendered and racialized power relations that structure Danish universities. As Thanem and Knights (2019, p. 78) write: "[W]hen interviews and conversations happen face-to-face

between researchers and participants, they are embodied encounters [...and] our bodies may communicate meanings which affect the power dynamics between researchers and participants, particularly as they are inscribed by identity markers such as gender, race and class.” In my study, this meant that I was met with more or less visible forms of racist and sexist hostility as part of some interviews. I jotted down the following words after one interview I conducted.

Fire
inside me.

Roaring,
shifting.
Dark red,
yellow,
hot.

Wild
inside me but
tamed,
contained
inside (me).

Outside
there is you.
Talking,
crying,
speaking,
trying.

To convince me
of your story?
To change things?
Or keep things unchanged.

The interview was with a white, male professor who shared that he felt attacked by students of color who had called out his racist behavior in a class he taught. Specifically, I wrote these words thinking about a part of the interview in which he kept making statements that to me, as a woman of color, felt racist. I could feel my body reacting to the statements. I could feel the anger

building up as a hot fire roaring inside me. Yet, I did not openly express any of these feelings towards the interviewee. I tamed and contained my emotions, from the outside being a calm researcher listening to the interviewee who tried, as it seemed to me, to subtly convince me of his version of the story he was telling. In addition to the above, I noted down some initial questions this raised for me: What (power) relations are revealed at this moment that allow the situation to unfold in the way it does, namely him speaking and me keeping quiet? Which expectations towards my positionality might he assume and form his narrative towards? Is my presence making him more self-aware and potentially more critical of his own position, leading him to tone down some of his opinions or withhold some of his thoughts and behavior in anticipation of my reaction and his wish for social acceptance, or does it trigger the expression of more radical views prompted by a perception of me holding anti-sexist, anti-racist views, and a related sense of having to convince me of his perspective? While the prior assumes that I, as the researcher, hold a powerful position towards the interviewee and accordingly presumes his desire to gain my acceptance, the latter supposes that his position as a white, male professor towards a younger scholar who is also a woman of color puts him in a powerful position wherefore he expects to shape the dominant and acceptable perspective.

While I cannot answer these questions with certainty, they highlight the complexities of navigating my role in this study. They show how important it is to critically reflect on my positionality, yet not to discredit my research insights but to qualify them. As I jotted down after this interview, it felt as if he tried to *convince me* of his story to *change* how I perceive what was right and wrong in the account he shared. However, this might in effect *leave things unchanged*, that is, reestablish and stabilize the normative power structures as they are – giving him definition power over what counts as racist behavior and what does not while the students who accused him can be dismissed as overreacting and my interpretation is supposed to follow his delineation. His need to *convince* me might indeed be driven by the idea that I, as a woman of color, am already deviating from his perspectives and must be *convinced* back into them. This reflection which unfolded from my positionality as a woman of color conducting this interview thus becomes an important aspect of analyzing what role individual perspectives, normative assumptions, and dominant narratives play in my research (which I will expand on in the part on

data generation and analysis). It allows me to inquire into the norms his understandings are based upon (and how they might deviate from mine). And it allows me to capture how racism is reproduced in this situation in which a white, male professor declares racism not to exist and I feel like I need to stay quiet, tamed, and contained.

Overall, in relating to different interviewees, I had to both navigate my own positionality towards the issues discussed in the interview situation and stay reflexive about the interviewees' subjective positions and vulnerabilities. Thanem and Knights (2019, p. 143) suggest that "[b]y connecting the personal troubles of our research participants both to our own experiences and to social problems on a larger scale, it may become possible to craft vivid and powerful narratives that inspire political change to make different lives more livable." That at least would be the aim. The consecutive parts outlining the research design as well as my approach to data generation and analysis further reflect how I engaged with this aim and the resulting challenges by conducting all parts of my research in an embodied, (self)reflexive, and ethical way.

3.2.3 Study design and research process

My research project consists of two phases of data generation where the first functions as a preparatory step to the second. I started with a mixed-method survey aimed at exploring both understanding of and experiences with harassment and discrimination in workplaces at Danish universities. The survey consists of seven open- and six closed-field questions (as well as seven demographic questions) and was sent out to individuals working at all eight Danish universities under the name 'Understanding Harassment in the Workplace' (see Appendix 1 for an overview of the survey questions). I created a list of 1000 employees at Danish universities⁶, both academic faculty and administrative staff, and sent individually addressed emails to these people. The list consisted of 197 people I chose specifically because of their function as head of department, head of faculty, head of secretariat, head of research group, head of administrative working group, etc. The remaining people were chosen randomly yet making sure to include equal numbers of people

⁶ Aalborg University (AAU), Aarhus University (AU), Copenhagen Business School (CBS), Technical University of Denmark (DTU), IT-University of Copenhagen (ITU), University of Copenhagen (KU), Roskilde University (RUC) and University of Southern Denmark (SDU).

from each university as well as a rough gender balance. Everyone was asked to fill in the survey and share it with colleagues or work groups. It was explicitly stated that one did not need to have specific experiences with harassment and discrimination to fill in the questionnaire. All data were processed and stored anonymously and according to the GDPR. The survey was open to replies between June and August 2019.

In total, 399 people from all eight universities answered the questionnaire. More than three-quarters of them spent between 0 and 10 years at their current university, with 40% working there between two and five years. 39% are PhD fellows, 13% are research assistants, postdocs, or assistant professors, 24% are associate professors or full professors, 8% hold managerial positions, such as head of faculty, head of department, or head of secretariat, and 3% are administrative staff. 52% identify as female, 44% as male, and 1% as non-binary. The age distribution shows that more than half of the participants (54%) are between 31 and 55 years old, while about one-third (32%) are between 18 and 30 years, and 11% are 56 and older. For each demographic question, 2-10% of respondents chose the options 'Prefer not to say' or 'Other' (see Appendix 2 for an overview of the survey respondents' demographics). The survey is not meant to be representative of people working at Danish universities. It was aimed at providing some initial insights that guided the following steps of my research, first, by initiating contacts for interviews and second, as I will outline later, by providing insights for creating vignettes that I used in the interviews.

At the end of the survey, participants could decide if they wanted to provide their email address (saved separately from their other entries to ensure anonymity) to be contacted for a follow-up interview. I conducted 37 interviews. Interviews lasted between one and two hours and were held between September 2019 and March 2020. Out of the 37 interviewees, 20 identified as cis-women and 17 as cis-men. I interviewed 16 PhD fellows, eight non-tenured academic employees (postdocs, research and teaching assistants, assistant professors), ten tenured academic employees (associate professors and full professors, incl. heads of departments), and three administrative employees. To ensure anonymity, I disclose only the gender and the employment category of the interviewees (see Appendix 3 for an overview of the interview participants' demographics). While I had at first planned to investigate all workplaces at Danish universities

and therefore interview both academic and administrative staff, I soon realized that this frame would be too broad for my study, wherefore I decided to exclude the three interviews with administrative employees and focus my analysis on the 34 interviews with academic employees.

The interviews, which are the core part of my data generation, were conducted as individual, in-depth, semi-structured interviews. The main aim was to explore what the interviewees understand harassment and discrimination to be and what their understandings are based on. Additionally, I explored the interviewees' views on how to both prevent as well as deal with harassment and discrimination in workplaces at Danish universities as these views can reveal further underlying perceptions of where and how the problem is understood and located. While it was no precondition to have own experiences with harassing and discriminatory behavior to be included in the interviews, I also ask about occurrences of harassment and discrimination in the interviewees' workplaces, no matter if they were involved as victims, perpetrators, or bystanders.

The interview guide was structured into nine parts that I aimed to cover during the interview. Each part describes one theme: *introduction*; *work environment and career experiences*; *understanding harassment/discrimination*; *entanglement of different forms of harassment*; *experiences with harassment*; *experiences of potentially harassing someone*; *occurrence and normalization of harassment*; *harassment processes – current, wishes, advice*; *ending*. In addition, there were two optional themes: *resistance to dealing with harassment* and *additional questions*. The first I used only if the interviewee did not think harassment and discrimination were problems to deal with in the first place, with the aim of exploring their resistance to dealing with them; the second included any additional questions that might develop in the interview situation and did not fit any of the existent thematic parts. Each thematic part included between five and eight exemplary questions (see Appendix 4 for the full interview guide). As the interviews were semi-structured, I tried to follow the structure of the overall themes, but I did not ask all exemplary questions in all interviews. Rather the questions guided the conversation, but I chose and formulated them as they fitted the interview situation.

In the next part on data generation and analysis, I will outline in more detail how I conducted the interviews, but it is important to note already now that I opened space to follow up on insights shared by the interviewees if they seemed relevant even if this meant deviating from the order of

the themes. For instance, some interviewees who had experienced harassment entered the interview situation with a narrative in mind that they wanted to share with me. This often led them to already talk about their experiences in one of the first thematic parts, for instance when I asked them about their work environment, even if I had not specifically asked about harassment and discrimination at that point. Rather than stopping the interviewees from speaking about their experiences I would then skip to the theme of *experiences with harassment*, and re-structure the rest of the interview accordingly.

I audio-recorded all interviews. The interviewees signed an interview consent form before the interview in which they agreed to the recording of the interview and the use of the data for the research project (see Appendix 5). All data were processed and stored anonymously and according to the GDPR. In addition, after each interview, I immediately noted down my initial thoughts in an interview logbook (see Appendix 6). It included four categories: content (What were the main themes in this interview? What patterns do I see with other interviews? What new things did I learn?), atmosphere (What was the atmosphere like? What played a role here?), method reflection (What worked well? What did not? What might I want to change?) and personal/emotional (How did I feel during the interview? What triggered emotional reactions? How did I deal with it? How do I feel now?). I used the logbook almost as a form of field diary in the interview process. I follow Ayata et al. (2019, p. 65, italics in original) in suggesting to

“approach [...] interviews as a *process* that encompasses the phases before and after the actual conversation [...] Therefore, the thoughts, emotions, affects and interactions between the interviewer and the interview partner need to be documented. Likewise, the phases before, during and after the interview must be considered for a more comprehensive account for the dynamic and relational aspects of the interview process. Such an understanding and practice of interviewing collects more nuanced material since the notes, records and reflections regarding the affective dynamics of the interview process itself help to contextualize and analyze the interview beyond the mere textual analysis of the interview transcripts. This can create more space for self-reflection on the part of the researcher without turning data collection into an auto-ethnography. Moreover,

such an approach invites and encourages researchers to be more attentive to non-lingual dimensions of the interview by cultivating awareness of the affective intensities and embodiments during the interview process.”

Working with the logbook allowed me to register, identify and remember any thoughts that came up immediately after the interview while further providing a way of capturing the embodied sensations I felt during and after the interview situation. Creating this collection of descriptions of my embodied state of being enabled me to remember and draw upon these affective insights in the analysis.

I did not start analyzing the data I had generated through the interviews directly after the interview phase – or, put differently, I did not start the post-interview analysis directly after the interview phase; as I will argue later, part of the analysis already started during the interviews. Partly, this was due to having other responsibilities at the time: I was teaching full-time from April to July 2020 and as the Covid pandemic had just started I needed to convert my teaching online. I did however also feel the need to let the data rest for a while, letting the initial insights I had compiled during the interview phase sink into my mind and body. I then spent several weeks in the summer and fall of 2020 analyzing the data, which included relistening to the interview recordings, noting down first analytical ideas, and collecting post-it notes on different whiteboards around my office. I made transcriptions of all interviews using the transcription software Konch and used these for the analysis, for instance cutting out quotes and adding them to the whiteboards. I wrote the first draft of my analysis in December 2020 but returned to it several times throughout the next two years, editing, re-writing, re-listening to interviews, engaging with relevant theory, presenting and discussing my work at relevant international academic conferences as well as university-internal research seminars⁷, editing again – slowly developing the analytical insights I present in this dissertation.

⁷ It is part of the PhD program at Copenhagen Business School to present your work at two Work-in-Progress Seminars which I held in November 2019 and October 2022. In addition, I presented my work at the Critical Management Studies Conference in 2019, the Gender, Work and Organization Conference in 2021, the Standing Conference on Organizational Symbolism (SCOS) in 2021, and the European Group for Organizational Studies (EGOS) Colloquium in 2022 as well as several smaller local and international research seminars.

One important shift occurred in my research process while working on the analysis. I had initially planned to write my dissertation in an article-based format which means writing three to four publishable articles as well as an overall frame and combining these into one dissertation. Admittedly, I developed this initial plan primarily because this was what I saw most of the other PhD fellows at my university do. But also because I was already part of a productive process of writing an article on sexual harassment at universities based on data we had collected for a research project I was engaged in before I started the PhD (Guschke et al., 2019) and could well imagine writing more articles. However, the shift that occurred when conducting my analysis was that I decided to write this dissertation as a monograph. I noticed that I wanted to write about the breadth and depth of my empirical data and my engagement with it in a way that did not fit the space, format, and form of academic journal articles. The analysis I started to write was spilling, leaking, bubbling, and pouring onto the pages and the thought of having to cut this analysis into neat pieces, publishable in 8,000-12,000-word, accurately structured articles felt painful.

The reflections of Myntha Anthym (2018, p. 3) on her PhD dissertation writing process rang true for me in this regard: “In another version of this project, (the version that I tried, for the longest time, to write) I am entirely absent in the arguments I make. The voice is that of the scholar: detached, objective, and supposedly authoritative. I sounded like anyone. I sounded like everyone. I sounded like no one.” Even the thought of having to try to write ‘that version of the project’ – detached, ordered, contained – felt cruel to me. I knew that there were more and more possibilities to engage in alternative forms of writing in the field of organization studies with several journals for instance providing specific segments, such as *Gender, Work and Organization*’s ‘Feminist Frontiers’ section or *Organization*’s ‘Speaking Out’ and ‘Acting Up’ papers, in which arguably I would not only be allowed but invited to speak as myself, neither detached, nor objective, or authoritative. Nonetheless, I felt the need to use this dissertation to create a space where I could explore the research topic I was investigating while also *exploring* how I could write about the problems of sexist and racist harassment and discrimination in a way that sounded like myself (rather than anyone, or everyone, or no one) – because frankly, at that point, I did not know yet what this would sound like.

Even though some advised me against it, arguing that publishing articles was essential for a career in academia, I stuck with my decision to (also) write a monograph. That is, I decided to continue writing articles to engage in scholarly debates in the fields I want to contribute to while writing my PhD dissertation as a monograph. Throughout my time as a PhD fellow, I managed to write four articles and one book chapter. Three articles were published in 2021, one in *Ephemera* on sexual harassment in the university and the military context with Beate Sløk-Andersen (Guschke & Sløk-Andersen, 2022), and two on norms and norm critique – topics that I have been exploring and working with closely wherefore they are important part also of my dissertation – in *Women, Gender and Research* with Jannick Friis Christensen and *Human Resource Management Review* with Jannick Friis Christensen, Kai Inga Liehr Storm, and Sara Louise Muhr (J. F. Christensen et al., 2021; Guschke & Christensen, 2021). This year, in 2022, an article I wrote together with Sine Nørholm Just and Sara Louise Muhr on sexual harassment and gender discrimination was published in *Gender, Work and Organization* (Guschke, Just, et al., 2022) as well as a book chapter with Jannick Friis Christensen and Thomas Burø on Sara Ahmed's work on affect and her influence on organization studies (Guschke, Christensen, et al., 2022) – maybe unsurprisingly, an influence she has also had on my research. I do not deny that partly I wrote these articles because I know that the advice that it is essential for a career in academia to publish articles is not wrong. But more importantly, writing these articles in parallel to writing this monograph allowed me to collaborate with colleagues and co-authors from whom I learned a lot in our co-writing endeavors while nonetheless allowing myself to use the monograph as my writing space. While the articles certainly relate to my dissertation work, either building upon parts of the empirical data or using similar theoretical concepts, I could use this monograph to explore my empirical data more fully, including the affective and embodied aspects of it, and I could use it to explore how to sound like myself when I write about what I have come to know through the process of this research.

3.3 Anti-narrative research and embodied queer listening in data generation, analysis, and writing

In both data generation and data analysis, I draw on the approach of anti-narrative research, which I operationalize through embodied research practices, such as embodied queer listening. My use of anti-narrative research is inspired by Kathleen Riach, Nick Rumens, and Melissa Tyler's (2016) work 'Towards a Butlerian methodology: Undoing organizational performativity through anti-narrative interviewing'. Using Butler's notions of performativity and undoing as a basis for organization research, the authors develop anti-narrative research as a tool for listening to and working with the inconsistencies in people's narratives instead of trying to create and maintain a coherent story from their accounts. In their 'translation' of Butler's theoretical ideas into research practice, Riach et al. (2016) stress the potential of understanding how, why and at what cost idealized organizational subjectivities are formed and sustained. They focus on revealing the labor that goes into maintaining consistent narratives and normative subjectivities. By founding this technique of data generation and analysis upon an understanding of performativity, as outlined above, it becomes possible to attend to both structures and their governing function as well as individual differences in the repetition of these normative structures. It allows paying attention to both institutional-structural and interactional-individual level factors.

This is of great importance for my work as it allows me to explore the conditions, expectations, and ideals of organizational subjectivities underlying the perceptions and understandings of harassment and discrimination that the research participants express. In other words, I am trying to understand which normative, structurally anchored expectations their understandings of harassment and discrimination are based upon and how those are linked to their individual perceptions of viable narratives and subjectivities. Even more, I go beyond simply acknowledging those (idealized) subjectivities and narratives (and how they link to understandings of harassment and discrimination), but instead scrutinize the normative basis they are built upon as well as the norms that constrain them. This helps me gain a better understanding of why and how these perceptions come about as well as what performative power is inherent to them. Importantly, it turns away from individualizing problems of harassment and discrimination

towards an understanding of harassment and discrimination as present violence in organizations that is built upon a structural understanding of legitimate subject positions in the workplace.

In addition to opening these possibilities of doing research on organizational subjectivities and narratives based upon a performative ontology, Riach et al.'s (2016) approach encourages (self-)reflexive research practices that avoid 'fixing' subjects within the research process. The authors' encouragement for "a reflexive 'undoing', not of organizational subjects, but rather of organizational subjectivities and the normative conditions upon which they depend" (Riach et al., 2016, p. 2075) challenges me to engage with my study participants in a shared reflexive questioning and undoing of norms, normative structures, processes, and practices, narratives, and subjectivities. In my research, I delve into the norms that govern the study subjects' perceptions of and experiences with harassment and discrimination while engaging in a constant (self-)reflection process to balance the risk of 'fixing' these normative understandings in (and through) the research process. With this, I also relate anti-narrative research to dis/organization theory, staying open to the possibility that normative understandings might be contradictory, even paradoxical at points, as contradictions, paradoxes, and tensions are part of the simultaneous order and disorder that shape any form of dis/organization.

In the following, I outline how I practiced anti-narrative research in my study. I discuss what it allowed me to do beyond 'traditional' approaches to data generation and analysis. This includes reflections on an embodied perspective to research that allows me to reject the dismissal (and relatedly neglect, control, or avoidance) of embodiment, affect, and atmosphere as disturbances to qualitative interviews (cf. Ayata et al., 2019; Thanem & Knights, 2019) and instead attentively trace the 'flows' of affective intensities that are present in interview encounters (Ayata et al., 2019; Brennan, 2004). Moreover, it enabled me to acknowledge the interview encounter not only as part of data generation but also as a first step of the analysis. I end with a brief reflection on how the approach of anti-narrative research and the practice of embodied queer listening relate to my writing process.

3.3.1 Anti-narrative interviewing

An important aspect of operationalizing anti-narrative research in my study derived from the use of vignettes in my interviews. It might seem contradictory to work with vignettes, which are short stories that describe situations of (potential) harassment and discrimination – thus essentially narratives, when one wants to work with anti-narrativity. However, I argue that the use of vignettes allows me to approach anti-narrative research through four practices: (1) breaking with straight narratives, (2) practicing embodied listening, (3) listening from different perspectives, and (4) triggering the re-telling of own narratives.

I started by creating seven vignettes for the purpose of my research. They are based on experiences that were shared through the survey I conducted at the start of my study, but to ensure anonymity I merged fragments of different individual narratives and condensed them into new storylines. In a second step, I then created one or two alternative narratives of the same vignette. My aim was to break with or at least interrupt the (presumed) linearity of the story as well as to avoid my own biased interpretation of the events to be reflected in how I told the story. I used several techniques in writing those vignettes, such as switching between 1st and 3rd person narrator, abruptly shifting between the perspectives and voices of several people, integrating contradictions, formulating alternative endings, or using confessional writing that included inner monologues (see Appendix 7 for an overview of all vignettes used in the interviews). Using those techniques, I aimed to create stories that break with straight narratives. During the interviews, I read one or two (randomly chosen) vignettes out loud. What reflecting upon these vignettes with my interviewees then allowed was revealing and discussing ‘that which seems not straight’, tuning into the untypical and the uncanny instead of dismissing it. As part of exploring those ‘breaks’, we turned our gaze towards the normative framework that makes these aspects seem out of place. As an example, an interviewee might reflect that they find a particular (re)action of a character in the vignette unrealistic, implausible, or unwise. By exploring how come they perceive it to be so, we could reveal some of the expectations, preconceptions, and normative bases through which they frame their evaluations.

In addition to these explorations, I asked the interviewees to listen to their body while listening to me read out the vignette. With this, I tried to prime them towards an embodied understanding of

the read-out account. I asked them to register where in their body they could feel which parts of the story and in what ways it resonated with them. I also told them that they should not try to jump to immediate judgments of who is right or wrong in this story or who should have done what (differently), but instead allow what they hear to ‘sink into their body’. After reading the vignette, I asked them to freely describe everything that they felt when hearing the story. Encouraging the interviewees to engage with their bodies, I allowed them to reflect on what this story moved in them rather than having to provide a clear opinion of what they thought about the story.

This aspect is inspired by practices used under the frameworks of (queered) collective biographies (Basner et al., 2018; Davies et al., 2013; Davies & Gannon, 2012; De Schauwer et al., 2018). While collective biography workshops provide a much more structured approach to exploring stories, I take from these frameworks the approach of drawing on embodied sensations related to an event as well as giving space and voice to affective experiences, even if they seem to ‘not make sense’ or not be explainable. The latter aspect is of particular importance for my aspiration to delve into (and potentially disrupt) organizational norms and their performativity. What an embodied understanding of the vignette might allow for is to explore especially those points at which the body tells us something that we cannot put into words yet. For instance, when a felt resistance might reveal an underlying normative expectation that was just broken which would have otherwise not been speakable (yet), or when a rush of unexpected empathy felt physically through heightened heartbeat and sweaty palms facilitates a conversation on whom we allow ourselves to feel with and whom not. All these sensations can reveal some of the underlying normative restrictions interviewees, as organizational subjects, find themselves in when navigating situations of (potential) harassment and discrimination in workplaces. Moreover, this approach provides one possibility to bring back together ‘rational’, thought-focused ways of understanding with more embodied forms of gaining knowledge about an issue.

Throughout the continuing conversation, the interviewees and I explored the stories from different viewpoints. I asked the participants how they would feel if they were a particular person in the narrative (for example, the victim, the perpetrator, or a bystander), opening up their perspective to several viable viewpoints that might exist simultaneously. By challenging their

initial reaction to the situation (which might have been empathetic, supportive, resistant, opposing, ...), I open the possibility of (self)reflexively questioning their own positioning and the norms their initial perception of the situation might be based on. This collective/self-reflection, I argue, brings about the unraveling potential that Riach et al. (2016) describe as inherent in anti-narrative research. Not only can we reveal these norms, but by challenging their presumed naturalness and neutrality through the change of perspective, it also becomes possible to disrupt their constant repetition and by that potentially change them.

A final aspect that I see as a potential inherent in my approach to anti-narrative research through the use of vignettes in interviews is that it triggers interviewees to re-tell their own experiences from a new angle. In the process of reflecting upon the vignette's narrative, the disruption of its linearity, and the norms underlying this 'straightness', interviewees often referred back to their own experiences. Some of these experiences they might have shared earlier in the interview, while others they had not yet talked about with me. In re-telling their own accounts, they tended to deviate from the narrative they shared before. While usually they first shared a very consistent narrative, they now opened up about their insecurities, the story's inconsistencies, and contradictions. It is understandable that when I asked interviewees about their own experiences with harassment and discrimination before the vignette-reading, they would tend to tell a rather structured, coherent, and often temporally linear story. As experiences of being harassed and discriminated against are often not taken seriously, and victims' accounts are frequently doubted (Ahmed, 2017; Richardson & Taylor, 2009; Whitley & Page, 2015), being able to create a credible account of the experiences one had (as well as a credible and viable account of oneself) might seem to be a precondition for being believed. Credibility is being related to (seemingly) consistent narratives and normative subjectivities (Butler, 2004; Riach et al., 2016), leading to the creation of narratives that are viable and recognizable in the (organizational) context in which one is situated. The re-telling of their own story in a less linear, more fragmented way renders visible not only those aspects of the experience that seemed unspeakable before but can also reveal insights on those parts of oneself that are undone in the process of creating normative narratives and subjectivities, the labor that goes into creating those linear narratives, and the norms that require the doing of these coherent accounts in the first place.

3.3.2 Embodied queer listening as data analysis

The anti-narrative approach has implications both for the conduct of data generation, as outlined above, as well as for the process of data analysis. A common strategy for analyzing interview data is to code the transcribed material. While there are several coding strategies and processes, the general idea is to find patterns, clusters, and categories that help make sense of the generated data (Charmaz, 2006; Czarniawska, 2014). I argue that one needs to be careful with coding strategies when the goal is to reveal and unravel existent norms. Coding material by putting it into boxes and categories risks fixing exactly those normative ideas that I wish to undo in my research (cf. Riach et al., 2016). Admittedly, coding practices might emphasize the need for step-by-step processes to guard oneself against jumping to predetermined, expected conclusions (Charmaz, 2006). Yet, arguably, the goal is still to look for salient patterns and similarities, or maybe tensions, and the researcher's alertness for and interpretation of data as similar/different and salient/irrelevant relies on the norms they base their understanding upon. One might even go so far as to argue that coding always strives towards a certain normalization of messy interview data, of 'putting things in their proper place' rather than allowing for "dirty, filthy [...] flesh, life and complexity" (Thanem & Knights, 2019, p. 110). By putting data into neat categories, we struggle towards a universal ideal frame of interpretation, which might never be achievable yet remains the idealized goal in the coding and analysis process.

Researchers, especially in the field of queer and feminist research, have developed strategies that work against this need for normalization. Ashcraft and Muhr (2018) develop the approach of an "unfaithful" attitude towards analysis." In their research, they try to avoid jumping to any 'close', normative, and fixed conclusion and instead play with alternative, non-linear ways of understanding their data in an attempt to "avoid fixed binaries and categories as much or as long as possible" (Ashcraft & Muhr, 2018, p. 211). Similar ideas have been developed in the area of norm-critical research, where the aim is to refrain from normative judgments as long as possible (J. F. Christensen, 2021). It is not claimed that it would be possible to analyze data unbiased or non-normatively. However, norm-critical analyses aim towards keeping an open mind for as long as possible to remain receptive to alternative interpretations that question, challenge, or bypass existent norms. Such an approach fits with my aim of attending to paradoxes and tensions in

organizations, as “exploring paradox requires remaining acutely aware of contradictions and anomalies and expanding our strategies accordingly. In this light, paradoxes may offer challenging, even frame-breaking experiences, pushing researchers to question approaches that oversimplify and overrationalize complex phenomena” (Lewis, 2000, p. 771; see also Smith & Lewis, 2011).

Aiming to stay ‘acutely aware’ of the risk of fixing data in normative frames made me realize that the initial process of data analysis already starts in the interview situation. As I will extend in the following, how I encounter, engage with, and listen to the interviewees arguably already shapes what data is generated and what interpretations and analyses become possible. The interactions and dialogues with the interviewees are thus already one part of the analysis. According to Black feminist scholar Patricia Hill Collins (2009), the use of dialogue is an essential part of Black feminist epistemology. She argues that it enables a research process *between subjects* instead of a subject-object relation between researcher and research object, that is, interviewer and interviewee. This acknowledges informants as knowledgeable subjects rather than dismissing them as objects to be researched and understood by a knowledgeable researcher (Collins, 2009). It further links to the aims of queering knowledge production by locating knowledge in new places and acknowledging “the critical epistemological value of nonhegemonic voices for the construction of knowledge” (Landreau, 2012, p. 162). To create such dialogic interactions, I conceptualize interviews as “*situated affective encounters*” (Ayata et al., 2019, p. 65, italics in original; see also Thanem & Knights, 2019 who understand interviews as affective and embodied encounters). Understanding interviews as encounters that are situated and affective highlights “the relationship between interviewer and interlocutor, which is dynamic and always shaped by different relational intensities. [...] In addition, the temporal, spatial and emotional context of the encounters also influences the interview, which needs to be taken into account as systematically as possible. Thus, to approach interviews as affective encounters highlights the relationality among the settings, actors and contexts involved in the interview process” (Ayata et al., 2019, p. 65). In these encounters, listening becomes an important skill as an essential part of having a dialogue. Following Helin’s (2013) idea of ‘dialogic listening’, listening is an active process and embodied activity which creates relationality in dialogue yet is often taken-for-granted. She

argues that listening is as much a part of a dialogic moment as speaking is and that, accordingly, as researchers, we need to pay closer attention to how we listen, reflect on the impact our listening practices have on the research process, and acknowledge “listening as an active process of meaning-making” (Helin, 2013, p. 227).

Paying closer attention to how I listen in my research, I developed and employed practices of embodied queer listening, inspired by Gill’s (2012) work on embodied listening and Landreau’s (2012) notion of queer listening. Gill (2012, p. 34) draws on Black queer influences on ethnographic work to describe a practice of (Black queer) embodied listening that “sharpens one’s ability to hear what people say about themselves, their communities, and their world by listening to their words and beyond.” Stressing the need to attend to both linguistically and bodily expressed accounts, Gill proposes to be attentive to language and bodily reactions as well as to use the own body to register different aspects of what is shared in a research situation (beyond what one can hear). With this, he argues, one is better equipped to reveal and untangle situated lived experiences beyond the normative frames through which they might be told, allowing “the reverberations of race, gender, sexuality and place (at the very least) [to be heard] in the song of subjecthood” (Gill, 2012, p. 34). Landreau (2012) draws on Ratcliffe’s (2005) concept of rhetoric listening in combination with Ahmed’s (2006a) notion of queer orientation to develop queer listening as a practice that “allows things to remain askew, strange, unhoused, and unfamiliar” (Landreau, 2012, p. 156), instead of trying to ‘straighten’ them out. He describes queer listening as “the ability to listen with new ears to familiar voices” (Landreau, 2012, p. 159), putting into focus the potential to connect what is heard to different interpretative frames that go beyond normative interpretations.

The question then is, how can embodied queer listening be practiced as a strategy for data analysis in my research on harassment and discrimination in workplaces at universities? How is it different from regular listening practices in interviews? In the following, I outline how I practiced embodied queer listening during and after the interviews, both of which I understand as part of the analysis. One strategy I used in the interview situation was to constantly challenge myself to stay in ‘listening mode’ for a bit longer than it felt comfortable or that I was used to in interview situations. I learned to endure silence after the interviewee had spoken. This mode of

‘listening into’, as Helin (2013) describes it, enables (at least) two practices. First, it opens the possibility of tuning into a “bodily experience [of] social phenomena in a moment of pre-understanding” (Helin, 2013, p. 238). It allows learning something from my interviewees in an embodied way which cognitively I might not understand (yet), enabling an embodied comprehension without “the need to immediately try to make sense, rationalize, or theorize” (Helin, 2013, p. 238). Noting down my embodied experiences during and immediately after the interview helped me to put them into a cognitive frame of understanding at a later point of the data analysis process, building upon my initial comprehension to go beyond normatively shaped understandings of the interview situation and the generated data.

Secondly, the mode of ‘listening into’ makes it possible for the interviewee to add to what was said without interruption by a new interview question. I could listen for what else might be there. In my interviews, I realized that often these moments of silence opened for further reflection by the interviewees in which they, for instance, re-phrased what they had said before and thereby opened a new perspective that differed from the normative narrative they had shared first. Sometimes, they even explicitly said that they had ‘this other thought’ in the back of their mind but that they were ‘somehow not sure about sharing it’. As we explored this further, it often turned out that it was because they were afraid to voice a thought, concern, or feeling that deviated from what they perceived as a normatively accepted interpretation of or reaction to the described situation. As Gould (2009, p. 30) stresses, it is important to be able “to observe and read in a manner that can pick up the unspoken, the repressed, the less-than-fully conscious, the inarticulable.” Building upon Gould’s work, Ayata et al. (2019, p. 66) further claim that listening to “realms of silence and the unspoken” can be productive for exploring “intense collective and personal experiences that are difficult to talk about, such as [...] disappointments, feelings of defeat, hope, loss and despair are hard to express in a straightforward manner during an interview.”

Next to this, a practical implication I take from Landreau’s (2012) work is to listen to my own resistances when speaking to research participants and when I relisten to the interview recordings. These resistances might point me towards something that seemingly does not fit, hence revealing tensions and inconsistencies to explore further. Listening to bodily resistance

acknowledges that ‘that which does not fit’ with the norm might feel out of place (Ahmed, 2017). Yet, it allows understanding these resistances as a symptom of my own normative expectations being broken. By focusing on the underlying norms, I acknowledge how a norm might be exclusive rather than assuming that the narrative or subjectivity that does not ‘fit’ is problematic. Linking embodied queer listening back to anti-narrative research, I argue that it allows and encourages both the telling of and the listening to those narratives that are not coherent, not ‘straight’, in the sense that they do not create coherent subjectivities. By not expecting narratives to create fixed organizational subjectivities, embodied queer listening opens space for narratives (and subjectivities) that are complex and contradictory yet not less viable. It could be argued that embodied queer listening is a norm-critical practice in the way in which it challenges the normative majority to tune into queer narratives and learn how to listen to them, rather than asking those who are minoritized to tell their stories in different (more normative, more familiar) ways. What is important to note is that researchers practicing this embodied form of queer listening might need to rethink the practice of transcribing and reading interview material. In my analysis, I re-listened to the interviews several times as this allowed me to focus on embodied reactions, such as resistances, in a better way than when I read the transcripts.

A third practice I employed to engage in embodied queer listening is to emphasize polyphony (Bakhtin, 1984) by listening to “the simultaneous interplay of voices in the field, and how these voices contribute to the multitude of possible meanings, rather than trying to combine and merge them into a single strong voice” (Helin, 2013, p. 227). This links back to the idea of ‘unfaithful’ analysis and the aim to withhold judgments and categorizations as long as possible (cf. Ashcraft & Muhr, 2018; J. F. Christensen, 2021). Beyond this, it adds the perspective of acknowledging that one person might provide different ‘voices’, all of which can be legitimate and relevant (Helin, 2013; Linell, 2009). In my research, I practiced this by consciously trying to note down not only similarities and patterns within and between interviews, but also that which is “supplementary, different and unique” (Helin, 2013, p. 236). With this approach, I tried to notice and capture those parts that deviate from the norm, even if only slightly so and often silently.

Bringing together the two practices of listening for embodied resistance and emphasizing polyphony leads me to a final reflection on embodied queer listening as a research practice.

Landreau (2012, p. 163) argues that in order to listen queerly we must train our ears to perceive that which is normative as “suddenly noisy.” Making the familiar noisy and strange questions the naturalization of norms, showing their potential arbitrariness depending on the perspective you employ when you examine them. It also opens for potential norm transgressions as it simultaneously makes the unfamiliar less noisy and thereby more possible to engage with. Yet, at the same time, the question arises whether the aim should thus be to make queer listening an everyday practice so that the normative sounds uncanny and strange while that which breaks with the norm becomes familiar? Or does this creation of new familiarity risk a normalization of new norms? In other words, if embodied queer listening is established as a data analysis practice, how do we as researchers avoid falling into the trap of simply establishing new norms and fixing these in our research process? I suggest that when employing embodied queer listening, it will be paramount to acknowledge that as researchers, we will never escape normative structures and that a change in approach and perspective will be necessary exactly at that moment when we start feeling comfortable with the uncanny.

3.3.3 Scriptology

*“I too am trying,
as best as I can,
to be free.
And while I am doomed to fail,
this is a possibility that is both necessary and futile.”
(Rhodes, 2019, p. 35)*

In an article on ‘Sense-ational organizational theory! Practices of democratic scriptology’, Carl Rhodes (2019, p. 25) introduces the neologism ‘scriptology’ to suggest that “just as a methodology provides an explanation and justification of the methods with which a research project is conducted, a scriptology would do the same thing for the form in which research is written.” While Rhodes (2019, p. 25) uses the term scriptology “as a counterpoint to methodology”, I draw upon his idea of scriptology but suggest that it is part of my methodology rather than a counterpoint to it as writing is part of how ‘a research project is conducted’. With this suggestion, I home in on Thanem and Knight’s (2019, p. 120) claim that “[s]ince writing shapes how we think

about our research [...w]riting can never be an isolated state of ‘writing up’” – a point that Rhodes (2019) is not opposed to. For me, writing has been a continuous and influential part of my research process and, thereby, a part of my methodology.

The need to understand writing as part of the research process is embedded in my approach of anti-narrative research. As I have outlined, working with anti-narrative research and embodied queer listening requires blurring the boundaries between data generation and analysis, which in effect questions normative notions of an ordered process of data generation, subsequent data analysis, and then a phase of ‘writing up’. Instead, as argued, data generation is already infused by analyses – how I listen during the interview frames what I analyze, an initial analysis guides my listening, which in turn influences what and how interviewees are willing to share, thus affecting the data that is generated. In addition, both the initial analysis at that moment as well as my later analyses while listening to the interview recordings were influenced by the theoretical knowledge that I had gained until this point. While my analysis was not theory-driven in a deductive way it followed a reflexive mode of induction, that is, I drew upon theoretical insights as potential guiding lights that influenced how I listened, how I made sense of what I heard, and from which perspectives I regarded the resulting insights. It was always an interplay of embodied and cognitive knowledge creation, drawing upon an empirical basis as well as theoretical inspiration, and thereby a process of listening, analyzing, feeling, writing, and thinking simultaneously.

But Rhodes’ suggestion of a scriptology goes beyond a mere acknowledgment that writing is part of research. He argues that reflecting upon, naming, and questioning existent scriptologies in a field can challenge the dominance of one form of writing over others and thereby open for democratization and freedom “about what can and cannot be said politically”, redistributing “what counts as being meaningful and what does not” (Rhodes, 2019, p. 28). As I have outlined in relation to my epistemology, questions of what counts as meaningful and viable research have been a primary battleground for feminist scholars, with queer and Black feminists denouncing that their knowledges, often based on lived experienced, are (still) continuously demeaned and ignored. Part of this has been a struggle for acknowledging different forms of writing, such as poetry or storytelling, as part of academic knowledge production. As Black feminist scholar and

self-described black, lesbian, mother, warrior, poet Audre Lorde (1984, p. 36) declared: “[I]t is through poetry that we give names to those ideas which are – until the poem – nameless and formless, about to be birthed, but already felt. That distillation of experience from which true poetry springs births thought as dream births concept, as feeling births idea, as knowledge births (precedes) understanding.” For Lorde, poetry is a form of knowledge, wherefore writing poetry is necessary to generate thoughts, ideas, and understanding. Moreover, it is essentially tied to freedom: “The white fathers told us: I think, therefore I am. The Black mother within each of us – the poet – whispers in our dreams: I feel, therefore I can be free. Poetry coins the language to express and charter this revolutionary demand, the implementation of that freedom” (Lorde, 1984, p. 38). A democratic scriptology, as Rhodes (2019, p. 30) suggests, would thus require “room [...] for freedom to write in a way that engages with art, creativity, passion [and] feeling.”

In the field of organization studies, there have likewise been struggles about what forms of writing are rendered meaningful (cf. Rhodes, 2019). Often subsumed under the idea of ‘writing differently’, scholars have developed a myriad of ways of exploring the creative and critical potential of writing research in ways that deviate from usual forms of academic text in structure, wording, form, and tone (Burø, 2020; Gilmore et al., 2019; Grey & Sinclair, 2006; Helin, 2019; Parker, 2014; Pullen, 2006; Pullen & Rhodes, 2015; van Eck et al., 2021; Weatherall, 2018). Scholars employ forms of writing differently, for instance, to include and foreground emotions in their writing (Kara, 2013; Page, 2017; Weatherall, 2018), to explore the transformational potential of their work (K. L. Harris, 2016; Vachhani, 2015), or to highlight the need for more pleasurable writing and reading experiences in academic research (Grey & Sinclair, 2006). From a feminist perspective, it has been paramount to use ‘writing differently’ as a practice of opposing dominant masculine norms of writing that privilege (seemingly) rational, orderly, and disembodied text (M. Phillips et al., 2014; Pullen, 2018; Pullen & Rhodes, 2015; Vachhani, 2019; van Eck et al., 2021; Weatherall, 2018). Instead, feminist scholars highlight the need to write with/through/about emotions, embodiment, fluidity, and messiness, which mirrors the aims of embodied queer listening in research and echoes the need for writing to engage with felt and lived experience.

In my understanding, ‘writing differently’ aims at exploring the different ways in which we can speak meaningfully about what we care about when we feel a need to speak about it in a way that

cannot be satisfied by dominant forms of academic writing. If I take this to be at the core of ‘writing differently’, then I too (try to) write differently in my academic work. Yet, as I have alluded to in the introduction, I am hesitant to claim that I engage in ‘writing differently’ in this dissertation. Not least as I want my work to be recognizable as a PhD dissertation within existent academic norms of writing, my work might not be as ‘different’ as such a claim might promise. In addition, I find it difficult to pinpoint and label my way of writing – as ‘writing differently’ or any other form or style of writing. Writing has been a continuous process, a permanent yet ever-changing part of my research. That means that I wrote some pages of this dissertation in 2019 as an absolute newcomer to academia, not knowing (m)any of its norms, yet also not having much writing experience, while other parts were written later in the process at a PhD seminar where I tried to follow strict instructions by a writing coach (the most useful advice I remember might be that ‘most writing is editing, but you cannot edit what you have not written’). Some bits developed in dreadful, slow writing sessions at the home office during yet another Covid lockdown in 2020 and 2021, while other parts flowed onto the page this year, not seldom after having read poems that made me angry, sad, or excited. This is to say: I do not have one writing style, or in Rhodes’ (2019, p. 35) words, at least “I cannot ‘know’ my own scriptology”, I can only comment on my writing practice.

One important comment on my scriptology is that while I have explored creative ways of writing – in form of ‘found poetry’ (van Eck et al., 2021), original poems, and embodied analytical vignettes that aim to capture “all the other things that happen in interviews – things that may not be expressed verbally but expressed and experienced nonetheless” (Thanem & Knights, 2019, p. 79) – I always considered how the words I use and the style in which I write relate to the experiences the interviewees shared with me and the overall topics of my dissertation. At points, I feared that writing about other people’s experiences of harassment and discrimination in form of poems and embodied vignettes would risk resulting in ‘misery porn’ or making a spectacle of their pain, a questionable (to say the least) way for me as the writer and my readers to empathize and an unethical approach vis-à-vis the interviewees who trusted me with their accounts. Therefore, I refrained from writing ‘too vividly’ at points, which then again made me question if what I was writing was ‘different enough’. I wrote the following while writing parts of my analysis.

Dear reader, how do you feel?
Are you confused? Disappointed maybe?
I have promised you ANTI-narrativity.
Embodied affective experience.
Queer norm-critical cracks and breaking points.

Now you expect
to feel – to sense – to indulge
in the pain
in the injustice
in the imperceptibility of harassment.

But this pain, this injustice is not for you to consume
and not for me to display.
So, if the way in which this is written feels
too mundane
too well known
too normative
at points
maybe that's because ... it is.

Harassment is not painful because it is extraordinary.
It is devastatingly painful because of how ordinary it is.

What is painful is how easily you will recognize it when it is put into *words*
and yet you would not recognize it when it happens.

In addition to reflecting critically on when and how to use which forms of writing, I reached out to all interviewees who shared personal experiences of harassment and discrimination, offering them to read the analysis to make sure they could agree with the way that I had used their accounts and felt comfortable with how I anonymized their stories. Some replied, read the analysis, and gave a few comments that I could easily integrate. Some refrained from reading it. Either way, in the end, it is I who will be held accountable for how I have written about what I have come to know through this research. Wherefore I refrain from calling it 'writing differently'

or giving it any other label that I then try to live up to. This is my way of writing, my struggle 'as best as I can to be free', doomed to fail but willing to try.

4 Analysis

*Just because they give you a seat at the table
doesn't mean that they'll take their feet off the table
[...]
Just because they give you a seat at the table
doesn't mean they're prepared to change the room
(Manzoor-Khan, 2019, p. 82)*

In the following chapter, I present my analysis based on the empirical data I generated as part of this research project. This chapter aims to do two things, give relevance and prominence to the empirical material, and develop an analysis that discusses these empirical insights in light of relevant theoretical insights. It thus slightly blurs the boundaries between descriptive empirical analysis and theory-inspired discussion. With this slight deviation, it stays true to the approach of anti-narrative research which I read as a norm-critical approach to working with data, allowing for empirical insights to entangle with theoretical knowledge to develop new insights in a reflexive inductive process that is open-minded yet neither empty-headed nor empty-hearted.

I begin the chapter by outlining **contextual mechanisms** that are facilitative of the occurrence of workplace harassment and discrimination. The mechanisms that I outline do not necessarily lead to harassment and discrimination, they should not be understood as conditioning harassing and discriminatory behavior. Rather, they provide a fertile ground for harassment and discrimination to take place. I understand them as enabling factors. Most mechanisms are described relative to the academic context, its set-up, and organizational norms, while some are more closely related to the Danish national context, that is, aspects of what is described to me as 'Danish culture' permeating the workplace. In their combination, the contextual mechanisms that I identified within Danish academia show how universities are dis/organized through a complex interplay of formality and informality pervading this context and how this in/formality facilitates harassment and discrimination as part of how academia is dis/organized.

The chapter proceeds with analytical reflections on researching sexist and racist harassment and discrimination in academia, pointing to the process of **legitimized othering** and the **unspeakability of racism**. The aim of my research was to provide an intersectional analysis of

the entanglement of different types of harassment and discrimination in organizational contexts, with a particular focus on sexism and racism. In this part of the analysis, I focus on the embodied and affective elements of my research to analyze how expressions of race and racism are affectively present in many interview situations but are not being verbally expressed. While the analysis of the spoken utterances and dialogues from and with interviewees points primarily towards an understanding of harassment as gendered and heteronormatively sexualized, the embodied analysis of the affective elements of the interviews reveals the presence yet unspeakability of racist discrimination in Danish academia. I present the embodied analysis through four analytical vignettes. Embedding the analysis of the unspeakability of racism in a broader theoretical frame, I mobilize Ahmed's (2006a) theorization on queer orientations to inquire what our bodies in academia are orientated towards, what this brings us in proximity with and who gets positioned out of view. Based on my analysis, I suggest that Danish academia is orientated towards white, Danish, Western, heterosexual bodies, while non-white, non-Danish, Muslim, queer bodies remain invisible and silenced – detrimentally, even when exclusions through harassment and discrimination come into focus. This means that workplace discrimination is discussed as 'sexual harassment' and 'women' are understood as the ones being harassed, while non-white, non-Danish, Muslim, queer bodies are seen as too different and are thereby not even recognized as possibly being excluded. I conceptualize this process of legitimizing unequal treatment as *legitimized othering*.

These first two parts, 4.1 on 'Contextual mechanisms facilitating harassment and discrimination' and 4.2. on 'Legitimized othering and the unspeakability of racism', provide the basis and frame for the subsequent analytical parts. They outline what organizational structures, processes, and practices enable the reproduction of harassment and discrimination at universities and stress the importance of paying attention to the intersections of both sexist and racist types of harassment and discrimination, even if they are revealed in different ways in the data. The subsequent parts of the analysis in their structure trace and draw out how workplace harassment and discrimination travel within the organization. That is, it begins with analyzing occurrences of harassment as embodied, affective experiences in part 4.3. on 'The imperceptibility of harassment experiences.' Then it moves on to 4.4 on '(De)legitimization strategies' to investigate what

strategies are used to legitimize harassment and discrimination and delegitimize any claims against it. Next, in 4.5. called 'Just speak up – in the right way', I focus on the (im)possibilities of speaking up against harassment and discrimination before turning towards organizational reporting processes in 4.6 on 'Reporting harassment and discrimination'. I provide a brief overview of each part in the following.

I write about ***the imperceptibility of harassment experiences*** to provide a detailed analysis of harassment as it is experienced by the interviewees, identifying four common experiences that the interviewees went through: questioning their own perspective, losing their sense of self-worth, feeling isolated and non-belonging, and feeling dependent. Next to outlining each experience in detail, I argue that in combination they lead to harassment experiences becoming imperceptible, that is, affectively noticed before they can be named as such. Francois Jullien (2011, p. 3) describes imperceptibility as nuanced yet significant changes that are not necessarily invisible but silent: "In fact, 'silent' is a more precise word to use in this respect than invisibility, or rather it is more telling. Because not only is this transformation in process, even if we do not perceive it, but it operates without warning, without giving an alert, 'in silence', without attracting attention [...] until it destroys us." This outlines quite accurately the feeling described by many interviewees who explained that only after they were able to realize and name their experience as harassment were they able to trace how the harassing behavior had been taking place silently, imperceptibly over a longer period of time. Only then could they, for example, make sense of the bodily changes they had sensed but not properly noticed before. In many cases, this led to the detrimental perception that it was always either too early (seemingly not severe enough, thus not recognized as harassment) or too late (the victim being too dependent and insecure about their perspective, self-worth, and belonging) to report or speak out against harassment.

Thereafter, I turn towards ***(de)legitimization strategies***. I describe ten strategies that I identified as legitimizing harassing and discriminatory behavior, or the other way around, delegitimizing any action against harassment and discrimination. In other words, these strategies prohibit harassment and discrimination to be acknowledged as problems. I call these strategies denial, passivity, derailing, dismissing, avoidance, ignorance, individualizing, ridiculing, non-

performative diversity, and hierarchization of experiences. It is important to outline each strategy in detail to understand how they work together and reinforce each other in reproducing workplace harassment and discrimination. It is further imperative to note that not all strategies might be employed with a conscious aim of legitimizing harassment and discrimination. They are rather identified as (de)legitimization strategies by their effect.

The two final parts describe expectations, experiences, and organizational norms of how to deal with occurrences of harassment and discrimination. The part ***just speak up – in the right way*** highlights the impossibilities of speaking up about harassment and discrimination experiences and identifies a constant tension between paradoxical expectations put on victims that leave no viable way to speak up about their experiences without in the same move breaking some of the normative expectations that permeate their workplaces. It further highlights the contradictory expectations that exist towards victims versus perpetrators. The part on ***reporting harassment and discrimination*** analyses organizational reporting mechanisms. Detailing five aspects that shape the reporting process, namely, the burden of proof, the role of emotions, the threat of false accusations, anonymity, and intransparency, it stresses the malfunctionality of reporting process while also pinpointing why they are set up in such ways.

4.1 Contextual mechanisms facilitating harassment and discrimination

I begin by outlining contextual mechanisms that facilitate the occurrence of workplace harassment and discrimination. The main underlying trait of the context is one where formality and informality entangle. Careers in academia are hierarchically structured while nonetheless remaining fluid so that various encounters between people at all steps in their careers take place in everyday situations. Building upon the tensions between formal and informal ways of organizing within academic institutions, several more particular contextual factors coalesce to enable harassment and discrimination. Importantly, these factors are not causal, nor is harassment inevitable. Yet, in their combination, these factors not only make harassment and discrimination possible but facilitate their occurrence and normalization within Danish academia. The most notable factors, as identified in the interviews, that come to matter are power relations

and in/formal hierarchies, personal-professional relations in an international academic setting, competition, precarity, and individualism, the ideal of academic freedom and the glorification of conflict, a belief in meritocracy and ‘enlightened’ academia, untouchable ‘star’ academics, as well as what has been referred to by interviewees as ‘the Danish way’. In a shorter form, I describe these contextual mechanisms in an article I wrote for *Gender, Work and Organization* in co-authorship with Sine Nørholm Just and Sara Louise Muhr (Guschke, Just, et al., 2022). In the article, the contextual mechanisms are used to situate the empirical data as the article draws upon data from my PhD research whereas here, I extend the description of the mechanisms as they are a core part of my analysis.

4.1.1 Power relations and in/formal hierarchies

One aspect that is continuously mentioned in interviews is the complexity, the messiness, and the seeming invisibility of hierarchies in Danish academia. At several places within academia, formal managerial responsibility and informal leadership power are decoupled from one another. To give some examples of how formal and informal hierarchies entangle: As a PhD student at Danish universities, you are formally both an employee and a student. This means for instance that your supervisor is formally your colleague as much as your advisor. Formally, a supervisor is not a PhD student’s boss or manager but they might very well act as their leader, creating a strong yet informal dependency. Effectively in practice, “[informally] your boss is also your examiner and your supervisor. You’re not just being led by the people above you; they’re also constantly being those who have to evaluate the quality of what you do and report it to other places.” (A12). Similarly, a PhD student shared: “It’s such a flat hierarchy that there’s no respect for differences in power. [There is no acknowledgment] that yes, while I’m here and I’m treated as an employee and we can all sit at the lunch table together and we can call each other on our first names, [...] we are not the same. I am beholden on you in order to get my work done.” (A22)

At the same time, the formal relationships might not even be clear to all parties involved, so that “sometimes we do struggle with hierarchical issues. So, we have had issues with for example people [supervisors] thinking that PhD students are their employees. [They were thinking that] if

you're supervising, you are their boss, which is not true" (A31). Moreover, many PhD students report not knowing about their employee rights or not being sure if employee rights really apply to them. This relates to a general problem outlined in the interviews, namely a lack of informing employees of their rights, but requiring them to simply know or find out about their rights while not providing proper access to relevant information. In the words of one interviewee: "What are your rights actually as a worker? We often take for granted [that people know this, which] we shouldn't. I guess that's also why communication [about employee rights] here is so bad when it comes to these things [harassment cases] because everybody just takes for granted that everybody knows" (A11).

The entanglement of formal and informal hierarchies is further seen in the position of the head of department, institute, or section, who leads and manages a group of researchers for a certain amount of time, usually between 5 and 10 years. While in their leadership function they have managerial power and responsibility towards the other researchers in their group, they remain a colleague in their research field who stays equally dependent on other, primarily senior, scholars in their field. Referring to an example of a harassment case involving two professors as perpetrators and the potential of reporting this to the head of section, one interviewee shared: "So, it's all very much interwoven. The interests are all like this [interweaving her fingers]. And for example, the guy who was head of section and is in principle above those two other professors, in reality, is just their colleague, right? And he has this 'hat' of being head of section. But if I were him, and the way that I sort of see the interactions between them, I would feel that I don't have any power of decision over the others. I have some kind of administrative responsibility for making this unit work, but I don't really have decision power. I'm not really above them. The same goes for the head of the institute. Yes, he has a lot of power but he's also a colleague of the other professors" (A12). This quote already details quite clearly the tension between formal administrative responsibility and informal power over decisions and other people.

Most department, institute, and section leaders continue working in their field of research, might publish in the same field as other professors, and might be dependent on them for their academic career progress. This means that in interaction with their department's researchers, a head of

department has something at stake not only formally as a boss but also informally as a colleague. While this can potentially lead to stronger accountability, it has shown also to lead to enabling harassment and discrimination. Leaders are unlikely to stand up against senior researchers who are accused of harassing and discriminatory behavior when they fear consequences for their own careers or are in a friendly collegial relationship with the perpetrator. In the words of one interviewee: “[If] the head of the department is in charge in sexual harassment [cases, it] is really fucked up because what if he is [...] really a buddy or a good friend with one of the professors who was harassing?” (D1). A head of department thus becomes implicated in reproducing harassment and discrimination by being unwilling to take over formal managerial responsibility in a system in which this can be punished informally with research-related career setbacks. It is a situation in which formal and informal organizing entangles in a way in which formal organizational mechanisms, here based on managerial responsibility that should follow a bureaucratic ethos (cf. Lopdrup-Hjorth & Roelsgaard Obling, 2019), become less powerful in the face of informal organizing that works via manipulation and domination as expressions of power (cf. Fleming & Spicer, 2014), in this case in form of social network related career threats.

4.1.2 Personal-professional relations in an international academic setting

Within academia, people talk about a simultaneous strong attachment and detachment from their working environment. On the one hand, personal and professional relationships often overlap. Many describe people from their close professional networks as having become good friends and even partners and spouses. In general, academia is described as being built upon personal relations and close circles that can almost be compared to close-knit groups of friends or even an ‘academic family’. Some describe engaging in personal relations as of the core assets of working in academia, one interviewee for instance stating: “I like engaging in personal relations and I think it's a very nice part of the academic world” (A21)

On the other hand, many describe a certain detachment from their working environment when referring to their physical workplace. The fact that much academic work, especially research work, that is, generating data, reading, or writing, can or even must take place outside the

university, leads to many academic staff not working from their offices on a regular basis. Moreover, many researchers do not collaborate closely with the colleagues they share a workplace with. They are connected internationally to the relevant researchers in their field, or to fellows they have met in other research institutions, may this be due to prior positions, research stays abroad, or attending academic conferences.

This situation of de- and attachment leads to several mechanisms that enable harassing and discriminatory behavior. Due to a detachment from their physical workplace, many academics do not feel a strong responsibility towards upholding a well-functioning work environment within their institutions. Next to the outlined implications of an international working environment that might be somewhat detached from the local office, another aspect implicating this is “that a lot of people in universities [...] view the workplace culture as something that's very tertiary to producing research and teaching“ (A24). The office is by some seen rather as a place to work from – and just that, providing a desk, a chair, some books, and a door to remain closed in order to conduct concentrated work. Ideally, they do not have to be engaged in working towards a good workplace culture, which incites harassment and discrimination to remain unnoticed. When sitting behind closed doors without any interest in opening them, harassment that takes place in the hallways – or behind other closed doors – remains invisible. Moreover, someone who tries to create awareness about discrimination as a problem in the workplace becomes the one disrupting the ideal of detaching.

At the same time, the depth and breadth of personal relations within academia bring their own difficulties, many of them related to the intransparency of these relations and the consequences it can have to break with a network. Some talk about a general lack of trust between colleagues, as it is never completely clear ‘on whose side’ one stands. One interviewee, reflecting on the aftermath of her own harassment experience related to this issue by sharing the concern that “it's so dangerous for me now [to speak about the harassment experience] because he's talking to the men around and he offers them stuff, makes them feel important, and makes their relationship feel important and shows them that they are special to him” (A17). She goes on to argue that these relations might make colleagues believe ‘his side’ of the story rather than hers, which makes it very difficult to speak up about harassment and discrimination, as trust is an important

component in coming forward with harassment and discrimination experiences. If one cannot be sure if the person one approaches with the claim is closely related to the harassing person, how can one trust the claim to be taken seriously? Secondly, several interviewees shared the concern that one's career progress relies strongly on the informal networks and connections one builds within one's field of research. With strong bonds being held internationally within one scholarly field, victims report that speaking up about harassment and discrimination easily feels like breaking up with a social group that is essential for your professional progress. It becomes 'impossible to get out' of a social group without also cutting important professional ties, or as the same interviewee phrased it: "There's no escape. It is one big international workplace" (A17).

4.1.3 Competition, precarity, and individualism

When I asked the interviewees to describe the academic work setting, many referred to conditions of extreme competition, constant performance pressure, and precarious working conditions – with each of these three factors implicating and strengthening the others. Being employed in a precarious working environment, researchers in temporary positions know that getting a tenured position remains the privilege of the few rather than a general career path. This leads to strong competition among colleagues, which in turn implicates constant performance pressure to prove more worthy of a tenured position than others around you. A PhD student shared that a key learning for her upon entering the university was that academia is not set up for collective support but for being self-interest led, or in other words: "We're not necessarily always gonna be happy for each other because we're in our own individual paths." (A16). These conditions are perceived to have gotten worse over the last decade. New funding schemes for instance require researchers to apply for more external funding for their research activities, which firstly, leads to an extension of the tasks a researcher has to fulfill, while secondly, it strengthens the belief of having to constantly and repeatedly prove your own (research's) worth by being granted external validation in the form of research grants, as one head of department explained (A10).

This leads to a variety of mechanisms enabling harassment and discrimination, some of which might even have been magnified over the last few years. First, performance pressure leads to a

constant sense of not having enough time for all the things that are required of you. As stated by the same head of department: “There is more and more pressure to do more and more things so that those kinds of conflicts [...] might occur because there’s kind of just enough not time to engage with all of them” (A10). Dealing with harassment, especially if it is perceived as one workplace problem out of many, becomes ‘priority 16’ on your list, as a professor phrased it (A28), and is then easily forgotten altogether. Second, extreme competition leads to your career becoming something you need to fight for, even if this means compromising some of your values and ideals. Overlooking harassing and discriminatory behavior instead of speaking up as a witness becomes a choice for avoiding hindrances to your career progress. As one interviewee shares: “I think people are very afraid of losing their jobs, perhaps being kicked out of academia. I mean because a lot of it is so network-based, it might not only be your job, it can also be your reputation [that you risk losing] if you get the wrong enemies [...] or] get into a struggle with the wrong people” (A11). Here, again, formal career mechanisms, such as a lack of tenured positions and the resulting competition between precariously employed academics, entangle with informal power structures that through manipulation of social network ties influence how the academic system is reproduced, that is, who moves up within and who falls out of it (cf. Fleming & Spicer, 2014).

Importantly, these conditions are known to the people working in academia which leads to further problems. “The pressure is just basically addressed as something people should deal with. [...] Most people feel it’s part of the job. You either like it or leave it”, a female professor shared (A23). It leads to a ‘like it or leave it’ mentality which positions any struggle within the precarious, competition-driven system as an individual failure of not being able to take the pressure. The idea of ‘having to struggle to make it’ becomes normalized, to the extreme of normalizing mental health problems as part of the job. A PhD student relates to her own struggle with anxiety, stating that “everybody always says: Oh yeah, a PhD is a tough time. Mental health issues in PhD students are an issue. [...] So, somehow in my mind I knew that I was not in a good place, but at the same time, it’s not ... [*she hesitates, then sighs*] It was normal. Everybody has it. Everybody’s in the same situation. Everybody’s struggling. [I felt like] I shouldn’t have been complaining more than the others about it because everybody has issues.” (A34). Having to

struggle with harassment, and all its mental and bodily implications, neatly falls within this frame, becoming a problem the individual has to learn to cope with as part of what is normal in academia.

4.1.4 The ideal of academic freedom and the glorification of conflict

There is a strong belief in the value of good academic conduct. Good academic conduct is being defined as being able to have a scholarly discourse in which critique and disagreements can be voiced and conflictual views can be expressed. As one interviewee phrased it: “For me, it's part of academia that you learn that a harsh discussion with strong arguments is not a personal thing. Academic discussions can be very tough” (A27). Interestingly, there is an assumption that this voicing of disagreement within a fruitful discussion needs to be somewhat aggressive and even violent at points to lead to good outcomes, as the following quote illustrates: “It’s quite important that you have these negotiations. And these discussions can get quite heated and violent as well. [...] And, of course, there is lots of fighting and lots of arguments and so on” (A10). From this perspective, being doubted by others becomes an essential part of improving your academic work, potentially even your academic self.

However, this disregards that doubt towards your work easily becomes doubt about yourself, when the position you hold within the academic system is legitimized by the value of your work. This is especially so for people in positions that do not legitimize them within the academic setting ‘by default’. While a white male senior researcher might be able to doubt his work without doubting – or having others doubt - his position within the academic context, a Black female junior researcher easily finds herself in a more doubt-ridden situation. Thinking about this through the notions of dehumanization and entitlement (cf. Essed, 2020; Haslam et al., 2010), it can be argued that white men inhabiting the normatively secured position of a legitimate member of the university do not have to fear any attribution of less-than-human value when their work is critiqued. They will still feel (and be seen as) entitled to their academic position. A person who based on their gender, race, ethnicity, or any other identity category is placed outside normative frames of being a legitimate academic however risk dehumanization, that is, being seen as less

deserving of space (and voice) within the academic system. In effect, when their work is doubted their being (within academia) is doubted, too.

While many stress that scholarly debates should and do primarily take place on a professional level, meaning each other's work is discussed, taken apart, doubted, and fought over, even violently, the argument is also used to explicitly legitimize conflict between colleagues. It is maintained that speaking up about harassment and thereby claiming something to be harassment rather than normal workplace conflict prevents a good academic debate which is an essential part of the academic scholarly ethos. This easily leads to regarding harassing behavior as a normal part of good academic conduct, thus enabling the occurrence of harassment and discrimination, even legitimizing it as good, proper, and necessary within academia while simultaneously making it seemingly impossible to speak up about experiences of harassment and discrimination without being blamed for disrupting or disregarding scholarly conduct. The one speaking up about harassment and discrimination is seen as a troublemaker or 'killjoy' (Ahmed, 2017). Moreover, speaking up is perceived as making the professional personal. The reference to 'identity politics', for instance, is used as a strategy to dismiss harassment and discrimination claims. Picking up the quote from above illustrates this:

"I think that at least my colleagues here would agree that protecting the academic freedom is our most important task as leaders. For me, it's part of academia that you learn that a harsh discussion with strong arguments is not a personal thing. Academic discussions can be very tough, but it is not about identities. It's not about you. It's about ideas. [...] Identity politics is a no go in academic settings" (A27).

Thus, if you speak up about harassment and discrimination, not only do you not understand what academia is about, but you also 'make it about you' – taking something from a legitimate professional sphere to an illegitimate site of personal identity politics. You threaten the working of academia with your personal problems, the argument goes.

Relatedly, as can be seen in the quote, there is an argument made about the need to uphold academic freedom, evoking a picture of academic freedom being endangered. It is argued that worrying too much about harassment and discrimination will prevent free academic research and

discourse, limiting the freedom of academics in expressing themselves and disseminating their research. One example of this shows in how harassment policies have been discussed at one of the universities. The professor quoted above was involved in the policy writing process. She shared that one of the main concerns about the first draft of the policy was the fear of academic freedom being limited by a so-called ‘zero tolerance’ policy. The policy group’s reaction to this was to add an explicit paragraph on the need to uphold academic freedom into the policy, which reveals how pertinent the threat to decreasing academic freedom seems in the debate on harassment. As this professor said: “There was this paragraph now [in the new policy] about academic freedom just to make sure that things said in an academic discussion in research or in teaching have to be accepted, [in fact] must be there. And so, this [harassment policy] was not an attempt to decrease academic freedom” (A27). In effect, offenders might perceive their right to academic freedom and freedom of expression as ‘a license’ to offend (Essed, 2020).

4.1.5 The belief in meritocracy and ‘enlightened’ academia

Another mechanism that enables the occurrence of harassment and discrimination is a strong belief in academia being a meritocratic and enlightened system. The belief in meritocracy first and foremost overshadows injustices as inequalities can be explained by individual merit. If someone does not get access to particular positions or privileges, it must be due to their own lack rather than external conditions influencing the situation. The consequences of harassment and discrimination, especially the material ones, are easily ‘explained away’. It moreover leads to a reward and incentive system that is set up upon ‘hard measures’, such as number of publications, publication rankings, amount of funding grants, etc. while ‘soft indicators’ such as engagement within the working environment and workplace behavior play a lesser role. In the words of one interviewee:

“People who are researchers are probably less diplomatic or less sort of people-persons in general, because it is a meritocracy - or should be a meritocracy, it’s not always true – so, in most cases, you can get away with being not very co-operative in organizational settings. And in other places that would be a huge problem, but at

a university, people can be odd and stay odd for a very long time without anything happening because they are measured on different levels. Basically: does he have a Nobel Prize and has he written a book on the subject? Okay, [that person] has to do something very bad to be fired. Or, he'll not be fired just because he's a bit abrasive or a colleague who is not very cooperative" (A5).

Relatedly, speaking up against harassment and discrimination in an engagement for a better workplace culture will not be valu(at)ed as highly as a high-ranked publication on your list.

Next to understanding the academic system as a meritocracy, universities are also understood as enlightened spaces. As one interviewee phrases it:

"I really don't know [if anything that happens within academia would make me feel harassed] unless it was something really quite extreme because, I mean, I guess some people would usually associate the universities with being sort of a very enlightened place, where people would know exactly how to behave. And hence, you know that sort of tolerance for krænkelse [offensive behavior], I mean, you would think would be smaller at a university than in other places. [...] I just think that if you've worked outside of universities, you'll see, I mean, you'll hear people talk in a way that's way rougher and be much rougher with each other. I mean, at least openly and explicitly than you'll find in a university" (A4).

The combination of a belief in meritocracy with an idea of academia being an 'enlightened place', in which people of course know how to behave and interact, makes experiences of harassment not only seem out of place but positions them outside the realm of possible occurrences.

Finally, it also leads to a lack of interest in filing harassment cases, as this might lead to an image contradictory to this ideal. As one interviewee explains: "Universities don't want to have harassment issues. [It is not that] they don't want to solve them - they just don't want to have them. Because if they report cases, then they have bad records. But if they don't report cases, even if they exist, then it's fine. [...]. So, the easiest is to not have people reporting. If you don't listen or if you don't want to record when there's an issue, then you get these [ideal] statistics" (A34). As long as the perception of a good academic workplace is upheld, there is no problem to be

investigated, the credo goes. Or in the words of one head of department: “It’s my job [...] that at least most people are happy, even [if that means] probably not all the time everybody” (A30). If possible, keeping the workplace a happy space for most should happen informally, as is mirrored in the following statement: “The best thing is if it [the problem] can disappear. If it can be suppressed. [...] The way to work with it is not to run to the [formal] positions” (A1, also A10).

4.1.6 Untouchable ‘star’ academics

In addition, the occurrence of harassing and discriminatory behavior within academia is enabled by what I call the problem of untouchable ‘star’ academics, based upon the identification several interviewees offered of some professors as untouchable ‘stars’ within academia. As stated pointedly by one interviewee: “The thing in academia is that we have stars. We have like celebrities, if you will, and they’re quite powerful, maybe not structurally but they have a certain appeal” (A17). As several interviewees reported, some high-ranked professors seem to be immune to the formal workings of the academic system, somehow standing “beyond the law [so that] no matter what social rules we decide on, that apply to everyone, it doesn’t apply to [them] now because [they are] so powerful. [They don’t] need to care about what the rules are. [They] just ha[ve their] own rules. And that’s exactly the problem” (A17). It is usually male senior professors who are of high importance to the department due to a combination of their outstanding reputation in their field of research, their highly ranked publication lists as well as the high amount of external funding they bring to the university. As one interviewee stressed when speaking of the harassing behavior of some of these ‘stars’: “In any other private company people would have been fired long ago” (A24). Yet, within academia, there are seldom any repercussions for these people.

One underlying reason relates to the incentive system outlined above. If publications and funding are valued highest, those who excel in these areas seem to forego control of any other aspects of their conduct. Formal criteria secure the position of the stars. At the same time, the informality of the academic system provides another security net. One can assume that those who make it to the top of the academic system must have established a strong informal network, both within their

research field and the institutions they work in. Relating to the problem of trust within the informal relationships of academia, it clearly the difficulty for the victim to know whom to turn to if everyone seems to be attached to the perpetrator.

Detrimentially, even if a 'star' gets punished for their harassing behavior and maybe even loses some precious positions within the academic system, the victim remains feeling responsible for the institution's loss of a significant part of their reputation and funding. Several victims reported feeling like they had to prove that it was worth it for the institution to choose them over the highly-ranked professor, or in other words that they were worth it: "He [the perpetrator] had to go because of me. Now I have to prove that I'm worth that. [...] And the other version of that is: I need to sort of claim my space. [...] I have to work to claim that space and to make sure that everybody knows that I belong here" (A17). What should be a decision for or against letting harassment in the workplace go unnoticed and unpunished becomes a question of choosing which person is more worthy, valuable, and belonging.

4.1.7 'The Danish way'

On top of these issues, some aspects are assigned particularly to the Danish context. While I do not claim that these things are particularly 'Danish' in the sense of being linked to Danish culture or particularly different from other national contexts, it is interesting that many refer to them as 'something Danish' or related to 'the Danish way' (A23), thereby positioning them as something legitimately belonging to the workplace. Or, in other words, it becomes difficult to resist and object to something when it is legitimized by its Danish-ness.

How 'the Danish way' becomes an ideal to live up to becomes visible in a comment made by a non-Danish female junior scholar who describes herself as "not the ideal foreigner", claiming that "if you are a foreigner you have to be even more Danish than the Danes, otherwise everything you do is not good enough" (A34). Being/becoming Danish is set up as an ideal, and 'the Danish way' should not be questioned: "As a foreigner to critique the Danish way is really risky. Extremely risky. [...] Because if you're labeled a difficult person then you're - because the jobs are so competitive anyway - that you're really digging your own grave" (A23). At the same time, it

becomes an unattainable ideal, leaving non-Danes, and especially non-white non-Danes, to always fall somewhat short of the expected Danish-ness. This creates another reason for some to question their belonging to and worth within the Danish academic system, proliferating the problem of not feeling safe to speak up about harassment and discrimination experiences. I will return to this point later.

The problem of legitimization through the claim of 'Danish-ness' is also seen in the legitimization of sexist jokes and comments as just 'Danish humor'. Several interviewees have shared that they perceived the boundaries of acceptable joking to be comparably loose in Denmark. In this regard, many make a comparison to the neighboring country Sweden, in which the tolerance towards sexist jokes is described as a lot lower (A4, A6). The outcry that Danes would "turn to be Swedes" (A1) is used to wade off any claims towards stricter rules on appropriate behavior or remarks, an undercurrent being a fear of forgoing 'the Danish way'. Interestingly, this nonetheless goes hand in hand with claims of Denmark already having achieved gender equality, wherefore sexism must be something that happened in the past or happens elsewhere, however not in contemporary Denmark, evoking the notion of Denmark as a 'postfeminist gender regime' (cf. Utoft, 2020).

The contextual mechanisms introduced in this part outline the structures, processes, and practices, as identified in the empirical material, which I argue dis/organizing workplaces at universities. As my analysis shows, they become enabling factors for workplace harassment and discrimination at Danish universities. What this part reveals is how the very mechanisms that dis/organize academia, that is, the structures, processes, and practices that uphold the academic system as such, are at the same time facilitative of harassment and discrimination. Consequently, harassment and discrimination are not, as often implied, unfortunate mistakes in an otherwise well-functioning academic system (cf. Guschke & Sløk-Andersen, 2022; Hearn & Parkin, 2001).

While the entanglement of formal and informal hierarchies allows for cross-hierarchical collaborations that foster research progress, it also leads to a lack of clear formal allocation of responsibility when it comes to harassment and discrimination risking interests to overlap in a way that influences how harassment cases are dealt with. Similarly, close-knit long-term

relationships between researchers that cross boundaries of professional and private interactions can be fruitful for productive and creative academic development, yet at the same time they blur the boundaries of appropriate workplace behavior and enable the normalization of harassment and discrimination in unclear private-professional settings. Competition between individuals in situations of scarcity of career positions is meant to foster excellence and let only the best academics succeed, yet it also leads to unnoticed and disguised suffering in a precarious system in which no one wants to seem like they are failing the high requirements. Academic freedom and research progress are to be achieved through scholarly disputes, yet with conflict becoming “the ebb and flow of academic life” (Irwin, 2021, p. 118) a certain glorification of conflict risks disguising harassment as a normal part of academic work-life. At the same time, meritocratic ideals are to organize academia fairly, yet the seemingly unshakable belief that “academia is a meritocratic environment [...even though] meritocracy was not always the guiding principle” (Horst, 2021, p. 137) hides any claims to inequality that do not fit this myth of meritocracy (cf. J. F. Christensen & Muhr, 2019; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012). Finally, intellectually important and successful figures – “the highly successful academic ‘star’, the much published, wise, revered intellectual” (Ford et al., 2010, p. S78; see also, Knights & Clarke, 2014) – are to provide guidance and inspiration, and drive a whole research field. However, their exclusive position allows them to misuse their seemingly uncontrolled power in situations of harassment and discrimination.

It is this web of informal and formality, structures, processes, and practices that dis/organizes academic workplaces in such a way that they become facilitative of harassment and discrimination. Throughout this chapter, I will continuously refer back to the various mechanisms to show how they are implicated in the reproduction of harassment by providing a fertile ground for its occurrence and persistence.

4.2 Legitimized othering and the unspeakability of racism

I started my investigation with the aim of understanding how different types of harassment and discrimination are reproduced in workplaces at Danish universities. I was particularly interested in discrimination at the intersection of gender, sexuality, and race, yet I wanted to stay open to

the insights emerging from the data including which types of harassment and discrimination the interviewees would focus on and give relevance. Through the analysis of the interviews, I realized that interviewees predominantly spoke about *sexual* harassment and *gendered* discrimination when asked about harassment, discrimination, or inappropriate behavior in their workplace. Most people I spoke with agreed that sexism, sexual harassment, and gender discrimination are relevant and timely topics in contemporary workplaces, even if their views differed on the value and necessity of engaging with these issues. In contrast, only a few reflected on other types of harassment and discrimination. Some interviewees mentioned categories such as ethnicity, culture, religion, nationality, or language to describe harassment and discrimination that were not gendered. Yet, they hardly ever used the words racist or racism. While sexual harassment and gendered discrimination were spoken about predominantly, references to racist harassment and discrimination remained side-lined.

4.2.1 Legitimized othering

What I noticed in this side-lining of racist harassment and discrimination is that interviewees showed a general tendency to legitimize certain differences, using these to create a form of what I conceptualize as *legitimized othering* that justifies unequal treatment, and even harassment, of other(ed) people. *Legitimized othering*, as I term it, describes the process through which a group is defined as different and differential treatment is justified due to this labeling, thus making them ‘the other’ who is treated differently from those who are part of one’s own group. For example, cultural differences, religious differences, or gender differences are accepted as always-already existent and used as explanatory factors that rationalize and legitimize people being treated differently because of their cultural background, religion, or gender. This logic makes sense from a standpoint that promotes treating ‘that which is the same’ in the same way, and ‘that which is different’ in different ways, wherefore people who are legitimized as different can

and even should be treated differently. The danger lies in the flawed basis that is used to create and justify those differentiations.⁸

In my data, the two most common differentiations were drawn between men and women based on their gender and between seemingly 'Danish' and seemingly 'non-Danish' people where Danish-ness was ascribed primarily based on nationality, cultural background, language, ethnicity, and religion. In my interviews, gender differences were explained as a male-female binary based on two main lines of argumentation. Some argued that differences between men and women are natural, referring to nature as irrefutable fact and biology as scientific proof as the following argument illustrates: "I am a biologist. There are differences between men and women. There are differences. So, you cannot neglect these differences when you hire people. [...As an example] if you give a critique point to a man, he tries to defend [himself] and in many cases, it's in an aggressive way, and [that is] just because of their nature. While if you make a critique point to a girl, she would in most cases - of course not in hundred percent but in most cases - she would be more shy." (A2). Others invoked the idea of socialization, tradition, and cultural history to explain why men and women are and should be different, for instance saying: "I think our group is very male-dominated in the sense that we have very few female employees in the group and also very very few female students. But traditionally [our field] is not very attractive [for women]" (A8). While some were explicitly referring to these reasons others simply stated there to be a difference between men and women without explicating why: "Sometimes the vibe I get from Sweden [...is that] we don't do male and female. And now we make it a neutral word, so we avoid that entirely. But I mean it becomes a bit ridiculous because we look at each other and we are different" (A32).

⁸ When working with this concept it is important to differentiate between, on the one hand, *legitimized othering* as describing the processual legitimization of structural differences and discriminatory treatment based upon such processes of othering, as I conceptualize in this dissertation, and, on the other hand, practices that might be described as legitimate differentiation, that is, the recognition of existent structural differences and the adaptation of practices, processes, and structures to amend such structural differences. Examples of the latter would for instance be explicit hiring strategies targeted at groups underrepresented in the organization or the recognition of intersectional discrimination in organizational policies. These should not be understood as and confused with *legitimized othering* which has the aim and effect to legitimize existent structural differences rather than recognize to be able to criticize and potentially overcome them.

Understanding each of the explanatory factors – nature and socialization or tradition – as deterministic fixes binary gender roles and related expectations towards male and female behavior. These expectations are then used to legitimize harassing and discriminatory behavior as the following quotes show. “I think that kind of harassment or clash, that comes from a gender difference” (A8), one interviewee states after outlining there to be traditional differences between the preferences of men and women. “When there is a real basis [then it is discrimination, in other cases] they do choose on gender basis, of course, they do, but it’s not discrimination, because it’s very natural reasons why men are coming there [and discriminate against women.]” (A2), another interviewee claims based on presumed natural differences between men and women. Gender becomes not only an explanatory but a justifying factor that allows harassment to reproduce unquestioned.

Legitimized

There are differences
you cannot neglect
because of their nature.

(Of course, not in hundred percent but)

In most cases
traditionally
we look at each other

and

we are different

of course.

of course.

of course?

There are differences
you cannot neglect.

So: it’s not discrimination, because

it’s very natural.

othering

While *legitimized othering* based on gender was framed clearly within those lines of argumentation, legitimized othering based on the categorization of ‘Danish’ versus ‘non-Danish’ was slightly harder to grasp as it was not expressed as univocally as the references to binary gender differences. Some interviewees did refer specifically to differences in behavior between Danes and ‘internationals’ or Danes and ‘people from other countries’, for instance drawing comparisons between Danes and Russians (A2), French (A9), or Swedes (A32). While there was no consistent stereotypical attribution to any of these groups, the difference in nationality was used to explain conflicts and harassing behavior. One interviewee, for instance, explained that ‘cultural differences’ inevitably lead to clashes which according to him explains the occurrence of workplace harassment: “A multicultural workplace brings with it the problem that you have many cultures which is in some cases problematic. I mean we have people with all sorts of backgrounds, who have grown up in all sorts of environments - and with all sorts of views of all the people with all the backgrounds – it sometimes clashes” (A5). Another interviewee described harassing behavior towards her and explained it by stating “he was very displeased that I was younger, and I was a girl because he was from the south of Russia. They have this traditional society in the Muslim part of Russia. And he was from there. And for him, it was an unacceptable situation when the boss is a woman and young [...] it is their tradition in Muslim countries. I mean that was the problem” (A2).

What this quote also shows, is that it is often not even the country of origin, or nationality itself, that is made salient. Instead, many create this difference by proxy of religion, where Muslim religion is opposed to being Danish (independent of the person’s national identity). One interviewee tries to explain how the category of the Muslim woman is created stereotypically as not only different but inferior to Danish women, saying: “There are these girls with [head]scarfs, and people assume that you are oppressed and poorly educated because you are oppressed and [*she starts speaking in a voice that sounds angry and grumpy in an exaggerated way*] you believe in a strange religion which I don’t approve of, which is oppressing people and is violent. [*She continues in her normal voice*] You are all these things. [...] And we are not aware in Denmark that you carry this with you” (A6). Here, the importance of an intersectional perspective becomes relevant once again. While Muslim men are stereotypically seen as misogynistic and violent,

Muslim women are described as oppressed and inferior. Still, in both ways, a difference to a 'Danish' norm is created and upheld.

You are all these things.

international --- *different*
multicultural --- *problematic*
the backgrounds --- *it clashes*
headscarf --- *oppressed*
Muslim --- *misogynist*
woman --- *inferior*

You carry this with you.

Alternatively, the differentiation might be drawn by proxy of cultural background, for instance stating "I think culture is really important at a workplace where you have basically a mix and match of everybody from all over the world. So, a lot of cultures are represented. And there are challenges a lot of times. And I think it is true that you have to approach different cultures differently" (A8). Later, the interviewee goes on to describe his interactions with people from Asia, thus creating a very broad 'cultural' category, explaining that people from Asia would behave differently than Danes, or Europeans: "It's part of the culture. But some of them are really good to adapt to Western culture. So, they are aware of all of these pitfalls and then they correct themselves. Or, let's say, they don't display their background like others do. So, some are very open. They have no problems in saying no. So, it really depends on the person very very much. I'm guessing it also depends if they've had any sort of international experience before or maybe they've studied somewhere else in Europe before" (A8). The stereotype (re)produced here is that of Asian people not being assertive and less self-confident than people from Western countries, as well as the idea that they need to 'correct' this behavior to 'function' in a Danish context.

Interestingly, language is also used as a point of reference, for instance, a head of department stated that “now we have hired four Portuguese-speaking [colleagues]” when speaking about the cultural diversity in his department (A30). He continues to speak about the unavoidable difficulties in the department due to ‘cultural differences’ however not directly referring to language barriers as a problem but rather the pre-assumption that a ‘Portuguese-speaking’ person must bring with them a cultural background that is different from the Danish. In either case, the category of culture is used to identify differences, in some instances even to separate between good, normal (Western), and bad, deviant (other) behavior. The flexibility of the meaning of ‘culture’ in how the interviewees use it becomes clear as the interviewees rarely defined their understanding of culture or described what aspect of another person’s culture apparently influenced the situation. Rather, they stick with a taken-for-granted claim of obvious difference due to differences in ‘culture’, where culture is variedly linked to nationalities, ethnicities, religions, or also languages.

You are different.

Your nationality, or ...

Your ethnicity, or ...

Your religion, or ...

Your language ...

Something about you is – must be – different.

It is not (really)

Your nationality, not (quite)

Your ethnicity, not (exactly)

Your religion, not (entirely)

Your language ...

It is – must be – your culture. *[sigh of relief. difference explained.*

legitimized as other.]

What is important to note is that it is not a fixed determination of a particular difference as such that matters but the process of categorizing someone as different from the norm of 'Danish-ness' and the legitimization of this differentiation. When differences are not fully determined – culture and cultural differences are never fully described or defined – the conditions of acceptance into the norm of 'Danish-ness' are not fixated either. That is, it is not necessarily a question of *being* (recognized as) Danish or not – either you are in, or you are out. Rather, the norm of Danish-ness is created through continuous differentiation from 'its' other, that which is not same but different – yet this differentiation needs to be continuously reproduced for the norm of 'Danish-ness' to persist. It is a constant question of (not) *becoming* (recognized as) Danish.

For some, it might be easier, more achievable than for others to be recognized as Danish. For instance, if you are white and speak Danish fluently but hold a non-Danish passport, you might nonetheless in many contexts be recognized within the category of 'Danish-ness', whereas if the same person was not white their 'Danish-ness' might be questioned more frequently. In other instances, it might suffice that you do not speak Danish, or speak it with an accent, to be positioned outside the category of 'Danish-ness'. It is thus not about what 'Danish-ness' *is*. 'Danish-ness' is filled with meaning as necessary for the legitimization of behavior that would otherwise risk being criticized; it is used to exclude anyone who is not (supposed to be) fitting into the category of 'Danish-ness.'

'Danish-ness' thus functions almost like an empty signifier, yet it is not arbitrarily extendable. That the category is not fixed but rather flexibly extended can be seen in how Muslim people and people of color are commonly disassociated from 'Danish-ness' under the claim of having a different cultural or social background, independent of whether or not the person might be Danish in the legal sense of holding Danish citizenship and potentially also having grown up in Denmark. Yet, this also shows how 'Danish-ness' is often linked to whiteness and differentiated from being Muslim. It is not infinitely and arbitrarily extendable but likely to be extended along axes of presumed nationality, religion, culture, and ethnicity (cf. Hervik, 2011; Keskinen et al., 2009; Skadegård & Jensen, 2018). Importantly, however, the intersectionality at play here is more than just an additive 'double' or 'triple' marginalization. My argument is not that nationality and ethnicity and religion and language and culture add up to move you closer or further from

‘Danish-ness’. Rather ‘Danish-ness’, as a norm, functions through a constant risk of misrecognition, of not fully achieving ‘Danish-ness’. Nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, and culture are then mobilized for the purpose of legitimizing difference, to create a group of people *legitimized as other*, not (the same as) ‘Danish’, a group that can legitimately be treated differently.

I argue that it is less about the particular name that is given to the differentiating factor, may this be culture, language, nationality, or religion, but rather that these different criteria reveal the invisible conditions that are linked to the idea of Danish-ness (cf. Hervik, 1999, 2004). While being Danish, in a legal sense relates to possessing a Danish passport, the invocation of Danish-ness in the workplace at Danish universities brings with it the expectation to speak Danish as first language, to be born and raised in Denmark rather than having moved from a different country and thus assumedly ascribe to Danish culture, and finally, to not be Muslim (importantly, it is not even about ascribing *to* a particular religion, or atheism, but to refrain from Muslimness). ‘Danish-ness’ carries the ghosts of other(ing) factors that create the ‘us’ and the ‘other’.

Detrimentially, these factors are seen as legitimate explanations for differential, even harassing, treatment. That is, first, such differentiations are built upon stereotypical ideas about men, women, Danes, ‘internationals’, migrants, and Muslims and second, these stereotypical ascriptions are then used to legitimize unequal, prejudiced treatment (cf. J. F. Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010). What disappears from view and judgment is that these stereotypes – for instance, the perception that Muslim women are oppressed and poorly educated or that people from Asia are not assertive – are not based on actual experiences, but developed as ascriptions, attributions, and eventually prescriptions. They thus lead to discrimination through the three-stepped process of stereotypical group categorization, prejudiced devaluation, and discriminatory exclusion (cf. El-Mafaalani, 2021).

That stereotypes are not based on actual experience becomes very clear in how people deal with deviations from the stereotypical rules (cf. Payne, 2001). Deviations are not only recognized but even preempted. Several interviewees state something along the lines of the following quote: “There is the average and the exceptions of course. But if you are an exception, it doesn't mean that the average is like you” (A2). Notably, people admit that these presumptions are based upon

stereotypes and do not hold for everyone, yet by acknowledging this as an exception to the rule, the general rule can be kept in place (cf. J. F. Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010; Payne, 2001). Thus, despite acknowledging the insufficiency of the stereotypical rule, culture (as a proxy for ethnicity-nationality-language-religion) or gender become that which is noticed, seen, visible, thus that which becomes salient, the important characteristic that differentiates people. Even though not all behavior can be explained by these stereotypes, they are evoked easily when they fit. Whenever one can be accused of acting in a stereotypical way, in a way that fits this person's gendered or cultural box, it is immediately and unquestionably explained by their gender or culture.

The concept of *legitimized othering* that I develop here speaks to research on othering and discrimination based on stereotypical ascriptions (cf. J. F. Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010; El-Mafaalani, 2021), specifically in relation to racist harassment and discrimination in the Danish context (cf. Hervik, 2011; Keskinen et al., 2009; Skadegård & Jensen, 2018). It explains the justification process that makes it possible to view some, those who are *legitimized as other*, as different and place them in a hierarchical order of 'us' versus 'them'. This hierarchical ordering justifies differential treatment, including harassing and discriminatory behavior, which can be explained as legitimate practice without triggering feelings of remorse, guilt, or shame that would otherwise accompany the mistreatment of people who are deemed 'same' and thus equally deserving of non-discriminatory behavior (cf. Essed, 2020; Haslam et al., 2010).

4.2.2 *The unspeakability of racism*

One does not drive to the limits for a thrill experience, or because limits are dangerous and sexy, or because it brings us into a titillating proximity with evil. One asks about the limits of ways of knowing because one has already run up against a crisis within the epistemological field in which one lives. The categories by which social life are ordered produce a certain incoherence or entire realms of unspeakability.
(Butler, 2001, p. 215)

Having offered this account of how the complex entanglements of nationality-culture-ethnicity-religion-language create an image of Danish-ness versus non-Danish-ness to explain, even justify, unequal treatment and harassing behavior, what I will focus on next is the resultant lack of

engagement with and conversation about harassment that is not gender-based. To do so, I will put the affective level of my research into focus. Much of my analysis is focused on the discursive level even though the affective and embodied is always part of it, creating an entanglement of both. In this part, however, I will pay particular attention to the affective aspects in those instances where the discursive failed me. That is, next to analyzing what interviewees said I examine the embodied and affective intensities that I felt when conducting the interviews.

As described, I set off to explore harassment from an intersectional perspective. I wanted to pay attention to the intersecting categories emerging in my data, with the hope of being able to grasp more than 'just' gendered types of harassment and discrimination understood as one-dimensional. Nonetheless, an analysis of the interview data, the spoken utterances and dialogues from and with interviewees, pointed primarily towards an understanding of harassment and discrimination as gendered and sexualized from a heteronormative perspective. Discursively, harassment is immediately linked to sexual harassment and gendered discrimination. One interviewee explained harassment is "when your sexism drives you to systematically act in an unpleasant, threatening or undermining way. [... It is] bullying with a certain oppressed identity linked to it." (A20). Harassment is here automatically linked to sexism thus indicating sexual harassment to be the point under discussion, even though the definition of 'bullying with a certain oppressed identity linked to it' could equally well refer to racist, anti-queer, or intersectional experiences of oppression. Another interviewee, when asked about harassment in the workplace replies: "It's more rare because basically there are just not that many women. So the ones that we do have we try to cherish because it's really rare that we do get female co-workers" (A8), automatically linking harassment to heteronormative ideas of sexist harassment towards women.

It needs to be acknowledged that the phrasing of my research interest might influence the discursive focus on *sexual* harassment and *gendered* discrimination. Acknowledging this, I actively invited reflections on issues beyond gender and sexuality. I asked about different types of harassment and discrimination taking place in the workplace, in some interviews for instance explicitly asking about racist harassment and anti-queer/homophobic discrimination. Nonetheless, the interviewees predominantly picked up on sexual harassment and gendered

discrimination, leaving intersectional positionalities and inequalities out of view. This linkage of harassment to sexual harassment, I argue, sustains the silencing of other types of harassment persisting in workplaces at Danish universities. One might even go so far as to argue that making visible sexist harassment currently comes at the cost of continuing to obscure other types of harassment and discrimination taking place in workplaces at Danish universities (cf. Nkomo, 2021).

Importantly, these other types of harassment and discrimination do exist in my data. As has been outlined, part of my methodological approach was to engage with my data in an embodied way. Both during the interviews as well as when working with the recordings, I listened in an embodied way, listening to the corporeal and emotional or affective (re)actions in my body. This affective, embodied work allowed me to use my body as a container of data or, put differently, allow my embodied affectedness to become data, too. It enables me to turn towards that which has escaped words and discourse. I use this affective approach to engage with that which is not there (discursively) but still is (affectively). I thereby also use it as a re-engagement with the intersectional perspective I set out to utilize. Race, ethnicity, culture, religion, and language were sometimes evoked discursively, creating the 'other' which is positioned against the norm. But while it remained a side notion in discussions, it was affectively present intensely in many interview situations. To allow the affective state of my own body as well as the atmosphere in the interview situation to become part of the writing, I wrote the following four vignettes based on interview situations (A6, A27, A19, A30) I encountered in my research.

Vignette one

“I think people in Denmark are generally a bit more insensitive”, she starts, then hesitating for a moment. It seems like she is thinking about how to explain what she means by this statement. Still hesitant, she continues: “I have a new boyfriend. He is not from Denmark. And his religious background is also different than mine.” Notably, she is not saying where he is from or what his religion is. What she stresses is what he is not - not Danish, not of her religion - not same, but different. As she moves on, she stumbles upon some of her words: “And I’ve - I’ve - I’ve experienced some persons that I thought were very socially aware and very aware of the...” She pauses, thinks. “... the way they influence other people, who have said really derogatory things about his ethnic background.” She seems somewhat shocked about this experience, the realization that these people who were ‘socially aware’ said derogatory things towards him. Interestingly, she now also refers to his ethnicity while before it was his nationality and religion. I notice how, again, nationality-ethnicity-religion seems to be used as a complex entanglement rather than separate identity categories. “I think in Denmark, there are certain ethnic groups that we are very aware of not to offend. No one is saying anything derogatory about white people - but that is I guess just how it is. But then it’s more okay to say rubbish or things about certain groups rather than others and certain religious backgrounds as well“. She speaks as if she is carefully moving from one sentence to the next, struggling for words, not quite sure how to best express what she wants to say. Her descriptions stay vague: ‘certain groups’ and ‘other groups’. Whiteness is named. Which makes me wonder, am I right to assume that those ‘certain groups’ are not white? “It’s like a whole new world for me”, she continues: “because I am seeing things - I am becoming aware because of my boyfriend’s background. I am all of the sudden like: ‘What on earth? Why is this okay?’” She seems angry, agitated but also just very surprised and confused about how this can be possible. I can almost feel that for her, in these moments, it hurts to become aware. And it also seems to confuse her to not understand why people, especially people who are ‘socially aware’, act this way. When she continues speaking, she urgently seems to look for an explanation. She speaks faster now: “Maybe it’s just because they have not been outside of white Scandinavia a lot.” I have come across this assumption before and its inadequacy makes me angry every time: the idea that in Scandinavia everyone is white, how thus would one even come across someone

who is not and learn how to engage with the non-white Other? It is particularly interesting as she has just spoken about becoming aware herself only after engaging with 'her boyfriend's background'. "Maybe they don't understand how it affects people. And maybe, maybe..." Her voice is getting lower and lower as she speaks, she slows down but then after hesitating says very fast: "...maybe they are just racist - but I wouldn't know." The word racist is rushed over, and the statement is immediately weakened by adding insecurity and doubt – 'I wouldn't know.' Despite her bafflement and shock at the experience, calling this behavior out as racist seems unspeakable.

Vignette two

With an institute leader, I am discussing how plans to deal with harassment are implemented at different levels of the university. She describes how part of the implantation is to discuss the topic of workplace harassment at each institute once per year. I ask her what the general reactions towards these discussions are. How do people at the faculty react to having to discuss workplace harassment? She laughs a little and says: “Positively I would say. Of course, there has been irony and laughter and ‘do we need this?’”. That she is laughing, laughing along with those who react with jokes and irony, feels a bit uncomfortable. I become the one who is making this a serious topic, while she seems to be saying, it is all right to laugh about it – it is a laughable matter to some degree. She then continues: “It’s also funny that you are brown and not blue-eyed, you know?” I am baffled. It feels extremely uncomfortable, for a moment the atmosphere is tense. Her comment lingers in the air like an unanswered question. She said it as if to explain why it is, indeed, funny. But how is it funny that I am brown and not blue-eyed, in other words not white? What is fun about it? Now it is up to me to either laugh along with her or to become the troublemaker, the one who does not get the joke and the one who makes it about herself and her identity, when in fact the same interviewee has earlier in the interview made it very clear that “it is not about identities. It’s not about you. [...] Identity politics is a no go in academic settings.” So, here I am, not laughing along, but also not saying anything. Race in form of the color of my skin – or rather the color it is not – is very present in the room, for a moment the atmosphere is so dense you could cut it. Then we move on, but the mood has shifted ever so slightly afterward. And yet, race, racism, or skin color are not talked about in this interview.

Vignette three

The interviewee talks about her department doing comparably well in terms of gender equality. But then she adds: “I have no idea how for instance the people that are not heterosexual feel. I don't know if that's an issue here. I don't think it is. Because I think people can be openly gay and not have to hear any comments about it. But I don't know. I don't know how they would feel.” I wait for a moment, listening for anything else she might say about this. The comment lingers in the air for a moment, then we move on. Nothing else is said about homophobia or queer harassment in this interview. She does not know, but she thinks it is not a problem. So, we do not speak about it potentially being a problem. I feel somewhat disappointed.

Vignette four

I am interviewing a head of department and asking him about any problems or challenges at his department that might relate to gender, (national background), ethnicity, sexuality, or any related category. "I think actually the only aspect of that, that really plays a role is probably gender", he replies. The only one that *really* plays a role. I get curious if any of the other aspects might *not really* but still *somehow* play a role. But to the contrary, he states: "The other things, I don't think we think too much about that." How easily not thinking about something can remove it from the list of problems, I think. He seems to be somewhat insecure about how to best address 'the other things.' He even stutters slightly as he moves on: "The other things... We we we we we have - we have." He struggles for words. "We do not have a very strong concentration on any sort of nationalities, or we are a very internationalized department." He smiles now. He seems almost relieved over having found a good way to address this topic. Suddenly we are not talking about harassment based on ethnicity or religion anymore, but about an international workplace which seems to be a much more pleasant topic. "Maybe the Danes are still the biggest group, but it's surely challenged by the Germans and the Italians." Now he even laughs a little, this seems to become a joyful conversation for him. He even shares what he perceives as a funny anecdote: "There was a long discussion about what we should call the department - this is a funny department. And then I was saying at one meeting, maybe we should just call us the Department of Danes, Italians, and Germans." He seems to warm up to the topic and continues proudly: "Now actually we have hired two Portuguese-speaking. That means that we are in total four Portuguese. So, we have a lot of nationalities. And I think the majority of the Danes like this international atmosphere at the department." It feels like this has turned into a happy story of happy international people that also make the Danes happy - except that I do not feel happy. I feel uneasy about the fact that ethnicity and sexuality, the two categories I had initially asked about seem to have completely disappeared out of view. He destroys any remaining hopes about them re-entering the conversation by ending with: "But other things - ethnicity, sexual preferences and so on - that's not something we look at, at all. That's not really a variable for people. As long as they're good, we're happy."

This affective approach to engaging with how the categories of race-ethnicity-culture-religion-language are evoked allows me to encounter intersectionality as an affective flow or entanglement of different categories that are evoked affectively and evoke affect. It highlights the fluidity of intersectional identities in different contexts (cf. Midtvåge Diallo, 2019). In one situation the non-white ‘other’ is created against a norm of whiteness in Scandinavia. Here, religion and ethnicity intersect in the creation of the seemingly non-white, potentially Muslim, or at least not Christian, person as deviant. And despite the anger which evokes a strong affective reaction to this differentiation, it is not named racist discrimination. In another instance, brown skin color gets opposed to blue eyes evoking an idea of whiteness as an unspoken norm in the discussion of workplace harassment in a Danish context. Two vignettes bring sexuality about as a category but just to dismiss it immediately after as not relevant. Heterosexuality is exposed as the norm but with the claim that it does not hold any power. One might not know how ‘the people that are not heterosexual’ feel, but it does not matter, sexuality as a category does not matter ‘as long as they are good, we are happy’ and do not care. Again, a strong belief in a meritocratic system in which everyone starts off as equal is revealed. If you are not ‘good’, it is your own fault and what is more, you become responsible for ruining the department’s happiness (cf. Ahmed, 2014a, 2014b).

Noticing how few instances there are in which that which is assumed as normative is named and bodies that alternate from it are mentioned, and how when they are evoked, they become othered, triggers me to engage with those bodies that are so to speak *not* there. As some of the vignettes show, I actively tried to speak about these non-normative bodies, yet they were removed from the conversation immediately, or rather never explicitly allowed in. In other cases, they are not spoken about at all but are present affectively, felt in my body, in the atmosphere in the room, traceable in what is not said. The *unspeakability* of issues that relate to those non-normative bodies, such as racist harassment or anti-queer discrimination, thus manifests in two different ways: in eradicating and silencing any attempts of speaking them into presence, and in not speaking (about) them in the first place.

Thinking with Ahmed (2006a), the unspeakability of certain issues triggers the question of what our bodies in academia are oriented towards, what this brings us in proximity with, and who gets positioned out of view. Ahmed (2006a) creates a link between norms and bodies by arguing that

bodies' orientations are shaped by normativities. What bodies 'tend to do', that is what they orient towards, is not just given, but shaped by norms and their constant repetition. Looking at my analytical insights with an understanding of the link between norms and orientations, I suggest that Danish academia is orientated towards white, Danish, Western, non-Muslim, heterosexual bodies. That is, when we speak about issues within academia those are understood in relation – or rather, in proximity – to a normatively white, Danish, Western, non-Muslim, heterosexual body in academia. The 'further away' one is positioned from the orienting norm, the harder it is to get into view. Consequently, when harassment is discussed as *sexual* harassment and *women* are understood as the ones being harassed, the orientation remains towards and thus in proximity to whiteness, Danish-ness, being Western, not being Muslim, speaking Danish, and heteronormativity. It is assumed that the woman who is harassed is a white Danish heterosexual woman. Issues of racism or anti-queerness are not even considered potential factors. Non-white, non-Danish, Muslim, queer bodies are not recognized as possibly being excluded. If anything, they are positioned as that which deviates, as those bodies that break the norm, as different. The non-white, non-Danish, Muslim, queer person remains invisible and silenced - even when exclusions through discrimination and harassment come into focus.

This should by no means be read as a call for disengaging with the topic of sexist harassment. As my data highlighted, sexual and gender-based harassment is reproduced in workplaces at Danish workplaces wherefore it needs to be addressed in order to be tackled. However, while it is important to understand how sexist harassment and discrimination are reproduced in the workplace, other types of harassment, including intersectional types of sexual harassment, do persist in workplaces at Danish universities (cf. Andreassen & Myong, 2017; Hvenegård-Lassen & Staunæs, 2019; Thorsen, 2019). It would be detrimental to assume that a lack of acknowledgment of these problems means that the problem does not exist (cf. Dar et al., 2020; Nkomo, 2021). Instead, I argue, the current way in which harassment and discrimination are discussed leaves no room for discussions of intersectional types of harassment and discrimination. Through *legitimized othering*, claims of racist harassment become dismissed as cultural misunderstandings, building upon an idea of inevitable yet somewhat unproblematic conflict between Danish-ness and non-Danish-ness where these categories are built upon an

entanglement of nationality-culture-ethnicity-religion-language as identity markers. This allows racist harassment and discrimination to remain silenced and ignored, as I suggest *unspeakable*.

It is thus important to pay attention to how these problems are recurrently left out of the debate as making these silences visible – through the developed concepts of *legitimized othering* and *the unspeakability of racism* – might allow an approach that holds intersectional perspectives at its core instead of a ‘one-dimensional’ focus on a heteronormative coupling of sexuality and gender. As I continue with the analysis, I try to explicitly include such an intersectional perspective that draws upon both affective and discursive elements whenever possible and relevant.

4.3 The imperceptibility of harassment experiences

I don't even know how it started.

I'm doing you a favor.

Yes. Yes?

I doubt my own perspective

I'm teaching you.

I don't even know how it started.

At least, I am ... not sure anymore

You're such a disappointment.

I was really hoping you(r thinking) would be further developed by now.

I don't even know ...

Oh, are those tears in your eyes?

I am ... not sure anymore

Too far down

Are those tears in your eyes?

Drowning in it

Are you crying on me?

Yet so used to it

You need to be tougher!

It doesn't surprise me anymore.

You cannot cry here!

I don't even know how it started.

He would be watching me
Everything I did was a problem
I doubt my own perspective
I am ... not sure anymore
I lose my own perspective

*I'm doing you a favor,
I'm teaching you*

Yes, you did teach me.
But it was also,

at one point

I think,

there was some sort of

it was

a slippage where it was just

inappropriate

too much

It just took
so much.

In my interviews, ten women shared experiences of what they described as severe harassment cases in their workplaces⁹. While the perpetrator was in all, but one cases a man in a more senior position, the specific relation between victim and perpetrator differs between the cases. Yet, the strategies used by the perpetrator as well as the conditions the victims describe are very similar. From their accounts, I identified four common experiences that the interviewees went through as part of the harassment: 4.3.1 questioning their own perspective, 4.3.2 losing their sense of self-worth, 4.3.3 feeling isolated and non-belonging, and 4.3.4 feeling dependent. Next to outlining each part of their experience in detail, I argue that in combination they lead to harassment experiences becoming imperceptible, that is, affectively noticed before they can be named as such (Jullien, 2011).

⁹ The harassment cases described by the ten women comprise instances of verbal and physical sexual harassment as well as harassment that I analyze as sexist harassment due to its gendered nature, but which did not include unwanted sexual attention, sexual advances, sexual coercion, or similar. It also includes experiences of racist harassment, at points in combination with sexist harassment.

4.3.1 Questioning their own perspective

The first common experience is a feeling of losing their own ‘moral compass’ after continuously questioning their own perspective. Harassment is experienced as a form of *moral erosion*. All ten people who have been harassed described that they felt as if they were not able to judge what is proper or appropriate workplace behavior and what is not. As one interviewee recalled: “You doubt your own perspective [...] I was at least somewhat aware I'd lost it. At least I wasn't sure anymore” (A17). When being asked to describe the experience, one of the first things expressed by all ten interviewees was that they felt like they had lost their sense of right and wrong in relation to the harassing behavior. One interviewee expressed that “I was too far down [to see it ... I was] drowning in it” (A34). Another one said: “I’ve been so used to it. It didn’t surprise me anymore” (A22). The second quote highlights an important aspect of the feeling of having lost perspective, namely the normalization of the harassing behavior.

This becomes a difficulty particularly because it is commonly expected of individuals to clearly express their boundaries, as the following quote outlines vividly: “You have to make the levels of what you accept clear, [or] else it just [means] that you are open for more” (A1). It is thus perceived as an individual’s failure to clearly highlight what is acceptable for them, rather than expecting others to find out where another person’s boundary lies, or a collective negotiation of acceptable behavior in a workplace.

4.3.2 Losing their sense of self-worth

Secondly, they were met with continuous critique of their work, so that the harasser managed to make them feel as if they were not good enough – as a researcher, as a colleague, as a person. Many describe how the perpetrator actively induces this feeling in them, for instance by constantly doubting and criticizing their work or even explicitly questioning their capabilities as a researcher. This could for instance involve continuous criticism about even the smallest tasks. One PhD student shared that “he [the supervisor who started harassing her] didn't give it [the project] constructive feedback, just: ‘I don't like that color. Change the color.’ I could bring him 20

different copies of the same figure and he didn't like any of the colors" (A13). Another interviewee described the following instance:

"He had this way of really talking down to me where he would say things like: 'You're such a disappointment. I was really hoping your thinking would be further developed by now. Oh, are those tears in your eyes? Are those tears in your eyes? Are you crying on me? You need to be tougher. You cannot cry here'" (A33).

Instances like these trigger a feeling of unworthiness, especially in an academic context which structurally does not encourage the expression of vulnerabilities but fosters an individual success-driven environment. The focus on evaluating people based on their individual successes easily triggers feelings of unworthiness and a sense of not being good enough, particularly so if, as outlined above, one finds oneself in a position that is not normatively legitimized within the academic context (cf. Essed, 2020). Eventually, experiencing constant critique of not only their work but themselves as a person led to a loss of their sense of self-worth for the interviewees.

4.3.3 Isolating the victim and questioning their belonging

The constant critique would commonly be accompanied by an incremental transgressing of boundaries of working conditions, such as in form of asking the victim to work very long hours, controlling their schedules, and eventually controlling whom they interact with in the workplace. This could for instance involve misusing a PhD student to do administrative work for the supervisor, such as ordering office equipment: "I had to buy like more basic stuff like table and chairs and ... it would also be fine if we didn't spend so much time on it because he wanted to have a meeting [about this] every day. [...] So, it was like meetings 20 hours a week" (A13). Other interviewees shared similar experiences of the harasser requiring them to spend a lot of time with him, such as in this description:

"In the beginning, it was great because he taught me a lot. He gave me a lot of time. But at one point there was some sort of slippage where it was just too much – I was spending too much time in – where he was taking up all of my time. So, we would

meet at really inappropriate times in the evening when everybody else had left the building, even when it was closed down already when the lights were off. And I was still in his office at 10, 11 at night and we would pull over my conference abstracts and it just took so much time” (A31).

The perpetrators try to exercise control over the victim, primarily by controlling their schedules, for instance also by demanding extreme and unusual working hours:

“You had to work also in the weekends. [...] He could call me on Saturday and say: ‘You have to come to the office now.’ [...] He would ask] ‘Why did you have to leave early this day? [...] Everything I did was a problem. [...] If I had to go to lunch, he could ask: ‘Where were you? I didn’t see you.’ Or if I went home early, which was six o’clock, then he would still complain. And then I could say that I was here at six in the morning because sometimes I came really early just so I had time to work before he came. [...] And then he would say: ‘No, I heard you first came in at 6.15. So, he would be watching me” (A13).

While it might start with a request to work late at night or on the weekend, it over time extends to surveilling the victim’s working hours, for instance by checking when they arrive at work and when they leave.

In addition, several interviewees describe how the perpetrators strategically worked on making the victim feel isolated and non-belonging in the organization or academic institution by controlling their interactions, that is, telling the victim whom they should and more importantly should not interact with, often veiled as good advice. An important building block is thus to isolate the victim from colleagues (cf. McDonald et al., 2010), sometimes even playing colleagues out against each other. Building upon the described idea of positioning themselves as the helping person, the perpetrator might for instance forsake the victim to interact with certain colleagues, claiming that they would misuse them, stand in the way of their career progress or manipulate them. One perpetrator would ask: “Who are you going to lunch with? Why did you talk with that professor?” (A13). When the perpetrator is not able to control these interactions, they strongly

advise against them, often playing with the threat of loss of worth. Talking about her supervisors' harassing behavior, one interviewee shared:

“So, if I would be in the kitchen, drinking coffee and having a half an hour break and talking with someone my supervisors didn't like, then she would look at me and then she would say: ‘Come to my office now. What are you talking with these people? I told you not to talk to them. People are not friendly. They don't want you to be good, but they want to be your friends because they will use you’” (A26).

The manipulative argument of ‘trust me, you should not trust anyone’ is used as a strategy to isolate the victim from colleagues. This sometimes even extends into the personal sphere, with perpetrators telling victims not to spend time with friends or family or advising them against having a partner to have a successful career, as the following description illustrates:

“It became very personal. And he started to treat me very badly compared to the other [colleagues ...] Like, if I had to go to the doctor, he would ask: ‘Are you pregnant?’ And he also asked when I was going to have children and all these things. And he started to annoy me and said that I shouldn't have a boyfriend because it took time away from my project. And my main priority of life should be the project. And I was not working hard enough” (A13).

The perpetrator asks the victim to spend more and more time at work, yet in isolation from colleagues in order to succeed and become part of academia. The power difference between perpetrator and victim makes it easy for the perpetrator to position himself as clearly belonging to the institution while the victim has to fight for institutional belonging. The perpetrator thus manages to establish the paradox in which institutional belonging is granted by isolating oneself from others within, but also outside, the institution.

Linking back to the first two experiences – questioning their perspective and losing their sense of self-worth – the control over working hours often gets linked to the charge of neglecting work duties which deepens the sense of not being good enough for academia and the accusation of spending too much time with people who are irrelevant or even harmful to the victim's professional developing, thereby creating additional pressure to isolate. Setting unnecessarily

long meetings, as in the example above, can be another strategy to take control of time management as well as establishing a steady influence on the victim's life. By starting with rather minor forms of control that in and of themselves can seem normal within a working environment, the perpetrators make it seem legitimate for them to exercise control over what the victim does, when, and with whom. This enables them to later dictate even essential life choices to the victim, such as whether or not they should have a boyfriend, get married, or have children.

4.3.4 Creating dependencies

Building upon the already outlined aspects – the loss of perspective, lowered self-worth, isolation, and sense of not belonging – the interviewees describe how the perpetrator manages to create a dependency from the victim towards the perpetrator. There are several ways of achieving this. One strategy involves making the victim feel special by summoning the idea of a special bond between victim and perpetrator. As one interviewee describes the person who had been harassing her: “He makes people feel like he needs them and then they feel important and then there is a special bond with him, which they can of course also use. Which is very nice, to be in that relationship, where you feel you're helping each other. That's very nice, right? But then the way it's used is not so nice.” (A17). The way this idea of a bond is then used by the perpetrator is to position himself as the one who can and will support the victim's career progress, thereby making them feel worthy. Eventually, the perpetrator becomes the person who is needed for the victim to feel good enough for the environment they are in. The promise is supported by the fact that the perpetrator usually holds seniority over the victim and is thereby established in a position from which such judgment over the victim's worthiness, at least professionally, can be granted. Again, formal differences in positions and informal relations entangle in a detrimental way.

Another, less subtle, way of creating this dependency is created by the perpetrator explicitly saying that the victim will need them to get to an acceptable level of successful academic conduct, which excuses any inappropriate behavior. Describing the professor who harassed her as a PhD student, one interviewee remembered: “He would frame it as ‘I'm doing you this favor, I'm teaching you.’ And yes, you did teach me. But it was also, I think, it was slipping into the

inappropriate” (A31). While the second strategy is more direct and aggressively enforces the victim’s low self-worth, the first holds the additional danger of the victim creating an empathetic bond towards the perpetrator, which later on makes speaking up against the perpetrator seem like a break of a trusted relationship – and that in a system in which your career and success are commonly reliant upon informal, personal relationships.

Harassment thereby becomes a relational experience that feeds on vulnerability. That is, in a wicked double-move, the perpetrator manages to destabilize the victim’s sense of self-worth while simultaneously positioning himself as the one who can restore their feeling of worthiness. This puts the victim in a very vulnerable position in which they become unable to rely on themselves and dependent upon the perpetrator within the academic work setting in a precarious kind of way (cf. Sabsay, 2016). The perpetrators in the described harassment cases misuse their power position to place the victim in a dependent, thereby unequally vulnerable and precarious, relation towards the perpetrator (cf. Butler et al., 2016). While vulnerability, as a condition of being, does not necessarily stand opposed to agency (Butler et al., 2016), this misuse or maldistribution aims to fixate a victim position that lacks agency and requires a powerful perpetrator to presumably take care of the vulnerable victim. Such paternalistic ‘care-taking’ further increases pathogenic forms of vulnerability and strengthens the relation of dependence (Mackenzie et al., 2013). It is thus not (ontological) vulnerability per se but the *exploitation* of a person’s vulnerability within an unequal power relationship that leads to harmful autonomy-restricting effects.

4.3.5 *The imperceptibility of accumulative harassment*

When the outlined experiences that the interviewees went through are looked at in combination, it becomes clear how the harassing behavior is *accumulative*. It starts with rather minor incidents that when they happen might not even be noticed by the victims. As one of them states: “I don’t even know how it started. But just the snide comments small remarks...” (A22). Only when looking back at the harassment experience at a later point in time can the victims make sense of these early experiences as first instances or indicators of harassing behavior. Over time, these

minor instances become more frequent as well as more severe. The experience is described as happening “slow and incremental” (A22), yet somehow spiraling out of control over time. Instead of severely overstepping individual boundaries in a single instance, the boundaries are brushed up against again and again until it becomes difficult for the victim to know, see, express, and negotiate her boundaries. Many express that this brushing up against boundaries and thereby extending the realm of what becomes normal makes it confusing to judge the situation and difficult to speak up against the harassing behavior. As one interviewee shared in relation to her experience of sexual harassment: “Sexual harassment to me, before I started thinking about this [particular experience I had], was more extreme. It sounded more extreme. It sounded more violent, or physical, more dangerous if you will. [...] I would have thought that it had some sort of roughness to it, some very clear crossing of borders or boundaries that would be very salient, very clear to observe” (A17).

By using anti-narrative interviewing and embodied queer listening, it becomes possible to pay attention to the underlying normative conditions, expectations, and ideals that are revealed here. That is, the subtleness of the movement contradicts a normative expectation of bluntness and aggressiveness associated with harassment, wherefore the victims do not initially recognize the behavior as transgressive. Many of them at first do not self-identify as targets or victims of harassment as their normative understanding of this subject position contradicts how they feel in the situation. The outlined strategies make the victim extremely vulnerable to the perpetrator’s continuous harassing behavior, while at the same time, many of the aspects of their experience might not seem very severe if looked at in isolation. Only in their combination do they create unbearable situations for the victim.

The unacceptability of this behavior is often noticed affectively and bodily before victims cognitively make sense of them. Most victims describe that they had bodily reactions such as stomach pains, shaking, sweating, loss of appetite, feeling sick and drowsy, and other symptoms that are often related to anxiety and stress. The descriptions of this are numerous: “My heart was beating, and I was shaking. [...] It was so weird because I don’t usually have that reaction with one person” (A16). Another person recalls “not sleeping at night, pounding heart, sweaty palms, memory loss. It was crazy. It was ridiculous” (A29). “I got a bit afraid of going [to work], that I started to shake

if I came close [to the office building]. So, I talked with a doctor and also a psychologist. [...] And they said it was post-traumatic stress disorder. [...] So, it was like some kind of anxiety” (A13). As one interviewee describes it: “You realize that there is a force that can suck something out from you. [...] I wasn’t even cognizant of it, but the body went in first and realized [...] The mind did not have time to make interpretation of the bodily reactions – yet” (A16).

The experience of harassment thus happens somewhat invisibly, silently, or imperceptibly, affectively noticed before it can be named as such. Francois Jullien (2011, p. 3), describing the indeterminable nature of transitions taking place, describes such nuanced yet significant changes not as invisible but silent: “In fact, ‘silent’ is a more precise word to use in this respect than invisibility, or rather it is more telling. Because not only is this transformation in process, even if we do not perceive it, but it operates without warning, without giving an alert, ‘in silence’, without attracting attention, and as though independently of us: without wanting to disturb us, it might be said, even when it continues on its way within us until it destroys us.”

‘silent’

it operates without warning,
without giving an alert,
without attracting attention,
as though independently of us:
without wanting to disturb us,

‘in silence’,
even when it continues
on its way
within us

until
it destroys us.

(Jullien, 2011, p. 3)

This outlines quite accurately the feeling described by many interviewees who explained that only after they were able to realize and name their experience as harassment were they able to trace the silent, imperceptible transformation that had taken place over a longer period of time. Only

then could they make sense of the bodily changes they had sensed but not properly noticed before. It is thus of fundamental importance to recognize the embodied and affective elements that accompany experiences of harassment.

Most victims, for instance, do not consciously recognize these bodily symptoms while they are happening and even less often relate them to the perpetrator's behavior. As it seems unbelievable to have such strong bodily reactions to behavior that has thus far been perceived as normal, the bodily and emotional reactions are attributed to other occurrences. As shared by one interviewee: "When your own radar is a bit off or a bit blurred, you're not sure, you're a bit unsure. Am I just tired? Am I just imagining it? Is it just a difficult person? [...] Is it a personality thing? Or, you know, just a bad day? Or..." (A22). It must be stress; this must just be normal, "everybody has issues" (A34). One interviewee for instance thought it must be an effect of her pregnancy: "I think it was also enhanced by the pregnancy that I started to react on that" (A13). An additional difficulty is experienced by an interviewee who during the interview realized that acknowledging that the perpetrator has the power to make one feel this way, in all its bodily and emotional force, the embodied and affective reaction might become even more violent. She describes her experience during the interview in the following way: "I'm still - I can feel it even talking about it now: I actually started to feel sick. Wow, it's affecting me more than I thought it would. [...] I'm just making a comment on my embodied experience right now because I feel it in my body. I feel it in my stomach. And I feel it almost like a stream from my stomach going upwards through my chest and up into my left frontal lobe. I have a headache right now" (A29). By employing embodied queer listening as part of my approach of anti-narrative interviewing, what I identify is that the body seems to reveal a misalignment of normative expectations – 'I am supposed to be fine as this is not (what I/we understand as) harassment' – and felt experience – 'I feel threatened and anxious.' Moreover, as long as the women try to maintain their normatively viable subject positions, the bodily symptoms worsen as they suffer under the labor of maintaining coherent, 'straight', and acceptable subjectivities.

On top of this, many describe a general feeling of being drained of energy accompanying the experience of being harassed which is problematic in two regards. First, many victims reported questioning their own interpretation of the situation, considering whether they are maybe just

too tired, stressed, or burned out to deal with a normal work situation. They doubt their own judgment and blame their potential misjudgment upon their lack of energy yet fail to relate this lack of energy to the harassing behavior. One interviewee in describing the moment when she realized that she was being harassed states: “I would say [to myself]: Look this has taken a huge toll on my energy level. I don't want this. I don't wanna give this anymore my energy” (A22). Yet, the fact that stress, constant pressure as well mental health problems are normalized in academia makes it easy to disregard these feelings for a long time as just part of being in a normal academic work environment. Second, even when the victim recognizes the behavior as harassing, the process of speaking up and potentially reporting the behavior requires a lot of energy. The same interviewee explains: “It takes a huge amount of energy and effort to kind of be this poster child [who comes forward and reports] and sometimes you're in this position [of being harassed] and you don't want to be. You don't want to be the unwitting ambassador for all kinds of women's rights and respect in the workplace [...] You just want to focus on your own work” (A22). Being drained of energy to begin with easily makes initiating a reporting process seem unattainably hard.

The vicious circle of being dependent upon the perpetrator for their own self-worse, being isolated from colleagues, feeling like they do not belong, and having the perpetrator exercise control over their schedules and eventually both their professional and private lives is often only broken when ‘something big happens’ or when another person recognizes the situation as harassment. That is, either the experience is recognized through a particularly bad instance, such as in cases of sexual harassment in form of direct sexual advances, which the victim clearly recognizes as trespassing her boundaries or it is identified as harassment by someone else, for example when a person close to the victim such as a friend or colleague notices some of the behavior and points it out as harassment. Paradoxically, on the hand, due to the accumulative nature of harassment, it takes time until this recognition happens, while on the other hand, it becomes more difficult the longer the harassment takes place. As the victim’s boundaries get pushed and brushed up against continuously, something that might have been perceived as a clear transgression of boundaries, in the beginning, might have become normalized by the time the perpetrator dares to do it. In the meantime, the perpetrator manages to make the victim feel

vulnerable and defenseless by making them question their own perspective, establishing a sense of worthlessness in them, making them feel like they do not belong, and exercising control over them thereby creating a direct dependency. The resultant isolation of victims forecloses many possibilities of colleagues or even friends noticing what is going on.

Still, such moments of recognition by someone else were highlighted by several interviewees as critical to identifying their experiences as harassment. For one interviewee it was for instance her sister, who “came to stay at my place for two months to have time to think. And she’s actually the one who noticed it” (A34). For another interviewee, it was a colleague who realized: “she said if you want to make a formal complaint, I will be happy to be a witness for you because that was unacceptable. And sometimes it takes someone else for me to realize, oh actually that is kind of serious” (A22). Importantly, whenever interviewees shared that someone else had pointed out that what was happening to them was not just part of normal workplace behavior, that it was something that could be identified as harassment, this did not occur in a paternalistic way of someone else claiming to tell them what they were *actually* experiencing. A lost perspective cannot be found for you by someone else, rather you need to regain it. But others can provide guidance and support on that path. That is, bystanders – colleagues, friends, family members – did not simply ‘know better’ and thus told the victims what to do, but they validated what the harassed person was already affectively experiencing and supported them in interpreting that experience. While the perpetrator would try to manipulate the victim’s perspective, bystanders would not force their own interpretation on them but support them in reorienting themselves.

Some interviewees also pointed out the helpfulness of the workplace satisfaction survey which ‘forced them’ to put a name to what happened. As one interviewee described it, it was very helpful to “be able to package their own experiences in that box that is called sexual harassment” (A17). Some interviewees also mentioned that the term *unwanted sexual attention*, which they also encountered in the workplace satisfaction survey (APV) was more accessible and more useful to describe their experience in comparison to the term *sexual harassment*:

“I saw it on the psychological work environment survey. It asks: ‘Have you ever experienced unwanted sexual advances.’ And I am like: ‘Wow, that’s exactly what it was, an unwanted sexual advance.’ Maybe if they would have said sexual

harassment I would have been [more hesitant] but then I said yes. And then it just became easier to just say what it is. Because, at first, I didn't identify with that word 'harassment' because I didn't feel 'harassed'. Of course, I did feel it but I wasn't really cognitively aware of what being harassed means" (A16).

If the victim recognizes the experience as harassment, this breaking point does usually not directly lead to a disengagement from the perpetrator or speaking up against the harassing behavior. Many victims describe a feeling of complicity and shame once they realize they have been subject to harassment. They wonder why they did not realize this before and why they let themselves be dragged in so deep. As one interviewee expressed: "There were things I did that I didn't want to do and now I couldn't see why I did not say no" (A13). Another person describes: "One of the main things was I was really ashamed because I've been extremely stupid. I mean how could you fall for this? How could you let someone do this to you for so long? How stupid can you be? And I consider myself quite enlightened. I've read the books. I know how this works. And I couldn't see it myself" (A17). Here once more the belief in enlightened academia comes to matter, yet this time as a hindering factor for her to realize and acknowledge that becoming a victim of harassment is not something you can escape by being generally 'enlightened' or theoretically educated about the topic.

In addition, a lack of sense of belonging might make them doubt the possibility of coming forward with their claims. As one person shares, feeling singled out "contributes to making it difficult to report when something is wrong. If people already believe you're maybe less valuable or you have fewer reasons to be there, then you don't want to create issues" (A34). Another feeling is a sense of surprise, highlighting the seeming unbelievability of the situation, paired with anxiety and insecurity about what will happen next. As the reporting possibilities are usually not clear to victims, the realization of having been harassed often triggers a sense of being lost or alone with the experience without knowing 'a way out': "you still feel slightly trapped and obliged to keep going" (A22). Having been isolated within the organization easily worsens this sensation.

Letting go of the feeling of shame, or as one interviewee expresses it realizing that "it's not my shame" (A22), is an important step in acknowledging that it was not the victim's fault or lack of reaction that allowed or even triggered the harassment (cf. Latcheva, 2017). As Ahmed (2014a, p.

102) phrases it: “Despite its recognition of past wrongdoings, shame can still conceal how such wrongdoings shape lives in the present. The work of shame troubles and is troubling, exposing some wounds, at the same time as it conceals others.” When being harassed, the harassed person is made to feel excluded and not belonging to the group. This feeling of not belonging leads to feeling shame. Thus, shame is felt for not fitting in which hinders speaking up about the harassment taking place, which might lead to further feelings of shame for not speaking up. As the victims feel ashamed, they endure the feeling of exclusion in shameful silence to avoid further shameful exposure. This highlights how a mechanism of victim shaming is evoked and internalized.

Seeking help in ‘putting together the puzzle pieces’ is another important action towards breaking with the continuous harassment, because as one interviewee describes: “Now there's a whole story and there are a lot of different perspectives, and everything fits together showing all the manipulations. But at the moment, those puzzle pieces are not there yet” (A17). Many describe that only through sharing and discussing with a trusted person were they able to ‘regain their perspective’. “I needed so much reinforcement. I needed it because I've lost perspective. I needed to hear that [this was really harassment] a lot from a lot of different people” (A17), one interviewee shared. Again, the role of the other person is not to take over control of the situation on behalf of the victim, but to support them in the process of reconciling their experience with the identification of such behavior as harassment.

Recognizing as the victim that you are not the problem and that the experiences you had to endure are not normal in a workplace, that they can even be named, as harassment, enables the victim to break the course of the interaction. From a situation of trying to please the perpetrator, maybe fixing the relationship if it seemed broken, the victims move towards feeling ‘done with it’ and not having to ‘play by his rules’ anymore. As one interviewee shared: “From the moment I realized [that it was harassment], it was basically like: This was insane. It was not a normal interaction. [...] So, from that point I just stopped caring. [...] Which made him angry I think because I was not reacting the way I was meant to anymore” (A34).

Such detachment becomes an important step towards speaking up about and getting out of the harassment experience and potentially reporting the perpetrator. It demonstrates that despite the

precarious situation the women find themselves in, their vulnerability does not neglect simultaneous autonomy and the potential for agency in dealing with and resisting harassment (cf. Butler, 2016). They can, and they do, speak up, resist, disengage, call out. At the same time, their experiences show that their autonomy is relationally tied. That is, autonomy and agency require social support from others to be exercised, it needs those who offer support in recognizing the harassment that is going on, and help ‘put the puzzle pieces together’, thereby enacting solidarity and allyship (cf. Vachhani & Pullen, 2019; Wickström et al., 2021). Agency and autonomy are inherently conditioned upon relationality, dependency, and vulnerability to others (cf. Dodds, 2013). As ontologically vulnerable subjects in conditions of precariousness, their resistance lies in their vulnerability and thus in their relationality (cf. Butler, 2016).

Agency and autonomy ~~OR~~ AND relationality and dependency and vulnerability.
Resistance ~~OR~~ AND vulnerability.

4.4 (De)legitimization strategies

Harassment and discrimination?

Not here
and not now.

OR:

Harassment and discrimination?

The issue will simply solve itself
if we wait long enough.

I'm not saying this to hide or gloss over historical developments and power relations. It's just ... very tricky... it would have to depend... it is so individual... difficult.

OR:

Harassment and discrimination?

I probably would find it so awkward. Even to sort of talk about it. Even to sort of acknowledge it. It is almost easier to pretend it wasn't happening.

OR:

Harassment and discrimination?

That's something I've never even thought about before...

So, no one experienced anything.

OR:

Harassment and discrimination?

It's 'a few bad apples.'

That's just how he is.

OR:

Harassment and discrimination?

She is overreacting.

'making a scene.'

I mean people can be extremely sensitive you know, and people may also overreact, for sure.

OR:

Harassment and discrimination?

Ridiculous.

They think of themselves as very diverse.

They consider diversity and room for diversity important values.

Today it is a given fact that universities are diverse.

Absurd.

OR:

Harassment and discrimination?

In comparison to 'the real' cases ...

It's not really harassment after all,

just 'a little bit of this and that.'

I identified ten strategies that legitimize harassing and discriminatory behavior, or the other way around, delegitimize any action against harassment and discrimination. In other words, these strategies prohibit harassment and discrimination to be acknowledged as a problem. I call these strategies denial, passivity, derailing, dismissing, avoidance, ignorance, individualizing, ridiculing, non-performative diversity, and hierarchization of experiences. It is important to note that not all

strategies might be employed with a conscious aim of legitimizing harassment and discrimination. They are rather identified as (de)legitimization strategies by their effect. I identified those strategies primarily by analyzing how interviewees legitimized harassing and discriminatory behavior during the interviews when I asked them to speak about problems of harassment and discrimination in their workplaces. The insights provided by interviewees who have experienced harassment and discrimination themselves and who were met with delegitimization provided supplementary starting points for the analysis. The (de)legitimization strategies presented in this part have also been used in an article on ‘Organizational norms of sexual harassment and gender discrimination in Danish academia’ that I wrote with Sine Nørholm Just and Sara Louise Muhr (Guschke, Just, et al., 2022). While the article analyses these strategies as ‘rhetoric legitimization strategies’ and argues how research can move ‘from recognizing through contesting to queering’ such strategies, I use this part of my dissertation to outline each strategy in nuance and detail with the aim of understanding how they work together and reinforce each other in reproducing workplace harassment and discrimination.

4.4.1 Denial

The first strategy, *denial*, promotes the idea that harassment might happen but ‘not here and not now’. Harassment is perceived to be a thing of the past, something that happened to women in the 1950s, with men of the time not knowing better and being embraced by a general sexist culture that also permeated workplaces. If harassment happens in the present, it is not in Denmark or even Europe, but in countries of the Global South which are positioned as less developed than countries of the Global North. Especially Denmark, as part of Scandinavia and the Nordic countries, is positioned as a frontrunner in gender equality legislation and practice (cf. J. F. Christensen & Muhr, 2019; Ronen, 2018). In addition, a strong idea of racial exceptionalism pertains, that is the denial of the (historic and contemporary) existence of ‘real’ racism in Denmark (cf. Danbolt, 2017; Goldberg, 2006). Therefore sexist, racist, and other types of harassment are denied existence in contemporary Danish society. One PhD student for instance shares that he was met with the claim “go abroad and it’s even worse” (A24) when he tried to talk about problems of harassment and discrimination for PhD students at his department. While

some use a milder form of this strategy by admitting that “there is a little bit of an issue” (A30) here and now, but it was a lot worse in the past and it is worse elsewhere, the result remains almost the same. Harassment and discrimination as contemporary problems are denied relevance, which leads to an uninterrupted reproduction of workplace inequalities.

4.4.2 Passivity

Passivity works with a different logic yet to some extent similar assumptions. In this case, harassment and discrimination are acknowledged as problems in contemporary Denmark, yet there are still contrasted with the past in which harassment and discrimination are claimed to have been a lot worse. The assumption that things have been worse in the past leads to the claim that the situation has been improving over time, wherefore the issue will simply solve itself if we wait long enough. As shared by one interviewee:

“It’s also a generation thing. Things that were acceptable to the people who were young 30 years ago had a different norm. I’m in a fraternity where we have white men in the age of 60 and 70 and they don’t understand why it’s not okay to use the N-word because in their generation it was a thing you could say without offending anyone. And they don’t understand why the meaning of the word has changed. So, it seems that there are these conservative forces within a generation where they don’t get why it’s not okay” (A8).

This interpretation disregards the feminist and anti-racist efforts that have led to an improvement in sexist and racist workplace cultures and especially the denunciation of overt forms of harassment and discrimination. Moreover, it often comes with the misperception that perpetrators are primarily old men (from a prior, more sexist, and racist generation), coupled with the assumption that once these few individuals leave the organization there will not be any further harassment. “It’s traditionally like that [...] If there are more and more successful stories [of women in academia], then more and more people would accept it. So, we just need time.” (A2), one interviewee claims. This positions harassment as an individual problem and overlooks

its structural anchoring which leads to a reproduction of harassing and discriminatory behavior as long as this is not actively worked against.

4.4.3 Derailing

Derailing describes a strategy that aims at making it seem as if it makes no sense to investigate harassment and discrimination as general problems. The argumentation used is that each case is uniquely different depending on the context, situational conditions, people involved, etc. wherefore each case needs to be considered in isolation rather than speaking about the problems of harassment and discrimination in general. As one interviewee shares:

“I guess the problem about defining or even just trying to delineate what harassment might look like is that I guess it all depends on the recipient of behavior or unwanted looks. Because, you know, people are clearly very different. And I'm not saying this to hide or gloss over historical developments and power relations. It's just that it's still very much the case that two people in here, say two women, would take very differently to a specific kind of behavior or talk. So that's why it's really tricky to get to the essence of harassment or chikane [harassment]. Because I'd say it would have to depend on the person who feels like he or she has been a victim of chikane [harassment ...]. It is so individual whether it is experienced as harassment or not, I think it can be difficult [to do anything]” (A4).

While it might very well be important to consider each case as an individual instance to ensure the involved people are listened to about their particular experience, a claim that is also supported by those fighting against harassment and discrimination, taking this as an argument against acknowledging harassment and discrimination (also) as general problems, derails any investigation into the structural reproduction of these problems.

4.4.4 Dismissing

Dismissing cases as ‘just a misunderstanding’ is prominently happening in the workplaces that are the focus of this study. Reflecting on the potential occurrence of harassment in his department, one head of department for instance explains: “If someone is harassed, if we call it that, then, of course, it has some importance. But it could be a misunderstanding. There are a lot of possibilities. [...] It should be taken seriously, that’s clear. But also, when there are human beings around, then there can be misunderstandings” (A30). While denial and passivity rest upon the assumption that the reported cases are not as bad as they are described to be (at least in comparison to cases earlier and elsewhere), this strategy does not reject the occurrence in and of itself, but rather dismisses the claim that what happened can legitimately be seen as and named harassment.

Instead, the problem is described as a communication difficulty, cultural differences, or just a general misunderstanding which should be treated, addressed, and solved as such: “If you see there is a problem it's better to solve it as fast as you see it [rather] than leaving it and letting it take you and make you sick for no reason. Because it can also be that you misunderstand each other and nothing more. It can be the different culture or different behavior. It can be that the other person has a real problem, and you cannot see it” (A26). As one interviewee describes her experience of wanting to report harassing behavior: “This [harassing behavior] was accumulating. And I didn't know what to do. Then I talk to the section leader. And he would tell me that I misinterpreted her [the perpetrator’s] way and she's not bad and she's from a different culture. Maybe it is because of that. And she's also new. And I had to maybe give her some time to feel more comfortable in the [working] environment” (A26). It thus links back to the idea of *legitimized othering* based on ascribed and prescribed ‘cultural differences’.

Another person states similarly that an appropriate reaction to harassment would be to first and foremost consider it a misunderstanding: “[If I felt harassed], I would try and engage with the people that were actually behaving this way to figure out if there was some sort of misunderstanding. I would assume that it was a misunderstanding” (A19). Seemingly, labeling a situation as a misunderstanding rather than a harassment case is perceived as more appropriate in the working environment. One interview for instance describes the need for an open

conversation to address harassment as a structural workplace problem yet hesitates, saying: “But that takes a certain amount of maturity and openness from the department. So, structurally I'm not sure that we have that here yet because there is so much fear around conflict and what could possibly happen if somebody explodes” (A16). Beyond dismissing victims’ initial claims to address the issue as a harassment case, it makes future investigations into the issue extremely difficult, as victims who persist on their experience being harassment and not a misunderstanding, are perceived to be troublemakers who cause (rather than identify) a problematic and conflictual situation in the organization.

4.4.5 Avoidance

A related strategy is *avoidance*. This strategy is commonly in play when bystanders witness harassing behavior but avoid reacting to it. I term it avoidance not only because reactions are foreclosed but also because the non-reaction derives from an urge to avoid being involved in the harassment case in any way. Describing how he would react if he witnessed harassment, one interviewee summarized quite neatly what many others had expressed in similar ways:

“I would probably be much too reticent to directly confront the guy or to cause any sort of direct remonstrance there, which maybe is wrong but maybe isn't, because I guess it's not clear what the victim in that circumstance would necessarily want. [It would not be clear if the victim would want] for it to be drawing attention to. But that probably wouldn't be why I wouldn't do it. It would probably just be... it's a weird thing. [...] You're part of sort of a group setting. It's kind of like there's a sort of implicit social community [in academia] that's being created that you're sort of enjoying or that sort of is important in lots of ways. And I would be worried about disrupting that. The way it is causing a public incident would be more [the reason why I would not react] than specifically how this victim would feel. What I think I would probably think I should do would be to talk to the victim afterward. I don't know what I'd say, but to do something supportive. Again though, I'm really not totally sure if I would do that or not, if I actually was there, would I? Because I

think, for me, I probably would find it so awkward. Even to sort of talk about it. Even to sort of acknowledge it. It is almost easier to pretend it wasn't happening. [...] I don't know what I'd do really, to be honest. I wouldn't do anything publicly. I hope I would do something ... I hope I would talk to the victim. [...But] part of me thinks maybe it's just this deeply embedded thing: Don't talk about uncomfortable things. Maybe it's some sense of not wanting to somehow overconcern - that just by bringing it up, I might be upsetting this person further or maybe treating them unprofessionally in some way. I don't know, that might sound weird, but sort of thinking that if I was like: 'Are you OK?' after this, I would be sort of treating them like: 'Well, they're obviously not OK', which maybe they wouldn't want. [...And there is] the fact that if I said something, possibly I would have to acknowledge that I noticed it at the time and didn't do anything as well. So, maybe I would be a bit ashamed of that" (A33).

There are myriad reasons for bystanders to avoid getting involved. Prominently, there is a fear of breaking social relations – a threat that is similarly experienced by victims who try to speak up about harassment experiences. In addition, this interviewee shares the concern of ‘making it worse’ for the victim or behaving unprofessionally towards them. Yet, he also acknowledges that what would stop him is realizing that one would have to bear the shame for not having acted earlier and the uncomfortableness that might come with speaking about uncomfortable experiences. His own (wish for or even entitlement to) comfort seemingly trumps the victim’s need for support (cf. Essed, 2020). Next to these reasons, I find that bystanders are afraid of getting involved as they are unsure of what ‘getting involved’ will mean in the long run. Harassment cases seem to be sticky, once involved, even if just as a bystander or witness, the consequences seem at the same time unforeseeable and unavoidable – another potential threat to feeling comfortable in one’s position and work setting.

4.4.6 Ignorance

While the strategies outlined thus far come to work once someone is confronted with a harassment experience, meaning not a personal experience but being told about a particular or several harassment cases, the strategy of *ignorance* works in a setting in which people can position themselves so that they never come to hear about any harassment and discrimination cases in the first place. Several people I interviewed, especially in positions such as head of department, institute leader, or union representative, said that they had never been told about any cases, wherefore they reason that there are no cases. A typical statement relates to the non-existence of harassment claims in the work environment evaluations:

“Harassment at work [...] that’s something I’ve never even thought about before the [work environment] questionnaire. [...] I think we actually stand really well at that chapter. Because we have these evaluations every four years and there is completely zero tolerance [towards harassment]. We have a complete evaluation section on bullying and workplace harassment. And we scored 100% on that. So, nobody experienced anything. So, we really try to keep that” (A8).

I term this strategy ignorance, as it ignores that there might be other circumstances that prevent people from speaking up about their experiences, which leads to these stories not being heard. Protecting themselves under a veil of lack of knowledge, organization members ignore harassment and discrimination in their immediate workplace environment despite public attention being drawn to the issue. Put differently, not hearing about harassment and discrimination might have more to do with not listening closely rather than there being no cases.

4.4.7 Individualizing

There are several strategies for *individualizing* problems of harassment and discrimination. A common strategy is to individualize the problem by claiming it to be an issue of ‘a few bad apples’, that is, a few individuals who do not ‘play by the rules’, behave inappropriately, and become harassers. Dealing with harassment then becomes a strategy of preventing individual, unfortunate accidents rather than dealing with why these occurrences happened. As one

interviewee claims, it is a “fact that the problem is social. It's not really structural” (A19). On top of this, the behavior of ‘those few’ harassers even becomes legitimized by establishing them as single outliers. Several interviewees legitimized harassing behavior by explaining that this behavior was just an unfortunate but acceptable character or personality trait of a particular person, expressing that ‘that’s just how he is’ or even “that’s just how people are in general, in social interactions” (A30). A typical example is a description of a harassment case starting with an explication of the perpetrator’s character: “So, we have a full professor here at the department. And he is known to be a little bit of a difficult person. He has a specific personality. He's a little bit older. He has some certain ideas of how the world is or should be and shouldn't be. And we've always got along well ... [until the alleged harassment happened]” (A31). One interviewee even excused his own behavior in this way stating: “For sure people have felt attacked by me. [...] I'm really sorry I'm not a better person than that. And you know it's unforgivable. And many things that I've done are unforgivable. But then, I mean, I've said: ‘Well look I'm sorry. I got angry. I have a temper. And you pressed some buttons” (A10). Harassing behavior thereby becomes individualized, that is, ascribed to a few individuals who become perpetrators, while simultaneously legitimizing their behavior as unfortunate but tolerable outlier behavior.

Another aspect is the individualization of the victim’s experience and feelings. Many interviewees expressed that it is often a problem of someone who “lets themselves be provoked easily” (A7), thereby proclaiming that the problem is not the harassment itself but the individual (over-)reaction of the victim. In consequence, it is then also argued that the victim should just work with someone else as otherwise, it is their own fault if they stick with a person who treats them badly, thus making it an individual choice of the victim to be exposed to harassing behavior. As expressed by one interviewee: “There are so many people giving advice. There are so many good people in the disciplines. There are so many ways where you can meet with people and have advice. There are no reasons to go for those who try to turn it into something you do not want” (A1).

Interestingly, there are two nuanced variations of this individualization strategy. While some simply claim that the victim’s feelings are illegitimate, proclaiming that the victim is overly sensitive, overreacting, or ‘making a scene’, another strategy involves acknowledging the

legitimacy of the victim's feelings but rejecting acknowledging harassing behavior as the cause or trigger for these emotional reactions. The following description by a head of department provides a fitting example:

"I would say if someone feels harassed, well then there is a problem. But I would not say that just because someone feels harassed, then this person is by definition harassed. With this, I do not really agree. I mean people can be extremely sensitive you know, and people may also overreact, for sure. And you know sometimes I encounter people where I say: 'Look you're working at the place with other people. I mean you could go and work in a factory with lots of machines and you wouldn't be harassed by the machine. But you're here with lots of people and you know every person you encounter - and you have to work closely together with these people - and everyone you encounter has also feelings just like you do. And you know none of us are robots. [...] And if you cannot accept that, I'm sorry but that's none of my business. That's not my problem. It's your problem. [...] I have met people who I felt were offended by things where it was quite clearly what I would consider not offensive behavior. And, of course, if that happens in my department then there is a problem. This is a problem that I cannot ignore. But I'm saying that maybe the problem may be with the person who feels offended instead of the person who has done this so-called offending behavior. And if that's how I perceive it, then I need to work with the person who feels offended and trying to explain that well this is the way it is. This is the way it's going to be here. [...] So, typically, in my experience [...] there are some underlying reasons why people suddenly overreact that usually have nothing to do with this particular incident. There is something else in the background that is lingering. Maybe some other thing that has happened in the past or another feeling of some misperceived ill intention or something like that, that is brewing. And by talking to this person - you know I'm not a psychologist or anything like that - but by talking to people I usually can sort of tell: 'Look, maybe you need to think about this thing and maybe we can do something about [it]. Maybe this is the reason why you react so badly when this person says this and that.

[...] I don't believe that this person [the offender] has those intentions but maybe we can look at this other issue that is really the root cause of this. This has usually been the case" (A10).

The head of department does not dismiss the feelings of the person who speaks up about harassment. He does however reinterpret their emotional reaction as induced by an overreaction to something external to the situation in question. The emotional reaction is legitimized as existent yet not acknowledged as an indication of any 'real' harassment having taken place. Several interviewees similarly stress that one can and should not question another person's feelings, thereby seemingly even being in line with feminist claims against harassment and discrimination. Yet, they go on to argue that while the person might feel this way, it does not prove the experience to be harassment but might rather be a case of a person being too insecure, scared, or simply incapable of dealing with a normal workplace situation. As stated by one institute leader: "You felt offended. I mean I recognize that you felt offended. But there's nothing we can do about it [because] this is nothing" (A27). It is thus eventually the problem of the individual victim to manage their feelings better, to learn how to react to normal(ized) workplace harassment rather than identifying said behavior as harassing.

4.4.8 Ridicule

Ridicule is used as another strategy to delegitimize any claims against harassment and discrimination. While it might initially be an almost instinctive reaction to hearing something that seems either implausible or threatening, it can also be used more deliberately to negate and reject accusations of harassment and discrimination. No matter if used intentionally or not, ridiculing works to make the other side's claim seem ridiculous and absurd, thereby becoming a powerful strategy for robbing them of legitimacy and credibility. One interviewee described how his institute leader used this strategy when speaking of workplace harassment at their department meeting:

"We have very big monthly meetings here at [the institute...] And then for some reason without anyone asking him, the institute leader decides to talk about

krænkelse [offensive behavior]. And sort of starts saying: 'We don't have an issue with it. If anyone says this is an issue, he is hysterical. We're not America.' blah blah blah. And basically, he was just undermining me [...] He was ridiculing me. Not mentioning my name but ridiculing the hurt that I felt [because of my harassment experience] by diminishing [it and] making it [seem like] this is just silly. This is just nonsense. It's no problem. [...] And the people who knew me and knew the case were like: 'What is happening here?'. And the rest of them were just laughing and making jokes about it. All these old men who have never experienced it. [...] That was actually quite nasty" (A15).

Ridiculing another person's claims can be understood as serving several related purposes. One of its functions is to make one's own view seem the only possible one. It works powerfully as other perspectives once ridiculed not only become seen as worse or less likely but impossible, in the sense of being completely unreasonable and implausible. It also positions the speaker in a powerful position as the one who is laughing about the other while the other becomes illegitimate, off track, or plain stupid. As one PhD student shares: "I think you are always scared that people will just laugh and think you're ridiculous and lightweight or foolish in some sense" (A19). Moreover, it releases the speaker from the necessity to engage with opposing views. When an opposing view is countered, it is at least acknowledged that the other side might, at least partly, be right and the speaker might need to change (some) views and opinions. A view that has been revealed and marked as ridiculous does not need to be engaged with in the first place and thus poses no threat to predetermined perceptions and beliefs. Finally, ridiculing not only delegitimized opposing views but also makes oppositional people seem illegitimate. This can become a good strategy to convince allies to your side, as most people will not want to be associated with an illegitimate opposition.

4.4.9 Non-performative diversity

Another strategy is what I term *non-performative diversity*. Sara Ahmed (2006b, 2007, 2017) establishes the concept of non-performativity in relation to organizational diversity work to claim

that certain diversity work is not only not performing what it promises but the work in itself inhibits the performance of what it promises. She uses the example of writing diversity policies, revealing how the writing of a policy that outlines the problems an organization faces regarding diversity becomes seen as proof of diversity work being done and thus becomes an argument for not doing anything else. In the case of this study, I claim that diversity is established as a value rather than a practice and thereby becomes non-performative.

What I find in my data is that there is a general agreement at Danish universities that workplace diversity is a positive goal to thrive for. This leads to two lines of argumentation. One is the pointing out of 'diversity subjects', those who are perceived to bring diversity to the workplace, as proof of a workplace's diversity. Here, again, a differentiation between a white, Danish, Western, non-Muslim, heterosexual norm and the non-white, non-Danish, Muslim, queer other, or 'diversity subject', becomes visible. One head of department for instance claims proudly that "we are a very internationalized department. I mean maybe the Danes are still the biggest group, but it's surely challenged by the Germans and the Italians. [...] Now we have hired two Portuguese-speaking. That means that we are in total four Portuguese. So, we have sort of a host of nationalities. And I think a lot of also the Danes - the majority of the Danes - sort of like this sort of international atmosphere at the department" (A30). Another argument is to simply point out diversity as a perceived fact, as one head of institute explained "They think of themselves as very diverse. [...] They consider diversity and room for diversity important values" (A27).

Either way, being diverse becomes a value and a self-image or self-conception rather than a practiced reality and might be completely separated from the bodies that inhabit a workplace and how they are treated. By claiming diversity as a value in the organization – one that is framed positively and completely detached from questions of, for example, racist exclusions –, harassment and discrimination become positioned in opposition to it and thus impossible to exist when it can be claimed that 'today it is a given fact that universities are diverse' (A27). The mere existence of diversity, as fact or value, thus inhibits diversity work towards equality and against harassment and discrimination. This further provides a basis for other strategies I outlined, such as dismissing – claiming it to be just a (cultural) misunderstanding, an unavoidable issue in

diverse workplaces – or denial – arguing that with diversity being a reality, things must be better than elsewhere and earlier.

4.4.10 Hierarchization of harassment experiences

A final strategy is the *hierarchization of harassment experiences* into two categories. In many interviews, interviewees referred to two different ‘categories’ of harassment cases, namely ‘bad cases’ and ‘not so bad cases’. While the prior cases are called something like ‘really bad’ (A6, A7, A12, A22, A24, A32), ‘real’ (A1, A2, A7, A9, A29, A32) ‘hard’ or ‘heavy’ (A1), ‘substantial’ (A1, A29), ‘extreme’ (A6, A11, A17, A21, A22) ‘violent’, ‘dangerous’ and ‘dramatic’ (A17), the latter are described as ‘soft’ (A1, A15, A20, A25), those ‘other instances’ (A1, A17, A24) or a ‘little bit [of] this and that’ (A1). While the choice of words for the first category is explicitly naming them as grave and serious, the second category does not even get named as such but rather paraphrased or circumscribed as something that is not quite graspable. This has two effects: it leads to the delegitimization of the ‘second category cases’ as their gravity is not feasibly describable while at the same time making this second category very wide and thereby opening the possibility of placing a variety of harassment experiences into it.

This becomes clear when the following line of argumentation is revealed: It is acknowledged that unfortunately, a few real, bad, grave cases might exist. Yet, while this is unfortunate, they are rare, almost inexistent in comparison to a larger amount of softer, less important cases. As stated by one interviewee: “Of course, there are certain kinds of behavior that would almost inevitably sort of qualify as harassment, I guess. I mean groping or touching. But as far as I know, this really doesn’t happen. [...] I would say this kind of harassment probably exists here and in other places at [my university]. But I guess it's being performed in a subtle way” (A4). However, in comparison to the first category, these ‘softer’ cases, despite their frequency, are not as bad – in fact, in comparison to ‘the real’ cases the latter become not quite as real, not really harassment, after all, just ‘a little bit of this and that’. Hence, there is no real need to deal with or even talk about these lighter cases once they are dismissed as not real harassment. This provides the first step in legitimizing harassment. At the same time, it is argued that those lighter cases are the

most common ones, affirming the hard cases are ‘real’ yet very rare and unlikely, even nonexistent. As they are so rare or non-existent, every case that gets reported is by default positioned within the second category, which due to its wide and fuzzy description remains open to a variety of cases. Being positioned as a light case, not a real case, repositions it within the category of cases that need not be investigated.

In the end, the hierarchization of harassment cases leaves no feasible option to work against harassment and thereby legitimizes the reproduction of all forms of harassment, no matter their ascribed gravity or seriousness. Concerning sexist harassment, this hierarchization reiterates an idea of Denmark as the frontrunner when it comes to gender equality, that is, the self-perception that sexism simply does not exist in Denmark (cf. J. F. Christensen & Muhr, 2019; Ronen, 2018). When it comes to racist harassment, it reproduces the idea of Danish racial exceptionalism, which is built upon ignoring Denmark’s colonial past (and present) and drawing upon a narrow definition of racism as intentional discrimination based on asserted biological difference, upholds that ‘real’ issues of racialization and racism do not exist in Denmark (cf. Danbolt, 2017; Goldberg, 2006).

Overall, the ten strategies identified work to (often implicitly) legitimize harassing and discriminatory behavior, delegitimize any counteraction taken and restore an organizational image of Danish academic workplaces as equal and meritocratic. Thereby, they lead to a reproduction of workplace harassment and discrimination as intrinsic parts of how universities are dis/organized. While the identified strategies are overall in line with similar studies and projects (Bourabain, 2020; S. E. V. Brown & Battle, 2020; Guschke & Sløk-Andersen, 2022; Olson et al., 2008), they provide a more extended view than previously existed. For instance, the everyday sexism project offers examples of four silencing mechanisms that are supposed to delegitimize anyone who speaks up against harassment: disbelief of the victims, normalization of the problem, victim blaming, and accusations of humourlessness (L. Bates, 2014). Interestingly, all four strategies can here be understood as sub-field to the strategy of individualizing, which shows the additional breadth of strategies outlined here.

There are also theoretical concepts that have been established to understand, for example, rhetoric strategies that are used for (de)legitimization. Benoit's (2015) five image repair strategies for countering an attack and restoring organizational image can be mentioned as one example. Benoit terms them denial, evasion of responsibility, reducing offensiveness, corrective action, and mortification. Denial describes not only what I have also termed denial but also includes aspects of passivity and ignorance. Evasion of responsibility can be seen in strategies of avoidance, derailing, and individualizing. Reducing offensiveness is achieved through dismissing, ridiculing, and the hierarchization of experiences. Finally, corrective action, that is claiming that appropriate action has already been taken and thus nothing else needs to be done, mirrors what can be seen in what I termed non-performative diversity. Mortification is the only image repair strategy not clearly identified in my research (please see Guschke, Just, et al., 2022 for a full analysis of the (de)legitimization strategies as rhetorical strategies based upon Benoit's theoretical concept).

Yet, I argue that it is important to outline each strategy in detail to understand how harassment and discrimination are legitimized. One might for instance argue that denial, passivity, and ignorance are expressions of the same underlying approach, as Benoit's theory would suggest. Yet, what my research shows is that denial works by rejecting the problem to exist in a given context at a given moment in time while passivity acknowledges the problem to exist yet argues that it will solve itself without any intervention. While these two strategies work on an ontological level, debating whether or not the problem exists, ignorance is an epistemic strategy which allows veiling oneself under a mask of lack of knowledge so that the problem – independent of whether it is acknowledged to exist or not – is not seen, thus not relevant. While all three strategies are certainly linked, the specifics of their working need to be understood in order to counter them. While countering denial would require pinpointing the problem's existence convincingly, fighting against passivity would need to show persuasively that prior progress did not just happen but was achieved through feminist and anti-racist struggles wherefore future progress will need to be worked towards and not just waited for. When it comes to ignorance, however, neither approach would promise success. Instead, the task here would be to make the problem matter, that is, show its specific relevance in relation to the speaker as they need to understand that this is not a

problem for *someone*, but *their* problem, that is a problem that is relevant for them to know about.

Similarly, Benoit's rhetoric strategies would place avoidance, derailing, and individualizing in the same category of evasion of responsibility. This is helpful as it shows what these three strategies eventually achieve, they allow the person involved as well as the organization to evade any responsibility for harassment and discrimination. Yet, what my research highlights is how this is achieved in different ways and employed by different groups of people. Avoidance I identified in bystanders who wanted to avoid getting involved with harassment cases which seemed sticky and uncertain, that is, it felt like getting involved in something of which the consequences are unknown, yet of which it will be difficult to get out again. Derailing and individualization on the other hand were used by people involved in formal and informal reporting processes, such as heads of departments, who used these strategies to deny the existence of a general problem in the organization. Instead, they promoted the idea that each individual case is unique and different and thereby both difficult and not as important to solve within the organization. Again, countering each strategy would require different approaches. While bystanders might require more transparent insight into what getting involved in a situation of harassment could mean and how to go about this in a helpful, supportive, and respectful way, those currently involved in reporting processes arguably do not have an interest in 'getting involved'. Instead, one might have to think about who is responsible within reporting processes and how to ensure that these people support the victim's interest – a point I will return to in the final part of the analysis on *reporting harassment and discrimination*.

Benoit's (2015) categorization and studies that build broader categories (L. Bates, 2014; Bourabain, 2020) are helpful in pinpointing similarities and overarching aims. This is certainly important to understand how the different strategies work together and intersect, as seldom any of them are used in isolation. Yet, this part of the analysis highlights the variations between the different strategies to show how each of them works differently and will therefore also need to be addressed and tackled differently. It contributes not only to understanding how harassing and discriminatory behavior are legitimized but hopefully provides starting points to countering the legitimate reproduction of workplace harassment and discrimination.

4.5 Just speak up – in the right way

When harassment takes place, there is an overwhelming call that the victim should ‘just speak up’ about it, preferably right when it happens. This proclaims harassment to be an individual problem to be solved informally. It builds upon an understanding of harassment as only being individually identifiable – it is harassment when it is perceived as such by the victim – which is taken to argue that only the individual victim can (and should) speak out about harassing behavior, creating a dangerous liaison between the right and the responsibility to speak up. At the same time, it paradoxically also relies on the assumption that ‘if it is real(ly) harassment’, everyone will be able to agree with the victim. This assumption disregards any consideration of potential conflictual perceptions between victim and perpetrator as well as potential bystanders or witnesses. It, furthermore, disregards formal and informal power mechanisms that influence the possibilities for speaking up against perpetrators. In some instances, interviewees explicitly forward a purely agentic and individualized idea of power as the following interview quote from an institute leader shows: “Power relations are social relations. They are negotiated socially [...] if she had said something [it would have been solved]” (A27), thus implying that if you just speak up in the right way, you can simply change the prevailing power dynamics. Another interviewee insisted: “Someone can just tell those people to stop” (A1).

As the following will reveal, the aim to solve cases individually and informally is by far not the only expectation linked to the suggestion or rather demand of speaking up as a victim. The interviews showed that there is a long list of expectations attached to this request, which makes speaking up ‘in the right way’ a delicate balancing act. Considering that the occurrence that initiated the need to speak up is an experience of harassment and discrimination, it might seem excessive and misguided to pose so many expectations upon the targetted person. Nonetheless, all expectations outlined in the following were mentioned repeatedly by many if not all interviewees, yet particularly often by those without harassment and discrimination experiences.

4.5.1 Expectations to speak up in the right way

Some of the first expectations expressed by interviewees are linked to a requirement of managing one's emotions, hinting at a presupposition that emotions are frequently mismanaged, by victims in particular, and that emotion management is needed to avoid improper reactions to harassment and discrimination experiences. A first step, which should be taken before deciding whether to speak up in the first place is to question if one is maybe just having a bad day or for any other reason, unrelated to the occurrence, working oneself up into an exaggeration of the situation, into something that did not really take place. As one interviewee phrased it: "Maybe it's not harassment, it's you not being able to take what you normally would" (A7). Posing this as an explicit requirement mirrors the seemingly widespread assumption that many victims of harassment exaggerate their cases and are simply too overly sensitive to deal with a normal workplace situation.

When one has double-checked one's own experience and finds one's emotional reaction to being adequate, it is stressed that it becomes the victim's responsibility to speak up about the behavior being inappropriate, unwanted, harassing. Otherwise, it is claimed, it is likely that the perpetrator does not know that they have crossed a boundary. One institute leader who is responsible for handling harassment cases explained: "It could also be on the offended person [to speak up. I would] say: 'Go back and tell him. Perhaps he doesn't know you don't like it'" (A27). Similarly, as quoted before: "You have to make the levels of what you accept clear, [or] else it just [means] that you are open for more" (A1). Using definitions that stress that experiences of harassment are individual as justification, it is presupposed that perpetrators generally lack awareness, a belief upheld even in cases of very clear and severe cases. As the same interviewee continues:

"He is moving across a boundary and he is moving across it from a position of authority. It's evident in this language. It's also nedladende [condescending]. And it's clearly in the language of gender harassment. So, they're no doubt there. But she would be much better off if she marked this is across the border I accept." (A1)

Thus, even when it is clearly harassing, responsibility is put on the victim to assert this.

When working on formulating one's claim, devising the words one wishes to speak in the act of speaking up, one meets further obligations. One should try to understand how the other side, the perpetrator, might feel and how they meant what they did or said. In other words, one should consider their intent and anticipate their emotional reaction, interestingly after one was asked to manage own emotions. It thus becomes a double burden on the victim to manage not only their own but also the perpetrator's feelings. Moreover, one should consider the consequences it might have for the perpetrator if the occurrence is accounted for as harassment, named as such by the act of speaking up. One interviewee explained: "I think what happens sort of in the aftermath of all this [harassment] is also very very complicated because to what extent is [the victim] aware that sort of the machinery she has set in motion for good reason might have serious implications for [the perpetrator]? [...] I wonder to what extent she was clear what it means. And this is not to say she shouldn't have done so [spoken up ...] I just wonder if she was thinking it through" (A4). Even when one concludes that speaking up is a good idea, a requirement even to deal with the experience appropriately, the outlined considerations create hesitance. The thought that the perpetrator might not have intended the behavior, might feel bad – sad, angry, disappointed – about the victim speaking up, and that speaking up might have negative consequences for the perpetrator all become barriers to speaking up about harassing behavior.

If the victim overcomes these barriers and decides to speak up nonetheless, the way of speaking is subject to expectations and requirements as well. First, one should explain oneself, explain why one feels harassed and discriminated against, why this occurrence was experienced as harassment and discrimination, supposing that the claim itself is not valid unless explicated. One should not be too pushy, not come off as too aggressive, not 'just point fingers', and in the best case, not formulate any direct accusations at all. Pointing fingers, it is argued, would belittle the other person and accusations inevitably create conflict. One interviewee contends that:

"I feel [speaking up] like that [publicly] is creating people pointing towards the scaffold. It's pointing fingers at: these are the offenders. These are the victims. And this dynamic creates a very strong sense of coherence in the group. So, it's very powerful, very useful, but it's also very detrimental. [...] We merely want women and want everyone to feel safe in their lives whether it's working environment or

private life. We just want people to feel safe. But when we are pointing fingers like this ... And sometimes when you put it up this harsh, then I can understand why some men feel excluded from the discussion because they feel branded as offenders on behalf of their entire gender“ (A32).

It is argued that it cannot lead to a constructive engagement with the issue, which reveals itself to apparently be the underlying aim of speaking up. Instead, as one interviewee described reflecting on how she would like to be addressed when accused of harassment, one should assume that the accused had better intentions and appeal to their morals:

“[The person accusing me should do so] in a way that's not blaming but appealing to my morals or to my emotions. And saying: 'Actually, I don't know if you noticed this, but I noticed that this person was uncomfortable and I'm sure that was not your intention but that was a result.' So, factual but also appealing to my emotions and believing that I had better intentions. [...] Rather than an attack, obviously, because then you start defending yourself.” (A29)

It is argued that only by assuming the best in a person are they able to take the critique of their behavior while as soon as they feel attacked, they react with defensiveness. In other words, being judgmental towards someone arguably inhibits their potential for self-critique and change as they instead need to defend their own position.

Lastly, and as an important reminder it seems, the victim is cautioned that even if speaking up seems difficult, one should avoid involving a third party or even worse, initiate formal handling of the case. Involving other people, especially in formal positions, it is argued, always creates confrontation and triggers conflict, something to be avoided. One interviewee, describing an experience of harassment at their department advised against involving the union representative, arguing that it “would be raising the stakes a bit [...] it's not that I don't want to take it seriously [but...] we would run the risk of raising the stakes to a point where there is really no bridging anymore” (A4). Similarly, another interviewee explains:

“I can see how just institutionalizing, so just bringing in sort of the official [person responsible in] your workplace... then we're already thinking of sanctions or

retributions or stuff like that. So, that's a major aggression in a way. So, I don't know how you would overcome that. [...] I can see how that really wouldn't be very helpful because I don't see a way to sort of dismantle that aggression connected to that step of making it institutionalized.” (A29)

Initiating a formal process is seen as a point of no return which escalates the situation into a conflictual, aggressive issue – disregarding that the experience of harassment is already conflictual and aggressive in its own way. As one interviewee shared when speaking of continuous harassing behavior towards her: “It would add more fire [to report it]. And I wanted to keep it contained. But in doing so, it went on for quite a long time” (A22).

Taken together, these considerations, expectations, and requirements position the victim as a person who has a responsibility for maintaining (or rather recreating, one might argue) a constructive environment for dealing with the harassment case. At the same time, many pitfalls are drawn that risk such constructiveness, including mismanaging one’s own emotions or wrongly anticipating those of the perpetrator, the formulation of accusations, being overly and inappropriately emotional in speaking up (while this is granted as a potential reaction to the perpetrator) or the involvement external parties. In addition, this line of argumentation positions the victim as the one who triggers aggressiveness, non-constructiveness, and potential conflict. First, it is thus not the harassment itself that is seen as aggressive, conflictual, and non-constructive while second, any escalation that might follow the act of speaking up can easily be blamed on the victim (cf. Ahmed, 2017). The issue could have been solved, had they only spoken up less pushy, less aggressively, with more explanations, with fewer accusations, the list goes on almost indefinitely.

Instructions to ‘just speak up’:

Step 1: Just tell him to stop,

but:

double-check the adequacy of your own emotional reaction: maybe you are just having a bad day, maybe you are working yourself up, maybe you are exaggerating, maybe this did not really take place, maybe it is not harassment, maybe it is you not being able to take what you normally would, maybe it is you.

Step 2: If it is not you, go back and tell him. Perhaps he does not know you do not like it. You have to make the levels of what you accept clear, or else it just means that you are open for more,

but:

try to understand how he might feel and how he meant what he did or said, anticipate his emotional reaction, consider what the consequences for him might be, think of the machinery this might set in motion, this might have serious implications, think it through.

Step 3: If you have thought it through, explain yourself,

but:

do not be too pushy, do not come off as too aggressive, do not ‘just point fingers’, and in the best case, do not formulate any direct accusations at all.

And remember:

It would add more fire to report it. Keep it contained. Don’t escalate it. That really wouldn’t be very helpful.

Step 4: Just speak up,

but

– remember:

that really wouldn’t be very helpful.

4.5.2 *The fear of becoming the troublemaker*

The victim is always-already to be doubted, in their assessment of the situation and their approach to dealing with it. This underlying sense leads to many people not feeling comfortable speaking up as I will show next. While the prior part was built primarily upon data from interviews with people who did not experience harassment and discrimination themselves, the following centers on the accounts of those interviewees who did share experiences of being harassed and discriminated against and tried to speak up against it. As one interviewee says about her act of speaking up: “I had to really kick myself in the butt to get it done. And I can see how most people might not do that because it really isn’t comfortable” (A29). Interviewees have shared a plethora of fears, assumptions, and prior experiences that prevent them from speaking up, even if this is proclaimed to be the appropriate way to deal with harassment and discrimination experiences. Many of them mirror the excessive expectations outlined above.

A main concern is to be seen as annoying, as making problems, as disrupting. This fear can be linked to the expectation to not create conflict. As described above speaking up in the right way becomes a challenging task to navigate. As one interviewee shared, when met with harassment, your reaction might involve a reflection about: “Do I need to unleash the full feminist agenda on him and cause another ruckus. Or do I just say: You know what, you’re a dinosaur. Go somewhere, don’t hurt people, be a dinosaur, that’s okay” (A31). The fear of failing at this task and consequently becoming ‘the troublemaker’ is not farfetched (cf. Ahmed, 2017). This fear manifests in gendered and racialized ways. Gendered stereotypes and biases make a woman who is angry easily perceived as driven by pain and overly emotional. Further, from an intersectional perspective, the stereotype of the angry Black woman is triggered (cf. Ahmed, 2017). Both are positions to avoid while angry (white) men are ascribed strength and a strive for justice, as one interviewee explains:

“A woman who disrupts is different than a man who disrupts. [...] Anger is perceived differently. The emotion of anger is perceived differently from a man or woman [...] when men do it [getting emotional] there’s some kind of power to that. [...]Anger] is seen as a strong thing in men and it’s seen as an emotional thing in

women. *[It's seen as if] there is a pain behind it in women and behind men, there's a [claim for] justice"* (A16).

Relatedly, people fear not living up to an ideal of a good colleague or breaking with collegial solidarity. The good colleague ideal is strongly linked to an ideal of being able to communicate with one another and thus the responsibility of the victim to address the problem in a collegial, non-confrontative way. One interviewee complains that colleagues reported him and another person to the boss for harassment instead of speaking to him directly, claiming that they acted and communicated in a way that was not acceptable between people working together:

"So, they felt that they couldn't talk to us. [... But] I'm pretty sure that if they talked to us - because we're not ill-minded or at least I wasn't - I would take their side - not necessarily take their side, but like say: 'I respect that you're saying this.' At the same time, I want to be me and have my lines and have my fun. But I would still accept that: 'Alright, I gotta think about this stuff when you guys are around.' [... But] the way they went [reporting to the boss], I just got offended. [...] And it's not because I can't see that I probably did something wrong. But by that time, I felt more embarrassed. [...] The method [of reporting] they did, wasn't respecting our lines. They didn't accept me as a person. [...] It was a confrontation instead of ... I would love to accept them, and they would probably like to accept me. If I say: 'Well, could we get to a compromise?', that's pretty much good communication because you work together. I'm pretty sure if I went to my boss, I didn't do it to get a conversation started. I would do that to get a confrontation. [...] Then it's already gone wrong. And then it's very hard to return from that because they never took the time to go into the conversation." (A7)

While admitting that he might have done something wrong, he nonetheless claims that the non-collegial confrontation arose from how the instance was reported.

A similar fear of becoming a bad colleague is reflected from the perspective of the victim; as another interviewee put it quite simply: "I want to be liked" (A20) - a position that seems incompatible with speaking up against a colleague's harassing behavior. Moreover, victims fear

becoming “*that* girl in science in the harassment situation” (A34), “a poster child of this [harassment issue]” or “unwitting ambassador for all kinds of women’s rights and respect in the workplace” (A22). Harassment seems to be sticky, yet not to the perpetrator but to the victim of harassment (and potentially, as I have argued earlier, to bystanders who get involved).

Linked to the fear of becoming the troublemaker is the threat of disrupting not only the work atmosphere in this particular moment but harming the group, may this be the research group, department, or university, in the long term through one’s action. As outlined before one should consider the potential consequences this has for the perpetrator and the wider implications on an organizational level. As one victim of harassment explained: “He’s a very important person for the department and [...] I don’t want to be responsible for something harming the department” (A16).

Another fear is to be seen as too soft, too easily offended, as not fitting or belonging to the workplace for claiming something to be harassment that so far has just been part of normal work conduct. This can be traced to the requirement of managing one’s emotions before speaking up. What if one is judged to simply having mismanaged one’s own feelings, or blaming someone else for one’s own inability to react appropriately? As one interviewee explains about an experience of being harassed and trying to speak up about it: “This is highly inappropriate. [But...] these micro-behaviors, when you have to try to explain them to someone [...] it seems so unsubstantial. It seems like it’s nothing. It seems like you are super sensitive” (A29). As insights from my interviews show, this fear is far from misplaced or exaggerated. As one head of department phrased it when describing how he deals with people who speak to him about experiences of feeling harassed: “People can be extremely sensitive. People may also overreact for sure. Sometimes I counter people with: Look, you are working at a place with people. You could go to a factory with a lot of machines, and you would not be harassed. [...] If you cannot accept that, I’m sorry but it’s not my business. It’s not my problem, it’s your problem.” Another institute leader similarly explains: “There’s a limit below which we will have to say: no, this is nothing. This was a misunderstanding. And you felt offended. I mean I recognize that you felt offended but there’s nothing we can do about it” (A27). A third person recalls her reaction when a colleague told her that she was being harassed: “First I was laughing at her, saying: ‘Come on, really? Do you really

think like this?’ But then I thought, oh my god, so minor things [...] can make you feel uncomfortable? Really? It’s actually really scary to me, I cannot image [...] I would not even notice it.” Considering that this is a reaction that, as my data shows, is not uncommon from colleagues and leaders, the threat of being dismissed as overly sensitive is understandable.

Interestingly, the legitimacy to speak up and related fears of becoming troublemakers or being seen as not belonging are also connected to your perceived academic performance. As one interviewee shared, reflecting on her act of speaking up “I’m not strong enough academically almost. It feels like you need to be ... If you’re going to voice [a harassment claim] like that, then you better get your shit together in terms of your [academic] writing. The people better know that you’re good. So that you can have validity to express that [harassment claim]” (A16). This links to the above-outlined contextual mechanism in academia of having to constantly prove your worth in a hyper-competitive, precarious work environment. This fear of further destabilizing ones already precarious working condition or the informal basis upon which one has built a currently stable position is moreover linked to a fear of the perpetrators’ reaction to speaking up about their harassing behavior. They might get angry and if the harassment is not stopped effectively, it might even become worse after having spoken up about it. Or, they might simply not change their behavior despite saying so which can lead to severe frustration:

“I actually caught up with him and I said: ‘I need to talk to you about yesterday. You crossed my limits with what you did. And he was being super ... He took that really well. And so I was like: ‘Oh that’s impressive.’ He was like: ‘Oh I’m really sorry. That was really really not my intention. And thank you for saying it.’ Really, it was a comfortable conversation. [...] I was being friendly, and I was not being accusatory. I was saying: ‘This is my experience. It crossed my line. I wanted you to know that. And I suggest you think about that.’ But I was trying not to be pointing a finger or teaching him or belittling him or anything, just speaking from my point of view, saying this was too much for me and I need to tell you that. And after that I felt super empowered. I was like: ‘Wow I did it.’ But it was scary. The thought of it was scary. [...] I told a colleague about it, saying that] he took that very well. And then the answer I got back was: ‘Yes of course he did. Women have said this to him a

million times. He's used to that.' And all of a sudden, I felt almost revictimized. I don't know if that makes sense, but I was like: 'Oh my God, I can't believe I fell for that. And I gave him credit for that.' And I got almost angry, and I felt almost revictimized. So, I'm still proud of me going to talk to him about it, but I was like: 'Oh wow, there's a whole other dimension to it.' The people who do this the most, they actually do get confronted sometimes and they can handle it so well that it makes you feel like: 'Oh, he is a good guy.' And I felt sick. And it changed my view on him and on my own experience." (A29)

The above quote also shows that even if you 'speak up in the right way' - that is, directly addressing the perpetrator instead of involving third parties, not being too emotional, not pointing fingers, or being accusatory - it still does not work to stop the harassment. On the contrary, it might allow the perpetrator to react to the confrontation in such a (seemingly appropriate) way that it in effect prevents any further action to be taken and allows them to continue the harassing behavior, towards this victim or others.

Next to this, the reactions of colleagues and bosses are also feared by some. The same interviewee recalled a conversation with a person who also had experienced harassment in the workplace: "This particular woman in question, [who was harassed] she said to me: 'I don't want to call in sick. I don't want to you know report sick with stress and be out for a long while because I'm scared of how it will affect my career. Not just not publishing while I'm out, but also the fact that I was the one who couldn't take the pressure'" (A29). Her fear shows how ingrained the above-outlined idea is that in academia you have to be able to 'take it'. In addition, victims might fear being seen as complicit, a fear that might seem unlikely to be fulfilled yet mirrors a sentiment that came up rather frequently in the interviews. As one interviewee explained, reactions to a colleague's experience of being harassed were statements along the lines of: "Everyone is responsible for their own choices" (A29), implying a complicity of the victim. While not everyone might think this way, scattered evidence combined with a lack of counterevidence is often enough to continuously trigger and uphold fears that prevent action.

In sum, speaking up becomes voiced as the norm - 'You should just speak up' - with a variety of normative expectations linked to it - 'speak up in the right way.' Yet, the act of actually speaking

up becomes punished as norm-breaking. If despite the threats outlined above one decides to speak up, inevitably breaking with several of the expectations linked to the request of speaking up, the norm-breaking does not go unpunished (cf. J. F. Christensen et al., 2021). My research thus points to how norms are often only recognizable when they are broken as their reproduction is enforced through repercussions for those who deviate (cf. J. F. Christensen et al., 2021; Guschke & Sløk-Andersen, 2022). Further, you need to spend time and energy on fighting against the norm, for instance claiming your right to speak up and call what you experienced harassment, which takes time and energy that you then lack for your actual work. The threat of risking your position might thus materialize both formally and informally. And not least, you are made to feel like you do not belong and cannot succeed in this normative system as norms regulate belonging and exclusion. This has been argued before (cf. J. F. Christensen et al., 2021), yet as I show here normative regulation of belonging happens not only through relatively stable normative expectations but also through paradoxical norms that make belonging impossible for those who find themselves in situations of being harassed and discriminated against as there is no viable way to speak up about harassment and discrimination without in the same move breaking some normative expectations that permeate the academic workplace (cf. Guschke & Sløk-Andersen, 2022).

4.5.3 Entitlement and the right to offend

Interestingly, these expectations do not hold in the same way towards the perpetrator. While the discourse towards victims stresses a responsibility to react ‘in the right way’, putting forth normative ideas of how one should react, the discourse on how people react when they are accused of harassment and discrimination is less normative and rather phrased around an acknowledgment and acceptance of how one understandably would react in such a situation. Responsibility becomes a determining yet unequally attributed element. Similarly, the right to offend and to be offended is unequally distributed. Moreover, perpetrators’ feelings are seen as more legitimate than the victim’s emotional reactions. In sum, perpetrators feel entitled to harass and – judging from the expectations that are (not) put on them in the aftermath of harassment cases – they are commonly granted such entitlement while the victim’s right not to be harassed is

not upheld. To explain this in more detail, I will in the following outline how perpetrators are expected to react to accusations of harassment and discrimination and how these reactions are perceived as acceptable and understandable.

One notable aspect is that the right to offend and the right (not) to be offended are unequally distributed between victim and perpetrator (cf. Essed, 2020). While victims are often told not to be too easily offended, an accused perpetrator's angry or offensive reaction is described as understandable. Interviewees commonly related to it by saying: "When another person accuses me of something that I didn't do, I get offended, of course" (A7). It is implicitly assumed that the accused person did not do what they accused of, or at least that they do not perceive themselves to be guilty. Similarly, victims are told to consider how the other side feels, what the perpetrator might have meant and what their intent might have been. They are asked to always assume the best in the perpetrator. The victim is even warned not to trespass the perpetrator's boundaries as the following quote illustrates: "The offender also has boundaries [...] When you get offended, the most important is [...] how to counter-react to this" (A7). However, the perpetrator is not expected to consider how the other side feels or relates to the experience, ironically so, as their act of harassment might already presuppose a lack of consideration of the other side's feelings and boundaries. In other words, it rests upon the victim to investigate what the perpetrator meant, intended, and felt, which underscores the unequal distribution of responsibility in handling harassment cases.

In addition, the perpetrator's feelings are seen as more legitimate than the victim's emotions. When a person is accused of having harassed someone, interviewees agree that this triggers an initial feeling of discomfort. This feeling of discomfort commonly leads to the accused person making up excuses for them-self:

"I think this is probably a general observation that we are quite quick to forgive ourselves because we're quite good at contextualizing what we did. And sort of saying: 'Well, I didn't do this on purpose. I didn't mean anything bad about it. And I only did it because, you know, I thought it was expected of me. Or I just wanted to be nice. Whereas from the outside it doesn't really look like that.'" (A4)

Contextualizing the occurrence, potential shame and guilt are held at bay. By convincing oneself for instance that no real harm was done or that one's intent was different wherefore it is not 'really, real, harassment', responsibility for one's action is rejected, and the accusation of harassment is denied. Potentially, the victim's point of view is delegitimized, or at least it is challenged. One interviewee who was accused of harassment for instance maintained that "I was just the wrong person at the wrong place. [...] I'm white and I'm male, middle-aged. So, of course, all the frustrations they had - both sort of the more practical issues but also maybe issues of identity politics - they put it on me" (A15).

In many cases, however, a sense of shame cannot be held at bay. This shame is initially linked to the particular act that one is accused of but arguably becomes translated to one's person as a whole. From being accused of a harassing act one becomes 'the harasser': "It comes from this idea of all of a sudden experiencing being judged for a tiny fragment of your person and that becoming your entire identity. Again [for example] doing something racist versus being racist" (A20). Suddenly, one's personality and identity are implicated in the claim. This move from blaming someone for an act towards creating a shameful position for the person as such is not necessarily one that is made explicitly. It might not be the victim who formulates their claim against 'the harasser', yet the claim is often heard as such by the accused perpetrator. As one person explains: "If one person sees themselves as a very funny person and the thing is, they're funny being a bit racist or sexist. You also kind of hurt that personality when you say: 'I don't think that's funny.' [...] Because it could be a big part of their personality" (A3).

Furthermore, there exists a shameful and stigmatized taboo around the figure of 'the harasser'. This means that if one takes responsibility for the act of harassment, one will have to admit to being identified as 'the harasser'. This, however, arguably breaks with the self-perception the accused person has of them-self, which leads to a forceful rejection of the categorization:

"If there was a situation where I was in the place of a sexual harasser, that could seriously threaten my internal view of myself as a good person. So, I might become extremely defensive, possibly. I wouldn't know until it happened, but I could anticipate getting very [hitting his fist on the table], because I think it's a powerful taboo." (A33)

The accused's main aim becomes the restoring of self-image as well as one's reputation, which requires the denial of the harassment claim. To do so, the victim and their accusation need to be delegitimized. Interestingly, the restoration of self-image and reputation is seen as a legitimate and important endeavor, even by some of the victims. As one interviewee, for instance, explains when talking about the person who harassed her: "His reputation is harmed. I feel for that, too. I'm not so cold that I'm like: 'Okay, let his reputation be harmed.' Yeah, a little bit. But then, let's not go crazy because he has to come back, and we have to take care of each other here" (A16). Restoring one's self-image and reputation seemingly justifies emotional, even aggressive, reactions to harassment claims. It becomes completely understandable and legitimate that the accused reacts with anger, aggression, offense, and defensiveness as they are trying to maintain their sense of self and their self-perception as much as their image and their reputation (cf. Knights & Clarke, 2014; O'Leary-Kelly et al., 2004).

In addition to this, some perpetrators, I suggest, feel entitled to feel comfortable. A picture painted by one of the interviewees captures it:

"Oftentimes, it's feeling entitled to be comfortable. You can almost measure how much pain a gram of comfortableness costs for a person who is on top [hierarchically]." (A18)

Their comfort weighs heavier than any claim the victim could have. To restore one's own comfort, the accusation is denied, and the victim is delegitimized in their allegations. As comfort is perceived as an entitlement, it is seen as legitimate to fight (back) against anything and anyone who threatens this privilege. Following Essed's (2020) thinking about entitlement in relation to discrimination, this highlights the idea of entitlement as a perceived right to put one's own needs above others or perceive oneself as more important than others. This sense of entitlement is based on the described belief in merit in academia that in combination with gendered and racialized inequalities allows those who are in powerful positions - that is, primarily white men, or as I have argued before here specifically white, Danish, Western, heterosexual men - to believe in their right to hold these positions and to deserve the related privileges, including the entitlement to feel comfortable in these positions.

When this entitlement to feeling comfortable is challenged by someone accusing them of harassment and discrimination, it translates to an entitlement to harass, asserting “that people seem to feel that they have the right to offend” (Muhr & Essed, 2018, p. 188). It goes hand in hand with dehumanizing the victims and robbing them of their right not to be harassed (cf. Essed, 2020). Some perpetrators even go so far as to assert that by being accused they become victims (too) (cf. Butler, 2016). As stated by one interviewee: “They just felt like the victim. And it's all right, they were victims, some sort of probably. I could easily accept that. But at the same time, they didn't accept that I felt like a victim. That I felt: Alright, but I'm also offended here. Because I need to suddenly sit in front of [...] my boss [and explain] what happened” (A7). From an underlying idea of boundary negotiation being two-sided, it is argued that the perpetrator might potentially have overstepped the victim's boundaries with their behavior (maintaining however that this is not confirmed yet), while the victim is now definitely overstepping the perpetrator's boundaries with their accusation. Therefore, the perpetrator is in the right to feel attacked and offended and is robbed of their entitlement to feel comfortable.

Positioning oneself as the victim moreover allows the perpetrator to (mis)use this positionality to avoid taking on any blame. As one person who was accused of harassment said: “I talked to my head of department. [...] He gave me a really nasty talk, like: ‘You’ve got to stop...’ [...] I saw myself as a victim. [...] I was so angst about it [the talk with the head of department]” (A15). This relates again to the discourse on vulnerability with Butler (2016, p. 23) writing that “dominant groups can use the discourse of ‘vulnerability’ to shore up their own privilege”. The perpetrator here positions himself as vulnerable within the harassment reporting system using exactly those discourses that have been established to support victims. Repositioning himself as a vulnerable victim, the perpetrator becomes the one to be protected from any responsibility or repercussions. The perpetrator assumes the position of also being a victim, even being ‘the real victim’, potentially even in a larger discourse on unfounded and ill-minded accusations of harassment, to delegitimize any accusations against him. As Butler notices, “we may find ourselves somewhat awkwardly opposed to vulnerability” when it is used to protect those accused of harassment. Yet, awkward opposition does not stop this (mis)use of the vulnerability and victim discourse from functioning in the interest of the perpetrator. What is more, it cannot be claimed that the

perpetrator does not feel vulnerable. At least, their claim to vulnerability cannot be countered without, in the same move, risking delegitimizing the harassed person's vulnerability (cf. Butler, 2016).

Notably, only one interviewee proposed acknowledging the feeling of discomfort and standing up to it as a potential reaction to being accused of having harassed someone. This could lead to acknowledging that one has harmed another person and standing up to one's responsibility, trying to understand how one caused harm, and working on reconciliation. As this one interviewee formulated it: "It's either you [the victim] being hurt or me [the accused] being annoyed, what's worse?" (A17). Unfortunately, many seem to perceive their own annoyance and discomfort as worse than the pain inflicted on the victim.

It remains to ask, how come expectations are so differently distributed between victim and perpetrator? And relatedly, why is it seemingly so much easier to empathize with the perpetrator's point of view and situation while empathy and understanding are lacking towards the victim? Considering the unequal distribution of responsibility to anticipate and manage emotions, one's own and those of others leads me to argue that there is a difference in the assessment of whose emotions matter and relatedly who matters in the organization. While the victim's emotions are supposed to be managed and contained, the perpetrator is free to express a range of feelings from anger and aggression to pain and feeling hurt. The perpetrator is allowed to take up space, their body and its emotional state of being are allowed to extend into the organization without causing trouble, without being accused of creating conflict or inhibiting a constructive working environment. Their body, their person, is already inhabiting a large part of the organization, they matter, they deserve to take up this space. The victim, however, is kept small and contained. An emotional reaction would be an overflow of the space that is appropriated to them. Reacting, reacting emotionally, being emotional, being is too much, is to be contained (cf. Ahmed, 2017). The victim does not matter, their body is not legitimized to take up more space in the organization.

Further, I maintain that this reveals that only those who matter have emotions worse protecting. Thinking with Butler, their lives are grievable, that is they are recognized as worthy of grief in the face of violence and therefore worthy of protection to avoid violation (cf. Butler, 2009). In addition, I argue that conditions of grievability are gendered. With the victim commonly being a woman, it is assumed that she is overly emotional while at the same time it is expected of her to (having learned to) deal with her emotions better and more easily than men. Sarah Bracke (2016) relates this double-bind expectation to a gendered assumption of resilience. Gendered expectations towards women, she claims, mirror an excessive presumption of women being particularly resilient. Women are expected to have an ability for “emotional management [...] of problems that have been gendered feminine” (Bracke, 2016, p. 65) with harassment, commonly understood as sexist harassment against women, arguably belonging to the category of ‘feminine-gendered’ problems. Bracke evokes two interesting figures to explain this expectation and the risk of failing to adhere to them. She describes how ‘the good resilient self’ is the woman who uses her agency to overcome ‘female-gendered’ problems, such as harassment and discrimination. Bracke calls them the ‘Look, I Overcame’-postfeminists, who claim to have overcome gendered inequalities and build a self-image that relies upon the idea of an individually agentic overcoming of structural inequalities. The ‘Look, I Overcame’-postfeminist is positioned in opposition to the postfeminist ‘bad girl’. She is the woman who continues to be caught up in ‘female-gendered’ problems, which becomes her individual failure to live up to the idea of the ‘the good resilient self.’ Hence, the woman who is emotionally affected by being harassed easily becomes the failing postfeminist ‘bad girl’. The perpetrator, predominantly being a man, on the other hand, is not required in the same way to contain his emotions. Anger and aggression, presumably justified reactions when accused of harassment, are perceived as manly, as normal, and as accepted for men to experience and express.

Thinking through Butler’s (2009) notion of grievability and Bracke’s (2016) insights on resilience in light of my empirical material leads me to suggest that those who are seen as inherently grievable, that is male perpetrators, are not required to be resilient in the face of violence in the same way as those who are not inherently grievable. Put differently, some – that is, victims of harassment and discrimination, predominantly women and other marginalized groups – have to

first show resilience in the face of harassment and discrimination to be recognized as viable and grievable persons in the organization. Paradoxically, they must resiliently endure not being grieved to establish themselves as grievable. In other words, resilience becomes a gendered condition of grievability; you are recognized as grievable *only when you are resilient* in the face of violence.

Finally, it is interesting that much more energy is invested in understanding the perpetrator and their feelings while the victim's emotional state is dismissed without being investigated any further. It is interesting because this is even done by those interviewees who otherwise are critical to the general problems of harassment and discrimination. Thus, I suggest another mechanism that leads to spending more time and energy on understanding the perpetrator's reaction. An urge to understand the perpetrator, I argue, is based on the aim of making sense of this occurrence, which is understood as an unlikely outlier from the otherwise well-functioning status quo in the workplace. To explain this outlier behavior, it needs to be *understood*, an effort and aim that is not problematic in and of itself. One interviewee who experienced harassment herself for instance states that "it helps to understand why people do these things" (A16). Yet, by looking only for individual indicators of the perpetrator's behavior, one not only misses the structural mechanisms that enable and reproduce harassing and discriminatory behavior. It moreover leads to a legitimization of the individual behavior. While theoretically there are nuanced differences between *understanding* why the perpetrator acted in the way they did, *empathizing* with their action and motivational drivers, *justifying* their behavior, and *discharging* them from responsibility for their action, the step from understanding to discharging is often not far in practice.

The individual view also leads to a strong belief in people generally behaving well and a related mistrust that a person becomes a perpetrator – a perception based on the above-outlined belief in meritocratic and enlightened academic institutions. As the potential for harassment and discrimination has been positioned as the absolute outlier, an unlikely exception, it is not easily believed that harassment has really taken place. This supports a related claim I make, namely that the question of distribution of responsibility is then linked to the assessment of what the problem really is and who is causing it. As has been outlined above, the victim is perceived to be the one

who risks constructiveness and collegiality in the workplace, who threatens to start a conflict when speaking up in the wrong way. The victim is thus not understood as the one who points out a problem that pre-exists their speaking up about it – the problem of harassment – but as the creator and initiator of the main problem – the creation (even if it is rather a disclosure) of conflict between colleagues (cf. Ahmed, 2015). When the victim is seen as the cause of the problem, the responsibility to solve the issue is easily put upon them. Moreover, the victim as the cause of the difficulty is the one who needs to be contained.

In addition, the victim is also positioned as the one who should have an interest in solving this issue. As the victim creates the problem by speaking up in the first place, they should have an interest in solving the problem, or rather problems – the harassment and discrimination as well as the disrupted workplace atmosphere. This shows for instance in how, as a consequence of harassment and discrimination, the victim is often moved to a new workplace while the perpetrator stays put in the same physical, social, and scholarly environment. Moving can here refer to being moved to a different office, or maybe a different floor, within the same department to position the victim further away from the perpetrator. It can also mean that the victim changes department or even university to avoid further contact with the perpetrator. This option is explicitly suggested by HR as has been reported by several interviewees. One interviewee recalls: “We had HR coming up [to our department ...] And then one of the profs asked a clarifying question. He essentially made them affirm that if a junior person was harassed by a senior person, HR would help the junior person move, which is weird. That is weird! But they were actually more or less literally confirming that that's the process because senior people have so much clout” (A24).

Others confirm this practice, such as one head of department who reflects on how he would react if a young scholar reported continuous harassment from senior scholars in their research group, stating that instead of contacting the union representative or ombudsman the better solution would be for the young scholar to (be) move(d): “Of course having an ombudsman is really good but [...] I mean he [the young scholar] would probably be better off having a close friend who knows the scientific environment to say: ‘Well look yeah you're right. I mean this place is filled with old male elephants that control everything. And you wouldn't like it here if you were tenured

staff” (A10). Moreover, it may also become the wish of a victim to be moved to a different setting, either as this may help with healing from the experience or as it becomes clear that the perpetrator will not be removed, wherefore moving one’s own working environment seems like the only feasible option to protect oneself from further harm. If this option is explicitly wished for by the victim, it becomes easy for the responsible people in the reporting process to justify it as their own choice, even though it is questionable if this can be labeled a free choice if there was only one feasible option to choose from to begin with. Responsibility is arguably not placed upon the one who might have the power to solve the problem but upon the one with the greatest interest in the problem being solved, the one who is suffering the most – an assertion that fits the idea that harassment is an individual problem that should be handled informally rather than a structural issue that requires formal engagement which would require the organization to take as well as distribute responsibility for solving it.

4.6 Reporting harassment and discrimination

While – as just outlined – victims are commonly expected to ‘deal with’ harassment cases informally by ‘just speaking up’ about it, there is nonetheless often reference to formal harassment and discrimination reporting processes. The overall idea of creating a formal reporting system is to provide victims the possibility to officially report harassing and discriminatory behavior they have been subjected to. Moreover, it is also important to note that the reporting process has somewhat of a backward definition power of legitimately labeling some cases as harassment and discrimination and others not. The severity of the outcome of the reporting process provides proof of the severity of the case. If the reported instance is handled without further consequences, the case must have been revealed to not really be as bad, not real, not a real harassment case. Describing a similar mechanism within legal procedures, Finley (1989, p. 889) writes that “[t]he legal pronouncement is deemed definitive of what happened.” If no legal punishment follows the investigation and juridical processing of a case, the occurrence can be dismissed as not really having taken place, “‘what happened’ ‘[becomes...]’ ‘not true’ [...] not relevant [...] so it is ‘nothing’” (Finley, 1989, p. 889). Thinking back to the hierarchization of

harassment cases makes clear how important the outcomes as well as the structure of a formal reporting process can be within the reproduction of harassment and discrimination.

Yet, how these reporting processes are set up can vary significantly. Moreover, there are several instances where the reporting process does not work to prevent or tackle workplace harassment and discrimination as I will outline in detail in the following. At the same time, by paying attention to the underlying perceptions and intentions, it will become clear why the reporting process, despite its malfunctioning, is set up and upheld in the way it is. In the following, I outline five aspects that shape the reporting process, namely, the burden of proof, the role of emotions, the threat of false accusations, anonymity, and intransparency.

4.6.1 The burden of proof

A main challenge for a formal reporting process is that some criteria have to be found that separate legitimate from illegitimate claims. There need to be some grounding rules as to what 'counts' as harassment and discrimination and can thus be reported and what needs to be handled another way. A variety of difficulties emerge from this. One difficulty is that this leaves many in doubt if what they experience is grave and severe enough to qualify for the reporting process. Several interviewees shared that there are persistent stories about particular people continuously harassing colleagues, yet as these instances always stay at the border of acceptable behavior, brushing up against boundaries rather than trespassing them violently, it is difficult to report any of the single instances. Many said that at first, they "thought it was way too little to report" (A29) or "felt that wasn't enough for reporting" (D1). If one incident occurred in isolation, it might be possible to deal with the occurrence informally or even excuse or ignore it as a single instance, yet the repetition of the same behavior creates a pattern of harassment being reproduced. The reporting process, however, is commonly set up to report specific, single, provable instances of harassment – an understandable goal if one has the perception that the aim lies in revealing those few instances of boundary transgression in an otherwise well-functioning work environment. Such a process is not set up to account for these more subtle experiences, wherefore they remain unreported.

A similar problem became visible in the above-detailed description of harassment experiences where it seemed always to be either too early or too late to report. The imperceptibility of the harassment experience as a silent transformation that takes place unnoticed until it ‘destroys’ the victim (cf. Jullien, 2011), leaves the harassed person at a loss as to when to report the occurrence. At first, it is difficult if not impossible to identify and speak about the single instance as it is only affectively noticeable but not describable in terms such as harassment. Later, once the victim realizes the experience as harassment, they feel complicit for having allowed the behavior to go on for so long and are questioned about the severity of their claims. It is expected that, had it been a real problem, they would have spoken up earlier. This triggers the question if there is a need for recording mechanisms that allow formally recording also minor experiences before they escalate into severe harassment cases, to provide a basis for reporting continuous harassment at a later point based on recorded instances. However, this does not exist within current reporting processes which often leads to a lack of proof of these initial experiences once the case is reported. A lack of proof then becomes another obstacle in the reporting process as the following experience exemplifies:

“[In an earlier case] we tried to file a complaint with HR and HR was like: ‘Yeah but you have no proof’ [...] So, actually, I had no expectations whatsoever with this [case]. Because I kind of knew that formally there’s nothing, absolutely nothing, you can do. That was sort of my sense of it because of that previous experience with HR [...]. And even though there were multiple women saying the same things, they said you need proof. It was completely ridiculous. But that makes you feel that you cannot trust formal structures. [...] The burden of proof is on you. [...] I had no faith in the process. I knew some of the [reporting] mechanisms and I knew they weren’t working” (A17).

The reporting system is thus set up to deal with ‘severe’, ‘clear’, unambiguous cases that can be ‘proven’ to be ‘real’ harassment and discrimination.

4.6.2 The role of emotions

A related problem within the reporting process described by several interviewees is that emotional experiences are being questioned as legitimate indicators for harassment have taken place. This is both put forth by people within the reporting system, such as heads of departments or institute leaders (A10, A27) as well as by victims themselves who express an internalized devaluing of their own emotions to a point of claiming that talking about any emotions in relation to harassment is rather a hindrance in the process. This is vividly stated in the following interview quote, which describes a reporting process the victim had experienced in her workplace:

“It’s my fault really. I was emotional about it. [...] I don’t think they understood what I was saying. Which is also why the solution was to have me go away [to another university]. In their mind, I was mad, something was wrong with me mainly. [...] I think I did a mistake because I said what I felt like [which made it seem like ...] I don’t know how to react and behave” (A34).

Being emotional is thus linked to not being understood, or not making oneself understandable, being perceived as the problem which must be removed, and positioning the victim as the one who does not know how to behave in a workplace. It places blame upon the victim instead of recognizing what caused the victim to react emotionally. This prevents many victims from having their experience taken seriously in such a reporting process. Paradoxically, if all emotional reactions are taken out of the report and purely professional criteria are being used to describe the experience, the instance can easily be dismissed as a misunderstanding or miscommunication or individualized as this just being the perpetrator’s character or personability, as has been outlined in the (de)legitimization strategies dismissing and individualization. The reporting process thereby becomes a mechanism that works to the detriment of the reporting person while allowing the continuous reproduction of the harassing and discriminatory behavior that was supposed to be contained.

4.6.3 *The threat of false accusations*

The overall aim of the reporting process thus seems to be to use ‘objective’ measures to find, expose, and punish the few individual perpetrators who misbehave in an otherwise well-functioning work environment. To do so, a formal process is set in place. A main consideration behind the need for formality lies in the fear of misjudging and wrongly condemning individuals who have not been proven guilty. When harassment is considered individual wrongdoing, a false accusation would carry tremendous risks for the suspect wherefore any informal allegations need to be prevented. In other words, being labeled a ‘harasser’ puts you in a vilified position – wherefore any wrong labeling needs to be avoided. Several interviewees even described a general discomfort with the term ‘harasser’ due to the stigmatizing effect it has on the accused person. Instead of just calling the behavior harassing, ‘the harasser’ is labeled as ‘the bad person’. While some argue that this stigmatization is needed to create and maintain a strong taboo as a form of social punishment around harassment so that “the taboo against harassment [...] serves to discourage harassment” (A33), others argue that the term needs to be decoupled from the stigma to be useful in usage, especially when the aim is to describe harassment as a structural problem:

“One of the things that make it hard to talk about these things and change behavior is [...that] if someone is being sexually harassed, someone is the sexual harasser. It becomes a lot of finger-pointing and it becomes very stigmatized, like you're a predator [...] The perpetrators in a sense, the people who are doing the harassing, [towards them] it becomes a lot of: 'You are a very disgusting bad person.' And if we want to sort of be able to talk about all the micro behaviors that lead up to worse things, I think we have to find a way to take that stigma out of it. Because obviously when you don't realize this culture, when you don't realize what you're contributing to, when you don't realize what you're doing in that situation, and you don't consider yourself to be a sexual predator or a violator of sorts, then you're very unlikely to enter into a fruitful conversation about you doing something wrong. Because if you feel like you're being branded with that mark or that word, that can be super painful and uncomfortable. I wouldn't want to go into that conversation” (A29).

Under the premise that the person who is reported becomes ‘the harasser’, it makes sense to set up a reporting system that only reacts upon provable facts, a category under which emotions often do not fall. It is interesting to note, however, that such a perspective already expects wrong accusations to take place.

Within the formal process that aims at individual punishment, ideas that pertain to the law and individual rights then play an important role. For example, the principle of ‘innocent until proven guilty’ is upheld. One interviewee elaborates:

“I’m very attached to ‘innocent until proven guilty’ at a legal level, and I’m quite unwilling, I feel quite nervous about diluting that. Because the argument comes up quite a few places. I remember this is a political context, [...where it was discussed] is there enough evidence that you could judge this guy guilty beyond reasonable doubt? Probably not. You probably couldn’t prove it in a court of law, but he’s not going to prison for this. It’s a more limited punishment. So, should the standard of proof be relaxed? I haven’t thought about it enough, but I feel very uncomfortable about it because I feel like, you know, the idea of innocent until proven guilty is such a critical component of our society.” (A33)

Moreover, the result of the formal reporting process should be individually punitive. It is not assumed to be the organization’s responsibility to rehabilitate the perpetrator, yet neither is it to care for the victim beyond the formal processing of the case. These ideas, which evoke ‘the law’ as an objective, unquestionable legal or rights-based frame of reference mirror what has been criticized by feminist legal scholars as a male legal discourse. Male norms of objectivity and neutrality not only make the law a strong and unassailable body to build arguments upon and defend one’s views with. It also establishes an idea of justice that is based upon a discourse that presupposes men as the norm and by default fails to consider women’s perspectives as well as cases such as gendered harassment and discrimination as part of the legal framework.

As Réaume (1996, p. 278) argues: “Implicit exclusion operates through rules or decisions that are sex-neutral on their face, but which nevertheless assume a male norm, that is, assume that whatever is true of men, or makes sense to them, or is a sensible resolution of their problems, or

is valued by men automatically suffices for women.” Speaking particularly about the problem of defining sexual violence as part of a male-normative legal discourse, she writes:

“White men's views about female sexuality and therefore their interpretation of situations leading to sexual contact are formed socially in such a way as to incorporate a wide range of myths about when and why and which women want sex—the idea that black women are inherently promiscuous, or that no means yes, or that dressing a certain way is an open invitation to sex, for example. In defining the consent standard in a way that incorporates these images, the law responds to white men's conception of how women should respond to them sexually and their sense of entitlement to sexual access to women, especially women of color, and not to women's understanding of our own desires and behavior or our perception of what constitutes sexual violation” (Réaume, 1996, pp. 283–284).

Finley (1989) argues similarly when she criticizes the inadequacy of an equality discourse that is based on a male norm. In particular she, for instance, asks: “How can women fit the fact that [...] sexualized violence against women, so often happens behind closed doors with no ‘objective witnesses,’ into the proof requirements of evidentiary law?”(Finley, 1989, p. 904), thereby exemplifying how male-normative law fails to account for the experiences of sexualized violence, and relatedly sexist (and arguably racist) harassment and discrimination. Nonetheless, existent reporting processes seem to be built up as mirroring such legal norms, ignoring that organizations are not legal courts, which not only means that they function differently but also that this ignorance reproduces the inequalities inscribed in legal norms without having leverage to question such norms when they are communicated as signifying 'the law'.

4.6.4 Anonymity

A further difficulty commonly discussed in relation to the reporting process is whether it should allow for anonymous reporting. Two options of anonymous reporting are important to differentiate in this regard. First, it might be possible for the reporting person to stay completely anonymous to anyone involved in the reporting, as can be done for instance through

whistleblowing systems which allow making a report, usually through an online system, without leaving any personal trace. Second, it might be possible for the victim to report harassing and discriminatory behavior, for instance addressing HR or a leader, with the option of remaining anonymous to the perpetrator even though their name is disclosed within the reporting process. This option can protect the victim from being subjected to any backlash initiated by the perpetrator as a reaction to being reported. Anonymous reporting can be a useful and important tool to help protect the victim and allow them to come forward with their claims in the first place. In the words of one interviewee: “I think there needs to be some kind of buffer, [so that] the [harassed] person is protected ... We need to make sure that the hierarchies become extremely visible in those situations and that means protecting the most vulnerable through anonymity” (A23). Another person justifies it by highlighting: “There is a reason why people want to be anonymous. And that's because of all the fears they have all the reservations they're facing” (A29).

However, it can also be seen as a threat to the ‘fairness’ of the process if not all details of the accusation are disclosed to the suspect. As one union representative proclaimed: “As a union representative, I think it’s criminal to accept anonymous [complaints ...] as something you act upon” (A1). The reference to criminality ascribes to the idea of handling the case according to justice- and legality-based principles that rely on a male norm within law as outlined above, however neglecting the problem that such male-centric legal norms reproduce inequalities along gendered lines. The possibility for anonymity becomes a contested terrain within discussions on reporting processes. As another interviewee states “[as long as] it's not a case, it's okay it's anonymous because it's not a case. But when it becomes a case ... that's something which in the very end can end by sacking, that people are sacked ... when it becomes a case you have to have to sign by name. They [the case reports] are specific about what it is - not exactly when it is, but how and what, who, ... and it shall then be sent in its full extent to the one who they are complaining about who can then answer specific. You cannot answer specifically to an anonymous complaint” (A1). In relation to an anonymous report on racist harassment, one interviewee states agitatedly: “So if you call me racist, tell me when and why and how. And then I can say: ‘Oh no you misunderstand me.’ But just to say someone's a racist, it's like okay you are a

murderer. I'm not going to tell you who you killed or how but you're a murderer" (A15). As with the threat of false accusations, a main tension within the reporting process lies between supporting the victim and protecting the perpetrator.

4.6.5 Intransparency

Several interviewees reported that the reporting process seems intransparent, unclear, and vague to them, which creates another cluster of difficulties. One problem is that several terms used in relation to reporting processes, such as 'zero-tolerance' or 'taking a case seriously' or even 'sexual harassment' are not explained sufficiently and interpreted differently by the people involved. Several people voiced their discomfort with the word sexual harassment but struggled to explain why. "It's a very loud word, this sexual harassment. [...] Especially after #metoo" (A2) and "it seems like a very strong word – sexual harassment" (A22) are two exemplary expressions of this uneasiness. Reflecting on the process of writing a harassment policy, another person remembered: "We decided over New Year or in January that we're going to revise it [the policy] in order to take into account all the critical voices that were in my understanding really misunderstandings. [...] Also, the zero-tolerance issue [was one] of the main issues that we saw, [realizing] we're misunderstood here" (A27). This might prevent some people from reporting, as another problem this leads to is a fear of admitting to having done something wrong and potentially having harassed someone as the consequences of this confession are not clear (A33). For instance, while 'investigating a case thoroughly' is by some understood as 'taking it seriously' others perceive this as an escalation of the issue. For some, any investigation into the case might seem reasonable and necessary, while others might perceive this as an unnecessary escalation of workplace conflict.

The intransparency of the reporting process easily leads to victims feeling disillusioned with it. As one interviewee describes her experience of reporting: "One expectation that I had was that I would walk into my head of department's office [to report the case], finally get it off my chest and everything would get better. It got so much worse for so much longer than I thought it would" (A17). The unclarity also translates to the outcomes of the process, where a result can for instance

leave the involved people perplexed as to what the decision means in terms of consequences for both victim and alleged perpetrator: “[The colleague accompanying the alleged perpetrator asked the reporting committee:] Since you don’t see [him] as guilty of anything [...] why don't you just remove it [the case file...] And then they said quite clearly: ‘[He] does have responsibility.’ So, then he asks: ‘What does he have responsibility for? What kind of responsibility does he have?’ And they would not say it. And it's gone on ... Still, I don’t have an answer. I wouldn't say I've been punished, but there is some sense of guilt. [...] I don't even know what responsibility [means here]” (A15).

An additional issue is the problem of many people who have formal functions within the reporting process not being trained and qualified for such work. The people involved are usually institute leaders or heads of departments, HR personnel, union representatives, and sometimes group leaders or PhD coordinators. As my data shows – both by having interviewed several of the people who are responsible within reporting processes as well as by analyzing the accounts of victims who tried to report their experiences of harassment and discrimination – most of the people holding these positions do not receive sufficient, or any, training that qualifies them for dealing with harassment and discrimination cases, which can often be messy, ambiguous, emotionally challenging, and power-loaded, which requires a well-trained, nuanced and careful handling of cases. “They need to be trained. They need to have very extensive knowledge about what is sexual harassment, what's bullying. How does it play out? What about power dynamics? [...] They have to be so knowledgeable in this. That's the first thing [that needs to change]”, as one interviewee claimed (A29). The individual qualifications of the people handling the reporting process become especially important if formal reporting guidelines are scarce, fragmented, and open to interpretation as has been highlighted by several interviewees.

The overall tensions that can be seen in how the reporting process is set up and how it plays out are that, on the one hand, it is supposed to support victims in speaking up about harassment and discrimination experiences while, on the other hand, it is meant to prevent false accusations. Understanding this as a tension between formal and informal organizing, it can be argued that the formal aim of the reporting process is the prior, while informally it is set up to ensure the

latter. Formally, for instance, victims might be allowed to report anonymously and make emotional aspects part of how they report their experience. Usually, there are no formal guidelines to hinder this. Yet, informally, as the interviewees' experiences show, the aim of preventing conflict leads to unfair and unbeneficial outcomes for the victims while the threat of false accusations seemingly weights more than the trust towards the victim which leads to an (often unattainable) requirement of 'hard proof'. Even though formally, the system is set up for the victims, informally, perpetrators are privileged in how it functions which usually reproduces, particularly gendered and racialized, power differences between victims and perpetrators. Once more, this study shows how it is a web of formal and informal structures, processes, and practices that dis/organize workplaces at Danish universities in such a way that harassment and discrimination are reproduced as part of the in/formal dis/organization of academia.

5 Concluding discussion

Formality and informality e-n-a-t-n-l-g-e

to O R G A N I Z E
academia

to make it impossible to speak up

without brea-

king.

Without brea-

king normative expectations.

‘Rights’ are distributed
along lines of entitlement.

The right to offend weighs more than the right not to be offended.

– *A context of in/formality*

Harassment and discrimination

~~will be clearly identifiable, one-off occurrences.~~

start with small instances,

boundaries being consistently pushed and slightly transgressed.

Affectively noticed,

ion of oc

lat

cur

umu

ren

spiraled into an acc

ces.

Loss –

of –

perspective.

No – adequate – words.

No – – words.

No –

–

Unable to share

their

vulnerability.

Legitimized as other,

denied,

derailed, dismissed,

avoided, ignored, individualized,

and ridiculed.

– *A reproduction of inequality*

Some things become *unspeakable*,

so far outside the norm of who is part of _____ a university,
not recognized as possibly being excluded.

Invisible and silenced,

even when ...

even when ...

even when ...

(some)

inequalities are addressed.

Be resilient!

Enduring!

Experiences do not matter.

Lives are not grievable enough
to deserve protection.

– *A layer of unspeakability*

Who is responsible?

Whose responsibility is it?

The responsibility of

solving the problem.

‘owning’ the problem.

YOU are being harassed – it is YOUR problem.

This is a problem for YOU – YOU solve it.

– *A lack of responsibility*

5.1 Harassment and discrimination as part of the in/formal dis/organization of academia

Sexist and racist harassment and discrimination are reproduced in a complex entanglement of formal and informal organizational structures, processes, and practices that dis/organize academia. This is the main claim I make based on the findings of this research. With this claim, I assert that harassment and discrimination are not issues of mismanagement in an otherwise well-functioning organization, they are not unfortunate mistakes, but part of the very way in which academia works, that is, how it is dis/organized. Furthermore, claiming that harassment and discrimination are reproduced in contradictory structures, processes, and practices of formality and informality points to a significant insight into how harassment functions. As the analysis showed, harassment makes victims question their own perspective, lose their sense of self-worth, and feel isolated, non-belonging, and dependent on the perpetrator. It destabilizes victims. The destabilization aims to undermine the victims' frame of reference and strip them of their autonomy. It functions as victims get caught up in contradictory and constantly shifting norms. This became visible at several points in the empirical material: Norms of formality and informality clash when harassment and discrimination reporting processes are set up and structured formally, yet informal norms of how to report or when and how to speak up make it impossible to follow such norms without breaking at least some of them in the process. The accumulative and imperceptible nature of harassment experiences leads to contradictory expectations as to when it would be appropriate to speak about these experiences, wherefore it is always either too early or too late to report. 'Rights' are distributed unequally between victims and perpetrators, while the latter hold the right to offend the prior's right not to be offended is disregarded exposing contradictory norms as to who matters in the organization. All these aspects show that harassment functions through contradictory and constantly shifting norms that destabilize the victim's perspective, autonomy, and sense of self. The sense of confusion and loss of perspective described by several interviewees who were harassed thus speaks fundamentally to what experiencing harassment does. It destabilizes you; it leaves you at a loss – as to what really happened, how to evaluate it, and how to get out of it.

I arrived at these findings through an investigation of the reproduction of sexist and racist harassment and discrimination in workplaces at Danish universities. I started, in the introductory chapter, by highlighting the relevance of this study and positioning it in the field of feminist organization studies. It followed an outline of the theoretical background my dissertation takes inspiration from, namely dis/organization theory as well as queer and feminist theories. I continued with outlining the methodological approach of anti-narrative research operationalized through embodied queer listening and progressed to present and discuss the study's findings in the analytical chapter, that is I combined a descriptive analysis of my empirical material with a discussion of the empirical findings in light of relevant theories. An open-minded yet neither empty-headed nor empty-hearted inductive approach guided my exploration of how formality and informality entangle to dis/organize workplaces at Danish universities and reproduce sexist and racist harassment and discrimination, and how the continuous (and often unrecognized) harassment taking place on an interactional-individual level, in turn, fixates harassment and discrimination as institutional-structural level problems.

Remains the final chapter, the 'concluding discussion', which I began with four poems that present the dissertation's main findings in what I hope to be a concise yet evocative way. I continue this chapter with a slightly more extensive summary detailing the dissertation's main analytical claims, followed by a part that unfolds why and how the findings of this study matter and how they address the research questions I posed for this study. Thereafter, I discuss the dissertation's theoretical contributions and practical implications.

5.2 A summary

By way of a summary, the insights that I developed throughout the analytical chapter can be presented in ten concise statements. While each of them individually provides an empirical, conceptual, or theoretical contribution, in sum, they outline what this dissertation offers to the field of feminist organization studies. First, I present these statements in a visual overview (figures 1 and 2) to display how they link to one another. I have analytically placed them in four main categories: *a context of in/formality* builds the basis of how workplaces at universities are

dis/organized; upon this context, a *reproduction of inequality* occurs; covered by a *layer of unspeakability*; which cumulates in a *lack of responsibility*. While I do not argue for causal relationships between the four main categories, I maintain that they are facilitative of one another. The visual overview is followed by a description, explicating how each of the four categories and the ten statements derives from the dissertation's analysis. Taken together, they provide the analytical undercurrents for the main claims I presented above: Sexist and racist harassment and discrimination are reproduced in a complex entanglement of formal and informal organizational structures, processes, and practices that dis/organize academia. Harassment and discrimination are thus not issues of mismanagement in an otherwise well-functioning organization, they are not unfortunate mistakes, but part of the very way in which academia works, that is, how it is dis/organized. Being reproduced in the in/formal dis/organization of academia, harassment functions through contradictory and constantly shifting norms that destabilize the victim's perspective, autonomy, and sense of self.

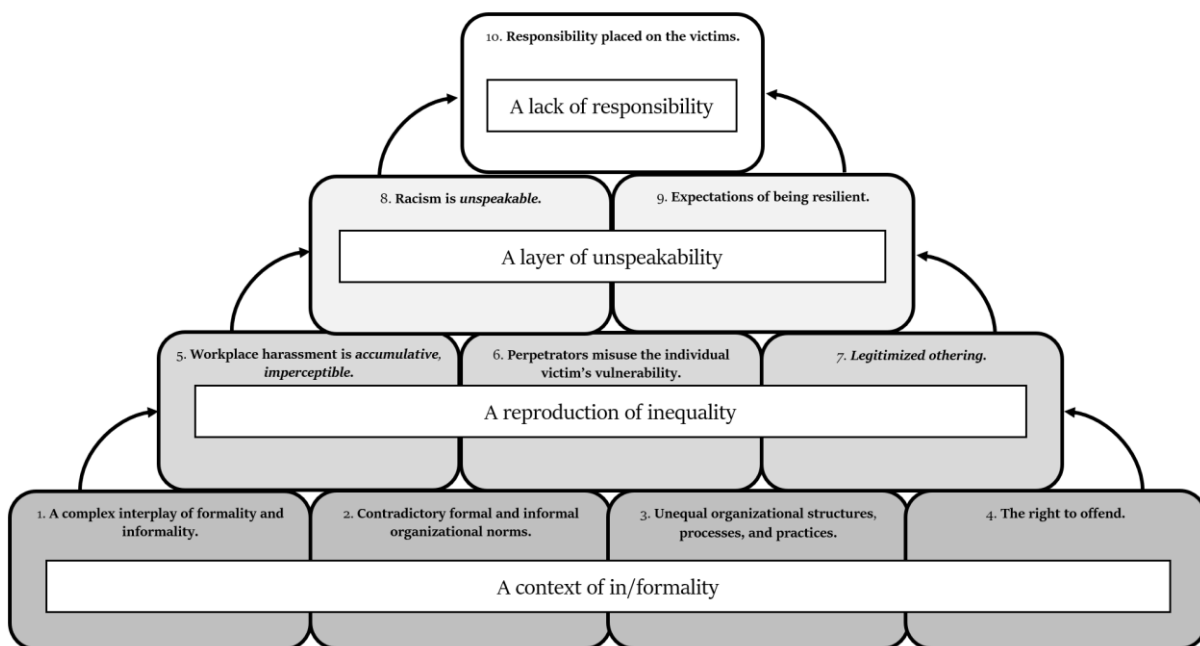


Figure 1. Overview of the dissertation's main claims

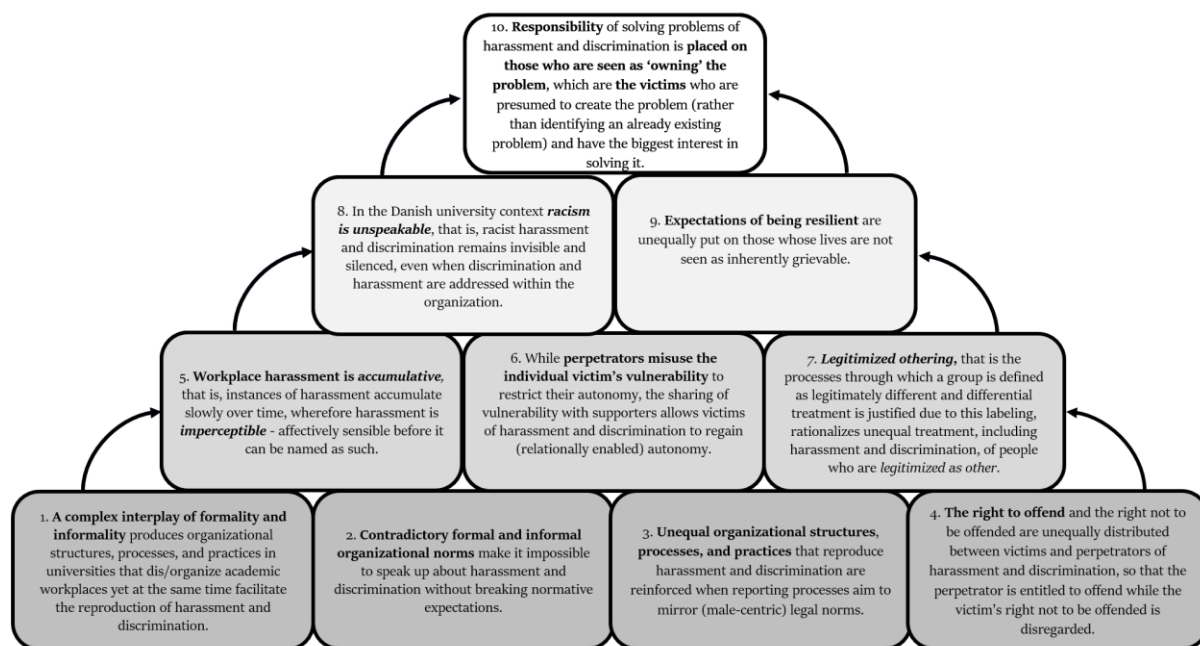


Figure 2. Overview of the dissertation's main claims (detailed)

A context of in/formality: This study finds that within universities, formality and informality entangle in shaping organizational structures, processes, and practices. The resultant in/formality on the one hand organizes academic workplaces, that is, the functioning of academia is built upon it, yet at the same time, it facilitates the reproduction of harassment and discrimination. For instance, normalized and even idealized conditions of competition, academic freedom, and scholarly conflict are meant to foster academic excellence, yet at the same time, the glorification of conflict allows the disguise of harassment as a normal part of the academic job (1). Moreover, contradictory formal and informal organizational norms make it impossible to speak up about harassment and discrimination without breaking normative expectations. On the one hand, victims are expected to speak up when they experience harassment, yet on the other hand, when they do so they are accused of creating problems (2). The inequalities that such structures, processes, and practices create are further reinforced and intensified in reporting processes that aim to mirror legal norms. As legal norms inhibit an inherent male-centric bias, for instance, equating emotionality with unreliability, they remain incapable of properly addressing problems of harassment and discrimination (3). Relatedly, 'rights' are distributed unevenly along lines of entitlement and marginalization, so that the right to offend weighs more than the right not to be

offended. While the perpetrator is entitled to offend, the victim's right not to be offended is disregarded (4).

A reproduction of inequality: Within this context of how workplaces at universities are organized, harassment occurs accumulatively and imperceptibly. Contrary to normative expectations – which the reporting system as well as demands to ‘just speak up’ rest upon and reproduce – instances of harassment are usually not clearly identifiable, one-off occurrences. Instead, harassment commonly starts with small instances of boundaries being consistently pushed and slightly transgressed. While these continuous transgressions are affectively noticed by many victims, only a-posteriori when having spiraled into an accumulation of occurrences is the case itself identifiable as harassment and discrimination (5). Misusing the resultant loss of perspective that many victims experience – the inability to trust what they affectively feel/know yet cannot put into adequate words – perpetrators exploit the victim's vulnerability to isolate them from colleagues and potential allies which restricts their autonomy. In a workplace organized through contradictory norms of in/formality, relational ties are essential to acting autonomously. Unable to share their vulnerability, it is difficult for victims to recognize and resist the harassment and discrimination they experience (6). In addition, claims of harassment and discrimination are dismissed through a process of *legitimized othering*, which rationalizes unequal treatment, including harassment and discrimination, of people who are *legitimized as other*. In the Danish context, people are othered against a norm of ‘Danish-ness’ that is ascribed primarily to white, Danish, Western, non-Muslim, heterosexual bodies. Those who are *legitimized as other* are overlooked and their claims are denied, derailed, dismissed, avoided, ignored, individualized, and ridiculed. Being marginalized, they are denied access to their right not to be offended. Differing from the norm, they are disadvantaged in procedures shaped by male-centric legal norms (7).

A layer of unspeakability: Two points develop upon the context of in/formality that reproduces inequalities. Some things become *unspeakable*, and victims are asked to be resilient despite it all. In a context in which some (particularly, non-white, non-Danish, Muslim, queer) bodies are excluded based on *legitimized othering*, specific types of harassment and discrimination, as identified in this study racism and anti-queerness, become *unspeakable*. That is, either any attempts of speaking about racism and anti-queerness are eradicated and silenced, or they are

simply not spoken about in the first place. People *legitimized as other* are positioned so far outside the norm of who is part of a university workplace, that they are not recognized as possibly being excluded. The *unspeakability* of racism and anti-queerness, manifesting in the inability or unwillingness to name and recognize these as harassment and discrimination, allows these types of harassment and discrimination to remain invisible and silenced, even when (some) inequalities are addressed within the organization. While this study points specifically to the *unspeakability* of racist and anti-queer harassment and discrimination, the argument can be extended to any type of harassment and discrimination that does not fit normative understandings (8). Those whose claims are not addressed are then expected to be resilient, overcoming or at least enduring problems of harassment and discrimination (which are not recognized and named as such). Seemingly, their experiences do not matter enough to be engaged with, their lives are not grievable enough to deserve full and unrestricted protection in the face of violence. Instead, they have to endure not being grieved in the face of harm to be recognized as viable persons who belong, who matter, in the organization (9).

A lack of responsibility: Finally, the question this leads to is: Who is responsible? If harassment and discrimination are reproduced continuously, whose responsibility is it to change this? As my findings reveal the rationale underlying the answer to this question is that the responsibility of solving problems is placed on those who are seen as ‘owning’ the problem. In the case of harassment and discrimination, the victims are identified as the ‘owners’ of the problem. You are being harassed – it is your problem. By bringing the issue up, victims are presumed to bring the problem about, rather than to identify an already existent problem. Moreover, they are seen as having the biggest interest in solving it. If this is a problem for you, you solve it, the argument goes (10).

In sum, a *context of in/formality* builds the basis of how workplaces at universities are dis/organized; upon this context, a *reproduction of inequality* occurs; covered by a *layer of unspeakability*; which cumulates in a *lack of responsibility*.

5.3 *How much pain does a gram of comfortableness cost?*

Having summarized the findings of this study, it remains to discuss why these findings matter. If they are the answers, what questions do they address? While, strictly speaking, they address the research questions that guided this investigation – and I will return to these in a moment – the relevance of the insights of this study might be best grasped by relating them to a question that I came across throughout my empirical research: “How much pain does a gram of comfortableness cost?” This question captures forcefully, pointedly, and unapologetically the sense of pain, injustice, and inequality I encountered so often throughout my research. It derived from one of the interviews I conducted, and it has stuck with me ever since. The interviewee referred to how some people, those on top of the hierarchy at universities, felt entitled to being comfortable even if this came at the cost of other people’s pain. “You can almost measure, how much pain a gram of comfortableness costs for a person who is on top”, were her exact words.

In this dissertation, I have not measured how much pain a gram of comfortableness costs. Neither have I measured the pain that exists at Danish universities. No study – neither qualitative nor quantitative – would be able to do so, I assume. Yet, this consideration – how much pain for a gram of comfortableness – links to a line of questioning that developed throughout my work and that the findings presented above relate to. How come so many still need to suffer harassment and discrimination at universities that are meant to be equal and fair workplaces, in a country that is meant to have overcome problems of inequality? Who benefits from this, or at least, who or what is protected – when it is apparently not the victims whose protection is privileged? Who remains comfortable despite, or because of, other people’s pain and why are some allowed to remain comfortable while others suffer? The overall question my dissertation is concerned with is thus, how does this *keep* happening – or, put differently, how are harassment and discrimination reproduced in workplaces at Danish universities?

Taking this question as my starting point means that I begin with the conviction that it is relevant to study harassment and discrimination as problems because they exist, they persist, they reproduce. Already in 2015, a study by the European Agency for Fundamental Rights, which included 42,000 women from all 28 EU member states, found that 55% of women had experienced sexual harassment, of which over a third occurred in their workplace (FRA -

European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015; Latcheva, 2017). In Denmark, 83% of participants responded that they had experienced sexual harassment at least once since the age of 15 and 80% in the last 12 months, making Denmark third overall and second within the last 12 months with the highest occurrence of sexual harassment in the EU-28 countries (FRA - European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015). Notably, this was before the #MeToo movement had gained attention globally, or in Denmark. While survivor and activist Tarana Burke had started #MeToo already in 2006, it was not until 2017 that the #MeToo hashtag went viral, giving the movement heightened attention in the USA and globally and leading to millions of testimonials of sexual harassment (Burke, 2022).

Despite its global spread, the #Metoo movement was at first largely ignored, ridiculed, or deemed as having gone too far in the Danish context (Askanius & Hartley, 2019; Skewes et al., 2021). Only in 2020, when prominent Danish media personality Sofie Linde spoke publicly about the sexual harassment she had experienced throughout her job, did a 'second wave' of #MeToo advance in Denmark. In parallel, the movement for Black lives, under the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter gained renewed and unprecedented momentum in the summer of 2020 after the murder of George Floyd. While #BlackLivesMatter was founded already in 2013 after the acquittal of Trayvon Martin's murder (Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation, 2022), the brutal murder of Floyd, which was captured on video and thereby witnessed by millions around the world, led to protests globally. This included a demonstration in Copenhagen, Denmark, with more than 15,000 participants, leading to more attention to issues of racism not only in the US but also in the Danish context (C. D. Christensen & Andreasen, 2020).

I started this research project in the spring of 2019, before the second and more powerful wave of #Metoo in Denmark, and before the main #BlackLivesMatter demonstration in Copenhagen¹⁰. Even back then, it was clear that harassment and discrimination were problems (FRA - European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015), also at Danish universities (Swedish Research Council, 2018). Since then and as this research project advanced, both public accounts and research studies have confirmed that neither Denmark as a country, nor academia as a workplace are an

¹⁰ It should be noted that *Black Lives Matter Denmark* has been working and organizing continuously, both before and after the demonstration in the summer of 2020. However, the demonstration in Copenhagen in June 2020 was by far the largest in terms of the number of participants.

exception when it comes to occurrences of harassment and discrimination (Einersen et al., 2021; Humbert, 2022; Lipinsky et al., 2022; Nordic Council of Ministers, 2020). Harassment and discrimination exist, persist, and reproduce in workplaces at Danish universities. To investigate *how* harassment and discrimination are reproduced at presumably fair and equal workplaces at Danish universities, I conducted this study. I posed three research questions, which I can now respond to:

- (1) How does the dis/organization of Danish universities enable the reproduction of inequalities, specifically in form of sexist and racist harassment and discrimination?

What this study showed is that harassment and discrimination are reproduced in the complex entanglement of formal and informal structures, processes, and practices that dis/organize academia. That is, first, Danish universities are dis/organized through contradictory norms of formality and informality, which is recognizable in how organizational structures, practices, and processes are caught up between formal and informal norms, as this study identified. Specifically, this could be seen by examining the contextual mechanisms that uphold the academic organization as well as in analyzing the contradictory norms that victims face when trying to speak up about experiences of harassment and discrimination. Second, the entanglement of formality and informality in organizational structures, processes, and practices has been identified as being facilitative of workplace harassment and discrimination. As victims get caught up in contradictory organizational norms, their perspective, autonomy, and sense of self are destabilized which allows harassment and discrimination to persist. It is thus the very in/formal dis/organization of universities that enables workplace harassment and discrimination. This insight challenges the view that harassment and discrimination are issues of mismanagement in an otherwise well-functioning organization and utilizes the notion of dis/organization to pinpoint how and which structures, practices, and processes at universities facilitate and enable harassment and discrimination.

- (2) What allows sexist and racist workplace harassment and discrimination to be reproduced both on an institutional-structural and an interactional-individual level?

My aim in posing this question was to conduct a study that does not pay attention *either* to the interactional-individual *or* to the institutional-structural level but considers both in its

investigation of workplace harassment and discrimination. To provide an adequate answer, this study, on the one hand, investigated the embodied and affective experience of harassment at an interactional-individual level. To that end, I found that due to the unaddressed paradox of accumulative and imperceptible harassment experiences – that is, harassment has to be recognized as experience to grasp those aspects of it that take place in an affectively accumulative and imperceptible way, yet the very imperceptibility of harassment makes it impossible to recognize and name the experience as harassment at the point where it is imperceptible – harassment remains unrecognized on an interactional-individual level. On the other hand, the study also focused on the institutional-structural level and I developed the concept of *legitimized othering* to show how the process of defining and labeling some groups as legitimately different allows the implicit dehumanization of such non-normative groups in the organization. Problems of harassment and discrimination are then not recognized as institutional-structural problems and can be dismissed despite their continuous reproduction and persistence in the organization. As long as they are positioned outside of what and whom the organization legitimately engages with, they do not appear as institutional-structural problems in the organization.

Attending, moreover, to how the interactional-individual and institutional-structural level are linked, this study consistently paid attention to organizational structures and processes, and practices that are implicated in the reproduction of harassment and discrimination, and how these are shaped by organizational norms which are understood as embedded in institutional structures yet reproduced in interactional between individuals. This is explicitly identified in the (mal)functioning of the reporting process that is anchored within male-centric legal norms which, on the one hand, are reproduced by those acting within the reporting process and, on the other hand, recreate gendered and racialized inequalities in the organization that allow such reproduction of male-centric norms, as much as in the struggle for placing responsibility when responsibility is individualized to avoid acknowledging the structural anchoring of harassment as a form of discrimination in the university's very dis/organization.

- (3) How are sexist and racist harassment and discrimination reproduced intersectionally, and what is distinct in how they are reproduced?

Most parts of the study investigated sexist and racist harassment and discrimination in intersection. That is, insights on the imperceptibility of harassment, the perpetrator's misuse of the victim's vulnerability, the unequal distribution of the right to offend vis-à-vis the right not to be offended, as well as the expectation towards victims to be resilient to be grievable have been developed in an analysis that was attentive to the influence of gendered and racialized power structures and how these intersect. Beyond this, I was able to pinpoint specifically how racist harassment and discrimination are reproduced distinctly from sexist harassment and discrimination. The concept of the *unspeakability* of racism identified how experiences of racist harassment and discrimination are not recognized and remain invisible and silenced, in other words *unspeakable*, even when sexist harassment and discrimination are addressed within the organization. The *unspeakability* of racism links to and builds upon the concept of *legitimized othering*, but I propose that the latter can be of use to understand workplace harassment and discrimination more generally, as outlined above, while the prior provides a specific contribution to understanding the reproduction of racist harassment and discrimination, at universities and in the Danish context.

In sum, answering these research questions offers a contribution to existent research within the field of feminist organization studies by understanding harassment and discrimination as enabled through the very dis/organization of universities rather than being issues of mismanagement within an otherwise well-functioning organization and as both interactional-individual and institutional-structural level problems. That is, it allows extending research that has focused on the role of gendered and racialized power structures in organizations, and how these are inscribed within and enacted through heteronormative, misogynist, and racist organizational cultures, unequal workplace structures as well as exclusionary organizational networks (Bourabain, 2020; Hennekam & Bennett, 2017; Ortlieb & Sieben, 2019; Phipps & Young, 2015), while at the same time providing novel insights into the affective, embodied dimensions of harassment experiences yet without detaching these from their normative structural anchoring (cf. Ahmed, 2014a). It, further, contributes an intersectional analysis that investigates both sexist and racist types of harassment and discrimination as well as their intersections thereby

addressing the general need for analyses that go beyond a one-sided focus on gendered discrimination and sexual harassment and, more specifically, the call for more research on race and racism in (feminist) organization studies (Dar et al., 2020; Mandalaki & Prasad, 2022; Nkomo, 2021; Rodriguez et al., 2016). In addition to the theoretical contribution to research, it is paramount to answer these questions for their relevance in society and organizations. In the following, I will outline in more detail my contribution to feminist organization studies and offer implications for organizational practice.

5.4 Contributions to feminist organization studies

The dissertation's main insights which I have presented above contribute to research on harassment and discrimination within feminist organization studies and related fields (E. Bell et al., 2019; Bourabain, 2020; Calder-Dawe & Gavey, 2016; Fernando & Prasad, 2019; Hennekam & Bennett, 2017; Ortlieb & Sieben, 2019; Phipps & Young, 2015; Whitley & Page, 2015). Each claim respectively holds a specific contribution which I outline in the following before addressing implications for organizational practice that derive from this dissertation.

5.4.1 Not by mistake – universities as inherently discriminatory organizations

I have claimed that a complex interplay of formality and informality produces organizational structures, processes, and practices at universities that dis/organize academic workplaces yet at the same time facilitate the reproduction of harassment and discrimination (1). This insight contributes to dis/organization literature (Cooper, 1986, 2001; Hassard et al., 2008; Plotnikof et al., 2020, 2022; Putnam et al., 2016) by showing empirically how academic workplaces are dis/organized. Adding to an understanding of organizations as inherently paradoxical and contradictory (Putnam & Ashcraft, 2017; Smith & Lewis, 2011; Trethewey & Ashcraft, 2004), it demonstrates that harassment and discrimination are not unfortunate mistakes or issues of mismanagement in an otherwise well-functioning academic organization but an inherent part of how academia is dis/organized (cf. Guschke & Sløk-Andersen, 2022; Hearn & Parkin, 2001).

To take a step back; if we understand organization as social-relational processes that shape and are shaped by organizational norms, formal and informal power structures as well as aspects of disorganization and paradoxes (as I have argued in the theory chapter), the processual character of organization means that organizational settings, such as Danish universities, are not fixed entities but rather a set of continuously changing and (self)reproducing structures, practices, and processes (cf. J. F. Christensen, 2020; Hernes, 2014). Thus, the contextual mechanisms outlined in the analysis are the set of structures, practices, and processes that continuously reproduce academia. In other words, they are formative of academia. Power relations and both formal and informal hierarchies, including the existence of ‘star’ academics, build the structural undercurrent of academic workplace relations and are meant to enable research progress; workplace relations which are often both personal and professional and entangle in an international academic context are productive for building strong academic networks and collaborative research; normalized and sometimes idealized conditions of competition, precarity, academic freedom, and scholarly conflict shape how academic research is practiced by the people working at universities and are meant to foster academic excellence; a belief in meritocracy and ‘enlightened’ academia as much as references to the ‘Danish way’ legitimize the existent structures, processes, and practices.

Yet, at the same time, as the analysis stressed, it is these exact structures, practices, and processes that enable the reproduction of harassment and discrimination. The overlap of formal and informal power relations leaves no viable way to address harassment and discrimination; ‘star’ academics become seemingly irreplaceable and thereby untouchable, that is, almost impossible to hold accountable for any transgression of boundaries; the glorification of conflict allows disguising harassment as a normal part of the academic job; the ideal of a meritocratic and enlightened academic space leads to ignorance and dismissal towards any claims of inequalities. Thus, as my empirical material shows, harassment and discrimination are often regarded as regrettable but singular, extraordinary occurrences that stand in contrast to an otherwise fair, equal, and meritocratic academic organization – ‘while the university as such is well organized, harassment and discrimination are the results of individual mismanagement or misbehavior’, the argument goes. However, as my analysis demonstrates, it is exactly those organizational structures, processes, and practices which uphold the university that at the same time reproduce sexist and racist harassment and discrimination. My research thus offers a contribution by

showing how sexist and racist harassment and discrimination are reproduced in the complex entanglement of in/formal structures, processes, and practices that dis/organize academia. It supports the claim and shows how, universities are inherently violent and discriminatory organizations that reproduce heterosexist and racist inequalities (cf. Dar et al., 2020; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012).

5.4.2 The paradoxical reproduction of contradictory and constantly shifting norms

I have argued that contradictory formal and informal organizational norms make it impossible to speak up about harassment and discrimination without breaking normative expectations (2). Put differently, there is no *viable* way to speak up about harassment and discrimination. While formally, one is demanded to ‘just speak up’, informal norms make it impossible to do so without being punished for breaking (contradictory) normative expectations in how, when, and to whom one speaks. If one speaks too emotionally, this is regarded as an improper reaction, and victims are dismissed as exaggerating and being overly sensitive. Ironically, however, before formulating any accusations the harassed person is demanded to consider the perpetrators’ potential emotional reaction and avoid being too accusatory or aggressive towards them. Victims are asked to manage both their own and the perpetrator’s emotions. While their own emotions are to be controlled and suppressed, those of the perpetrator are to be anticipated and cared for. If one dares to speak up under these circumstances, it should not be to a third party or in form of an official complaint as this is regarded as escalating an otherwise assumably easily solvable situation. Any act of speaking up should be directed at the perpetrator – but it should not be too direct either, as that would be aggressive and accusatory.

This insight primarily adds to research that investigates the difficulties of resisting or calling out individual experiences of workplace harassment (Bourabain, 2020; S. E. V. Brown & Battle, 2020; Guschke & Sløk-Andersen, 2022; Mills, 2010; Olson et al., 2008; Richardson & Taylor, 2009; Whitley & Page, 2015). While these studies commonly focus on identifying what reactions victims are met with when speaking up – being socially labeled as overly sensitive, overreacting, or uptight, being met with social stigmas such as being bitter, self-serving feminists, being accused

of pursuing trivialities and causing unwarranted trouble, etc. – my research extends these insights by relating the reactions to formal and informal organizational norms. That is, it highlights that such reactions are indications of organizational norms being broken, some of which are expressed explicitly and formally while others become recognizable as (informal) norms only through collective normative expectations. It thereby speaks to research on norms and norm critique (Arifeen & Syed, 2020; J. F. Christensen, 2018, 2020; Fotaki & Harding, 2018), empirically showing that norms are often only recognizable when they are broken and that norms are enforced by the threat of repercussions for those who deviate (J. F. Christensen et al., 2021). At first, victims are told to ‘just speak up’, yet once they try to do so, they run into normative boundaries that are enforced by threats of negative outcomes, such as not being taken seriously.

Next to building upon this norm-critical view, my research problematizes and extends it from a perspective of dis/organization theory. I suggest that in organizational contexts dis/organized by paradoxes and contradictions (cf. Plotnikof et al., 2022; Putnam & Ashcraft, 2017; Trethewey & Ashcraft, 2004), (for some) it becomes impossible to adhere to the prevailing norms without in the same move breaking some of them. I thus argue based on the findings just outlined that norms regulate belonging and exclusion not only through defining relatively stable normative expectations (cf. J. F. Christensen et al., 2021) but also by being reproduced paradoxically so that belonging becomes impossible for some who find themselves in situations (such as harassment and discrimination) that cannot be dealt with in normatively acceptable ways.

Relating to my argument that harassment destabilizes victims by getting them caught up in contradictory and constantly shifting norms, I propose that it is not the rigidity of existent norms that reproduces harassment which would assume that these norms simply need to be questioned, critiqued, and changed to fight problems of harassment and discrimination. Instead, it is the paradoxical reproduction of contradictory norms and a constant shifting of normative expectations that destabilizes victims of harassment. First, this nuances the claim that norms are inherently exclusive for those who deviate, by arguing that norms are inherently exclusive for those for whom there is no viable existence without deviation (cf. Guschke & Sløk-Andersen, 2022). Second, it problematizes the conception of norm critique as continuously questioning and testing the limits of the norms that structure social and organizational relations, standards, and

expectations (cf. J. F. Christensen, 2018), as it may well be argued that a further distortion of normative limits will lead to more confusion and contradictions and thereby provide a weak response to harassment that functions through contradictions.

How then can norm critique be practiced if the very practice it aims to critique seemingly looks very similar to norm critique, as it functions through the transgression of norms? To answer this question, it is relevant to remember that with its conceptual basis in queer theory and practice norm critique is not non-normative (cf. J. F. Christensen, 2018; IGLYO, 2015). Norm critique does not function without a normative basis, nor does it (cl)aim to overcome norms. That is, first, norm critique is built upon the underlying normative notion of critiquing and transgressing norms *for the purpose of* questioning practices of power (in form of normative reproduction) that disavow certain subjectivities, and second, it does so in a *continuous practice* of normative repetition with a difference that however still establishes (less exclusionary) new norms (cf. Butler, 2004; Fotaki & Harding, 2018). This further means that not any transgression of norms is a practice of norm critique. Rather, norm critique is to be evaluated based on whether it fulfills its purpose of consistently questioning exclusionary practices of power. A practice of transgressing norms by powerful perpetrators with the aim of destabilizing victims can thus, first, not be equated with norm critique, and second, still, be challenged by a norm-critical practice that holds at its core a constant reflection on its own (normative) aims and guides its practice of when, how, and which norms are transgressed accordingly. For instance, if victims get caught up in contradictory norms of being expected to ‘just speak up’ but also required to adhere to normative conditions of how, to whom and when to speak, a norm-critical response might be to question the normative basis that requires individual victims to speak up in the first place – a claim I will pick up on when suggesting implications for organizational practice.

5.4.3 Entitlement as a conceptual tool for research on gendered and racialized privileges in organizations

Another issue that links to a context of in/formality is that unequal organizational structures, processes, and practices that reproduce harassment and discrimination are reinforced when

reporting processes aim to mirror (male-centric) legal norms (3). Harassment and discrimination reporting processes are both shaped by and part of reproducing unequal organizational structures, processes, and practices. Caught between formal and informal dis/organization, reporting processes are formally set up to support victims in speaking up about harassment and discrimination experiences, while it shows that informally they function to avert harm, that is, harm to the organization and harm to potentially wrongly accused individuals. For instance, they are built upon the idea of ‘innocent until proven guilty’, aim to separate emotions from the ‘objective’ reporting process, and discourage anonymous reporting – all of which make it extremely difficult for victims to make a legitimate claim while it protects perpetrators from ‘unfounded’ accusations and allows dismissing most cases which protects the organization from having to acknowledge harassment and discrimination as ‘real’ problems. Despite the system formally being set up for the victims, informally, perpetrators are privileged.

The perpetrator’s privileged position is manifested especially when power differences between victims and perpetrators run along gendered and racialized lines. The reporting system mirrors legal norms that evoke ‘the law’ as an objective, unquestionable legal or rights-based frame of reference, which creates demands for objectivity and against anonymity that are often contradictory to the victim’s needs. Building upon feminist legal theory (Finley, 1989; Réaume, 1996), I maintain that invoking ‘the law’ as an objective frame of reference overlooks the gendered and racial inequalities that create inherently biased legal norms. Legal norms were not established to engage with (gendered and racialized) problems of harassment and discrimination and are thus unsuited to address, for instance, “sexualized violence against women [that] so often happens behind closed doors with no ‘objective witnesses’” (Finley, 1989, p. 904). Basing organizational reporting processes upon legal norms reinforces the unquestioned reproduction of gendered and racial inequalities. This insight suggests that – even though research on workplace harassment and discrimination developed alongside claims for legal frameworks to make sexist and racist harassment and discrimination punishable acts (cf. Crenshaw, 1989; MacKinnon, 1979) – organizational measures to deal with harassment and discrimination should refrain from taking their basis within legal norms and instead focus on developing organizational structures, processes, and practices that are sensitive to the inherent reproduction of inequalities and aimed towards avoiding such reproduction within reporting processes.

Translating Finley's (1989, pp. 905–906) claims for feminist legal theory to expectations towards harassment and discrimination reporting processes, these should:

“not derive[...] from looking first to law, but rather to the multiple experiences and voices of women [and other marginalized people] as the frame of reference, tells us to look at things in their historical, social, and political context, including power and gender; distrust abstractions and universal rules, because ‘objectivity’ is really perspectivised and abstractions just hide the 'biases; question everything, especially the norms or assumptions implicit in received doctrine, question the content and try to redefine the boundaries; [...] break down hierarchies of race, gender, or power; embrace diversity, complexity, and contradiction-give up on the need to tell ‘one true story’ because it is too likely that that story will be the story of the dominant group; listen to the voice of emotion as well as the voice of reason and learn to value and legitimate what has been denigrated as ‘mere emotion.’”

Relatedly, I have proposed that the right to offend and the right not to be offended are unequally distributed between victims and perpetrators of harassment and discrimination so that the perpetrator is entitled to offend while the victim's right not to be offended is disregarded (4). Extending Essed's notion of entitlement racism (Essed, 2020; Muhr & Essed, 2018) to a broader field of workplace harassment and discrimination, I claim that at universities perpetrators hold a certain right or entitlement to offend, which shows for instance in the perpetrators' perspectives, claims, and emotions being taken more seriously than those of the victims. Entitlement further shows in how perpetrators perceive it as their right to put their own needs above those of others. In academia, lines of entitlement run along gendered and racialized inequalities privileging white men (cf. Dar et al., 2020; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012) – or as I have argued specifically in this case, white, Danish, Western, heterosexual men. In combination with a belief in meritocracy within academia (cf. Deem, 2009; Scully, 2002; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012), this privilege includes their entitlement to feel comfortable in their ‘well-deserved’ positions.

In contrast, victims of harassment and discrimination cannot as easily claim their right not to be offended. First, as their gendered and racialized positionalities commonly do not afford them the same entitlement to having their claims heard and their needs met, and second, as their claims

would directly oppose the perpetrators' entitlement to a comfortable, undisturbed work environment. My research extends Essed's (2020) concept of entitlement racism to an organizational context, making it a relevant conceptual tool for organizational research on harassment and discrimination. Specifically, based on my study, the argument can be made that harassment and discrimination are reproduced as some organizational members, particularly white, (Danish,) Western, heterosexual men, feel entitled to harass and discriminate against others to ensure their own comfort. These insights – and the related question of 'how much pain for a gram of comfortableness' – may provide guidance into analyses of the relation between entitlement and organizational inequalities, thereby addressing a research need outlined by Simpson et al. (2020) who call for analyses of how entitlement and deservingness based in gendered and other categories of difference (rather than merit) lead to inequalities in organizations.

5.4.4 *Harassment as affectively accumulative and imperceptible experience*

Next to investigating how harassment and discrimination are reproduced in in/formal organizational structures, processes, and practices, I have also studied the affective and embodied experience of harassment itself to understand how it remains unrecognized on an interactional-individual level and dismissed as an institutional-structural problem. Offering a novel understanding of harassment as affectively accumulative and imperceptible experience, I have argued that workplace harassment is *accumulative*, that is, instances of harassment accumulate slowly over time, wherefore harassment is *imperceptible* – affectively sensible before it can be named as such. This novel conceptualization of harassment adds to feminist organization scholarship which has struggled to delineate harassment, drawing upon definitions based on legal, organization, and affect theory (Ahmed, 2015; L. F. Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Guschke et al., 2019; Leskinen et al., 2011; L. M. Phillips, 2000). As I will detail below, the developed concept refrains from defining harassment along lines of intended or unintended behavior yet also problematizes definitions of harassment that require the victim to identify the effects of the occurrence as harassment (cf. FRA - European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015; Latcheva, 2017), thereby pinpointing a paradox in how harassment can be recognized.

The core point of this novel definition lies in recognizing that harassment becomes bodily and emotionally sensible before it is recognized and named as such. There is a (potentially rather long) period of time, in which the person who experiences these affective, embodied effects, would not necessarily be able to link them to any behavior that is identified as and called harassment. Nonetheless, retrospectively, the accumulative affective experiences become part of what is recognized as an experience of harassment. The time aspect is crucial here as it highlights the difficulty of how to define something as harassment. In those early stages, the cause for intense affective, embodied reactions might not necessarily lie in a harassment experience. Or at least, it is simply not possible at this point to say with certainty that harassment (as we currently understand and define it) is taking place. Nonetheless, once the experience ‘qualifies’ as harassment, once it is recognized as such, the prior experienced embodied affects become part of the essence of the experience. Paradoxically, the imperceptible part of the experience is simultaneously part and not part of harassment.

Understanding harassment as affectively accumulative and imperceptible experience involves understanding how it is felt, embodied, sensed by those who experience it. Yet, it goes beyond the common feminist claim that those who experience harassment have the right to identify and name it as such (cf. Latcheva, 2017). The difficulty – the dilemma – of understanding harassment as affectively accumulative and imperceptible experience is that those who experience it might, at that moment, not be able to identify and name it. Still, despite a lack of identification of an experience as harassment by the affected person, the experience of harassment (affectively) exists. Following Ahmed’s (2014a) understanding of how emotions and affect circulate socially, the affective experience might not rest within or belong to the body of the ‘victim’ (cf. Guschke, Christensen, et al., 2022), nonetheless, I argue that their embodied experience is core to understanding harassment as experience.

The paradox that presents itself is the following: Harassment has to be recognized as experience to grasp those aspects of it that take place in an affectively accumulative and imperceptible way – yet the very imperceptibility of harassment makes it impossible to recognize and name the experience as harassment at the point where it is imperceptible. Due to this paradox remaining unaddressed in how universities understand and deal with harassment and discrimination,

harassment often remains unrecognized on an interactional-individual level. As I will outline in more detail when I describe organizational implications, I suggest that a first step towards dealing with this dilemma is to adopt a paradox mindset that allows attending to both parts of the paradox simultaneously (cf. Lüscher & Lewis, 2008; Miron-Spektor et al., 2018; Smith & Lewis, 2011) while staying attentive to the power structures that affect the interrelated, yet contradictory elements of the paradox (cf. Fairhurst et al., 2016; Putnam & Ashcraft, 2017), an example of the latter being the link between the imperceptibility of accumulative harassment and the victims' vulnerability as I shall discuss next.

The accumulative and imperceptible nature of harassment puts the victims in a position that makes it possible for perpetrators to misuse the individual victim's vulnerability to restrict their autonomy. By isolating them from colleagues and making them dependent on the perpetrator, the latter confines the victim's ability to act autonomously and resist the perpetrator's influence. I suggest that the perpetrator thereby exploits the victim's ontological vulnerability, specifically their existential need for recognition, to create a hierarchical dependency – that is, from being ontologically relationally dependent on others the victim becomes unequally and precariously dependent on the more powerful perpetrator (cf. Butler, 2016; Sabsay, 2016). This shows that harassment is built upon the misuse of the inherent ontological need for recognition, pinpointing the existential violence that harassment experiences entail. At the same time, I have argued that the sharing of vulnerability with supporters allows victims of harassment and discrimination to regain (relationally enabled) autonomy (6). For instance, bystanders and allies support victims in regaining their perspective, which many describe as lost or distorted when being harassed over extended periods of time so that it becomes possible for the victim to identify their experience as harassment, and potentially speak out against it. Vulnerability, being anchored within the capacity to affect and be affected, thus also holds the potential for resistance based on feminist solidarity and allyship (cf. Vachhani & Pullen, 2019; Wickström et al., 2021).

These claims contribute to the conceptualization of vulnerability and autonomy in relation to victimhood in the context of harassment and discrimination (cf. Søndergaard, 2008; Uldbjerg, 2021; Vachhani & Pullen, 2019). Building upon an understanding of both vulnerability and autonomy as relationally embedded (Butler, 2016; Dodds, 2013; Mackenzie, 2013; Mackenzie et

al., 2013; Sabsay, 2016), it highlights the intimate relationship between the two in arguing that in harassment cases the exploitation of vulnerability (that is, precariousness) leads to an inability to act autonomously. Thinking with Mackenzie et al. (2013, p. 10), it identifies the vulnerability at play in harassment situations as pathogenic vulnerability that “undermines autonomy or exacerbates the sense of powerlessness engendered by vulnerability in general.” At the same time, the findings point to the possibility to regain autonomy by sharing vulnerability, that is, having others recognize one’s vulnerable position and providing (non-paternalistic, autonomy-fostering) care. Importantly, this form of care and support fosters rather than inhibits the victims’ autonomy, it supports them in regaining their perspective and sense of self by validating what they already affectively experience and helping them to name it.

This provides empirical backing for the claim that vulnerability as such is neither avoidable nor problematic but can if recognized and acknowledged, support the development of autonomous capabilities, as “there is no inherent tension between an adequately theorized conception of autonomy which is premised on a conception of the self as relational and acknowledgment of universal [ontological] vulnerability” (Dodds, 2013, pp. 41–42). Instead, it is the *exploitation* of a person’s vulnerability within an unequal power relationship that leads to harmful autonomy-restricting effects of pathogenic vulnerability. My study thereby questions the conception of “figures of victimhood [as...] those who are vulnerable are therefore without agency” (Butler et al. 2016: 2) and shows how victims can be both vulnerable and autonomous (see also Naples, 2003; Søndergaard, 2008; Uldbjerg, 2021; Vachhani & Pullen, 2019).

5.4.5 *Legitimized othering as a hierarchization of worthiness*

Another concept I proposed to understand the reproduction of harassment and discrimination, and specifically to comprehend what allows it to be dismissed as an institutional-structural problem, is *legitimized othering*, which I have defined as the processes through which a group is defined and labeled as legitimately different and differential treatment is justified due to this labeling. *Legitimized othering* rationalizes unequal treatment, including harassment and discrimination, of people who are *legitimized as other* (7). I have argued that in the Danish

context, people are othered against a norm of 'Danish-ness' that is ascribed to white, Danish, Western, non-Muslim, heterosexual bodies. These factors might link to individual identity categories as much as structural power relations; the important aspect however is that through organizational structures, processes, and practices that foster *legitimized othering*, a normative position of being white, Danish, Western, non-Muslim, and heterosexual becomes normalized and positioned as different to non-white, non-Danish, non-Western/Muslim, queer positionalities. Importantly, these factors (re)create structural difference rather than just describing existent (individual identity-based) differences, as they create a hierarchical evaluation where non-normative positionalities are situated not only as different but as less worthy of the same treatment, including non-harassing and non-discriminatory behavior. That also means that *legitimized othering* will work differently in different contexts – as it is not simply a description but a hierarchization of worthiness, it will differ depending on how lines of difference are drawn. While for instance in the Danish context, I show how a difference is created between people read and categorized as 'Muslim' versus 'Western' (creating a hierarchy as well as a seeming irreconcilability of being Muslim *and* Western) (cf. Yilmaz, 2016), in a different national context, differences might be created based on other factors. Nonetheless, the process of *legitimized othering* arguably functions not only in the Danish context in which I have empirically identified and anchored it for this analysis but can be analytically employed and adapted across contexts.

The concept of *legitimized othering* that I have developed in this dissertation is an insightful addition to research on discrimination based upon stereotypes and prejudice (cf. Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; J. F. Dovidio, Gaertner, et al., 2010; J. F. Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010; El-Mafaalani, 2021; Feagin, 2006). Building upon El-Mafaalani's (2021) insight that discrimination works through a three-stepped process of group categorization (that is, stereotypes), devaluation (that is, prejudice), and exclusion (that is, discriminatory behavior), *legitimized othering* explains the justification process that makes it seem legitimate to categorize a certain group stereotypically, devalue them based upon prejudices, and treat them in discriminatory ways. It thereby adds an important layer to the understanding of why discrimination can be continuously reproduced, and particularly how racist harassment and discrimination are reproduced in the Danish context (cf. Hervik, 2011; Keskinen et al., 2009; Skadegård & Jensen, 2018; Yilmaz, 2016).

It also adds to the notions of entitlement racism and dehumanization (cf. Essed, 2020; Haslam et al., 2010). Entitlement racism works more openly and bluntly than other forms of normalized, for instance, everyday, discrimination, yet despite its bluntness, it becomes legitimate and acceptable (Muhr & Essed, 2018). The concept of *legitimized othering* provides an explanation as to how entitlement racism becomes acceptable. When differences – and the hierarchization and devaluation based upon those differences – are legitimized, that is, processes of *legitimized othering* are taking place, the entitlement to offend can be based upon, even deduced from, this legitimization process. Relatedly, implicit dehumanization occurs when the creation of categories of ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ are used to justify immoral behavior without feelings of remorse, guilt, or shame (Essed, 2020; Haslam et al., 2010). The purpose of dehumanization thus lies in legitimizing moral disengagement. *Legitimized othering* allows disengagement from seeing anything wrong in treating persons who are *legitimized as other* differently from what would be expected as appropriate and acceptable behavior otherwise. My research thus suggests that practices of *legitimized othering* serve to establish categories of ‘us’ and ‘them’ and legitimize placing these in a hierarchical order. As a next step, dehumanization of ‘them’, that is persons *legitimized as other*, becomes possible as legitimized practice. Once legitimized, such practice does not occur as an institutional-structural problem, allowing harassment and discrimination to be dismissed as such.

The concept of *legitimized othering* moreover enables me to maintain that at Danish universities racism is *unspeakable*, that is, racist harassment and discrimination remain invisible and silenced, even when discrimination and harassment are addressed within the organization (8). I support this claim by arguing that in a context in which ‘non-Danish’ (that is, non-white, non-Danish, Muslim, queer) bodies are excluded based on *legitimized othering*, racism (and anti-queerness) becomes *unspeakable* because those who are *legitimized as other* are positioned too far from the norm to be recognized as possibly being excluded. This leads to their experiences of racist (and anti-queer) harassment and discrimination not being recognized either, remaining invisible and silenced, even when discrimination and harassment are addressed within the organization.

This insight speaks to Ahmed’s (2006a, 2006c) phenomenological scholarship on (queer) orientations, contributing to organizational research that has investigated the role of orientations

in organizational settings (J. F. Christensen, Just, et al., 2020; Guschke, Christensen, et al., 2022; Vitry, 2021). It highlights how the orientation of organizations influences which bodies are recognized as belonging within the organization and relatedly whose claims are acknowledged and accepted as legitimate claims towards the organization. I argue that those who are positioned outside the normative realm of what the organization is oriented towards, remain overlooked and not heard. With the university being oriented towards whiteness and heteronormativity (cf. K. A. Bates & Ng, 2021; M. P. Bell et al., 2021; Dar et al., 2020; Dar & Ibrahim, 2019; Fotaki, 2011; Giddings & Pringle, 2011; Ozturk & Rumens, 2014; Salmon, 2021), those positioned too far from such norms, that is non-white, non-Danish, Muslim, queer bodies, cannot make legitimate claims towards the organization. Any claims of harassment and discrimination that they try to make remain either unnoticed or dismissed. This argument based on the concept of *unspeakability* can be extended to the claim within organization studies that there is a lack of research focusing on race and racism in organizations (M. P. Bell et al., 2021; Dar et al., 2020; Nkomo, 2021). It provides an analytical argument as to why racism is continuously overlooked also in academic scholarship on discrimination and harassment, or diversity and inequality more broadly. Namely, organizational scholarship situated within an academic system that is oriented so that racialized bodies are not recognized as belonging to the university similarly overlooks and excludes the experiences of racialized people when investigating harassment, discrimination, and other inequalities (cf. Alcadipani et al., 2012; Liu, 2021; Mandalaki & Prasad, 2022).

Further contributing to a layer of unspeakability, as I have argued, are expectations of being resilient which are unequally put on those whose lives are not seen as grievable (9). As shown in my empirical material, while perpetrators are allowed to react emotionally to accusations of harassment, victims are required to endure harassment and discrimination without complaining about their emotional suffering as this would be seen as exaggerating and being overly sensitive (cf. Ahmed, 2017). Victims are expected to be resilient in the face of violence, that is, resilience becomes a condition of grievability for some. To comprehend this point I combine Butler's (2009) notion of grievable lives with Bracke's (2016) theoretical insights on resilience. Bracke (2016) focuses on the gendered assumption of resilience pinpointing the specific gendered expectations towards women to be resilient in the face of problems such as harassment and discrimination. This expectation fosters an individualistic notion of agentic overcoming of structural inequalities,

averting any institutional, organizational, or societal responsibility for dealing with inequalities. Arguably, similar expectations are put upon anyone part of a group of people that is structurally disadvantaged.

This provides an interesting insight regarding whose lives are seen as worth protecting and who is recognized as grievable versus who is expected to be resilient in the face of violence, that is, expected to endure being unprotected in order to be recognized. From Butler's (2009, p. 38) perspective "an ungrievable life is one that cannot be mourned because it has never lived, that is, it has never counted as a life at all." Relating to this, I argue that those who are experiencing harassment and discrimination due to structural inequalities in organizations are not per se ungrievable, yet not inherently grievable either. Instead, they are required to show resilience in the face of harassment and discrimination to be recognized as grievable lives. That is, paradoxically, they have to endure not being grieved in the face of violence (in other words, to endure resiliently) to be recognized as viable persons who belong, who matter, in the organization. The perpetrator on the other hand, as my analysis shows and Bracke's (2016) theoretical argument supports, is not required to be resilient to be recognized as a viable, and grievable, member of the organization. While earlier I have proposed to connect vulnerability and relationally embedded autonomy in the concept of victimhood in organizations, I extend this to suggest that victimhood is also tied to notions of required individual resilience and grievability. Having to be resilient in the face of violence becomes a condition of grievability based on (gendered, racialized) power structures. As a victim of harassment and discrimination, you are recognized as grievable *only when you are resilient* in the face of violence. Yet, the notion of resilience *despite* vulnerability – in contrast to autonomy *in* vulnerability (cf. Butler, 2016; Mackenzie, 2013) – builds upon an individualistic understanding of dealing with vulnerability. While victims are expected to *be* resilient in the face of violence, they are not supported in developing resilience in the same way that they can be relationally supported in *becoming* autonomous.

5.4.6 Becoming a problem by naming a problem – individualized approaches to structural problems

Finally, I asserted that there is a lack of organizational responsibility as the responsibility of solving problems of harassment and discrimination is placed on the victims who are seen as ‘owning’ the problem. Presumably, victims both create the problem (rather than identify an already existent problem) and have the biggest interest in solving it, wherefore they are made responsible for dealing with it (10). This point is based on the insight that problems of workplace harassment and discrimination are individualized at universities. That is, while my analysis shows that harassment and discrimination are not unfortunate mistakes or issues of mismanagement in an otherwise well-functioning organization, but that their reproduction is facilitated through the very structures, practices, and processes that dis/organize universities, the belief prevails that harassment and discrimination are unlikely exceptions within a well-functioning organization. This view presumes that any harassment and discrimination that does take place is not a general problem of the university, but a specific problem of the individual person who is being harassed or discriminated against. Placing ‘problem ownership’ on the victim rather than the institution makes it possible to free the university of any responsibility for dealing with harassment and discrimination.

Two points underly this allocation of responsibility. First, from this perspective, the victim is not understood as the one who points out a problem that pre-exists their speaking up about it but as the creator and initiator of the problem, which supports Ahmed’s (2015, p. 9) claim that “[y]ou can become a problem by naming a problem” (see also Salmon, 2021). Second, the victim – as the one who ‘creates’ the problem and owns it – is then also seen as the one who has the greatest interest in solving it. It is the victim who then holds responsibility for the problem and for finding solutions for it. As this designates an individualized approach to a problem that, as my analysis and the points outlined above have shown, is reproduced on an interactional-individual level but anchored institutional-structurally, such allocation of responsibility is an inadequate and unmatching approach to tackling harassment and discrimination.

5.5 Implications for organizational practice

This study has shown that established organizational approaches to dealing with harassment and discrimination have failed. Neither formal reporting nor informal denouncements have so far been able to fight structurally anchored yet interpersonally reproduced harassment and discrimination. Universities have averted responsibility for dealing with the problem and failed to acknowledge that it is reproduced through organizational structures, practices, and processes. These insights demand that new organizational responses are developed that are capable of addressing harassment and discrimination exactly at that level of organizational structures, practices, and processes. The suggestions I provide for organizing against harassment and discrimination are inspired by norm-critical research and practice. I provide them with the aim of formulating a trajectory for future organizational research on and practice against harassment and discrimination.

As harassment and discrimination are anchored within organizational structures, practices, and processes that are normatively reproduced, organizing against harassment and discrimination needs to involve questioning and changing normative patterns and collective practices through ongoing relational efforts, fostering practices of norm-critical reproduction with a difference (cf. Butler, 2004; J. F. Christensen, 2018; Fotaki & Harding, 2018; Riach et al., 2016). I suggest that this would comprise three pillars: first, organizations need to recognize anti-harassment and anti-discrimination as ongoing, relational practices rather than as a goal to be achieved, second, organizations need to respond with autonomy-fostering care to the vulnerability involved in harassment experiences, and third, organizations need to be able to ‘stay with the trouble’ (Haraway, 2016) in addressing the affective ambiguities of harassment and discrimination. I will in the following outline each pillar in turn.

Recognizing that harassment is structurally anchored yet interpersonally reproduced means understanding the problem as both systemic and situational. Dealing with harassment thus requires attention to the specifics and dynamics of each instance as well as the conditions of possibility based within organizational structures, processes, and practices. Currently, universities are organized towards addressing the prior yet neglecting the latter. Individual cases of harassment are understood to be the main problem, wherefore anti-harassment and anti-

discrimination measures are set up to solve – or, as I have argued dismiss and thereby avert – these individual cases with the goal of reestablishing a university free of harassment and discrimination once the individual case is solved.

Instead, anti-harassment and anti-discrimination need to be established as continuous organizational practices of organizing against harassment and discrimination. The aim is not to reach a state of a discrimination-free workplace but rather to recognize how inequalities are reproduced through organizational norms that shape structures, practices, and processes, and work norm-critically to continuously challenge this normative reproduction of inequities (cf. Arifeen & Syed, 2020; Ghorashi & Ponzoni, 2014; Plotnikof & Graak-Larsen, 2018). It means questioning social and organizational relations, standards, and expectations with the purpose of challenging exclusionary practices of power instead of taking for granted the contradictory web of formal and informal norms that permeates workplaces at universities. To take one example, it would mean recognizing the contradictory expectation put upon victims of harassment and discrimination when they are asked to ‘just speak up’, and instead of reproducing this demand as well as the normative boundaries restricting their ability to do so, to establish settings in which harassment and discrimination experiences can be spoken about without expecting the victim to provide a non-emotional, non-accusatory, linear narrative account – or, by creating possibilities to address harassment and discrimination that do not necessarily require the individual victim to speak up, at least not alone (cf. Naples, 2003).

As norms are always reproduced relationally (J. F. Christensen et al., 2021), this requires a relational practice (cf. Uhl-Bien, 2006; Uhl-Bien & Ospina, 2012). It cannot only be, for instance, an individual formal leader who is involved in and responsible for enacting and upholding anti-discriminatory organizational practices. Challenging and changing normative organizational structures, processes, and practices requires a collective effort by many involved in the organization. To enable such relational work in which challenges and problems are examined, analyzed, and tackled, it is important to create spaces and conditions in which collective norm-critical work is possible, which means establishing settings in which norm-breaking is encouraged rather than punished, with an aim of revealing, discussing, and transforming

normative conditions that enable the reproduction of harassment and discrimination (cf. J. F. Christensen, Mahler, et al., 2020; Guschke & Christensen, 2021; Muhr et al., 2019).

Second, organizations need to be able to respond with care to the vulnerability involved in harassment experiences. As I have shown in this research, the vulnerability that victims experience when being harassed can be misused by perpetrators to put victims in a position of pathogenic vulnerability that restricts their autonomy and hinders them from fighting the perpetrator. The solution, however, is not to aim towards invulnerable or more resilient organizational members. As my study has also shown sharing vulnerabilities, that is, acknowledging one's vulnerable position and trusting the other person to not misuse it, can allow bystanders and allies to provide care in a way that supports the victim's autonomy. As my research highlighted, it can be essential that a not-involved person helps the victim regain their perspective and assist them in identifying their experiences as harassment and discrimination.

Organizing against harassment and discrimination, therefore, requires recognizing organizational members as situationally and ontologically vulnerable and establishing practices that allow for enacting autonomy-fostering care (cf. Tomkins & Simpson, 2015), acknowledging "a simultaneous and ambiguous need for both recognition [as vulnerable subjects] and [relationally enabled] independence" (Ford, 2019, p. 174). Basing these practices on an understanding of harassment as accumulative and imperceptible, this also means being open to the dilemma of sometimes potentially not being able to pinpoint an experience of harassment and discrimination at the moment in which it is affectively noticed yet providing care in such situations, nonetheless. Dealing with this paradox arising from harassment being accumulative and imperceptible requires a paradox mindset (cf. Lüscher & Lewis, 2008; Miron-Spektor et al., 2018; Smith & Lewis, 2011). This could for instance mean taking affective, emotional, and embodied experiences seriously instead of dismissing them as a normal part of an academic job and providing such support without immediately requiring the affected person to pinpoint what caused their affective reaction. Instead, there should be space and time to collectively explore if the trigger lies in experiences of harassment and discrimination, thereby creating conditions to foster and support their autonomous capabilities that can co-exist with their vulnerability. Care is thus not provided

only “as an extraordinary response to extraordinary events [...but as] everyday organizational behaviour” (Tomkins & Simpson, 2015, p. 1016).

Finally, taking seriously and engaging with affective, emotional, and embodied experiences demands that organizational members dare to enter uncomfortable spaces of high emotional volatility (cf. B. Brown, 2018), as well as ambiguous processes with no predetermined outcome or easy fix. It requires the capacity for enduring discomfort and tension (cf. Haraway, 2016) as much as the ability to recognize and question the normative judgments and belief systems that underlie complex emotions, such as shame or anger (cf. Ahmed, 2014a). Such normative belief systems might for instance be anchored within practices of *legitimized othering* and lead to the *unspeakability* of racism and other types of discrimination.

As one step, I suggest that instead of trying to create terminologies and concepts that make it seem attainable to ‘manage diversity’, organizing against harassment and discrimination needs to involve daring to address what cannot be easily controlled or managed yet still needs to be engaged with (cf. B. Brown, 2018), such as the structural inequalities that lie beyond the sphere of influence of the organization as much as the affective ambiguities inherent to harassment experiences (cf. Tomkins & Simpson, 2015). It demands constant awareness of the emotions that an organization is willing and unwilling to acknowledge, with an aim of extending the emotional realm of what can be legitimately felt and expressed within the organization, including emotions that seem contradictory or inexplicably at the time. It further requires that organizations stay attentive and (self-)critical of gendered and racialized power structures, including the ones that are reproduced in the very processes of organizing against harassment and discrimination.

Organizing against harassment and discrimination in this way will not simply eradicate sexist and racist workplace harassment and discrimination – indeed, it will not engage in the unattainable quest to do so in the first place. Instead, it provides a fundamental steppingstone to building organizations that are consistently and proactively anti-discriminatory, caring about the vulnerabilities of their organizational members, and willing to engage in a constant collective struggle towards equality.

Post-script

When I began this dissertation, I felt the urge to write:

This study is not ~~about~~ *because of* #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter.

When I began this dissertation, I felt the urge to write.

Against harassment,
against discrimination,
against sexism and racism.

With #MeToo,
with #BlackLivesMatter.

For solidarity across difference
(Smith, Combahee River Collective, in K.-Y. Taylor, 2017),
for solidarity as an active struggle
(Mohanty, 2003a).

I felt the urge to write
because:

This study is an active struggle
against harassment and discrimination
for solidarity across difference.

I have written more than 200 pages to give words to this struggle.
And yet, there is still so much left to say.

I end this dissertation

committed
to continue
writing and struggling

and remain
borderless and brazen
(Ayim, 2008).

References

- Aalborg University. (2022). *Strategic Action Plan for Gender Equality and Diversity*. Gender Equality Plan 2022-2026 (p. 9). Aalborg University.
https://www.ansatte.aau.dk/digitalAssets/1246/1246775_030122_uld_strategi_uk.pdf
- Aarhus University. (2020). *Action Plan for Gender Equality at Aarhus University 2020-2022* (p. 12). Aarhus University.
https://medarbejdere.au.dk/fileadmin/www.medarbejdere.au.dk/diversitet_og_ligestilling/14_Action_plan_for_gender_equality_at_Aarhus_University_2020-2022.pdf
- Abdellatif, A. (2021). Marginalized to double marginalized: My mutational intersectionality between the East and the West. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 28(S1), 58–65.
- Acker, J. (2006). Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations. *Gender & Society*, 20(4), 441–464.
- Adams-Clark, A. A., Rosenthal, M. N., & Freyd, J. J. (2019). Out-of-body experience: Sex-based harassment linked to general dissociation, sexual dissociation, and sexual communication. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 39(1), 38–52.
- Ahmed, S. (2006a). *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*. Duke University Press.
- Ahmed, S. (2006b). The Nonperformativity of Antiracism. *Meridians*, 7(1), 104–126.
- Ahmed, S. (2006c). ORIENTATIONS: Toward a Queer Phenomenology. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 12(4), 543–574.
- Ahmed, S. (2007). ‘You end up doing the document rather than doing the doing’: Diversity, race equality and the politics of documentation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(4), 590–609.
- Ahmed, S. (2014a). *The cultural politics of emotion* (Second edition). Edinburgh University Press.
- Ahmed, S. (2014b). Not in the Mood. *New Formations*, 82(82), 13–28.
- Ahmed, S. (2015). Introduction: Sexism - A problem with a name. *New Formations*, 86(86), 5–13.
- Ahmed, S. (2017). *Living a feminist life*. Duke University Press.
- Alcadipani, R., Khan, F. R., Gantman, E., & Nkomo, S. (2012). Southern voices in management and organization knowledge. *Organization*, 19(2), 131–143.

- Alvesson, M., & Willmott, H. (2002). Identity Regulation as Organizational Control: Producing the Appropriate Individual. *Journal of Management Studies*, 39(5), 619–644.
- Alvinus, A., & Holmberg, A. (2019). Silence-breaking butterfly effect: Resistance towards the military within #MeToo. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 26(9), 1255–1270.
- Andreassen, R. (2007). *Der er et yndigt land: Medier, minoriteter og danskhed*. Tiderne skifter.
- Andreassen, R., & Myong, L. (2017). Race, Gender, and Researcher Positionality Analysed through Memory Work. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 7(2), 97.
- Andriopoulos, C., & Lewis, M. W. (2009). Exploitation-Exploration Tensions and Organizational Ambidexterity: Managing Paradoxes of Innovation. *Organization Science*, 20(4), 696–717.
- Anthym, M. (2018). *Now You See Me: A Black Feminist Autoethnographic Poetic Polemic of Radical Reflexivity and Critical Arts-Based Inquiry*. University of Denver Electronic Theses and Dissertations.
- Arce, J., & Suárez-Krabbe, J. (2018). Racism, Global Apartheid and Disobedient Mobilities: The Politics of Detention and Deportation in Europe and Denmark. *KULT. Postkoloniale Temaserie*, 15, 107–127.
- Argyris, C. (1987). *Personality and organization: The conflict between system and the individual*. Garland.
- Arifeen, S. R., & Syed, J. (2020). The challenges of fitting in: An intersectional framing of minority ethnic women managers' career experiences in the UK. *Personnel Review*, 49(5), 1194–1211.
- Ashcraft, K. L. (2017). 'Submission' to the rule of excellence: Ordinary affect and precarious resistance in the labor of organization and management studies. *Organization*, 24(1), 36–58.
- Ashcraft, K. L. (2018). Critical complicity: The feel of difference at work in home and field. *Management Learning*, 49(5), 613–623.
- Ashcraft, K. L., & Muhr, S. L. (2018). Coding military command as a promiscuous practice? Unsettling the gender binaries of leadership metaphors. *Human Relations*, 71(2), 206–228.
- Askanius, T., & Hartley, J. M. (2019). Framing Gender Justice: A Comparative Analysis of the Media Coverage of #metoo in Denmark and Sweden. *Nordicom Review*, 40(2), 19–36.

- Avina, C., & O'Donohue, W. (2002). Sexual harassment and PTSD: Is sexual harassment diagnosable trauma? *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 15(1), 69–75.
- Ayata, B., Harders, C., Özkaya, D., & Wahba, D. (2019). Interviews as situated affective encounters A relational and processual approach for empirical research on affect, emotion and politics. In A. Kahl (Ed.), *Analyzing Affective Societies: Methods and Methodologies* (1st ed., pp. 63–77). Routledge.
- Ayim, M. (2008). borderless and brazen: A poem against the German “u-not-y.” *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work*, 23(1), 92–94.
- Bailey, M. (2021). *Misogynoir transformed: Black women's digital resistance*. New York University Press.
- Bailey, M., & Trudy. (2018). On misogynoir: Citation, erasure, and plagiarism. *Feminist Media Studies*, 18(4), 762–768.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1984). *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Bandura, A. (2002). Selective Moral Disengagement in the Exercise of Moral Agency. *Journal of Moral Education*, 31(2), 101–119.
- Barbosa de Almeida, M. W. (2015). Structuralism. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 626–631). Elsevier.
- Barnard, C. I., & Andrews, K. R. (2002). *The functions of the executive* (30. anniversary ed. with an introd. by Kenneth R. Andrews, 39. print). Harvard Univ. Press.
- Basner, K. I., Christensen, J. F., French, J. E., & Schreven, S. (2018). Snaptivism: A collective biography of feminist snap as affective activism* What are the alternatives? Organising for a socially and ecologically sustainable world. *Ephemera*, 18(4), 901–922.
- Bates, K. A., & Ng, E. S. (2021). Whiteness in academia, time to listen, and moving beyond White fragility. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 40(1), 1–7.
- Bates, L. (2014). *Everyday Sexism*. Simon & Schuster.
- Beech, N., Burns, H., de Caestecker, L., MacIntosh, R., & MacLean, D. (2004). Paradox as invitation to act in problematic change situations. *Human Relations*, 57(10), 1313–1332.
- Bell, E., Meriläinen, S., Taylor, S., & Tienari, J. (2019). Time's up! Feminist theory and activism meets organization studies. *Human Relations*, 72(1), 4–22.

- Bell, M. P., Berry, D., Leopold, J., & Nkomo, S. (2021). Making Black Lives Matter in academia: A Black feminist call for collective action against anti-blackness in the academy. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 28(S1), 39–57.
- Benoit, W. L. (2015). Image Restoration Theory. In W. Donsbach (Ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Communication* (p. wbiecio09.pub2). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
- Berdahl, J. L., & Moore, C. (2006). Workplace harassment: Double jeopardy for minority women. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91(2), 426–436.
- Berdahl, J. L., & Raver, J. L. (2011). Sexual harassment. In S. Zedeck (Ed.), *APA handbook of industrial and organizational psychology, Vol 3: Maintaining, expanding, and contracting the organization*. (pp. 641–669). American Psychological Association.
- Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation. (2022). Black Lives Matter. About. *BlackLivesMatter*. <https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/>
- Bohman, J. (2005). Critical Theory. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2021 Edition).
- Bourabain, D. (2020). Everyday sexism and racism in the ivory tower: The experiences of early career researchers on the intersection of gender and ethnicity in the academic workplace. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 28(1), 248–267.
- Bowes-Sperry, L., & O’Leary-Kelly, A. M. (2005). To Act or not to Act: The Dilemma Faced by Sexual Harassment Observers. *Academy of Management Review*, 30(2), 288–306.
- Bracke, S. (2016). Bouncing back: Vulnerability and resistance in times of resilience. In J. Butler, Z. Gambetti, & L. Sabsay (Eds.), *Vulnerability in resistance* (pp. 52–75). Duke University Press.
- Brennan, T. (2004). *The Transmission of Affect*. Cornell University Press.
- Brown, B. (2018). *Dare to lead: Brave work, tough conversations, whole hearts*. Vermilion.
- Brown, S. E. V., & Battle, J. S. (2020). Ostracizing targets of workplace sexual harassment before and after the #MeToo movement. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 39(1), 53–67.
- Brown, W. (1965a). *Exploration in management*. Penguin Books.
- Brown, W. (1965b). Informal organization? In W. Brown & E. Jaques (Eds.), *Glacier project papers* (pp. 144–162). Heineman Educational Books.

- Buchanan, N. T., & Ormerod, A. J. (2002). Racialized sexual harassment in the lives of African American women. *Women & Therapy*, 25, 107–124.
- Buchardt, M. (2016). *Kulturforklaring: Uddannelseshistorier om muslimskhed*. Tiderne skifter.
- Burke, T. (2022). Me too. History and inception. Where we started. The evolution of our movement. *Me Too*. <https://metoomvmt.org/get-to-know-us/history-inception/>
- Burø, T. (2020). *Land of Light: Assembling the Ecology of Culture in Odsherred 2000-2018*. Copenhagen Business School.
- Burt, R. S. (1992). *Structural holes: The social structure of competition* (1. Harvard Univ. Press paperback ed). Harvard Univ. Press.
- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of “sex.”* Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1997). *Excitable speech: A politics of the performative*. Routledge.
- Butler, J. (2001). What is Critique? An Essay on Foucault’s Virtue. In D. Ingram (Ed.), *The Political (Blackwell Readings in Continental Philosophy)*: 4 (pp. 212–226). Blackwell Publishers.
- Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing gender*. Routledge.
- Butler, J. (2006). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. Routledge.
- Butler, J. (2009). *Frames of war: When is life grievable?* Verso.
- Butler, J. (2016). Rethinking Vulnerability and Resistance. In J. Butler, Z. Gambetti, & L. Sabsay (Eds.), *Vulnerability in resistance* (pp. 12–27). Duke University Press.
- Butler, J., Gambetti, Z., & Sabsay, L. (Eds.). (2016). *Vulnerability in resistance*. Duke University Press.
- Calder-Dawe, O., & Gavey, N. (2016). Making sense of everyday sexism: Young people and the gendered contours of sexism. *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 55, 1–9.
- Carrim, N. M. H., & Nkomo, S. M. (2016). Wedding Intersectionality Theory and Identity Work in Organizations: South African Indian Women Negotiating Managerial Identity. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 23(3), 261–277.
- Cassino, D., & Besen-Cassino, Y. (2019). Race, threat and workplace sexual harassment: The dynamics of harassment in the United States, 1997–2016. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 26(9), 1221–1240.
- Castilla, E. J. (2008). Gender, Race, and Meritocracy in Organizational Careers. *American Journal of Sociology*, 113(6), 1479–1526.

- Castilla, E. J., & Benard, S. (2010). The Paradox of Meritocracy in Organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 55(4), 543–676.
- Chan, D. K.-S., Chow, S. Y., Lam, C. B., & Cheung, S. F. (2008). Examining The Job-Related, Psychological, and Physical Outcomes of Workplace Sexual Harassment: A Meta-Analytic Review. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 32(4), 362–376.
- Chapman, R. A. (Ed.). (2000). *Ethics in public service for the new millennium*. Ashgate.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks.
- Chawla, N., Gabriel, A. S., O’Leary Kelly, A., & Rosen, C. C. (2021). From #MeToo to #TimesUp: Identifying Next Steps in Sexual Harassment Research in the Organizational Sciences. *Journal of Management*, 47(3), 551–566.
- Christensen, C. D., & Andreasen, K. B. (2020, July 6). Stor demonstration med Black Lives Matter i København. *Tv2 Nyheder*. <https://nyheder.tv2.dk/2020-06-07-stor-demonstration-med-black-lives-matter-i-koebenhavn>
- Christensen, J. F. (2018). Queer Organising and Performativity: Towards a Norm-critical Conceptualisation of Organisational Intersectionality. *Ephemera*, 18(1), 103–130.
- Christensen, J. F. (2020). *Queering organisation(s): Norm-critical Orientations to Organising and Researching Diversity*. Copenhagen Business School.
- Christensen, J. F. (2021). Weird Ways of Normalizing: Queering Diversity Research through Norm Critique. In S. N. Just, A. Risberg, & F. Villesèche (Eds.), *Routledge companion to organizational diversity research methods* (pp. 59–72). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Christensen, J. F., Guschke, B. L., Storm, K. I. L., & Muhr, S. L. (2021). The norm of norms in HRM research: A review and suggestions for future studies. *Human Resource Management Review*, online first.
- Christensen, J. F., Just, S. N., & Muhr, S. L. (2020). Hyphenated voices: The organization of racialized subjects in contemporary Danish public debate. *Organization*, 997–1017.
- Christensen, J. F., Mahler, R., & Teilmann-Lock, S. (2020). GenderLAB: Norm-critical design thinking for gender equality and diversity. *Organization*, 28(6), 1036–1048.
- Christensen, J. F., & Muhr, S. L. (2019). H(a)unting Quotas: An Empirical Analysis of the Uncanniness of Gender Quotas. *Ephemera*, 19(1), 77–105.

- Christian, B. (1987). The Race for Theory. *Cultural Critique*, 6, 51.
- Clair, R. P. (1994). Resistance and oppression as a self-contained opposite: An organizational communication analysis of one man's story of sexual harassment. *Western Journal of Communication*, 58(4), 235-262.
- Clegg, S., & Courpasson, D. (2004). Political Hybrids: Tocquevillean Views on Project Organizations. *Journal of Management Studies*, 41(4), 525-547.
- Clegg, S. R. (2012). The End of Bureaucracy? In T. Diefenbach & R. Todnem By (Eds.), *Research in the Sociology of Organizations* (Vol. 35, pp. 59-84). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Collins, P. H. (2002). Defining Black feminist thought. In *Race critical theories* (pp. 152-175). Blackwell Publishers.
- Collins, P. H. (2009). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Combahee River Collective. (2014). A Black Feminist Statement. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 42(3/4), 271-280.
- Contu, A., & Willmott, H. (2003). Re-Embedding Situatedness: The Importance of Power Relations in Learning Theory. *Organization Science*, 14(3), 283-296.
- Cooper, R. (1986). Organization/Disorganization. *Social Science Information*, 25(2), 299-335.
- Cooper, R. (2001). Un-timely Mediations: Questing Thought timely Mediations: Questing Thought timely Mediations: Questing Thought. *Ephemera*, 1(4), 321-347.
- Copenhagen Business School. (2021). *Gender Equality Plan* (p. 14). Copenhagen Business School. https://www.cbs.dk/files/cbs.dk/call_to_action/cbs_gender_equality_plan_2021.pdf
- Cortina, L. M. (2008). Unseen injustice: Incivility as modern discrimination in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, 33(1), 55-75.
- Cortina, L. M., & Berdahl, J. L. (2008). Sexual Harassment in Organizations: A Decade of Research in Review. In J. Barling & C. Cooper, *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Behavior: Volume I - Micro Approaches* (pp. 469-497). SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Cortina, L. M., Kabat-Farr, D., Leskinen, E. A., Huerta, M., & Magley, V. J. (2013). Selective incivility as modern discrimination in organizations: Evidence and impact". *Journal of Management*, 39(6), 1579-1605.

- Crandall, C. S., & Eshleman, A. (2003). A justification-suppression model of the expression and experience of prejudice. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(3), 414–446.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989(1), 139–167.
- Cunningham, P., Drumwright, M. E., & Foster, K. W. (2021). Networks of complicity: Social networks and sex harassment. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 40(4), 392–409.
- Czarniawska, B. (2014). *Social Science Research: From field to desk*. Thousand Oaks.
- Dahlerup, D. (2018). Gender Equality as a Closed Case: A Survey among the Members of the 2015 Danish Parliament. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 41(2), 188–209.
- Danbolt, M. (2017). Retro Racism: Colonial Ignorance and Racialized Affective Consumption in Danish Public Culture. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 7(2), 105.
- Danbolt, M., & Myong, L. (2019). Racial Turns and Returns: Recalibrations of Racial Exceptionalism in Danish Public Debates on Racism. In P. Hervik (Ed.), *Racialization, Racism, and Anti-Racism in the Nordic Countries* (pp. 39–61). Springer International Publishing.
- Daniels, S., & Thornton, L. M. (2019). Race and workplace discrimination: The mediating role of cyber incivility and interpersonal incivility. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 39(3), 319–335.
- Dar, S., & Ibrahim, Y. (2019). The Blackened body and White governmentality: Managing the UK academy and the production of shame. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 26(9), 1241–1254.
- Dar, S., Liu, H., Dy, A. M., & Brewis, D. N. (2020). The business school is racist: Act up! *Organization*, 1–12.
- Davies, B., De Schauwer, E., Claes, L., De Munck, K., Van De Putte, I., & Verstichele, M. (2013). Recognition and difference: A collective biography. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 26(6), 680–691.
- Davies, B., & Gannon, S. (2012). Collective Biography and the Entangled Enlivening of Being. *International Review of Qualitative Research*, 5(4), 357–376.
- Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, race & class* (1st Vintage Books ed). Vintage Books.

- De Schauwer, E., Van De Putte, I., & Davies, B. (2018). Collective Biography: Using Memory Work to Explore the Space-in-Between Normativity and Difference/Disability. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 24(1), 8–19.
- Deem, R. (2009). Leading and Managing Contemporary UK Universities: Do Excellence and Meritocracy still Prevail over Diversity? *Higher Education Policy*, 22(1), 3–17.
- Diekmann, K. A., Walker, S. D. S., Galinsky, A. D., & Tenbrunsel, A. E. (2013). Double Victimization in the Workplace: Why Observers Condemn Passive Victims of Sexual Harassment. *Organization Science*, 24(2), 614–628.
- DiMaggio, P. J., & Powell, W. W. (1983). The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *American Sociological Review*, 48(2), 147.
- Dobel, J. P. (2005). *Public integrity*. John Hopkins University Press.
- Dodds, S. (2013). Dependency, Care, and Vulnerability. In C. Mackenzie, W. Rogers, & S. Dodds (Eds.), *Vulnerability: New Essays in Ethics and Feminist Philosophy* (pp. 181–203). Oxford University Press.
- Dovidio, J. F. (2001). On the Nature of Contemporary Prejudice: The Third Wave. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(4), 829–849.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Fazio, R. H. (1992). New technologies for the direct and indirect assessment of attitudes. In J. Tanur (Ed.), *Questions About Survey Questions: Meaning, Memory, Attitudes, and Social Interaction* (pp. 204–237). Russell Sage Foundation.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Kawakami, K. (2010). Racism. In J. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, & V. Esses, *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination* (pp. 312–327). SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Dovidio, J. F., Hewstone, M., Glick, P., & Esses, V. M. (2010). Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination: Theoretical and Empirical Overview. In J. F. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, & V. M. Esses (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination* (pp. 3–28). SAGE.
- du Gay, P. (2000). *In praise of bureaucracy: Weber, organization, ethics*. SAGE.
- du Gay, P. (2013). New Spirits of Public Management...‘Post-Bureaucracy.’ In P. du Gay & G. Morgan (Eds.), *New Spirits of Capitalism?* (pp. 274–293). Oxford University Press.

- du Gay, P., & Lopdrup-Hjorth, T. (2016). Fear of the formal. *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology*, 3(1), 6–40.
- Duckitt, J. H. (1992). Psychology and prejudice: A historical analysis and integrative framework. *American Psychologist*, 47(10), 1182–1193.
- Dunlop, P. D., & Lee, K. (2004). Workplace deviance, organizational citizenship behavior, and business unit performance: The bad apples do spoil the whole barrel. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 25(1), 67–80.
- Eagly, A. H., & Diekmann, A. B. (2005). What is the problem? Prejudice as an attitude-in-context. In J. F. Dovidio, P. S. Glick, & L. A. Rudman (Eds.), *On the nature of prejudice: Fifty years after Allport* (pp. 19–35). Blackwell Pub.
- Einersen, A. F., Krøger, J., MacLeod, S., Muhr, S. L., Munar, A. M., Myers, E. S., Plotnikof, M., & Skewes, L. (2021). *Sexism in Danish Higher Education and Research: Understanding, Exploring, Acting* (p. 161). SexismEDU. <https://sexismedu.dk/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Sexism-in-Higher-Education-finished.pdf>
- El-Mafaalani, A. (2021). *Wozu Rassismus? Von der Erfindung der Menschenrassen bis zum rassismuskritischen Widerstand* (1. Auflage). Kiepenheuer & Witsch.
- Emejulu, A., & Sobande, F. (Eds.). (2019). *To exist is to resist: Black feminism in Europe*. Pluto Press.
- Essed, P. (1990). *Everyday racism: Reports from women of two cultures* (1st ed). Hunter House.
- Essed, P. (1991). *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory*. SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Essed, P. (2000). Dilemmas in leadership: Women of colour in the Academy. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23(5), 888–904.
- Essed, P. (2004). Cloning amongst professors: Normativities and imagined homogeneities. *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 12(2), 113–122.
- Essed, P. (2009). Intolerable humiliations. In G. Huggan & I. Law (Eds.), *Racism Postcolonialism Europe* (pp. 131–147). Liverpool University Press.
- Essed, P. (2020). Humiliation, dehumanization and the quest for dignity. In J. Solomos (Ed.), *Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Racisms* (1st ed., pp. 442–455). Routledge.

- Essed, P., & Goldberg, D. T. (Eds.). (2002). *Race critical theories: Text and context*. Blackwell Publishers.
- Essed, P., & Trienekens, S. (2008). 'Who wants to feel white?' Race, Dutch culture and contested identities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31(1), 52–72.
- ESTHE. (2016). *It stops now. Ending Sexual Harassment and Violence in Third Level Education. A review of data on the prevalence of Sexual Violence and Harassment of Women Students in Higher Education in the European Union*. European Institute for Gender Equality.
<https://www.itstopsnow.org/sites/default/files/2018-02/ESHTe%20A%20Review%20of%20Data%20on%20Prevalence%20of%20SVH%20of%20Women%20Students%20in%20Higher%20Education.pdf>
- Fain, T. C., & Anderton, D. L. (1987). Sexual harassment: Organizational context and diffuse status. *Sex Roles*, 17, 291–311.
- Fairhurst, G. T., Smith, W. K., Banghart, S. G., Lewis, M. W., Putnam, L. L., Raisch, S., & Schad, J. (2016). Diverging and Converging: *Integrative Insights on a Paradox Meta-perspective*. *Academy of Management Annals*, 10(1), 173–182.
- Fayol, H. (1916). General principles of management. In J. M. Shafritz & Y. S. Jang (Eds.), *Classics of organization theory* (6th ed., pp. 48–60). Harcourt College Publishers.
- Feagin, J. R. (1992). On Not Taking Gendered Racism Seriously: The Failure of the Mass Media and the Social Sciences. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 28(3), 400–406.
- Feagin, J. R. (2006). *Systemic racism*. Routledge.
- Fernando, D., & Prasad, A. (2019). Sex-based harassment and organizational silencing: How women are led to reluctant acquiescence in academia. *Human Relations*, 72(10), 1565–1594.
- Ferree, M. M., & Zippel, K. (2015). Gender Equality in the Age of Academic Capitalism: Cassandra and Pollyanna Interpret University Restructuring. *Social Politics*, 22(4), 561–584.
- Fineman, S., & Sturdy, A. (1999). The Emotions of Control: A Qualitative Exploration of Environmental Regulation. *Human Relations*, 52(5), 631–663.
- Finley, L. M. (1989). Breaking Women's Silence in Law: The Dilemma of the Gendered Nature of Legal Reasoning. *Notre Dame Law Review*, 886–910.

- Fitzgerald, L. (2019). Unseen: The sexual harassment of low-income women in America. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 39(1), 5–16.
- Fitzgerald, L. F., Gelfand, M. J., & Drasgow, F. (1995). Measuring Sexual Harassment: Theoretical and Psychometric Advances. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 17(4), 425–445.
- Fitzgerald, L. F., Shullman, S. L., Bailey, N., Richards, M., Swecker, J., Gold, Y., Ormerod, M., & Weitzman, L. (1988). The incidence and dimensions of sexual harassment in academia and the workplace. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 32(2), 152–175.
- Fleming, P., & Spicer, A. (2007). *Contesting the corporation: Struggle, power and resistance in organizations*. Cambridge University Press.
- Fleming, P., & Spicer, A. (2014). Power in Management and Organization Science. *Academy of Management Annals*, 8(1), 237–298.
- Fog, E. U., Agger, R. R., & Jonasdottir, L. A. (2020, October 9). 689 forskere oplever sexistisk adfærd i universitetsverden. *Politiken*. https://sexismedu.dk/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Forside-2020-10-09_Politiken.pdf
- Ford, J. (2019). Rethinking relational leadership: Recognising the mutual dynamic between leaders and led. In B. Carroll, S. Wilson, & J. Firth (Eds.), *After Leadership* (pp. 157–174). Routledge.
- Ford, J., Harding, N., & Learmonth, M. (2010). Who is it That Would Make Business Schools More Critical? Critical Reflections on Critical Management Studies. *British Journal of Management*, 21, s71–s81.
- Fotaki, M. (2011). The Sublime Object of Desire (for Knowledge): Sexuality at Work in Business and Management Schools in England: The Sublime Object of Desire. *British Journal of Management*, 22(1), 42–53.
- Fotaki, M., & Harding, N. (2018). *Gender and the organization: Women at work in the 21st century*. Routledge.
- Fotaki, M., Kenny, K., & Vachhani, S. J. (2017). Thinking critically about affect in organization studies: Why it matters. *Organization*, 24(1), 3–17.
- Foucault, M. (1997). What is Critique? In J. Schmidt (Ed.), *What is Enlightenment? Eighteenth-Century Questions and Twentieth Century Answers* (pp. 23–61). University of California Press.

- FRA - European Agency for Fundamental Rights. (2015). *Violence Against Women: An EU-Wide Survey*. The European Union.
- Fredberg, T. (2014). If I Say It's Complex, It Bloody Well Will Be: CEO Strategies for Managing Paradox. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 50(2), 171–188.
- French, J. R., & Raven, B. (1959). The basis of social power. In D. Cartwright (Ed.), *Studies in social power* (pp. 150–167). University of Michigan Press.
- Friborg, M. K., Hansen, J. V., Aldrich, P. T., Folker, A. P., Kjær, S., Nielsen, M. B. D., Rugulies, R., & Madsen, I. E. H. (2017). Workplace sexual harassment and depressive symptoms: A cross-sectional multilevel analysis comparing harassment from clients or customers to harassment from other employees amongst 7603 Danish employees from 1041 organizations. *BMC Public Health*, 17(1), 675.
- Gabriel, Y. (1999). Beyond Happy Families: A Critical Reevaluation of the Control-Resistance-Identity Triangle. *Human Relations*, 52(2), 179–203.
- Gavras, K., Hehnke, L., Meiners, P., & Orduz, J. (2019). #MeTwo: National Identity and Discrimination in Germany in Times of Migration. *CorrelAid*.
<https://correlaid.org/blog/metwo/>
- Ghorashi, H., & Ponzoni, E. (2014). Reviving agency: Taking time and making space for rethinking diversity and inclusion. *European Journal of Social Work*, 17(2), 161–174.
- Giddings, L. S., & Pringle, J. K. (2011). Heteronormativity at work: Stories from two lesbian academics. *Women's Studies Journal*, 25(2), 91–100.
- Gill, L. K. (2012). Situating Black, Situating Queer: Black Queer Diaspora Studies and the Art of Embodied Listening. *Transforming Anthropology*, 20(1), 32–44.
- Gilmore, S., Harding, N., Helin, J., & Pullen, A. (2019). Writing differently. *Management Learning*, 50(1), 3–10.
- Glick, P., Lameiras, M., Fiske, S. T., Eckes, T., Masser, B., Volpato, C., Manganelli, A. M., Pek, J. C. X., Huang, L., Sakalli-Uğurlu, N., Castro, Y. R., D'Avila Pereira, M. L., Willemsen, T. M., Brunner, A., Six-Materna, I., & Wells, R. (2004). Bad but Bold: Ambivalent Attitudes Toward Men Predict Gender Inequality in 16 Nations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 86(5), 713–728.

- Glick, P., & Rudman, L. A. (2010). Sexism. In J. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, & V. Esses, *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination* (pp. 328–344). SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Goldberg, D. T. (2006). Racial Europeanization. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(2), 331–364.
- Gould, D. B. (2009). *Moving politics: Emotion and act up's fight against AIDS*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The implicit association test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(6), 1464–1480.
- Gregg, M., & Seigworth, G. J. (Eds.). (2010). *The affect theory reader*. Duke University Press.
- Grey, C., & Sinclair, A. (2006). Writing differently. *Organization*, 13(3), 443–453.
- Gruber, J. E. (1992). A typology of personal and environmental sexual harassment: Research and policy implications for the 1990s. *Sex Roles*, 26(11–12), 447–464.
- Gullestad, M. (2002). Invisible Fences: Egalitarianism, Nationalism and Racism. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 8(1), 45–63.
- Guschke, B. L., Busse, K., Khalid, F., Muhr, S. L., & Just, S. N. (2019). Sexual Harassment in Higher Education—Experiences and Perceptions among Students at a Danish University. *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*, 1–2, 11–30.
- Guschke, B. L., & Christensen, J. F. (2021). From individual to organizational bias: A norm-critical proposition for unconscious bias intervention in organizations. *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*, 32(3), 86–105.
- Guschke, B. L., Christensen, J. F., & Burø, T. (2022). Sara Ahmed. A return to emotions. In N. Kivinen & C. Hunter, *Affect in Organization and Management* (1st ed., pp. 12–28). Routledge.
- Guschke, B. L., Just, S. N., & Muhr, S. L. (2022). Organizational norms of sexual harassment and gender discrimination in Danish academia: From recognizing through contesting to queering pervasive rhetorical legitimization strategies. *Gender, Work & Organization*, online first.

- Guschke, B. L., & Sløk-Andersen, B. (2022). Paying attention to tension: Towards a new understanding of the organizational mechanisms enabling sexual harassment. *Ephemera*, 22(1), 27–55.
- Gutek, B. A., Murphy, R. O., & Douma, B. (2004). A Review and Critique of the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ). *Law and Human Behavior*, 28(4), 457–482.
- Habel, Y. (2012). Challenging Swedish Exceptionalism? Teaching While Black. In K. Freeman & E. Johnson (Eds.), *Education in the Black Diaspora: Perspectives, Challenges, and Prospects* (pp. 110–133). Routledge.
- Haraway, D. J. (2016). *Staying with the trouble: Making kin in the Chthulucene*. Duke University Press.
- Harding, N. (2007). On Lacan and the ‘Becoming-ness’ of Organizations/Selves. *Organization Studies*, 28(11), 1761–1773.
- Harris, A. P. (2015). Critical Race Theory. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 266–270). Elsevier.
- Harris, K. L. (2016). Reflexive voicing: A communicative approach to intersectional writing. *Qualitative Research*, 16(1), 111–127.
- Haslam, N., Bastian, B., & Loughnan, S. (2010). Dehumanization/Infrhumanization. In J. Levine & M. Hogg, *Encyclopedia of Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* (pp. 189–191). SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Hassani, A. (2022). Navigating Racialised Spaces: Young Muslims Negotiating a Middle-Class Position in Denmark. *Nordic Journal of Social Research*, 13(1), 67–79.
- Hassard, J., Kelemen, M., & Cox, J. W. (2008). *Disorganization theory: Explorations in alternative organizational analysis*. Routledge.
- Hearn, J., & Parkin, W. (2001). *Gender, sexuality and violence in organizations: The unspoken forces of organization violations*. SAGE.
- Helin, J. (2013). Dialogic listening: Toward an embodied understanding of how to “go on” during fieldwork. *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal*, 8(3), 224–241.
- Helin, J. (2019). Dialogical writing: Co-inquiring between the written and the spoken word. *Culture and Organization*, 25(1), 1–15.

- Hemmings, C. (2012). Affective solidarity: Feminist reflexivity and political transformation. *Feminist Theory*, 13(2), 147–161.
- Hennekam, S., & Bennett, D. (2017). Sexual Harassment in the Creative Industries: Tolerance, Culture and the Need for Change: Sexual harassment in the creative industries. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 24(4), 417–434.
- Hernes, T. (2014). *A process theory of organization* (First edition). Oxford University Press.
- Hervik, P. (Ed.). (1999). *Den generende forskellighed: Danske svar på den stigende multikulturalisme*. H. Reitzels forlag.
- Hervik, P. (2004). The Danish cultural world of unbridgeable differences. *Ethnos*, 69(2), 247–267.
- Hervik, P. (2011). *The annoying difference: The emergence of Danish neonationalism, neoracism, and populism in the post-1989 world*. Berghahn Books.
- Hilton, J. L., & von Hippel, W. (1996). STEREOTYPES. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 47(1), 237–271.
- Hlavka, H. R. (2014). Normalizing Sexual Violence: Young Women Account for Harassment and Abuse. *Gender & Society*, 28(3), 337–358.
- Hoffman, C., & Hurst, N. (1990). Gender stereotypes: Perception or rationalization? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58(2), 197–208.
- Holck, L., & Muhr, S. L. (2017). Unequal solidarity? Towards a norm-critical approach to welfare logics. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 33(1), 1–11.
- Holvino, E. (2010). Intersections: The Simultaneity of Race, Gender and Class in Organization Studies. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 17(3), 248–277.
- Horckheimer, M. (1982). *Critical Theory*. Seabury Press.
- Horckheimer, M. (1993). *Between Philosophy and Social Science*. MIT Press.
- Horst, M. (2021). “Now you see it”: Gender, inclusion and diversity. In A. Lindgreen, A. Irwin, F. Poulfelt, & T. U. Thomsen (Eds.), *How to lead academic departments successfully* (pp. 137–146). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Houle, J. N., Staff, J., Mortimer, J. T., Uggen, C., & Blackstone, A. (2011). The Impact of Sexual Harassment on Depressive Symptoms during the Early Occupational Career. *Society and Mental Health*, 1(2), 89–105.

- Hulin, C. L., Fitzgerald, L. F., & Drasgow, F. (1996). Organizational influences on sexual harassment. In M. S. Stockdale (Ed.), *Sexual Harassment in the Workplace* (pp. 127–150). SAGE.
- Humbert, A. L. (2022). *UniSAFE Survey – Gender-based violence and institutional responses. Presentation of first survey results*. Conference: Ending Gender-Based Violence in Academia. Toward gender-equal, safe and inclusive research and higher education, Prague. Data set available via: <https://doi.org/10.7802/2475>
- Hunter, C., & Kivinen, N. (Eds.). (2022). *Affect in organization and management*. Routledge.
- Hunter, I. (1994). *Rethinking the school: Subjectivity, bureaucracy, criticism*. St. Martin's Press.
- Hunter, I., & Minson, J. (1992). The Good Bureaucrat. *Australian Left Review*, 1(145), 26–30.
- Hvenegård-Lassen, K., & Staunæs, D. (2019). Elefanten i (bede)rummet. Raciale forsvindingsnumre, stemningspolitik og idiomatisk diffraktion. *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*, 19(1–2), 44–57.
- Ibarra, H. (1992). Homophily and Differential Returns: Sex Differences in Network Structure and Access in an Advertising Firm. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 37(3), 422.
- IGLYO. (2015). *Norm Criticism Toolkit*. IGYLO - The International LGBTQI Youth and Student Organisation. <https://www.iglyo.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Norm-Criticism-Toolkit.pdf>
- Irwin, A. (2021). “Don’t think you can be everyone’s friend”: Dealing with conflict in an academic department. In A. Lindgreen, A. Irwin, F. Poufelt, & T. U. Thomsen (Eds.), *How to lead academic departments successfully* (pp. 117–126). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- IT University of Copenhagen. (2022a). *Diversity at ITU*. <https://en.itu.dk/About-ITU/Diversity-equality-and-gender>
- IT University of Copenhagen. (2022b). *Gender Equality Plan* (p. 9). IT University of Copenhagen. <https://en.itu.dk/-/media/EN/AboutITU/Gender-Diversity/Gender-Equality-Plan/Gender-Equality-Plan-for-ITU---ENDELIG-VERSION---16092022Accessible-pdf.pdf>
- Jaffe-Walter, R. (2016). *Coercive concern: Nationalism, liberalism, and the schooling of Muslim youth*. Stanford University Press.
- Jay, J. (2013). Navigating Paradox as a Mechanism of Change and Innovation in Hybrid Organizations. *Academy of Management Journal*, 56(1), 137–159.

- Johnson, J. D., Trawalter, S., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). Converging Interracial Consequences of Exposure to Violent Rap Music on Stereotypical Attributions of Blacks. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 36(3), 233–251.
- Johnson, P. A., Widnall, S. E., Benya, F. F., & National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (U.S.). (2018). *Sexual harassment of women: Climate, culture, and consequences in academic sciences, engineering, and medicine*. The National Academies Press.
- Jorgenson, J. (2002). Engineering Selves: Negotiating Gender and Identity in Technical Work. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 15(3), 350–380.
- Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 33(1), 1–27.
- Jost, J. T., Banaji, M. R., & Nosek, B. A. (2004). A Decade of System Justification Theory: Accumulated Evidence of Conscious and Unconscious Bolstering of the Status Quo. *Political Psychology*, 25(6), 881–919.
- Jullien, F. (2011). *The silent transformations*. Seagull Books.
- Kabat-Farr, D., Settles, I. H., & Cortina, L. M. (2020). Selective incivility: An insidious form of discrimination in organizations. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 39(3), 253–260.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation*. Basic Books.
- Kara, H. (2013). It's hard to tell how research feels: Using fiction to enhance academic research and writing. *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal*, 8(1), 70–84.
- Karambayya, R. (1997). In Shouts and Whispers: Paradoxes Facing Women of Colour in Organizations. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 16(9), 891–897.
- Kartolo, A. B., & Kwantes, C. T. (2019). Organizational culture, perceived societal and organizational discrimination. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 38(6), 602–618.
- Kenny, K. (2012). 'Someone Big and Important': Identification and Affect in an International Development Organization. *Organization Studies*, 33(9), 1175–1193.
- Kenny, K., & Fotaki, M. (Eds.). (2014). *The psychosocial and organization studies: Affect at work*. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Keskinen, S., Tuori, S., Irni, S., & Mulinari, D. (2009). Postcolonialism and the Nordic Models of Welfare and Gender. In S. Keskinen, S. Tuori, S. Irni, & D. Mulinari (Eds.), *Complying with colonialism: Gender, race and ethnicity in the Nordic region* (pp. 1–18). Ashgate.
- Khawaja, I. (2010). *“To belong everywhere and nowhere”: Fortællinger om muslimskhed, fællesgørelse og belonging*. Roskilde Universitetsforlag.
- Khawaja, I. (2022). Memory Work as Engaged Critical Pedagogy: Creating Collaborative Spaces for Reflections on Racialisation, Privilege and Whiteness. *Nordic Journal of Social Research*, 13(1), 94–107.
- Kilduff, M., & Brass, D. J. (2010). Organizational Social Network Research: *Core Ideas and Key Debates*. *Academy of Management Annals*, 4(1), 317–357.
- Knights, D., & Clarke, C. A. (2014). It’s a Bittersweet Symphony, this Life: Fragile Academic Selves and Insecure Identities at Work. *Organization Studies*, 35(3), 335–357.
- Knox, H., O’Doherty, D. P., Vurdubakis, T., & Westrup, C. (2015). Something happened: Spectres of organization/disorganization at the airport. *Human Relations*, 68(6), 1001–1020.
- Knudsen, S. V. (2004). Gender paradoxes and power—Theoretical reflections with empirical awareness. *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 12(2), 102–112.
- Kunda, G. (2006). *Engineering culture: Control and commitment in a high-tech corporation* (Rev. ed). Temple University Press.
- Landreau, J. C. (2012). Queer Listening as a Framework for Teaching Men and Masculinities. In J. C. Landreau & N. M. Rodriguez (Eds.), *Queer Masculinities* (pp. 155–167). Springer Netherlands.
- Langhout, R. D., Bergman, M. E., Cortina, L. M., Fitzgerald, L. F., Drasgow, F., & Williams, J. H. (2005). Sexual Harassment Severity: Assessing Situational and Personal Determinants and Outcomes¹. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35(5), 975–1007.
- Lapiņa, L. (2018). Recruited into Danishness? Affective autoethnography of passing as Danish. *European Journal of Women’s Studies*, 25(1), 56–70.
- Larssen, C., Hensing, G., & Allebecck, P. (2003). Sexual and gender-related harassment in medical education and research training: Results from a Swedish survey. *Medical Education*, 37(1), 39–50.

- Latcheva, R. (2017). Sexual Harassment in the European Union: A Pervasive but Still Hidden Form of Gender-Based Violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 32(12), 1821–1852.
- Leskinen, E. A., Cortina, L. M., & Kabat, D. B. (2011). Gender harassment: Broadening our understanding of sex-based harassment at work. *Law and Human Behavior*, 35(1), 25–39.
- Lewis, M. W. (2000). Exploring Paradox: Toward a More Comprehensive Guide. *The Academy of Management Review*, 25(4), 760–776.
- Lewis, M. W., & Smith, W. K. (2014). Paradox as a Metatheoretical Perspective: Sharpening the Focus and Widening the Scope. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 50(2), 127–149.
- Li, J. H. (2021). The lived class and racialization – histories of ‘foreign workers’ children’s school experiences in Denmark. *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*, 7(3), 190–199.
- Lim, S., & Cortina, L. M. (2005). Interpersonal Mistreatment in the Workplace: The Interface and Impact of General Incivility and Sexual Harassment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90(3), 483–496.
- Linell, P. (2009). *Rethinking Language, Mind, and World Dialogically: Interactional and Contextual Theories of Human Sense-Making*. Information Age Pub.
- Lipinsky, A., Schredl, C., Baumann, H., Humbert, A. L., & Tanwar, J. (2022). *Gender-based violence and its consequences in European Academia, Summary results from the UniSAFE survey* (p. 12). UniSAFE project no.101006261.
- Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public Opinion*. Harcourt, Brace.
- Liu, H. (2018). Re-radicalising intersectionality in organisation studies. *Ephemera*, 18(1), 81–101.
- Liu, H. (2019). An embarrassment of riches: The seduction of postfeminism in the academy. *Organization*, 26(1), 20–37.
- Liu, H. (2021). Diversity Beyond Whiteness: The Possibilities for Anti- Racist Diversity Research. In S. N. Just, A. Risberg, & F. Villesèche (Eds.), *Routledge companion to organizational diversity research methods* (pp. 24–35). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Lloyd, G. (1993). *The man of reason: “Male” and “female” in Western philosophy* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Loftsdóttir, K., & Jensen, L. (2012). *Whiteness and postcolonialism in the Nordic region: Exceptionalism, migrant others and national identities*. Routledge.

- Lopdrup-Hjorth, T., & Roelsgaard Obling, A. (2019). Monstrous rebirth: Re-instating the ethos of bureaucracy in public organization. *Organization*, 26(6), 830–852.
- Lopez, S., Hodson, R., & Roscigno, V. (2009). Power, status and abuse at work: General and sexual harassment compared. *Sociology Quarterly*, 50, 3–27.
- Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. Crossing Press, c2007.
- Loy, P. H., & Steward, L. P. (1984). The extent and effects of the sexual harassment of working women. *Sociological Focus*, 17, 13–43.
- Lüscher, L. S., & Lewis, M. W. (2008). Organizational Change and Managerial Sensemaking: Working Through Paradox. *Academy of Management Journal*, 51(2), 221–240.
- Mackenzie, C. (2013). The Importance of Relational Autonomy and Capabilities for an Ethics of Vulnerability. In C. Mackenzie, W. Rogers, & S. Dodds (Eds.), *Vulnerability: New Essays in Ethics and Feminist Philosophy* (pp. 33–59). Oxford University Press.
- Mackenzie, C., Rogers, W., & Dodds, S. (Eds.). (2013). *Vulnerability: New Essays in Ethics and Feminist Philosophy*. Oxford University Press.
- MacKinnon, C. A. (1979). *Sexual Harassment of Working Women*. Yale University Press.
- Mandalaki, E., & Prasad, A. (2022). Racialized experiences as in-betweenness in academia. *Organization*, online first.
- Manzoor-Khan, S. (2019). *Postcolonial banter*. Verve Poetry Press.
- Martin, D. M. (2004). Humor in middle management: Women negotiating the paradoxes of organizational life. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 32(2), 147–170.
- Martin, J. (2003). Feminist theory and critical theory: Unexplored Synergies. In M. Alvesson & H. Willmott (Eds.), *Studying management critically* (pp. 66–91). Sage Publications.
- Massumi, B. (1995). The Autonomy of Affect. *Cultural Critique*, 31, 83–109.
- Massumi, B. (2015). *Politics of affect*. Polity Press.
- McCall, L. (2005). The Complexity of Intersectionality. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 30(3), 1771–1800.
- McDonald, P. (2012). Workplace Sexual Harassment 30 Years on: A Review of the Literature: Workplace Sexual Harassment. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 14(1), 1–17.

- McDonald, P., Charlesworth, S., & Graham, T. (2016). Action or inaction: Bystander intervention in workplace sexual harassment. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 27(5), 548–566.
- McDonald, P., Graham, T., & Martin, B. (2010). Outrage Management in Cases of Sexual Harassment as Revealed in Judicial Decisions. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 34(2), 165–180.
- McGregor, D. (2000). The Human Side of Enterprise. *Reflections: The SoL Journal*, 2(1), 6–15.
- McLaughlin, H., Uggen, C., & Blackstone, A. (2017). The Economic and Career Effects of Sexual Harassment on Working Women. *Gender & Society*, 31(3), 333–358.
- McMurray, R., & Pullen, A. (Eds.). (2019). *Beyond Rationality in Organization and Management* (1st ed.). Routledge.
- McNamee, J., & Miller, K. (2013). *The meritocracy myth*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962). *The Phenomenology of Perception*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Merton, R. (1957). *Social theory and social structure*. Free Press.
- Midtvåge Diallo, O.-K. (2019). At the Margin of Institutional Whiteness: Black Women in Danish Academia. In A. Emejulu & F. Sobande (Eds.), *To exist is to resist: Black feminism in Europe* (pp. 219–228). Pluto Press.
- Miller, C. T., & Myers, A. M. (1998). Compensating for Prejudice :How heavyweight people (and others) control outcomes despite prejudice. In J. K. Swim & C. Stangor (Eds.), *Prejudice: The Target's Perspective* (pp. 191–218). Academic Press.
- Miller, P., & Rose, N. (1990). Governing economic life. *Economy and Society*, 19(1), 1–31.
- Mills, S. (2010). *Language and sexism* (1. publ). Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Miner-Rubino, K., & Cortina, L. M. (2004). Working in a Context of Hostility Toward Women: Implications for Employees' Well-Being. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 9(2), 107–122.
- Minson, J. (1998). Ethics in the Service of the State. In M. Dean & B. Hindess (Eds.), *Governing Australia: Studies in Contemporary Rationalities of Government* (pp. 47–69). Cambridge University Press.
- Mintzberg, H. (1983). *Structure in fives: Designing effective organizations*. Pearson Education.

- Miron-Spektor, E., Ingram, A., Keller, J., Smith, W. K., & Lewis, M. W. (2018). Microfoundations of Organizational Paradox: The Problem Is How We Think about the Problem. *Academy of Management Journal*, 61(1), 26–45.
- Mohanty, C. T. (2002). Cartographies of struggle: Third world women and the politics of feminism. In *Race critical theories* (pp. 152–175). Blackwell Publishers.
- Mohanty, C. T. (2003a). *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Duke University Press.
- Mohanty, C. T. (2003b). “Under Western Eyes” Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 28(2), 499–535.
- Moraga, C., & Anzaldúa, G. (1983). *This Bridge Called My Back: Writing by Radical Women of Color*. Kitchen Table/Women of Color Press.
- Muhr, S. L., & Essed, P. (2018). Entitlement racism and its intersections: An interview with Philomena Essed, social justice scholar. *Ephemera*, 18(1), 183–201.
- Muhr, S. L., Teilmann-Lock, S., Guschke, B. L., Christensen, J. F., Mahler, R., Månsson, E., & Basner, K. I. (2019). *Co-creation Gender Equality from Classroom to Organizations: Innovations in Nordic Welfare Societies*. (p. 19). GenderLAB.
- Mumby, D. K., & Putnam, L. L. (1992). The Politics of Emotion: A Feminist Reading of Bounded Rationality. *Academy of Management Review*, 17(3), 465–486.
- Murrell, A. J. (1996). Sexual harassment and women of color: Issues, challenges, and future directions. In M. S. Stockdale (Ed.), *Sexual harassment in the workplace: Perspectives, frontiers, and response strategies* (pp. 51–66). SAGE.
- Naples, N. A. (2003). *Feminism and method: Ethnography, discourse analysis, and activist research*. Routledge.
- Nkomo, S. M. (2021). Reflections on the continuing denial of the centrality of “race” in management and organization studies. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 40(2), 212–224.
- Noon, M. (2010). The shackled runner: Time to rethink positive discrimination? *Work, Employment and Society*, 24(4), 728–739.
- Nordic Council of Ministers. (2020). *Sexually harassed at work. An overview of the research in the Nordic countries*. Nordic Council of Ministers/Publication Unit.

- O'Leary-Kelly, A. M., Tiedt, P., & Bowes-Sperry, L. (2004). Answering accountability questions in sexual harassment: Insights regarding harassers, targets, and observers. *Human Resource Management Review*, 14(1), 85–106.
- Olson, L. N., Coffelt, T. A., Ray, E. B., Rudd, J., Botta, R., Ray, G., & Kopfman, J. E. (2008). “I’m all for equal rights, but don’t call me a feminist”: Identity dilemmas in young adults’ discursive representations of being a feminist. *Women’s Studies in Communication*, 31(1), 104–132.
- Opotow, S. (1990). Moral Exclusion and Injustice: An Introduction. *Journal of Social Issues*, 46(1), 1–20.
- Ortlieb, R., & Sieben, B. (2019). Balls, Barbecues and Boxing: Contesting gender regimes at organizational social events. *Organization Studies*, 40(1), 115–134.
- Ozturk, M. B., & Rumens, N. (2014). Gay Male Academics in UK Business and Management Schools: Negotiating Heteronormativities in Everyday Work Life. *British Journal of Management*, 25(3), 503–517.
- Padovan-Özdemir, M., & Øland, T. (2022). *Racism in Danish Welfare Work with Refugees: Troubled by Difference, Docility and Dignity* (1st ed.). Routledge.
- Page, T. (2017). Vulnerable writing as a feminist methodological practice. *Feminist Review*, 115(1), 13–29.
- Parker, M. (2014). Writing: What can be said, by who, and where? In E. Jeanes & T. Huzzard (Eds.), *Critical Management Research: Reflections from the Field*. SAGE.
- Payne, B. K. (2001). Prejudice and perception: The role of automatic and controlled processes in misperceiving a weapon. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 181–192.
- Perry, E. L., Block, C. J., & Noumair, D. A. (2020). Leading in: Inclusive leadership, inclusive climates and sexual harassment. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 40(4), 430–447.
- Phillips, L. M. (2000). *Flirting with danger: Young women’s reflections on sexuality and domination*. New York University Press.
- Phillips, M., Pullen, A., & Rhodes, C. (2014). Writing Organization as Gendered Practice: Interrupting the Libidinal Economy. *Organization Studies*, 35(3), 313–333.

- Phipps, A., & Young, I. (2015). 'Lad culture' in higher education: Agency in the sexualization debates. *Sexualities*, 18(4), 459–479.
- Plotnikof, M., Bramming, P., Branicki, L., Christiansen, L. H., Henley, K., Kivinen, N., Lima, J. P. R., Kostera, M., Mandalaki, E., O'Shea, S., Özkazanç-Pan, B., Pullen, A., Stewart, J., Ybema, S., & Amsterdam, N. (2020). Catching a glimpse: Corona-life and its micro-politics in academia. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 27(5), 804–826.
- Plotnikof, M., & Graak-Larsen, J. (2018). Case om normkritisk pædagogik og ledelse – pædagogisk arbejde med (u)lige deltagelsesmuligheder. *Lederliv*, 1–8.
- Plotnikof, M., Vásquez, C., Kuhn, T., & Mumby, D. (2022). Towards a politics of dis/organization: Relations of dis/order in organization theory and practice. *Ephemera*, 22(1), 1–26.
- Pullen, A. (2006). Gendering the research self: Social practice and corporeal multiplicity in the writing of organizational research. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 13(3), 277–298.
- Pullen, A. (2018). Writing as Labiaplasty. *Organization*, 25(1), 123–130.
- Pullen, A., & Rhodes, C. (2015). Writing, the feminine and organization. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 22(2), 87–93.
- Pullen, A., Rhodes, C., & Thanem, T. (2017). Affective politics in gendered organizations: Affirmative notes on becoming-woman. *Organization*, 24(1), 105–123.
- Putnam, L. L. (1983). "Lady, you're trapped": Breaking out of conflict cycles. In J. J. Pilotta (Ed.), *Women in Organizations: Barriers and Breakthroughs* (pp. 39–53). Waveland Press.
- Putnam, L. L., & Ashcraft, K. L. (2017). Gender and Organizational Paradox. In W. K. Smith, M. W. Lewis, P. Jarzabkowski, & A. Langley (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Organizational Paradox* (Vol. 1, pp. 333–352). Oxford University Press.
- Putnam, L. L., Fairhurst, G. T., & Banghart, S. (2016). Contradictions, Dialectics, and Paradoxes in Organizations: A Constitutive Approach. *Academy of Management Annals*, 10(1), 65–171.
- Puwar, N. (2004). *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*. Berg.
- Quinn, D. M., Kallen, R. W., & Spencer, S. J. (2010). Stereotype Threat. In J. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, & V. Esses, *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination* (pp. 379–394). SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Quinn, R. E., & Cameron, K. S. (Eds.). (1988). *Paradox and transformation: Toward a theory of change in organization and management*. Ballinger Pub. Co.

- Raisch, S., & Zimmermann, A. (2017). Pathways to Ambidexterity: A Process Perspective on the Exploration–Exploitation Paradox. In W. K. Smith, M. W. Lewis, P. Jarzabkowski, & A. Langley (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Organizational Paradox* (Vol. 1, pp. 315–332). Oxford University Press.
- Ratcliffe, K. (2005). *Rhetorical Listening: Identification, gender, whiteness*. Southern Illinois University Press.
- Raven, B. (1992). A power interaction-model of interpersonal influence—French and Raven 30 years later. *Journal of Social Behaviour and Personality*, 7(2), 217–244.
- Réaume, D. G. (1996). What’s distinctive about feminist analysis of law?: A conceptual analysis of women’s exclusion from law. *Legal Theory*, 2, 265–399.
- Reed, M. I. (2012). Masters of the Universe: Power and Elites in Organization Studies. *Organization Studies*, 33(2), 203–221.
- Reilly, M. E., Lott, B., & Gallogly, S. M. (2016). Sexual harassment of university students. *Sex Roles*, 15, 333–358.
- Rhodes, C. (2019). Sense-ational organization theory! Practices of democratic scriptology. *Management Learning*, 50(1), 24–37.
- Riach, K., Rumens, N., & Tyler, M. (2016). Towards a Butlerian methodology: Undoing organizational performativity through anti-narrative research. *Human Relations*, 69(11), 2069–2089.
- Richardson, B. K., & Taylor, J. (2009). Sexual Harassment at the Intersection of Race and Gender: A Theoretical Model of the Sexual Harassment Experiences of Women of Color. *Western Journal of Communication*, 73(3), 248–272.
- Robotham, K., & Cortina, L. (2019). Promoting respect as a solution to workplace harassment. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 40(4), 410–429.
- Rodriguez, J. K., Holvino, E., Fletcher, J. K., & Nkomo, S. M. (2016). The Theory and Praxis of Intersectionality in Work and Organisations: Where Do We Go From Here? *Gender, Work & Organization*, 23(3), 201–222.
- Rodriguez, J. K., & Scurry, T. (2019). Female and foreign: An intersectional exploration of the experiences of skilled migrant women in Qatar. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 26(4), 480–500.

- Romme, A. G. L. (1999). Domination, Self-Determination and Circular Organizing. *Organization Studies*, 20(5), 801–832.
- Ronen, S. (2018). The postfeminist ideology at work: Endorsing gender essentialism and denying feminine devaluation in the case of design work. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 25(5), 514–530.
- Roskilde University. (2022). *Gender Equality Plan* (p. 17). Roskilde University.
https://ruc.dk/sites/default/files/2022-08/GenderEqualityPlan_folder_UK_A4.pdf
- Sabsay, L. (2016). Permeable bodies: Vulnerability, affective powers, hegemony. In J. Butler, Z. Gambetti, & L. Sabsay (Eds.), *Vulnerability in resistance* (pp. 278–302). Duke University Press.
- Salmon, U. (2021). “How did they protect you?” The lived experience of race and gender in the post-colonial English university. *Gender, Work & Organization*, online first.
- Salznick, P. (1949). *TVA and the grassroots*. University of California Press.
- Sandel, M. J. (2020). *The tyranny of merit: What’s become of the common good?* (First edition). Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Sbraga, T. P., & O’Donohue, W. (2000). Sexual Harassment. *Annual Review of Sex Research*, 11, 258–285.
- Schad, J., Lewis, M. W., Raisch, S., & Smith, W. K. (2016). Paradox Research in Management Science: Looking Back to Move Forward. *Academy of Management Annals*, 10(1), 5–64.
- Schaller, M., Conway, L. G., & Tanchuk, T. L. (2002). Selective pressures on the once and future contents of ethnic stereotypes: Effects of the communicability of traits. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(6), 861–877.
- Schein, E. H. (2004). *Organizational culture and leadership* (3rd ed). Jossey-Bass.
- Scully, M. A. (2002). Confronting Errors in the Meritocracy. *Organization*, 9(3), 396–401.
- Simpson, R., Kumra, S., Lewis, P., & Rumens, N. (2020). Towards a performative understanding of deservingness: Merit, gender and the BBC pay dispute. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 27(2), 181–197.
- Skadegård, M. C., & Jensen, I. (2018). ‘There is Nothing Wrong with Being a Mulatto’: Structural Discrimination and Racialised Belonging in Denmark. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 39(4), 451–465.

- Skewes, L., Skewes, J. C., & Ryan, M. K. (2019). Attitudes to Sexism and Gender Equity at a Danish University. *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*, 28(1-2), 71-85.
- Skewes, L., Skewes, J. C., & Ryan, M. K. (2021). Attitudes to Sexism and the #MeToo Movement at a Danish University. *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 29(2), 124-139.
- Smedegaard Nielsen, A. (2019). White Fear: Habitual Whiteness and Racialization of the Threat of Terror in Danish News Journalism. In P. Hervik (Ed.), *Racialization, Racism, and Anti-Racism in the Nordic Countries* (pp. 111-134). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, W. K., & Lewis, M. W. (2011). TOWARD A THEORY OF PARADOX: A DYNAMIC EQUILIBRIUM MODEL OF ORGANIZING. *Academy of Management Review*, 36(2), 381-403.
- Smith, W. K., & Tushman, M. L. (2005). Managing Strategic Contradictions: A Top Management Model for Managing Innovation Streams. *Organization Science*, 16(5), 522-536.
- Sojo, V. E., Wood, R. E., & Genat, A. E. (2016). Harmful Workplace Experiences and Women's Occupational Well-Being: A Meta-Analysis. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 40(1), 10-40.
- Solomon, D. H., & Williams, M. L. M. (1997). Perceptions of Social-Sexual Communication at Work as Sexually Harassing. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 11(2), 147-184.
- Solomos, J., & Collins, P. H. (Eds.). (2010). *The SAGE handbook of race and ethnic studies*. SAGE.
- Søndergaard, D. M. (2008). Offerpositionens dilemmaer. Om undvigelse af offerpositionering i forbindelse med mobning og anden relation aggression. In K. Lützen & A. K. Nielsen (Eds.), *På Kant med Historien: Studier i køn, videnskab og lidenskab tilegnet Bente Rosenbeck på hendes 60-årsdag* (pp. 160-194). Museum Tusulanums Forlag.
- Spanger, M., & Hvalkof, S. D. (2020). *Migranternes mobilitet: Mellem kriminalisering, menneskehandel og udnyttelse på det danske arbejdsmarked*. Aalborg Universitetsforlag.
- Sparrowe, R. T., & Liden, R. C. (2005). Two Routes to Influence: Integrating Leader-Member Exchange and Social Network Perspectives. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 50(4), 505-535.
- Spinoza, B. (2006). *The essential Spinoza: Ethics and related writings* (M. Morgan, Ed.). Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.

- Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69(5), 797–811.
- Sturdy, A. (1997). The Consultancy Process—An Insecure Business? *Journal of Management Studies*, 34(3), 389–413.
- Sundaramurthy, C., & Lewis, M. (2003). Control and Collaboration: Paradoxes of Governance. *The Academy of Management Review*, 28(3), 397.
- Swedish Research Council. (2018). *Sexual harassment in academia. An international research review*. (p. 116). Swedish Research Council.
- Takeuchi, M., Nomura, K., Horie, S., Okinaga, H., Perumalswami, C. R., & Jagsi, R. (2018). Direct and Indirect Harassment Experiences and Burnout among Academic Faculty in Japan. *The Tohoku Journal of Experimental Medicine*, 245(1), 37–44.
- Taylor, F. W. (1911). The principles of scientific management. In M. J. Handel (Ed.), *The sociology of organizations* (pp. 24–31). Sage Publications.
- Taylor, K.-Y. (2017). *How we get free: Black feminism and the Combahee River Collective*. Haymarket Books.
- Technical University of Denmark. (2021). *Diversitet på DTU* (p. 20). Technical University of Denmark. <https://www.dtu.dk/english/about/strategy-policy/policies/diversity-and-gender-statement/dtu-gep>
- Texeira, M. T. (2002). ‘Who protects and serves me?’: A case study of sexual harassment of African American women in one U.S. law enforcement agency. *Gender & Society*, 16, 524–545.
- Thanem, T., & Knights, D. (2019). *Embodied research methods* (1st edition). Sage.
- Thanem, T., & Wallenberg, L. (2015). What can bodies do? Reading Spinoza for an affective ethics of organizational life. *Organization*, 22(2), 235–250.
- Thompson, J. D. (2003). *Organizations in action: Social science bases of administrative theory*. Transaction Publishers.
- Thorsen, T. S. S. (2019). Minoritetsbeskatning—Et værktøj til at forstå opretholdelse af strukturelle uligheder i dansk academia. *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*, 19(1–2), 31–43.

- Thorsen, T. S. S. (2020). Gendered Representation in Danish Film. In S. Liddy (Ed.), *Women in the International Film Industry: Policy, Practice and Power* (pp. 111–130). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Till, F. (1980). *Sexual harassment. A report on the sexual harassment of students*. National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs.
<https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED197242.pdf>
- Tomkins, L., & Simpson, P. (2015). Caring Leadership: A Heideggerian Perspective. *Organization Studies*, 36(8), 1013–1031.
- Trethewey, A., & Ashcraft, K. L. (2004). Special Issue Introduction: Practicing disorganization: the development of applied perspectives on living with tension. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 32(2), 81–88.
- Uhl-Bien, M. (2006). Relational leadership theory: Exploring the social processes of leadership and organizing. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 17(6), 654–676.
- Uhl-Bien, M., & Ospina, S. (Eds.). (2012). *Advancing relational leadership research: A dialogue among perspectives*. Information Age Pub.
- Uldbjerg, S. (2021). Writing Victimhood: A methodological manifesto for researching digital sexual assault. *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*, 2, 27–39.
- University of Copenhagen. (2021). *Action plan for gender equality and diversity 2022-2023* (p. 54). University of Copenhagen. https://about.ku.dk/profile-history/diversity/UCPH_Action_plan_for_gender_equality_and_diversity_2022_2023.pdf
- University of Southern Denmark. (2021). *Memorandum: SDU's GEP (Gender Equality Plan)—SDU's quality assurance model for strategic and practical equality initiatives* (p. 23). University of Southern Denmark.
https://www.sdu.dk/da/om_sdu/sdus_profil/gender_equality/gep
- Utoft, E. H. (2020). *Motivation, organisational gender equality work and the postfeminist gender regime: A feminist approach*. Forlaget Politica.
- Vachhani, S. J. (2013). (Re)creating objects from the past – affect, tactility and everyday creativity. *Management & Organizational History*, 8(1), 91–104.
- Vachhani, S. J. (2015). Organizing love – Thoughts on the transformative and activist potential of feminine writing. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 22(2), 148–162.

- Vachhani, S. J. (2019). Rethinking the politics of writing differently through *écriture féminine*. *Management Learning*, 50(1), 11–23.
- Vachhani, S. J., & Pullen, A. (2019). Ethics, politics and feminist organizing: Writing feminist infrapolitics and affective solidarity into everyday sexism. *Human Relations*, 72(1), 23–47.
- van Bommel, K., & Spicer, A. (2017). Critical Management Studies and Paradox. In W. K. Smith, M. W. Lewis, P. Jarzabkowski, & A. Langley (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Organizational Paradox* (Vol. 1, pp. 143–161). Oxford University Press.
- van den Brink, M., & Benschop, Y. (2012). Gender practices in the construction of academic excellence: Sheep with five legs. *Organization*, 19(4), 507–524.
- van Eck, D., van Amsterdam, N., & van den Brink, M. (2021). Unsanitized writing practices: Attending to affect and embodiment throughout the research process. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 28(3), 1098–1114.
- Vertelyte, M. (2022). ‘Why are they not friends?’: Unpacking Youth Racialisation in Denmark. *Nordic Journal of Social Research*, 13(1), 10–22.
- Vince, R., & Broussine, M. (1996). Paradox, Defense and Attachment: Accessing and Working with Emotions and Relations Underlying Organizational Change. *Organization Studies*, 17(1), 1–21.
- Vitry, C. (2021). Queering space and organizing with Sara Ahmed’s Queer Phenomenology. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 28(3), 935–949.
- Weatherall, R. (2018). Writing the doctoral thesis differently. *Management Learning*, 50(1), 100–113.
- Weber, M. (1924). Bureaucracy and legitimate authority. In M. J. Handel (Ed.), *The sociology of organizations* (pp. 17–23). Sage Publications.
- Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. University of California Press.
- Weick, K. E. (2006). *The social psychology of organizing* (2. ed., [re-print]). McGraw-Hill.
- Wekker, G. (2016). *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*. Duke University Press.
- Welsh, S., Carr, J., MacQuarrie, B., & Huntley, A. (2006). I’m not thinking of it as sexual harassment: Understanding harassment across race and citizenship. *Gender & Society*, 20(1), 87–107.

- Wendt, R. F. (1998). The Sound of One Hand Clapping: Counterintuitive Lessons Extracted from Paradoxes and Double Binds in Participative Organizations. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 11(3), 323–371.
- Whitley, L., & Page, T. (2015). Sexism At The Centre: Locating The Problem Of Sexual Harassment. *New Formations*, 86(86), 34–53.
- Wickström, A., Lund, R. W. B., Meriläinen, S., Øyslebø Sørensen, S., Vachhani, S. J., & Pullen, A. (2021). Feminist solidarity: Practices, politics, and possibilities. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 28(3), 857–863.
- Williams, R. (1988). *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society* (Rev. and expanded ed). Fontana Press.
- Willis, A. I. (2008). Critical Race Theory. In B. V. Street & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* (2nd Edition, Vol. 2, pp. 15–28). Springer Science+Business Media LLC.
- Willmott, H. (1993). STRENGTH IS IGNORANCE; SLAVERY IS FREEDOM: MANAGING CULTURE IN MODERN ORGANIZATIONS*. *Journal of Management Studies*, 30(4), 515–552.
- Willmott, H. (2011). Back to the Future: What Does Studying Bureaucracy Tell Us? In S. Clegg, M. Harris, & H. Höpfl (Eds.), *Managing Modernity: Beyond Bureaucracy?* (pp. 257–293). Oxford University Press.
- Willness, C. R., Steel, P., & Lee, K. (2007). A META-ANALYSIS OF THE ANTECEDENTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF WORKPLACE SEXUAL HARASSMENT. *Personnel Psychology*, 60(1), 127–162.
- World Economic Forum. (2022). *Global Gender Gap Report. Insight Report* (p. 373). World Economic Forum. https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2022.pdf
- Yang, A. (2021). Racialized forecasting. Understanding race through children’s (to-be) lived experiences in a Danish school context. *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*, 7(3), 169–178.
- Yilmaz, F. (2016). *How the Workers Became Muslims: Immigration, Culture, and Hegemonic Transformation in Europe*. University of Michigan Press.
- Zand, D. E. (1974). Collateral Organization: A New Change Strategy. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 10(1), 63–89.

Zanoni, P., Janssens, M., Benschop, Y., & Nkomo, S. (2010). Guest Editorial: Unpacking Diversity, Grasping Inequality: Rethinking Difference Through Critical Perspectives. *Organization*, 17(1), 9-29.

Appendix

Appendix 1: Survey questions

Survey title: Understanding Harassment in the Workplace

Q1 [open]: How would you define harassment (at the workplace)? *This could, for example, include bullying, discrimination, sexual harassment, etc. There is no right or wrong answer, please describe in your own words how you would explain it. You can write as much or as little as you want.*

Q2 [closed]: In your view, are the following situations acts of harassment, bullying, discrimination, or sexual harassment? *Please choose all options that apply. Choose 'none of these' if, in your view, the situation describes neither harassment, bullying, discrimination, nor sexual harassment.*

Answer options: Harassment, bullying, discrimination, sexual harassment, none of these.

- Unwelcome touching, hugging, or kissing
- Sexually suggestive comments or jokes or intrusive comments about your physical appearance that offend you
- Inappropriate staring or leering that intimidates you
- Somebody sending or showing you sexually explicit pictures or photos that offend you, including inappropriate advances that offend you on social networking websites
- Being humiliated, ridiculed or persistently criticized in connection with your work
- Somebody insulting you or making offensive remarks about your person (i.e. habits and background), your attitudes or your private life
- Intimidating behavior, such as finger-pointing, invasion of personal space, shoving, blocking the way, or threats
- Somebody treats you unfairly based on the assumption that a personality trait (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity, skin color, national origin, mental or physical (dis)ability, religion, etc.) hinders your performance
- Someone punishes or threatens to punish you if you make a complaint
- Someone making jokes or comments about age, gender, ethnicity, skin color, national origin, mental or physical (dis)ability, religion, and pregnancy/parenthood that make you feel uncomfortable, humiliate or offend you

Q3 [open]: Would you like to add any additional thoughts or comments on why you think some of these situations are (or are not) acts of harassment, bullying, discrimination, or sexual

harassment? *For example, what did you base your decision on? Would you deem some of these situations acceptable or normal in your work environment?*

Q4 [closed]: Did you ever experience any of the following situations at your current workplace?

Answer options: Yes, No, Maybe.

- Unwelcome touching, hugging, or kissing
- Sexually suggestive comments or jokes or intrusive comments about your physical appearance that offend you
- Inappropriate staring or leering that intimidates you
- Somebody sending or showing you sexually explicit pictures or photos that offend you, including inappropriate advances that offend you on social networking websites
- Being humiliated, ridiculed or persistently criticized in connection with your work
- Somebody insulting you or making offensive remarks about your person (i.e. habits and background), your attitudes or your private life
- Intimidating behavior, such as finger-pointing, invasion of personal space, shoving, blocking the way, or threats
- Somebody treats you unfairly based on the assumption that a personality trait (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity, skin color, national origin, mental or physical (dis)ability, religion, etc.) hinders your performance
- Someone punishes or threatens to punish you if you make a complaint
- Someone making jokes or comments about age, gender, ethnicity, skin color, national origin, mental or physical (dis)ability, religion, and pregnancy/parenthood that make you feel uncomfortable, humiliate or offend you
- I experienced none of these at my workplace (click 'yes' - if this statement is true for you)

Q5 [open]: Have you experienced any other situation at your current workplace that you would/might define as harassment?

Q6 [open]: If you have experienced any of the before-mentioned situations, could you describe one of them in a bit more detail? *For example: Where did it happen? Who was involved (no names please, just descriptions)? When did it happen? How did the people involved react? How did/do you feel about the situation?*

Q7 [closed]: Did you talk with anyone about your experience of harassment?

Answer options: I did not speak with anyone, my manager/team lead, Union representative (Danish: tillidsmand), HR employee, A colleague, Family outside the workplace, Friends outside the workplace, I spoke directly with the person who harassed me, Other [with open field option].

Q8 [open]: If you talked to someone, what was the follow-up after you shared your experience of harassment? If you did not speak with anyone, what made you choose not to share the experience of harassment?

Q9 [closed]: Are you aware of a policy on harassment at your workplace?

Answer options: Yes, No, I am not sure.

Q10 [closed]: Do you know how to use the formal channels to address harassment at your workplace?

Answer options: Yes, No, I am not sure.

Q11 [closed]: Do you think you have ever participated in inappropriate behavior towards a colleague or student at your workplace?

Answer options: Yes, No, Maybe.

Q12 [open]: If you have (maybe) participated in inappropriate behavior towards a colleague or student at your workplace, could you describe the situation in a bit more detail? *For example: Where did it happen? Who was involved (no names please, just descriptions, e.g. two students and one professor)? When did it happen? How did the people involved react? How did/do you feel about the situation?*

Q13 [open] Do you have any final comments or stories about the topic of workplace harassment? *This could include stories of witnessing situations of (potential) harassment, reflections on your office culture on the topic, ideas for how harassment could be dealt with in your organization, examples of best practices, etc.*

Q14 [closed]: Which university do you work at?

Answer options: Aalborg University (AAU), Aarhus University (AU), Copenhagen Business School (CBS), Technical University of Denmark (DTU), IT-University of Copenhagen (ITU), University of Copenhagen (KU), Roskilde University (RUC) and University of Southern Denmark (SDU), Other, Prefer not to say.

Q15 [closed]: How many years have you worked at the university?

Answer options: 0-1 years, 2-5 years, 6-10 years, 10-15 years, 16+ years, Prefer not to say.

Q16 [closed] What is your current position at your university?

Answer options: Administrative Officer (e.g. HR, IT, etc.), Associate Professor (Lektor), Assistant Professor (Adjunkt) & PostDoc, Chief Consultant/Special Consultant, External Lecturer, HK: Clerk, Managerial Position (e.g. Head of Faculty, Head of Department, Head of Secretariat, etc.),

PhD Fellow, Teaching Assistant, Porter, Professor & Professor MSO, Research Assistant, Student Assistant, Other [with open field option], Prefer not to say.

Q17 [closed]: What is your (main) nationality?

Answer option: List of all countries of the world, Prefer not to say.

Q18 [closed]: What gender do you identify with?

Answer options: Female, Male, Non-binary, Other [with open field option], Prefer not to say.

Q19 [closed]: What sexual orientation do you identify with?

Answer options: Asexual, Bisexual, Heterosexual, Homosexual, Other [with open field option], Prefer not to say.

Q20 [closed]: How old are you (age in years)?

Answer options: 18-25, 26-30, 31-35, 36-40, 41-45, 46-50, 51-55, 56-60, 61+, Prefer not to say.

Extra Q [open]: Thank you very much for completing the survey! Before you click on 'send' ... we would like to let you know that we will continue working on this issue, to find out how harassment is understood and dealt with and to improve the current processes of dealing with harassment at the workplace. Would you be willing to participate in a follow-up interview on the topic? Interviews can take place at your place of employment or at an external location, based on preference. You can take part independent of your experience with or knowledge of harassment. If yes, please provide your e-mail address here and we will reach out to you. All your answers in this survey will be saved anonymously and separately from your email address.

Appendix 2: Survey respondents' demographics

Survey respondents (n=399)

Gender	Female: 52%, Male: 44%, Non-binary: 1%, Prefer not to say: 3%
Nationality	Danish: 63%, Non-Danish: 33%, Prefer not to say: 4%
Age	18-25: 5%, 26-30: 27%, 31-35: 17%, 36-40: 11%, 41-45: 10%, 46-50: 9%, 51-55: 7%, 56-60: 5%, 61+: 6%, Prefer not to say: 3%
Sexual Orientation	Asexual: 1%, Bisexual: 4%, Heterosexual: 84%, Homosexual: 4%, Other: 2%, Prefer not to say: 5%
Position	Administrative Officer: 3%, Associate Professor: 18%, Assistant professor/Postdoc: 10%, Chief/Special Consultant: 1%,

	<p>External lecturer: 1%,</p> <p>Managerial Position (e.g., Head of Faculty, Head of Department): 8%</p> <p>PhD Fellow: 39%,</p> <p>Professor/ MSO: 6%,</p> <p>Research Assistant: 3%,</p> <p>Other: 4%,</p> <p>Prefer not to say: 6%</p>
University	<p>AAU: 13%,</p> <p>AU: 7%,</p> <p>CBS: 17%,</p> <p>DTU: 30%,</p> <p>ITU: 5%,</p> <p>KU: 14%,</p> <p>RUC: 3%,</p> <p>SDU: 3%,</p> <p>Prefer not to say: 6%</p>
Years working at the University	<p>0-1: 21%,</p> <p>2-5: 40%,</p> <p>6-10: 15%,</p> <p>11-15: 10%,</p> <p>16+: 12%,</p> <p>Prefer not to say: 2%</p>

Appendix 3: Interview participants' demographics

Interview Participants (n=37)

Interviewee #	Gender (cis male/cis female)	Position
A1	cis male	Associate Professor/ Professor
A2	cis female	PhD Fellow
A3	cis female	PhD Fellow
A4	cis male	PhD Fellow
A5	cis male	PhD Fellow
A6	cis female	PhD Fellow
A7	cis male	Research and Teaching Assistant
A8	cis male	Associate Professor/ Professor
A9	cis male	Associate Professor/ Professor
A10	cis male	Head of Department/Institute/Faculty
A11	cis female	PostDoc/ Assistant Professor
A12	cis female	PostDoc/ Assistant Professor
A13	cis female	PhD Fellow
A14	cis male	Associate Professor/ Professor
A15	cis male	Associate Professor/ Professor
A16	cis female	PhD Fellow
A17	cis female	PostDoc/ Assistant Professor
A18	cis female	PhD Fellow
A19	cis female	PhD Fellow
A20	cis female	Research and Teaching Assistant
A21	cis male	PhD Fellow
A22	cis female	PhD Fellow
A23	cis female	Associate Professor/ Professor
A24	cis male	Research and Teaching Assistant

A25	cis male	PhD Fellow
A26	cis female	PhD Fellow
A27	cis female	Head of Department/Institute/Faculty
A28	cis male	Associate Professor/ Professor
A29	cis female	Research and Teaching Assistant
A30	cis male	Head of Department/Institute/Faculty
A31	cis female	PhD Fellow
A32	cis male	Research and Teaching Assistant
A33	cis male	PhD Fellow
A34	cis female	PhD Fellow
A35	cis female	Administrative Staff (<i>not included in analysis</i>)
A36	cis female	Administrative Staff (<i>not included in analysis</i>)
A37	cis female	Administrative Staff (<i>not included in analysis</i>)

Appendix 4: Interview guide

Themes	Examples of questions	Approach	Keywords
Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PhD research project in the field of diversity research - around diversity in the workplace • As you know from survey one focus lies on harassment – but the project itself is wider than that – so we will talk more broadly about issues surrounding workplace environments – feel free to share whatever you find relevant • Not about finding right or wrong answers/clear definitions but rather about different understandings and opinions on what is going on in workplaces at Danish universities (if further questions, at the end) • In general: see the interview rather as an exploration and reflection of your thoughts – okay to contradict yourself, change your mind, be unsure ... > I will ask you questions – and also at points move beyond traditional question-answer-format and use e.g., scenarios to reflect on • I will record, data will be anonymized, only used for PhD • Any questions? <p><i>Start recording</i></p>		
Work environment and career experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How would you introduce yourself? • How long have you been at the university where you are currently based? • What is your current position? • If you think about your work environment, how would you describe it? 		<p>Work atmosphere</p> <p>Career</p> <p>Obstacles</p> <p>Prejudice</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If you think about your work environment and your career, what would you say are some of the best and worst memories? • What would you say plays a role or makes a difference in you having this particular experience(s)? • Gender is often discussed in relation to careers - Thinking about your career and your current work environment, would you say your gender plays a role? • Are there other dimensions of your identity that you believe mattered in your career? 		Stereotypes Differential treatment Gender Sexuality Age Race Ethnicity Position
Understanding harassment/discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If you were to define or pinpoint what harassment is, what would you say? What would be some criteria/descriptions you would use? • How does harassment differ from discrimination, bullying (if at all)? • What factors play a role in understanding something as harassment or not? (e.g., context, location, people involved, repetitions, verbal/physical ...) • Who should decide if something is harassment? And based on what? • Would you think about harassment in general differently than about harassment in a university context? How come/in what way? What makes a difference? • What examples/situations come to mind? • Are there any instances that you would describe as a grey zone? What makes them hard to pinpoint? (jokes, comments, cultural differences, location ..) 	<p>Reading a vignette – embodied listening</p> <p><i>After asking these questions, propose to read out some vignettes of situations of (potential) harassment [choose randomly!]. Ask interviewee to concentrate on their body while listening – which parts of the story register where and how in their body?</i></p> <p><i>Discuss experience of listening to the</i></p>	Context Location Relationship Power Repeated Verbal Physical Cyber In/direct Objective Rational Feeling

		<p><i>story + come back to the questions, for this particular case.</i></p> <p><i>Discuss from several perspectives. Any new thoughts?</i></p>	<p>harassed</p> <p>Insecurity</p> <p>Appropriate</p> <p>Uncomfortable</p> <p>Grey zone</p>
Entanglement of different forms of harassment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Would you say that some people are more or less likely to be harassed than others (at universities)? What makes a difference here/what factors play a role? Where do you think this difference comes from? 		<p>Gender</p> <p>Sexuality</p> <p>Age</p> <p>Race</p> <p>Ethnicity</p> <p>Position</p> <p>Hierarchy</p> <p>Power</p>
Experiences with harassment, incl. follow-up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have you ever experienced any harassment/discrimination at your workplace? • Would you describe the situation? Whatever comes to mind first (e.g., hat happened, who was involved, where/how were people positioned, what played a role)? • What played a role/made a difference in this situation? How come this person harassed you/ the situation unfolded as it did? (e.g., gender, ethnicity, age, position...) • How did the situation unfold? Which other moments play a role for this experience (before, after, ...)? 	<p>Anti-narrative approach</p> <p><i>Trigger them to not create linear narrative but rather a situational description of the atmosphere, the relations that mattered, the context, etc.</i></p> <p><i>Remind them throughout that they can</i></p>	<p>Personal experience</p> <p>Crossing boundaries</p> <p>Bystander</p> <p>Feeling ...</p> <p>Thinking ...</p> <p>(In)justice</p> <p>Safety</p> <p>Personal space</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What happened afterward? How did you react? What influenced your reaction? • What role did your reaction play for future situations? • How did and do you feel about it? What feelings do you remember? What about the experience was it that makes/made you feel this way? • Do you still think about this experience often? What does that do? • If you could go back to yourself in that situation, what would you say to her/him? • What could have gone differently? 	<p><i>change/re-tell their story several times, explicitly allow them ‘not to make sense’, not to be chronological, contradict themselves etc.</i></p> <p><i>Potentially let them create/narrate alternative unfoldings of the situation.</i></p>	<p>Identity categories</p> <p>Privilege</p> <p>Powerless</p> <p>Taken seriously</p> <p>Ashamed</p> <p>Angry</p> <p>(In)security</p> <p>(Bodily) effects</p>
Experiences of potentially harassing someone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have you been involved in situations where your behavior could have come across as harassing/discriminating towards someone else? • How did the situation unfold? How did they react? • When did you notice your behavior might have been harassing? • How would you have liked the situation to unfold? • Would you do something different if this happened again today? (How come?) • If it happened that someone felt 		<p>Individual perception</p> <p>Objective</p> <p>Grey zones</p>

	<p>you turn to? (why/why not)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What else do you think should be done at your workplace to deal with harassment? (Or, what not?) • What do you think is lacking in current discussions about harassment? What do you think is problematic about how things are handled/discussed/approached today? • What policies/rules/... do you think would be counter-productive to dealing with harassment/ discrimination? • What advice would you give someone experiencing harassment at your workplace? 		<p>Safety</p> <p>Trust</p> <p>Loyalty</p> <p>Support</p> <p>Anonymity</p> <p>Fairness</p> <p>Believe</p> <p>Awareness</p> <p>Bias</p> <p>Norms</p> <p>Power</p>
Resistance to dealing with harassment	<p><i>If the person is resistant to seeing harassment/discrimination as a problem</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you think could go wrong if we focus too much on harassment/discrimination? • What do you think is behind people's claims of feeling harassed? • Do you believe that overall we have (gender/racial...) equality in Danish workplaces/ in your workplace? • "Time will fix gender inequality in higher education"? Do you agree? • What is your opinion about the statement that "natural differences in male or female taste and preferences for certain disciplines explain the low/ high number of female professors across disciplines"? 		<p>Fear</p> <p>Collegiality</p> <p>Objectivity</p> <p>'Natural differences'</p> <p>Myth of equality</p> <p>Exaggeration</p> <p>(Over-) sensitivity</p>

<i>Additional questions</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is there anything else you would like to add/ that is important for you to share? • Do you have any questions for me? 		
Ending	<p>Thank you</p> <p>Any requests?</p>		

Appendix 5: Interview consent form

Interview Consent Form

I hereby confirm that I have agreed to participate in an interview with Bontu Lucie Guschke, PhD Fellow at Copenhagen Business School.

The interview will be audio-recorded. The recordings will be transcribed and used for academic research.

When used for dissemination (incl. academic publications), all data will be anonymized. Should it be the case that the interview contains information which compromise the anonymity of any other person, these identifying information will not be reproduced in any material.

All data will be treated in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation.

Name:

Date:

Signature:

Appendix 6: Interview logbook

Interview Number X	Date: XX.XX.XXXX	Location: XXX	Length: XX.XX
Interviewee #: University: Position: Gender:			
CONTENT What were the main themes in this interview? What patterns do I see with other interviews? What new things did I learn?			
ATMOSPHERE What was the atmosphere like? What played a role here?			
METHOD REFLECTION What worked well? What did not? What might I want to change?			
PERSONAL/EMOTIONAL How did I feel during the interview? What triggered emotional reactions? How did I deal with it? How do I feel now?			

Appendix 7: Vignettes used for anti-narrative interviewing

VIGNETTE 1

Location (conference, over drinks), power relationships, fear of overreacting, sexual harassment

Anna started her PhD one year ago and recently joined her university's PhD mentorship programme. Her mentor, Anders, a well-known researcher in her field, has been very supportive in the last months. With his guidance, she is now at her first conference where he promised to help build her network. Anna feels slightly anxious but mostly excited. The first day goes well and after the official sessions, Anders invites her to go out for drinks with some colleagues.

Over drinks, Anna talks about her research and current challenges. The others, mostly senior scholars, give her advice. Suddenly, Martin, a professor, maybe in his late 50s, leans over closely, places his hand right on the edge of her dress near her inner thigh, and says: "Well, I am sure a beautiful and clever woman like you will figure it out, right?" With his hand still resting on her leg, he adds: "I guess you don't need the advice of an old man like me – but if you want it, let me know – I never say no to conversations with beautiful women – and clever of course."

Anna feels her heart race. Her hands are cold and sweaty. Her stomach seems to send her on a roller coaster, but she forces a smile and automatically spits out a 'thanks'. The moment passes and the conversation turns to more casual topics. The atmosphere is still cheerful – but Anna feels tense. Initially strong and confident, she now feels weak and ridiculed—almost like a child who does not belong. She still feels that spot on her leg, as if he left a slight burn where he placed his hand.

Did anyone else hear the sexual tension in his comment? Her mentor did not say or do anything. Maybe she was overreacting. Technically, he did not say or do anything outright vulgar. She did not reject his advance. Maybe this was normal in academia? Now the moment passed and speaking up would be inappropriate. After all, these were the scholars she really wanted to work with. The cringing feeling at the bottom of her stomach grows – yet the smile does not leave her face.

VIGNETTE 1A

From 1st person perspective

Finally! One year into my PhD, I managed to join the mentorship programme. I heard so much about the support you get and the opportunities this can open up for you. And I'm super happy about the mentor who was assigned to me. Anders is a well-known researcher in my field and he has been very supportive in the last months, since the mentoring started. This week, he took me

to my first conference where he promised to help build my network. I felt a bit anxious in the beginning but mostly excited. The first day went well and after the official sessions, Anders invited me to go out for drinks with some colleagues.

Over drinks, I talked about my research and current challenges. The others, mostly senior scholars, gave me advice. Then, suddenly, Martin, a professor, maybe in his late 50s, leaned over closely, placed his hand right on the edge of my dress near my inner thigh, and says: “Well, I am sure a beautiful and clever woman like you will figure it out, right?” With his hand still resting on my leg, he added: “I guess you don’t need the advice of an old man like me – but if you want it, let me know – I never say no to conversations with beautiful women – and clever of course.”

I felt my heart race. My hands got cold and sweaty. My stomach seemed to send me on a roller coaster - but I forced a smile and kind of automatically spat out a ‘thanks’. The moment passed and the conversation turned to more casual topics. The atmosphere was still cheerful – but I felt so tense from that moment on. Initially strong and confident, I now felt weak and ridiculed—almost like a child who does not belong. I still feel that spot on my leg, as if he left a slight burn where he placed his hand.

But then again - did anyone else even notice the sexual tension in his comment? My mentor did not say or do anything. Maybe I am overreacting. Technically, he did not say or do anything outright vulgar. I did not reject his advance. Maybe this is normal in academia? Now the moment passed and speaking up would be inappropriate. After all, these are the scholars I really wanted to work with. I just hope I can make it through the rest of the conference without seeing that guy again.

VIGNETTE 1B

Abrupt perspective shifts (maybe say in the beginning that the perspective changes between two persons: Anna, PhD student, and her mentor, Anders)

Anna: Finally! One year into my PhD, I managed to join the mentorship programme. I heard so much about the support you get and the opportunities this can open up for you. And I’m super happy about the mentor who was assigned to me. Anders is a well-known researcher in my field and he has been very supportive in the last months, since the mentoring started.

Anders: This week I am taking Anna, my new PhD mentee to her first conference. She can really benefit from building a strong network, so I will help her do that. I think she feels a bit anxious about it but also excited.

Anna: The first day went well and after the official sessions, Anders invites me to go out for drinks with some colleagues. Over drinks, I talk about my research and current challenges. The others, mostly senior scholars, give me advice.

Anders: It's going really well. At the bar, Anna gets a chance to explain her research, and the others - Martin, Peter, Eduard - all give her great advice. It's a great chance for her to meet all these professors more informally. Martin seems to get a little drunk. He leans over really close to her, and I can't really hear what he says from my side of the table, but it seems to be funny as everyone laughs.

Anna: Suddenly, Martin, a professor, maybe in his late 50s, leans over closely, places his hand right on the edge of my dress near my inner thigh, and says: "Well, I am sure a beautiful and clever woman like you will figure it out, right?" With his hand still resting on my leg, he added: "I guess you don't need the advice of an old man like me - but if you want it, let me know - I never say no to conversations with beautiful women - and clever of course."

Anders: For a second, Anna seems to look a bit pale. I wonder if I should check in with her later. But then again, it's been a long day after all.

Anna: I feel my heart race. My hands get cold and sweaty. My stomach seems to send me on a roller coaster - but I force a smile and kind of automatically spit out a 'thanks'.

Anders: The conversation continues to more casual topics. The atmosphere is very cheerful - this is a great start for Anna into this community.

Anna: I feel extremely tense. Initially strong and confident, I now feel weak and ridiculed—almost like a child who does not belong. I still feel that spot on my leg, as if he left a slight burn where he placed his hand. But then again - did anyone else even notice the sexual tension in his comment? Anders did not say or do anything. Maybe I am overreacting. Technically, he did not say or do anything outright vulgar. I did not reject his advance. Maybe this is normal in academia? Now the moment passed and speaking up would be inappropriate. After all, these are the scholars I really wanted to work with. Maybe Anders will bring it up later and ask me if I'm okay. Otherwise, I just hope I can make it through the rest of the conference without seeing that guy Martin again.

VIGNETTE 2

Bullying vs. discrimination, hostile/non-inclusive work environment

Leila had started at the university as an associate professor three months ago. She had been looking forward to working at the department she was placed in as it fitted perfectly with her research interest. However, three months in, she seriously considered switching to a different department.

She had already noticed a certain hostility when she was introduced at the first department meeting. However, she had dismissed the uncomfortable feeling, as it was probably normal to feel a bit on the spot at first. But over time, the hostile feeling grew. One of the things she noticed, was that her colleagues would continue speaking in Danish when she entered the kitchen even though they knew that she would not understand them. It was an international research environment and she had overheard them switching to English effortlessly with other colleagues. On another occasion, in a research seminar, her group leader had introduced the research group's participants by referring to them as Professor xy and saying some words about their research focus, while he simply introduced her as 'Leila' – no Professor-title, no last name, no research.

She has no idea why they treat her this way. And the more uncomfortable she feels, the more she tries to please them, for example by sitting through a whole lunch conversation in Danish without getting a single word. During the next department meeting, it is on her to present a project she is working on. While she speaks, she can see some of the other professors exchanging suspicious looks and whispering to one another. When at some point one of them even bursts out laughing for a second, she feels like she cannot take it anymore.

She considers speaking to her head of department about it, but she does not want to come off as the one complaining. She also cannot really put her finger on it. None of these situations are *really* bad, yet on a day-to-day basis, they feel devastating to a point of not wanting to leave the house in the mornings. Maybe transitioning to another department is the easiest option. She could easily come up with a good reason for that and then, at least, she would not need to explain herself and risk being misunderstood.

VIGNETTE 2A

Alternative endings (read one ending first – discuss – then read alternative ending)

Leila had started at the university as an associate professor three month ago. She had been looking forward to working at the department she was placed at as it fitted perfectly with her research interest. However, three months in, she seriously considered switching to a different department.

She had already noticed a certain hostility when she was introduced at the first department meeting. However, she had dismissed the uncomfortable feeling, as it was probably normal to feel a bit on the spot at first. But over time, the hostile feeling grew. One of the things she noticed, was that her colleagues would continue speaking in Danish when she entered the kitchen even though they knew that she would not understand them. It was an international research environment and she had overheard them switching to English effortlessly with other colleagues. On another occasion, in a research seminar, her group leader had introduced the research group's

participant by referring to them as Professor xy and saying some words about their research focus, while he simply introduced her as 'Leila' – no Professor-title, no last name, no research.

ENDING A

She has no idea why they treat her this way. And the more uncomfortable she feels, the more she tries to please them, for example by sitting through a whole lunch conversation in Danish without getting a single word. During the next department meeting, it is on her to present a project she is working on. While she speaks, she can see some of the other professors exchanging some suspicious looks and whispering to one another. When at some point one of them even bursts out laughing for a second, she feels like she cannot take it anymore.

She considers speaking to her head of department about it, but she does not want to come off as the one complaining. She also cannot really put her finger on it. None of these situations are *really* bad, yet on a day-to-day basis they feel devastating to a point of not wanting to leave the house in the mornings. Maybe transitioning to another department is the easiest option. She could easily come up with a good reason for that and then, at least, she would not need to explain herself and risk being misunderstood.

ENDING B

She has no idea why they treat her this way. And the more uncomfortable she feels, the angrier she gets. At lunch conversation in Danish, for example, she persistently interrupts in English every chance she gets. During the next department meeting, it is on her to present a project she is working on. While she speaks, she can see some of the other professors exchanging suspicious looks and whispering to one another. When at some point one of them even bursts out laughing for a second, she stops in the middle of the sentence and asks that person to leave the room, otherwise she would not be able to continue her presentation in a useful manner.

The next day, she speaks to her head of department about it. Even though she cannot really put her finger on it, she feels that there is something going on. None of these situations are *really* bad, yet on a day-to-day basis, they feel devastating to a point of not wanting to leave the house in the mornings. The head of department listens to her complaint and advises her to just get to know her colleagues a bit better. However, he also promises to keep an eye on the situation. Alternatively, he offers, she could always change to a different department.

VIGNETTE 2B

Confessional writing

Three months ago, a new associate professor, Leila, started working in our department. Admittedly, her research fits perfectly into our research group. Nonetheless, many of us are quite

annoyed about her joining us. It really doesn't have to do anything with her – it's just that we had all hoped that Torben would get the position. He had been a PhD student and an assistant professor here at the department and we all had good work relations with him. And he is just a fun guy to have around.

This is hard to admit, but ... I think we are excluding her a bit. For example, she does not speak Danish and of course, we are all fluid in English, but we still continue our lunch conversations in Danish. We also don't invite her when we go out for after-work drinks. I can't really say what it is – and I do feel bad about it, but ... she just does not fit into our group. At least not as well as Torben did. And it's really not that we do not like her. I guess most of us just don't care about her. The other day for example, in a research seminar, our group leader had introduced the research group's participant by referring to them as Professor xy and saying some words about their research focus, while he simply introduced her as 'Leila' – no Professor-title, no last name, no research. I guess that was not the best way to do it.

And then at the department meeting, it was on her to present a project she is working on. While she spoke, some of us started whispering about how Torben would always add some jokes to his presentation. At some point, I burst out laughing for a second, and I could see that she felt really frustrated about it.

I know that this is probably really bad for her. But I also don't think it's on me to do anything about it. That's just how it is – you have to take it as a man, well, or a woman. Some of the guys joke that maybe we can get her to leave to another department to free up the position. But I actually hope she's strong enough to take it – it just wouldn't be fair otherwise.

VIGNETTE 3

Power relationships, misunderstandings, official reporting, sexual harassment

Julia is in her first year as a PhD student. Today, she will chair her first oral examination. The external examiner, Rutger, is a professor emeritus from another university, who works in a similar field as Julia and still engages in some research. Julia has been supervising the project that will be examined and hopes that she and Rutger will be able to agree on a good grade.

When Julia opens the door to let her student in, Rutger says loudly and confidently: "Come on in, sweetheart." 'Sweetheart?', Julia thinks, 'That's a bit weird. Why would he call a student that?' Thoughts start racing through her head about sexist old men who do not take women seriously, but she pushes these worries aside and hopes that her student is feeling okay. He is probably just a bit old-fashioned and meant well.

Luckily, both the presentation and the questions go smoothly with no further weird comments. They ask the student to wait outside while they agree on a grade. Rutger's first comment is: "It is really nice to see such a pretty young lady put together such good work. That's very rare - we need more girls like her." Julia is extremely irritated at the comment, but fears that starting an argument will affect her student's grade badly. She decides not to say anything and they award the student the second-best grade.

However, some days later, her student shows up at her office and admits that she felt extremely uncomfortable with the external examiner, both because of the comment as well as because of some strange looks she felt during the discussion. Feeling guilty about not having done anything earlier, Julia decides to file an official complaint and ask for Rutger to be removed as an external examiner.

Rutger receives the email announcing that an official complaint had been made against him some days later. He is informed that he is not allowed to reach out to Julia or the student for the time being. Rutger is surprised, confused, and slightly angry. If the two women really had such a problem with his attitude, could they not just have said something? Now, there is an official investigation going on, which not only will steal so much of his time and energy but might also ruin his reputation if it becomes public at his university. And all that just because of a misunderstanding. He does not want to blame the young PhD fellow or the student, but he cannot help but think that there must be a better way to deal with this.

VIGNETTE 3A

Abrupt perspective shifts (maybe say in the beginning that the perspective changes between three persons: Julia, PhD student, Rutger, professor emeritus, and Mirya, a student)

Julia: I'm in my first year as a PhD student and today, I will chair my first oral examination. The external examiner, Rutger, is a professor emeritus from another university, who works in a field pretty close to mine and still engages in some research. I have been supervising the project that will be examined for several months now – I really hope Rutger and I can agree on a good grade.

Rutger: It's been a while since my last oral examination. I am excited to hear what the student has to present. Julia, the PhD student who is chairing the exam, seems to be a bit shy. I better make sure the atmosphere is not too formal. That usually helps the student and the examiners. "Come on in, sweetheart", I say when the student opens the door.

Julia: 'Sweetheart'? That's a bit weird. Why would he call a student that? Thoughts start racing through my head about sexist old men who do not take women seriously, but I push these worries aside and hope that Mirya, my student is feeling okay. He is probably just a bit old-fashioned and meant well.

Mirya: ‘Sweetheart?’ That’s a bit weird. Why would he call me that? I really hope he does not treat me like a little girl throughout the exam. Luckily, both the presentation and the questions go smoothly with no further weird comments. They ask me to wait outside while they agree on a grade.

Rutger: The student did very well – way better than I had expected. “It is really nice to see such a pretty young lady put together such good work. That’s very rare - we need more girls like her”, I say. Julia looks at me a bit irritated but then agrees that it was a good performance.

Julia: Did he really just say that? Oh, well, but I really don’t want to start an argument now and risk affecting Mirya’s grade badly. We agree to give her the second-best grade and she seems happy about that.

Mirya: Two days after my exam, I am standing in Julia’s office. I admit to her that I felt extremely uncomfortable with the external examiner in my oral exam, both because of the comment as well as because of some strange looks I felt during the discussion.

Julia: Damn it – I should have done something earlier. Now, I really need to do something for Mirya. I go up to my head of department and file an official complaint and ask for Rutger to be removed as an external examiner.

Rutger: Going through my emails in the morning, I see that there has been an official complaint made against me. I am informed that I am not allowed to reach out to Julia or Mirya for the time being. The email really surprises me – I am confused and slightly angry. If the two women really had such a problem with my attitude, could they not just have said something? Now, there is an official investigation going on, which not only will steal so much of my time and energy but might also ruin my reputation if it becomes public at my university. And all that just because of a misunderstanding. I don’t want to blame the young PhD fellow or the student, but I cannot help but think that there must be a better way to deal with this.

VIGNETTE 3B

Alternative endings (read one ending first – discuss – then read alternative ending)

Julia is in her first year as a PhD student. Today, she will chair her first oral examination. The external examiner, Rutger, is a professor emeritus from another university, who works in a similar field as Julia and still engages in some research. Julia has been supervising the project that will be examined and hopes that she and Rutger will be able to agree on a good grade.

When Julia opens the door to let her student in, Rutger says loudly and confidently: “Come on in, sweetheart.” ‘Sweetheart?’, Julia thinks, ‘That’s a bit weird. Why would he call a student that?’. Thoughts start racing through her head about sexist old men who do not take women seriously,

but she pushes these worries aside and hopes that her student is feeling okay. He is probably just a bit old-fashioned and meant well. Luckily, both the presentation and the questions go smoothly with no further weird comments. They ask the student to wait outside while they agree on a grade. Rutger's first comment is: "It is really nice to see such a pretty young lady put together such good work. That's very rare - we need more girls like her."

ENDING A

Julia is extremely irritated at the comment, but fears that starting an argument will affect her student's grade badly. She decides not to say anything and they award the student the second best grade. However, some days later, her student shows up at her office and admits that she felt extremely uncomfortable with the external examiner, both because of the comment as well as because of some strange looks she felt during the discussion. Feeling guilty about not having done anything earlier, Julia decides to file an official complaint and ask for Rutger to be removed as an external examiner.

Rutger receives the email announcing that an official complaint had been made against him some days later. He is informed that he is not allowed to reach out to Julia or the student for the time being. Rutger is surprised, confused, and slightly angry. If the two women really had such a problem with his attitude, could they not just have said something? Now, there is an official investigation going on, which not only will steal so much of his time and energy but might also ruin his reputation if it becomes public at his university. And all that just because of a misunderstanding. He does not want to blame the young PhD fellow or the student, but he cannot help but think that there must be a better way to deal with this.

ENDING B

Julia is extremely irritated at the comment and replies: "Excuse me, but you really have to stop with these comments. First, you called her sweetheart and now you imply that women don't do good academic work. That is really inadequate behavior as an examiner, and I fear that it inhibits your grading." Rutger feels a bit taken aback: "I really didn't mean to...", he stumbles. "Let's stick with the professional issues from now on", Julia determines. They award the student the second-best grade.

Some days later, Julia invites her student to her office to ask how she felt about the 'sweetheart' comment from the external examiner. She assures her that she had already spoken with him about his inadequate comment, and he took the critique seriously, but that it is of course up to the student to decide if she wants to file a complaint. The student admits that she felt extremely uncomfortable with the external examiner, both because of the comment as well as because of some strange looks she felt during the discussion. However, she feels that it was not that bad and

she is glad that Julia already spoke with him right when it happened. She decides not to file a complaint.

VIGNETTE 4

Misunderstandings/different interpretations, power relationships, gendered harassment/discrimination

As every year, Kim, a professor at a Danish university, teaches a PhD course on ‘Advanced Industry Analysis’. This first session uses a case from the car industry. Kim likes to lighten up the mood by adding some jokes in the lecture about men, women, and cars. “This session we are going to be focusing on cars. Sorry Ladies, I know it’s a boring topic for you”, is just a funny opener. Some jokes Kim also uses are: “So, for all the men, who actually know about cars, this model works with hybrid drive - for all the women, yes it comes in different colors”.

However, the PhD students do not seem as amused as hoped. After about an hour, one of them raises their hand and asks Kim to stop with the ‘sexist comments’. Kim feels attacked and unfairly judged. On the one hand, PhD students continuously complain about boring lectures, but if you try to use some jokes to make it more fun, you are being called a sexist. After this accusation, Kim tries to avoid the jokes. “I better avoid the jokes, or someone will feel offended and stir up another #MeToo scenario”, slips out at some point, maybe sounding a bit provocative.

Although Kim finds this way of teaching a bit boring and stiff, it seems to be what PhD students want these days. In the last session, Kim prepares the students for the next days, which will entail presentations of the PhD projects, ending the session with some good advice for the presentations: “Ladies, don’t be shy, make sure to stick to your points also when critical questions come up. And for the men in here, try to not be too aggressive when you get criticism or feedback, but take it in. And make sure you also give the girls in your group some time to speak.” Shortly after the session ends, a group of PhD students approaches Kim. “We just wanted to remind you that you should not treat us differently depending on our gender”, one of them says. “Or on the expectations, you have on us because we are women or men”, adds a second student: “It’s just unfair. Otherwise, we will have to report this to the university management.”

Now Kim gets really mad. Even well-meant advice gets turned around by these students. In one of the last semesters, some PhD students tried to accuse Kim of bullying and harassment, but the accusations had to be dropped. Kim is convinced that professors have a right to voice their opinion and not be censored. If PhD students cannot take a joke anymore, it is their own problem. “Good luck with that,” Kim replies: “Others tried that before and I’m still here...”

VIGNETTE 4A

From 1st person perspective

As every year, I'm teaching a PhD course on 'Advanced Industry Analysis'. I started teaching it as an assistant professor and now, as a full professor, it's my 7th year with that course. The first session uses a case from the car industry. I like to lighten up the mood by adding some jokes in the lecture – you know, the usual stuff about men, women, and cars. "This session we are going to be focusing on cars. Sorry Ladies, I know it's a boring topic for you", is one of my funny openers. Another joke I also use is: "So, for all the men, who actually know about cars, this model works with hybrid drive - for all the women, yes it comes in different colors".

However, the PhD students this year don't seem as amused as I had hoped. After about an hour, one of them raises their hand and asks me to stop with the 'sexist comments'. 'Sexist comments'?! Seriously, you cannot say anything anymore these days. On the one hand, PhD students continuously complain about boring lectures, but if you try to use some jokes to make it more fun, you are being called a sexist. After this accusation, I try to avoid the jokes. "I better avoid the jokes, or someone will feel offended and stir up another #MeToo scenario", slips out at some point, maybe sounding a bit provocative.

I really don't like this style of teaching. It's just so stiff and boring. But it seems to be what PhD students want these days. In the last session, I prepare the students for the next days, which will entail presentations of the PhD projects. As always, I end the session with some good advice for the presentations: "Ladies, don't be shy, make sure to stick to your points also when critical questions come up. And for the men in here, try to not be too aggressive when you get criticism or feedback, but take it in. And make sure you also give the girls in your group some time to speak." Shortly after the session ends, a group of PhD students approaches me. "We just wanted to remind you that you should not treat us differently depending on our gender", one of them says. "Or on the expectations, you have on us because we are women or men", adds a second student: "It's just unfair. Otherwise, we will have to report this to the university management."

Now, this makes me really mad! Even well-meant advice gets turned around by these students. But I'm prepared - in one of the last semesters, some PhD students tried to accuse me of bullying and harassment, but the accusations had to be dropped. As professors, we have a right to voice our opinion and not be censored. If PhD students cannot take a joke anymore, it is their own problem. "Good luck with that," I simply reply, "others tried that before and I'm still here..."

VIGNETTE 5

Witnessing/bystander, discrimination, racism, stereotypes/prejudice, hiring/promotion

Rodrigo is a visiting postdoc from Ecuador. After finishing his PhD at his home university, he was glad to receive a postdoc position that involves spending one semester at a Danish university. And as he likes the Danish research and living environment, he is planning to apply for an assistant professorship position at his Danish host university. He knows that it is not easy to get positions, but his profile fits perfectly with the requirements of the department and he has already published in some important journals in his field. Overall, he thinks, he should have a good chance.

However, one day he overhears a lunch conversation that unsettles his optimism. While he, as usual, shares a table with his project team, he overhears some professors at the other table talking about their recent experiences in the department's hiring committee. Their conversation is in Danish. Rodrigo still struggles a bit with the language, but he understands bits and pieces. "Well, the first thing to do, of course, is to take out all the Chinese applicants," he hears one professor say. The others at his table laugh. "That is so true," one of the others says. "Let's be honest - they won't make it through the interview round anyways - they are all way too unoriginal and boring. So, you are making everyone's life easier if you already take them out at the start." Still laughing, the first one adds: "And even if you were to seriously consider them in the interview, how would you ever do that - they all look completely the same."

Rodrigo loses track of their conversation as someone at his table asks him a question, but he cannot stop thinking about the instance. Did he maybe misunderstand them? Or did he miss that it was clear irony - which is often hard to tell in a foreign language? Nonetheless, he cannot help but wonder if his optimism concerning his own application is misguided. What stereotypes might they have about South Americans? That they are all too lazy? Or too unorganized? Would his application be sorted out right from the start? And if he got the position, would he end up in an environment full of stereotypes and prejudices? He thinks about speaking to his head of department but who knows what reactions that will trigger - suddenly he might play into another stereotypical role: the quick-tempered Latin American who is constantly starting fights. And that's really not who he wants to be.

VIGNETTE 5A

Confessional writing

I really hope I can get this position. I just applied for an assistant professorship position at my Danish host university. I am doing my postdoc in Ecuador, but I am spending a semester in Denmark, and I really hope I can stay here. I like the Danish research and living environment. I know that it is not easy to get positions, but my profile fits perfectly with the requirements of the department and I have already published in some important journals in my field. So, I think, I should have a good chance.

However, the other day I overheard a lunch conversation that confused me a bit. I was sitting with my project team when I overheard some professors at the other table talking about their recent experiences in the department's hiring committee. Their conversation was in Danish, and I am still struggling a bit with the language, but I understood bits and pieces. "Well, the first thing to do, of course, is to take out all the Chinese applicants," I heard one professor say. The others at his table laughed. "That is so true," one of the others said. "Let's be honest - they won't make it through the interview round anyways - they are all way too unoriginal and boring. So, you are making everyone's life easier if you already take them out at the start." Still laughing, the first one added: "And even if you were to seriously consider them in the interview, how would you ever do that - they all look completely the same."

I don't really know what to make of this. I mean, maybe I misunderstood them? Or did I miss that it was clear irony - which is often hard to tell in a foreign language? No - I'm actually quite sure they meant what they said. And - please don't judge me but - I have to admit that my first thought was: 'Oh great, if they sort all the Chinese out, I have better chances.' I feel so bad about thinking that. I know it should not be this way, but academia is a tough environment, and everyone has to fight for him- or herself. I would of course never say or do something like that myself, but ... if that's what they think, that's only good for me.

On the other hand, I worry about what stereotypes they might have about South Americans. That they are all too lazy? Or too unorganized? Will my application be sorted out right from the start if I'm unlucky with the hiring committee? I'm not sure if I should speak to anyone about this. Who knows what reactions that will trigger - suddenly I might play into another stereotypical role: the quick-tempered Latin American who is constantly starting fights. And that's really not who I want to be.

VIGNETTE 6

Discrimination, racism/ethnicity/religion, bias/stereotypes, admin 'vs.' faculty

Mariam was recently hired as the new IT specialist at a Danish university. Her new role involves leading the IT team at one of the university's campuses as well as helping the research faculty with ad-hoc technical problems. When she started the position, she received the university's welcome package. It included, amongst other things, a diversity brochure, which stressed the university's commitment to diversity and inclusion in the workplace.

However, from week to week, Mariam becomes more and more convinced that diversity is rather a nice label than a true dedication at her new workplace. During her first month, the following had already happened three times: A professor comes to ask about an IT-related problem on his or her work computer. After hearing about the problem, Mariam usually asks to see the

computer, which leads the professor to reply something like: “I think this is a really complicated problem, maybe someone *more experienced* should look at it.” Or: “I already tried several things, could you maybe get an IT *expert* to look at it?”

Mariam gets more and more frustrated every time this happens. Her name tag clearly says, ‘IT specialist’. Nonetheless, she is met with surprised looks every time she replies: “I am the *leader* of the IT specialists here – so if I cannot solve it, no one can.”

One day over lunch, she talks to a colleague to ask if he experiences the same. “That’s just how it is”, her colleague tries to calm her down. “The professors just think they stand above us. They have no respect and always treat admin staff badly.” While that might very well be true, Mariam cannot help thinking that it also has to do with her being a woman and wearing a headscarf. But she does not want to disclose that to her colleague. It feels nice to at least have some solidarity within her team – even if that does not solve the problem.

VIGNETTE 6A

Integrating contradictions

Mariam was recently hired as the new IT specialist at a Danish university. Her new role involves leading the IT team at one of the university’s campuses as well as helping the research faculty with ad-hoc technical problems. When she started the position, she received the university’s welcome package. It included, amongst other things, a diversity brochure, which stressed the university’s commitment for diversity and inclusion in the workplace.

However, from week to week, Mariam becomes more and more convinced that diversity is rather a nice label than a true dedication at her new workplace. During her first month, the following had already happened three times: A professor comes to ask about an IT-related problem on his or her work computer. After hearing about the problem, Mariam usually asks to see the computer, which leads the professor to reply something like: “I think this is a really complicated problem, maybe someone *more experienced* should look at it.” Or: “I already tried several things, could you maybe get an IT *expert* to look at it?”

Mariam gets more and more frustrated every time this happens. Her name tag clearly says, ‘IT specialist’. Nonetheless, she is met with surprised looks every time she replies: “I am the *leader* of the IT specialists here – so if I cannot solve it, no one can.”

One day, she decides to put an end to this. When another professor asks for an *expert*, she screams at him: “I am the expert, you racist, sexist asshole. What – just because I am a woman and I wear a headscarf, I can’t be good at IT?” The professor looks shocked. He takes his computer, turns around, shakes his head, and leaves.

The next day, Miriam gets a warning from the HR manager. “That’s just how it is”, her colleague tries to calm her down. “The professors just think they stand above us. They have no respect and always treat admin staff badly.” At first, it feels nice to at least have some solidarity within her team – but then she gets angry with her colleague: “But none of you do anything against this”, she throws at his head aggressively.

At home, she comes up with a million different plans of what could be done against the prejudices of the professors. The next day she comes into work – and does none of it. When she receives the same comments in the following weeks, she smiles – and explains – again and again. She continues this way for several years. Then she changes to another job.

VIGNETTE 7

Discrimination, racism/ethnicity/religion, bias/stereotypes, academic freedom

Miriam was recently hired as an associate professor at a Danish university. She works on the entanglements of religion and law-making in different secular and non-secular states around the world. Considering her research outputs – many 4-star journal articles as well as two successful books – Miriam would usually be considered a well-established academic.

Nonetheless, she finds herself constantly defending her choice of research field in her new workplace. It is already the third time now, within her first month, that she is being asked ‘why she considers this to be a relevant field of study’ and ‘how she deals with potentially being biased in her research’. No matter her answer, the first question is often followed up with explicitly asking about her ethnic background, whether she is from a ‘Muslim country’ and if she is Muslim herself. Wearing a headscarf and having an Arabic-sounding last name seem to trigger these questions.

Miriam is never sure how to answer these personal questions. She knows that the university’s diversity policy allows no discrimination based on religion and ethnicity. Nonetheless, she feels constantly on the spot – especially knowing that none of her white colleagues with Danish-sounding names are asked these questions even though they could of course be Christian or Jewish, or Muslim for that sake – and no matter what they believe in, they are all equally at risk to be biased.

At the same time, Miriam noticed that whenever someone mentions the word diversity or inclusion, people look at her and smile, as if she was living proof that the university’s diversity and equality strategy was succeeding. However, none of this makes her *feel* included - quite to the contrary, she often feels like an alien in the institution. And what is almost the worst – her colleagues do not even seem to notice how discriminating their behavior is.

VIGNETTE 7A

Integrating contradictions

Miriam was recently hired as an associate professor at a Danish university. She works on the entanglements of religion and law-making in different secular and non-secular states around the world. Considering her research outputs – many 4-star journal articles as well as two successful books – Miriam would usually be considered a well-established academic.

Nonetheless, she finds herself constantly defending her choice of research field in her new workplace. It is already the third time now, within her first month, that she is being asked ‘why she considers this to be a relevant field of study’ and ‘how she deals with potentially being biased in her research’. No matter her answer, the first question is often followed up with explicitly asking about her ethnic background, whether she is from a ‘Muslim country’ and if she is Muslim herself. Wearing a headscarf and having an Arabic-sounding last name seem to trigger these questions.

Miriam is never sure how to answer these personal questions. She knows that the university’s diversity policy allows no discrimination based on religion and ethnicity. Nonetheless, she feels constantly on the spot – especially knowing that none of her white colleagues with Danish-sounding names are asked these questions even though they could of course be Christian or Jewish, or Muslim for that sake – and no matter what they believe in, they are all equally at risk to be biased.

She decides to take the diversity policy seriously. “When you feel discriminated against, you can always report this to your head of department, union representative, HR responsible and our Diversity officer”, the document states. She writes several emails to all these four people, complaining about every single colleague who had engaged in this behavior. She spends two full days writing up all the experiences in detail.

The diversity officer is the first to reply, stating that this is not a case within his field of responsibility. Her head of department replies shortly after, stating that he senses that Miriam is not integrating well into the new culture at the department and that she should come in for a consultation with him. The union representative writes her that she is happy to meet with her and discuss this in more detail. However, she also informs Miriam that she will also have to meet with all the other colleagues to make sure they do not see her extensive complains as a form of bullying. The HR responsible never replied.

TITLER I PH.D.SERIEN:

2004

1. Martin Grieger
Internet-based Electronic Marketplaces and Supply Chain Management
2. Thomas Basbøll
*LIKENESS
A Philosophical Investigation*
3. Morten Knudsen
*Beslutningens vaklen
En systemteoretisk analyse af moderniseringen af et amtskommunalt sundhedsvæsen 1980-2000*
4. Lars Bo Jeppesen
*Organizing Consumer Innovation
A product development strategy that is based on online communities and allows some firms to benefit from a distributed process of innovation by consumers*
5. Barbara Dragsted
*SEGMENTATION IN TRANSLATION AND TRANSLATION MEMORY SYSTEMS
An empirical investigation of cognitive segmentation and effects of integrating a TM system into the translation process*
6. Jeanet Hardis
*Sociale partnerskaber
Et socialkonstruktivistisk casestudie af partnerskabsaktørers virkelighedsopfattelse mellem identitet og legitimitet*
7. Henriette Hallberg Thygesen
System Dynamics in Action
8. Carsten Mejer Plath
Strategisk Økonomistyring
9. Annemette Kjærgaard
Knowledge Management as Internal Corporate Venturing
10. Knut Arne Hovdal
*De professionelle i endring
Norsk ph.d., ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur*
11. Søren Jeppesen
*Environmental Practices and Greening Strategies in Small Manufacturing Enterprises in South Africa
– A Critical Realist Approach*
12. Lars Frode Frederiksen
*Industriel forskningsledelse
– på sporet af mønstre og samarbejde i danske forskningsintensive virksomheder*
13. Martin Jes Iversen
*The Governance of GN Great Nordic
– in an age of strategic and structural transitions 1939-1988*
14. Lars Pynt Andersen
*The Rhetorical Strategies of Danish TV Advertising
A study of the first fifteen years with special emphasis on genre and irony*
15. Jakob Rasmussen
Business Perspectives on E-learning
16. Sof Thrane
*The Social and Economic Dynamics of Networks
– a Weberian Analysis of Three Formalised Horizontal Networks*
17. Lene Nielsen
Engaging Personas and Narrative Scenarios – a study on how a user-centered approach influenced the perception of the design process in the e-business group at AstraZeneca
18. S.J Valstad
*Organisationsidentitet
Norsk ph.d., ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur*

19. Thomas Lyse Hansen
Six Essays on Pricing and Weather risk in Energy Markets
 20. Sabine Madsen
Emerging Methods – An Interpretive Study of ISD Methods in Practice
 21. Evis Sinani
The Impact of Foreign Direct Investment on Efficiency, Productivity Growth and Trade: An Empirical Investigation
 22. Bent Meier Sørensen
Making Events Work Or, How to Multiply Your Crisis
 23. Pernille Schnoor
Brand Ethos
Om troværdige brand- og virksomhedsidentiteter i et retorisk og diskursteoretisk perspektiv
 24. Sidsel Fabech
Von welchem Österreich ist hier die Rede?
Diskursive forhandlinger og magtkampe mellem rivaliserende nationale identitetskonstruktioner i østrigske pressediskurser
 25. Klavs Odgaard Christensen
Sprogpolitik og identitetsdannelse i flersprogede forbundsstater
Et komparativt studie af Schweiz og Canada
 26. Dana B. Minbaeva
Human Resource Practices and Knowledge Transfer in Multinational Corporations
 27. Holger Højlund
Markedets politiske fornuft
Et studie af velfærdens organisering i perioden 1990-2003
 28. Christine Mølgaard Frandsen
A.s erfaring
Om mellemværendets praktik i en transformation af mennesket og subjektiviteten
 29. Sine Nørholm Just
The Constitution of Meaning – A Meaningful Constitution?
Legitimacy, identity, and public opinion in the debate on the future of Europe
- 2005**
1. Claus J. Varnes
Managing product innovation through rules – The role of formal and structured methods in product development
 2. Helle Hedegaard Hein
Mellem konflikt og konsensus – Dialogudvikling på hospitalsklinikker
 3. Axel Rosenø
Customer Value Driven Product Innovation – A Study of Market Learning in New Product Development
 4. Søren Buhl Pedersen
Making space
An outline of place branding
 5. Camilla Funck Ellehave
Differences that Matter
An analysis of practices of gender and organizing in contemporary workplaces
 6. Rigmor Madeleine Lond
Styring af kommunale forvaltninger
 7. Mette Aagaard Andreassen
Supply Chain versus Supply Chain Benchmarking as a Means to Managing Supply Chains
 8. Caroline Aggestam-Pontoppidan
From an idea to a standard
The UN and the global governance of accountants' competence
 9. Norsk ph.d.
 10. Vivienne Heng Ker-ni
An Experimental Field Study on the

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| | <i>Effectiveness of Grocer Media Advertising</i> | | <i>An empirical study employing data elicited from Danish EFL learners</i> |
| | <i>Measuring Ad Recall and Recognition, Purchase Intentions and Short-Term Sales</i> | 20. | Christian Nielsen
<i>Essays on Business Reporting</i>
<i>Production and consumption of strategic information in the market for information</i> |
| 11. | Allan Mortensen
<i>Essays on the Pricing of Corporate Bonds and Credit Derivatives</i> | 21. | Marianne Thejls Fischer
<i>Egos and Ethics of Management Consultants</i> |
| 12. | Remo Stefano Chiari
<i>Figure che fanno conoscere</i>
<i>Itinerario sull'idea del valore cognitivo e espressivo della metafora e di altri tropi da Aristotele e da Vico fino al cognitivismo contemporaneo</i> | 22. | Annie Bekke Kjær
<i>Performance management i Process-innovation</i>
<i>– belyst i et social-konstruktivistisk perspektiv</i> |
| 13. | Anders McIlquham-Schmidt
<i>Strategic Planning and Corporate Performance</i>
<i>An integrative research review and a meta-analysis of the strategic planning and corporate performance literature from 1956 to 2003</i> | 23. | Suzanne Dee Pedersen
<i>GENTAGELSENS METAMORFOSE</i>
<i>Om organisering af den kreative gøren i den kunstneriske arbejdspraksis</i> |
| 14. | Jens Geersbro
<i>The TDF – PMI Case</i>
<i>Making Sense of the Dynamics of Business Relationships and Networks</i> | 24. | Benedikte Dorte Rosenbrink
<i>Revenue Management</i>
<i>Økonomiske, konkurrencemæssige & organisatoriske konsekvenser</i> |
| 15. | Mette Andersen
<i>Corporate Social Responsibility in Global Supply Chains</i>
<i>Understanding the uniqueness of firm behaviour</i> | 25. | Thomas Riise Johansen
<i>Written Accounts and Verbal Accounts</i>
<i>The Danish Case of Accounting and Accountability to Employees</i> |
| 16. | Eva Boxenbaum
<i>Institutional Genesis: Micro – Dynamic Foundations of Institutional Change</i> | 26. | Ann Fogelgren-Pedersen
<i>The Mobile Internet: Pioneering Users' Adoption Decisions</i> |
| 17. | Peter Lund-Thomsen
<i>Capacity Development, Environmental Justice NGOs, and Governance: The Case of South Africa</i> | 27. | Birgitte Rasmussen
<i>Ledelse i fællesskab – de tillidsvalgtes fornyende rolle</i> |
| 18. | Signe Jarlov
<i>Konstruktioner af offentlig ledelse</i> | 28. | Gitte Thit Nielsen
<i>Remerger</i>
<i>– skabende ledelseskrafter i fusion og opkøb</i> |
| 19. | Lars Stæhr Jensen
<i>Vocabulary Knowledge and Listening Comprehension in English as a Foreign Language</i> | 29. | Carmine Gioia
<i>A MICROECONOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS</i> |

30. Ole Hinz
Den effektive forandringsleder: pilot, pædagog eller politiker?
Et studie i arbejdslederes meningstilskrivninger i forbindelse med vellykket gennemførelse af ledelsesinitierede forandringsprojekter
 31. Kjell-Åge Gotvassli
Et praksisbasert perspektiv på dynamiske læringsnettverk i toppidretten
Norsk ph.d., ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur
 32. Henriette Langstrup Nielsen
Linking Healthcare
An inquiry into the changing performances of web-based technology for asthma monitoring
 33. Karin Tweddell Levinsen
Virtuel Uddannelsespraksis
Master i IKT og Læring – et casestudie i hvordan proaktiv proceshåndtering kan forbedre praksis i virtuelle læringsmiljøer
 34. Anika Liversage
Finding a Path
Labour Market Life Stories of Immigrant Professionals
 35. Kasper Elmquist Jørgensen
Studier i samspillet mellem stat og erhvervsliv i Danmark under 1. verdenskrig
 36. Finn Janning
A DIFFERENT STORY
Seduction, Conquest and Discovery
 37. Patricia Ann Plackett
Strategic Management of the Radical Innovation Process
Leveraging Social Capital for Market Uncertainty Management
- 2006**
1. Christian Vintergaard
Early Phases of Corporate Venturing
 2. Niels Rom-Poulsen
Essays in Computational Finance
 3. Tina Brandt Husman
Organisational Capabilities, Competitive Advantage & Project-Based Organisations
The Case of Advertising and Creative Good Production
 4. Mette Rosenkrands Johansen
Practice at the top
– how top managers mobilise and use non-financial performance measures
 5. Eva Parum
Corporate governance som strategisk kommunikations- og ledelsesværktøj
 6. Susan Aagaard Petersen
Culture's Influence on Performance Management: The Case of a Danish Company in China
 7. Thomas Nicolai Pedersen
The Discursive Constitution of Organizational Governance – Between unity and differentiation
The Case of the governance of environmental risks by World Bank environmental staff
 8. Cynthia Selin
Volatile Visions: Transactions in Anticipatory Knowledge
 9. Jesper Banghøj
Financial Accounting Information and Compensation in Danish Companies
 10. Mikkel Lucas Overby
Strategic Alliances in Emerging High-Tech Markets: What's the Difference and does it Matter?
 11. Tine Aage
External Information Acquisition of Industrial Districts and the Impact of Different Knowledge Creation Dimensions

- A case study of the Fashion and Design Branch of the Industrial District of Montebelluna, NE Italy*
12. Mikkel Flyverbom
Making the Global Information Society Governable
On the Governmentality of Multi-Stakeholder Networks
 13. Anette Grønning
Personen bag
Tilstedevær i e-mail som inter-aktionsform mellem kunde og medarbejder i dansk forsikringskontekst
 14. Jørn Helder
One Company – One Language?
The NN-case
 15. Lars Bjerregaard Mikkelsen
Differing perceptions of customer value
Development and application of a tool for mapping perceptions of customer value at both ends of customer-supplier dyads in industrial markets
 16. Lise Granerud
Exploring Learning
Technological learning within small manufacturers in South Africa
 17. Esben Rahbek Pedersen
Between Hopes and Realities: Reflections on the Promises and Practices of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)
 18. Ramona Samson
The Cultural Integration Model and European Transformation. The Case of Romania
- 2007**
1. Jakob Vestergaard
Discipline in The Global Economy
Panopticism and the Post-Washington Consensus
 2. Heidi Lund Hansen
Spaces for learning and working
A qualitative study of change of work, management, vehicles of power and social practices in open offices
 3. Sudhanshu Rai
Exploring the internal dynamics of software development teams during user analysis
A tension enabled Institutionalization Model; "Where process becomes the objective"
 4. Norsk ph.d.
Ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur
 5. Serden Ozcan
EXPLORING HETEROGENEITY IN ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIONS AND OUTCOMES
A Behavioural Perspective
 6. Kim Sundtoft Hald
Inter-organizational Performance Measurement and Management in Action
– An Ethnography on the Construction of Management, Identity and Relationships
 7. Tobias Lindeberg
Evaluative Technologies
Quality and the Multiplicity of Performance
 8. Merete Wedell-Wedellsborg
Den globale soldat
Identitetsdannelse og identitetsledelse i multinationale militære organisationer
 9. Lars Frederiksen
Open Innovation Business Models
Innovation in firm-hosted online user communities and inter-firm project ventures in the music industry
– A collection of essays
 10. Jonas Gabrielsen
Retorisk toposlære – fra statisk 'sted' til persuasiv aktivitet

11. Christian Moldt-Jørgensen
Fra meningsløs til meningsfuld evaluering.
Anvendelsen af studentertilfredsheds-målinger på de korte og mellemlange videregående uddannelser set fra et psykodynamisk systemperspektiv
12. Ping Gao
Extending the application of actor-network theory
Cases of innovation in the telecommunications industry
13. Peter Mejlby
Frihed og fængsel, en del af den samme drøm?
Et phronetisk baseret casestudie af frigørelsens og kontrollens sam-eksistens i værdibaseret ledelse!
14. Kristina Birch
Statistical Modelling in Marketing
15. Signe Poulsen
Sense and sensibility:
The language of emotional appeals in insurance marketing
16. Anders Bjerre Trolle
Essays on derivatives pricing and dynamic asset allocation
17. Peter Feldhütter
Empirical Studies of Bond and Credit Markets
18. Jens Henrik Eggert Christensen
Default and Recovery Risk Modeling and Estimation
19. Maria Theresa Larsen
Academic Enterprise: A New Mission for Universities or a Contradiction in Terms?
Four papers on the long-term implications of increasing industry involvement and commercialization in academia
20. Morten Wellendorf
Postimplementering af teknologi i den offentlige forvaltning
Analyser af en organisations kontinuerlige arbejde med informations-teknologi
21. Ekaterina Mhaanna
Concept Relations for Terminological Process Analysis
22. Stefan Ring Thorbjørnsen
Forsvaret i forandring
Et studie i officerers kapabiliteter under påvirkning af omverdenens forandringspres mod øget styring og læring
23. Christa Breum Amhøj
Det selvskabte medlemskab om managementstaten, dens styringsteknologier og indbyggere
24. Karoline Bromose
Between Technological Turbulence and Operational Stability
– An empirical case study of corporate venturing in TDC
25. Susanne Justesen
Navigating the Paradoxes of Diversity in Innovation Practice
– A Longitudinal study of six very different innovation processes – in practice
26. Luise Noring Henler
Conceptualising successful supply chain partnerships
– Viewing supply chain partnerships from an organisational culture perspective
27. Mark Mau
Kampen om telefonen
Det danske telefonvæsen under den tyske besættelse 1940-45
28. Jakob Halskov
The semiautomatic expansion of existing terminological ontologies using knowledge patterns discovered

- on the WWW – an implementation and evaluation
29. Gergana Koleva
European Policy Instruments Beyond Networks and Structure: The Innovative Medicines Initiative
 30. Christian Geisler Asmussen
Global Strategy and International Diversity: A Double-Edged Sword?
 31. Christina Holm-Petersen
*Stolthed og fordom
Kultur- og identitetsarbejde ved skabelsen af en ny sengeafdeling gennem fusion*
 32. Hans Peter Olsen
*Hybrid Governance of Standardized States
Causes and Contours of the Global Regulation of Government Auditing*
 33. Lars Bøge Sørensen
Risk Management in the Supply Chain
 34. Peter Aagaard
*Det unikkes dynamikker
De institutionelle mulighedsbetingelser bag den individuelle udforskning i professionelt og frivilligt arbejde*
 35. Yun Mi Antorini
*Brand Community Innovation
An Intrinsic Case Study of the Adult Fans of LEGO Community*
 36. Joachim Lynggaard Boll
*Labor Related Corporate Social Performance in Denmark
Organizational and Institutional Perspectives*
- 2008**
1. Frederik Christian Vinten
Essays on Private Equity
 2. Jesper Clement
Visual Influence of Packaging Design on In-Store Buying Decisions
 3. Marius Brostrøm Kousgaard
*Tid til kvalitetsmåling?
– Studier af indrulleringsprocesser i forbindelse med introduktionen af kliniske kvalitetsdatabaser i speciallægepraksissektoren*
 4. Irene Skovgaard Smith
*Management Consulting in Action
Value creation and ambiguity in client-consultant relations*
 5. Anders Rom
*Management accounting and integrated information systems
How to exploit the potential for management accounting of information technology*
 6. Marina Candi
Aesthetic Design as an Element of Service Innovation in New Technology-based Firms
 7. Morten Schnack
*Teknologi og tværfaglighed
– en analyse af diskussionen omkring indførelse af EPJ på en hospitalsafdeling*
 8. Helene Balslev Clausen
Juntos pero no revueltos – un estudio sobre emigrantes norteamericanos en un pueblo mexicano
 9. Lise Justesen
*Kunsten at skrive revisionsrapporter.
En beretning om forvaltningsrevisions beretninger*
 10. Michael E. Hansen
The politics of corporate responsibility: CSR and the governance of child labor and core labor rights in the 1990s
 11. Anne Roepstorff
Holdning for handling – en etnologisk undersøgelse af Virksomheders Sociale Ansvar/CSR

12. Claus Bajlum
Essays on Credit Risk and Credit Derivatives
 13. Anders Bojesen
The Performative Power of Competence – an Inquiry into Subjectivity and Social Technologies at Work
 14. Satu Reijonen
*Green and Fragile
A Study on Markets and the Natural Environment*
 15. Ilduara Busta
*Corporate Governance in Banking
A European Study*
 16. Kristian Anders Hvass
*A Boolean Analysis Predicting Industry Change: Innovation, Imitation & Business Models
The Winning Hybrid: A case study of isomorphism in the airline industry*
 17. Trine Paludan
*De uvidende og de udviklingsparate
Identitet som mulighed og restriktion
blandt fabriksarbejdere på det aftayloriserede fabriksgulv*
 18. Kristian Jakobsen
Foreign market entry in transition economies: Entry timing and mode choice
 19. Jakob Elming
Syntactic reordering in statistical machine translation
 20. Lars Brømsøe Termansen
*Regional Computable General Equilibrium Models for Denmark
Three papers laying the foundation for regional CGE models with agglomeration characteristics*
 21. Mia Reinholt
The Motivational Foundations of Knowledge Sharing
 22. Frederikke Krogh-Meibom
*The Co-Evolution of Institutions and Technology
– A Neo-Institutional Understanding of Change Processes within the Business Press – the Case Study of Financial Times*
 23. Peter D. Ørberg Jensen
OFFSHORING OF ADVANCED AND HIGH-VALUE TECHNICAL SERVICES: ANTECEDENTS, PROCESS DYNAMICS AND FIRMLEVEL IMPACTS
 24. Pham Thi Song Hanh
Functional Upgrading, Relational Capability and Export Performance of Vietnamese Wood Furniture Producers
 25. Mads Vangkilde
*Why wait?
An Exploration of first-mover advantages among Danish e-grocers through a resource perspective*
 26. Hubert Buch-Hansen
*Rethinking the History of European Level Merger Control
A Critical Political Economy Perspective*
- 2009**
1. Vivian Lindhardsen
From Independent Ratings to Communal Ratings: A Study of CWA Raters' Decision-Making Behaviours
 2. Guðrið Weihe
Public-Private Partnerships: Meaning and Practice
 3. Chris Nøkkentved
*Enabling Supply Networks with Collaborative Information Infrastructures
An Empirical Investigation of Business Model Innovation in Supplier Relationship Management*
 4. Sara Louise Muhr
Wound, Interrupted – On the Vulnerability of Diversity Management

5. Christine Sestoft
Forbrugeradfærd i et Stats- og Livsformsteoretisk perspektiv
6. Michael Pedersen
Tune in, Breakdown, and Reboot: On the production of the stress-fit self-managing employee
7. Salla Lutz
Position and Reposition in Networks – Exemplified by the Transformation of the Danish Pine Furniture Manufacturers
8. Jens Forssbæk
Essays on market discipline in commercial and central banking
9. Tine Murphy
Sense from Silence – A Basis for Organised Action
How do Sensemaking Processes with Minimal Sharing Relate to the Reproduction of Organised Action?
10. Sara Malou Strandvad
Inspirations for a new sociology of art: A sociomaterial study of development processes in the Danish film industry
11. Nicolaas Mouton
On the evolution of social scientific metaphors: A cognitive-historical enquiry into the divergent trajectories of the idea that collective entities – states and societies, cities and corporations – are biological organisms.
12. Lars Andreas Knutsen
Mobile Data Services: Shaping of user engagements
13. Nikolaos Theodoros Korfiatis
Information Exchange and Behavior
A Multi-method Inquiry on Online Communities
14. Jens Albæk
Forestillinger om kvalitet og tværfaglighed på sygehuse
– skabelse af forestillinger i læge- og plejegrupperne angående relevans af nye idéer om kvalitetsudvikling gennem tolkningsprocesser
15. Maja Lotz
The Business of Co-Creation – and the Co-Creation of Business
16. Gitte P. Jakobsen
Narrative Construction of Leader Identity in a Leader Development Program Context
17. Dorte Hermansen
“Living the brand” som en brandorienteret dialogisk praxis: Om udvikling af medarbejdernes brandorienterede dømmekraft
18. Aseem Kinra
Supply Chain (logistics) Environmental Complexity
19. Michael Nørager
How to manage SMEs through the transformation from non innovative to innovative?
20. Kristin Wallevik
Corporate Governance in Family Firms
The Norwegian Maritime Sector
21. Bo Hansen Hansen
Beyond the Process
Enriching Software Process Improvement with Knowledge Management
22. Annemette Skot-Hansen
Franske adjektivisk afledte adverbier, der tager præpositionssyntagmer indledt med præpositionen à som argumenter
En valensgrammatisk undersøgelse
23. Line Gry Knudsen
Collaborative R&D Capabilities
In Search of Micro-Foundations

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>24. Christian Scheuer
<i>Employers meet employees
Essays on sorting and globalization</i></p> | <p><i>End User Participation between Processes of Organizational and Architectural Design</i></p> |
| <p>25. Rasmus Johnsen
<i>The Great Health of Melancholy
A Study of the Pathologies of Performativity</i></p> | <p>7. Rex Degnegaard
<i>Strategic Change Management
Change Management Challenges in the Danish Police Reform</i></p> |
| <p>26. Ha Thi Van Pham
<i>Internationalization, Competitiveness Enhancement and Export Performance of Emerging Market Firms: Evidence from Vietnam</i></p> | <p>8. Ulrik Schultz Brix
<i>Værdi i rekruttering – den sikre beslutning
En pragmatisk analyse af perception og synliggørelse af værdi i rekrutterings- og udvælgelsesarbejdet</i></p> |
| <p>27. Henriette Balieu
<i>Kontrolbegrebets betydning for kausalalternationen i spansk
En kognitiv-typologisk analyse</i></p> | <p>9. Jan Ole Similä
<i>Kontraktsledelse
Relasjonen mellom virksomhetsledelse og kontraktshåndtering, belyst via fire norske virksomheter</i></p> |
| 2010 | |
| <p>1. Yen Tran
<i>Organizing Innovation in Turbulent Fashion Market
Four papers on how fashion firms create and appropriate innovation value</i></p> | <p>10. Susanne Boch Waldorff
<i>Emerging Organizations: In between local translation, institutional logics and discourse</i></p> |
| <p>2. Anders Raastrup Kristensen
<i>Metaphysical Labour
Flexibility, Performance and Commitment in Work-Life Management</i></p> | <p>11. Brian Kane
<i>Performance Talk
Next Generation Management of Organizational Performance</i></p> |
| <p>3. Margrét Sigrún Sigurdardóttir
<i>Dependently independent
Co-existence of institutional logics in the recorded music industry</i></p> | <p>12. Lars Ohnemus
<i>Brand Thrust: Strategic Branding and Shareholder Value
An Empirical Reconciliation of two Critical Concepts</i></p> |
| <p>4. Ásta Dis Óladóttir
<i>Internationalization from a small domestic base:
An empirical analysis of Economics and Management</i></p> | <p>13. Jesper Schlamovitz
<i>Håndtering af usikkerhed i film- og byggeprojekter</i></p> |
| <p>5. Christine Secher
<i>E-deltagelse i praksis – politikernes og forvaltningens medkonstruktion og konsekvenserne heraf</i></p> | <p>14. Tommy Moesby-Jensen
<i>Det faktiske livs forbindelse
Førsokratisk informeret, ny-aristotelisk ήθος-tænkning hos Martin Heidegger</i></p> |
| <p>6. Marianne Stang Våland
<i>What we talk about when we talk about space:</i></p> | <p>15. Christian Fich
<i>Two Nations Divided by Common Values
French National Habitus and the Rejection of American Power</i></p> |

16. Peter Beyer
Processer, sammenhængskraft og fleksibilitet
Et empirisk casestudie af omstillingsforløb i fire virksomheder
17. Adam Buchhorn
Markets of Good Intentions
Constructing and Organizing Biogas Markets Amid Fragility and Controversy
18. Cecilie K. Moesby-Jensen
Social læring og fælles praksis
Et mixed method studie, der belyser læringskonsekvenser af et lederkursus for et praksisfællesskab af offentlige mellemledere
19. Heidi Boye
Fødevarer og sundhed i sen-modernismen
– En indsigt i hyggefænomenet og de relaterede fødevarerpraksisser
20. Kristine Munkgård Pedersen
Flygtige forbindelser og midlertidige mobiliseringer
Om kulturel produktion på Roskilde Festival
21. Oliver Jacob Weber
Causes of Intercompany Harmony in Business Markets – An Empirical Investigation from a Dyad Perspective
22. Susanne Ekman
Authority and Autonomy
Paradoxes of Modern Knowledge Work
23. Anette Frey Larsen
Kvalitetsledelse på danske hospitaler
– Ledelsernes indflydelse på introduktion og vedligeholdelse af kvalitetsstrategier i det danske sundhedsvæsen
24. Toyoko Sato
Performativity and Discourse: Japanese Advertisements on the Aesthetic Education of Desire
25. Kenneth Brinch Jensen
Identifying the Last Planner System
Lean management in the construction industry
26. Javier Busquets
Orchestrating Network Behavior for Innovation
27. Luke Patey
The Power of Resistance: India's National Oil Company and International Activism in Sudan
28. Mette Vedel
Value Creation in Triadic Business Relationships. Interaction, Interconnection and Position
29. Kristian Tørning
Knowledge Management Systems in Practice – A Work Place Study
30. Qingxin Shi
An Empirical Study of Thinking Aloud
Usability Testing from a Cultural Perspective
31. Tanja Juul Christiansen
Corporate blogging: Medarbejderes kommunikative handlekraft
32. Malgorzata Ciesielska
Hybrid Organisations.
A study of the Open Source – business setting
33. Jens Dick-Nielsen
Three Essays on Corporate Bond Market Liquidity
34. Sabrina Speiermann
Modstandens Politik
Kampagnestyling i Velfærdsstaten.
En diskussion af trafikcampagners styringspotentiale
35. Julie Uldam
Fickle Commitment. Fostering political engagement in 'the flighty world of online activism'

36. Annegrete Juul Nielsen
Traveling technologies and transformations in health care
 37. Athur Mühlen-Schulte
Organising Development Power and Organisational Reform in the United Nations Development Programme
 38. Louise Rygaard Jonas
Branding på butiksgulvet Et case-studie af kultur- og identitets-arbejdet i Kvickly
- 2011**
1. Stefan Fraenkel
Key Success Factors for Sales Force Readiness during New Product Launch A Study of Product Launches in the Swedish Pharmaceutical Industry
 2. Christian Plesner Rossing
International Transfer Pricing in Theory and Practice
 3. Tobias Dam Hede
Samtalekunst og ledelsesdisciplin – en analyse af coachingsdiskursens genealogi og governmentality
 4. Kim Pettersson
Essays on Audit Quality, Auditor Choice, and Equity Valuation
 5. Henrik Merkelsen
The expert-lay controversy in risk research and management. Effects of institutional distances. Studies of risk definitions, perceptions, management and communication
 6. Simon S. Torp
Employee Stock Ownership: Effect on Strategic Management and Performance
 7. Mie Harder
Internal Antecedents of Management Innovation
 8. Ole Helby Petersen
Public-Private Partnerships: Policy and Regulation – With Comparative and Multi-level Case Studies from Denmark and Ireland
 9. Morten Krogh Petersen
'Good' Outcomes. Handling Multiplicity in Government Communication
 10. Kristian Tangsgaard Hvelplund
Allocation of cognitive resources in translation - an eye-tracking and key-logging study
 11. Moshe Yonatany
The Internationalization Process of Digital Service Providers
 12. Anne Vestergaard
Distance and Suffering Humanitarian Discourse in the age of Mediatization
 13. Thorsten Mikkelsen
Personlighedens indflydelse på forretningsrelationer
 14. Jane Thostrup Jagd
Hvorfor fortsætter fusionsbølgen ud-over "the tipping point"? – en empirisk analyse af information og kognitioner om fusioner
 15. Gregory Gimpel
Value-driven Adoption and Consumption of Technology: Understanding Technology Decision Making
 16. Thomas Stengade Sønderskov
Den nye mulighed Social innovation i en forretningsmæssig kontekst
 17. Jeppe Christoffersen
Donor supported strategic alliances in developing countries
 18. Vibeke Vad Baunsgaard
Dominant Ideological Modes of Rationality: Cross functional

- integration in the process of product innovation*
19. Throstur Olaf Sigurjonsson
Governance Failure and Iceland's Financial Collapse
 20. Allan Sall Tang Andersen
Essays on the modeling of risks in interest-rate and inflation markets
 21. Heidi Tscherning
Mobile Devices in Social Contexts
 22. Birgitte Gorm Hansen
*Adapting in the Knowledge Economy
Lateral Strategies for Scientists and Those Who Study Them*
 23. Kristina Vaarst Andersen
*Optimal Levels of Embeddedness
The Contingent Value of Networked Collaboration*
 24. Justine Grønbæk Pors
*Noisy Management
A History of Danish School Governing from 1970-2010*
 25. Stefan Linder
*Micro-foundations of Strategic Entrepreneurship
Essays on Autonomous Strategic Action*
 26. Xin Li
*Toward an Integrative Framework of National Competitiveness
An application to China*
 27. Rune Thorbjørn Clausen
*Værdifuld arkitektur
Et eksplorativt studie af bygningers rolle i virksomheders værdiskabelse*
 28. Monica Viken
Markedsundersøkelser som bevis i varemerke- og markedsføringsrett
 29. Christian Wymann
*Tattooing
The Economic and Artistic Constitution of a Social Phenomenon*
 30. Sanne Frandsen
*Productive Incoherence
A Case Study of Branding and Identity Struggles in a Low-Prestige Organization*
 31. Mads Stenbo Nielsen
Essays on Correlation Modelling
 32. Ivan Häuser
*Følelse og sprog
Etablering af en ekspressiv kategori, eksemplificeret på russisk*
 33. Sebastian Schwenen
Security of Supply in Electricity Markets
- 2012**
1. Peter Holm Andreasen
*The Dynamics of Procurement Management
- A Complexity Approach*
 2. Martin Haulrich
Data-Driven Bitext Dependency Parsing and Alignment
 3. Line Kirkegaard
*Konsulent i den anden nat
En undersøgelse af det intense arbejdsliv*
 4. Tonny Stenheim
Decision usefulness of goodwill under IFRS
 5. Morten Lind Larsen
*Produktivit, vækst og velfærd
Industrirådet og efterkrigstidens Danmark 1945 - 1958*
 6. Petter Berg
Cartel Damages and Cost Asymmetries
 7. Lynn Kahle
*Experiential Discourse in Marketing
A methodical inquiry into practice and theory*
 8. Anne Roelsgaard Obling
*Management of Emotions
in Accelerated Medical Relationships*

9. Thomas Frandsen
Managing Modularity of Service Processes Architecture
10. Carina Christine Skovmøller
CSR som noget særligt
Et casestudie om styring og menings-skabelse i relation til CSR ud fra en intern optik
11. Michael Tell
Fradragsbeskæring af selskabers finansieringsudgifter
En skatteretlig analyse af SEL §§ 11, 11B og 11C
12. Morten Holm
Customer Profitability Measurement Models
Their Merits and Sophistication across Contexts
13. Katja Joo Dyppel
Beskatning af derivater
En analyse af dansk skatteret
14. Esben Anton Schultz
Essays in Labor Economics
Evidence from Danish Micro Data
15. Carina Risvig Hansen
"Contracts not covered, or not fully covered, by the Public Sector Directive"
16. Anja Svejgaard Pors
Iværksættelse af kommunikation - patientfigurer i hospitalets strategiske kommunikation
17. Frans Bévort
Making sense of management with logics
An ethnographic study of accountants who become managers
18. René Kallestrup
The Dynamics of Bank and Sovereign Credit Risk
19. Brett Crawford
Revisiting the Phenomenon of Interests in Organizational Institutionalism
The Case of U.S. Chambers of Commerce
20. Mario Daniele Amore
Essays on Empirical Corporate Finance
21. Arne Stjernholm Madsen
The evolution of innovation strategy Studied in the context of medical device activities at the pharmaceutical company Novo Nordisk A/S in the period 1980-2008
22. Jacob Holm Hansen
Is Social Integration Necessary for Corporate Branding?
A study of corporate branding strategies at Novo Nordisk
23. Stuart Webber
Corporate Profit Shifting and the Multinational Enterprise
24. Helene Ratner
Promises of Reflexivity
Managing and Researching Inclusive Schools
25. Therese Strand
The Owners and the Power: Insights from Annual General Meetings
26. Robert Gavin Strand
In Praise of Corporate Social Responsibility Bureaucracy
27. Nina Sormunen
Auditor's going-concern reporting
Reporting decision and content of the report
28. John Bang Mathiasen
Learning within a product development working practice:
- an understanding anchored in pragmatism
29. Philip Holst Riis
Understanding Role-Oriented Enterprise Systems: From Vendors to Customers
30. Marie Lisa Dacanay
Social Enterprises and the Poor
Enhancing Social Entrepreneurship and Stakeholder Theory

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>31. Fumiko Kano Glückstad
<i>Bridging Remote Cultures: Cross-lingual concept mapping based on the information receiver's prior-knowledge</i></p> <p>32. Henrik Barslund Fosse
<i>Empirical Essays in International Trade</i></p> <p>33. Peter Alexander Albrecht
<i>Foundational hybridity and its reproduction
Security sector reform in Sierra Leone</i></p> <p>34. Maja Rosenstock
<i>CSR - hvor svært kan det være?
Kulturanalytisk casestudie om udfordringer og dilemmaer med at forankre Coops CSR-strategi</i></p> <p>35. Jeanette Rasmussen
<i>Tweens, medier og forbrug
Et studie af 10-12 årige danske børns brug af internettet, opfattelse og forståelse af markedsføring og forbrug</i></p> <p>36. Ib Tunby Gulbrandsen
<i>'This page is not intended for a US Audience'
A five-act spectacle on online communication, collaboration & organization.</i></p> <p>37. Kasper Aalling Teilmann
<i>Interactive Approaches to Rural Development</i></p> <p>38. Mette Mogensen
<i>The Organization(s) of Well-being and Productivity
(Re)assembling work in the Danish Post</i></p> <p>39. Søren Friis Møller
<i>From Disinterestedness to Engagement
Towards Relational Leadership In the Cultural Sector</i></p> <p>40. Nico Peter Berhausen
<i>Management Control, Innovation and Strategic Objectives – Interactions and Convergence in Product Development Networks</i></p> | <p>41. Balder Onarheim
<i>Creativity under Constraints
Creativity as Balancing 'Constrainedness'</i></p> <p>42. Haoyong Zhou
<i>Essays on Family Firms</i></p> <p>43. Elisabeth Naima Mikkelsen
<i>Making sense of organisational conflict
An empirical study of enacted sense-making in everyday conflict at work</i></p> <p>2013</p> <p>1. Jacob Lyngsie
<i>Entrepreneurship in an Organizational Context</i></p> <p>2. Signe Groth-Brodersen
<i>Fra ledelse til selvet
En socialpsykologisk analyse af forholdet imellem selvledelse, ledelse og stress i det moderne arbejdsliv</i></p> <p>3. Nis Høyrup Christensen
<i>Shaping Markets: A Neoinstitutional Analysis of the Emerging Organizational Field of Renewable Energy in China</i></p> <p>4. Christian Edelvold Berg
<i>As a matter of size
THE IMPORTANCE OF CRITICAL MASS AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF SCARCITY FOR TELEVISION MARKETS</i></p> <p>5. Christine D. Isakson
<i>Coworker Influence and Labor Mobility
Essays on Turnover, Entrepreneurship and Location Choice in the Danish Maritime Industry</i></p> <p>6. Niels Joseph Jerne Lennon
<i>Accounting Qualities in Practice
Rhizomatic stories of representational faithfulness, decision making and control</i></p> <p>7. Shannon O'Donnell
<i>Making Ensemble Possible
How special groups organize for collaborative creativity in conditions of spatial variability and distance</i></p> |
|---|---|

8. Robert W. D. Veitch
Access Decisions in a Partly-Digital World
Comparing Digital Piracy and Legal Modes for Film and Music
9. Marie Mathiesen
Making Strategy Work
An Organizational Ethnography
10. Arisa Shollo
The role of business intelligence in organizational decision-making
11. Mia Kaspersen
The construction of social and environmental reporting
12. Marcus Møller Larsen
The organizational design of offshoring
13. Mette Ohm Rørdam
EU Law on Food Naming
The prohibition against misleading names in an internal market context
14. Hans Peter Rasmussen
GIV EN GED!
Kan giver-idealtyper forklare støtte til velgørenhed og understøtte relationsopbygning?
15. Ruben Schachtenhaufen
Fonetisk reduktion i dansk
16. Peter Koerver Schmidt
Dansk CFC-beskatning
I et internationalt og komparativt perspektiv
17. Morten Froholdt
Strategi i den offentlige sektor
En kortlægning af styringsmæssig kontekst, strategisk tilgang, samt anvendte redskaber og teknologier for udvalgte danske statslige styrelser
18. Annette Camilla Sjørup
Cognitive effort in metaphor translation
An eye-tracking and key-logging study
19. Tamara Stucchi
The Internationalization of Emerging Market Firms: A Context-Specific Study
20. Thomas Lopdrup-Hjorth
"Let's Go Outside": The Value of Co-Creation
21. Ana Alačovska
Genre and Autonomy in Cultural Production
The case of travel guidebook production
22. Marius Gudmand-Høyer
Stemningssindssygdommenes historie i det 19. århundrede
Omtydningen af melankolien og manien som bipolære stemningslidelser i dansk sammenhæng under hensyn til dannelsen af det moderne følelseslivs relative autonomi.
En problematiserings- og erfarings-analytisk undersøgelse
23. Lichen Alex Yu
Fabricating an S&OP Process
Circulating References and Matters of Concern
24. Esben Alfort
The Expression of a Need
Understanding search
25. Trine Pallesen
Assembling Markets for Wind Power
An Inquiry into the Making of Market Devices
26. Anders Koed Madsen
Web-Visions
Repurposing digital traces to organize social attention
27. Lærke Højgaard Christiansen
BREWING ORGANIZATIONAL RESPONSES TO INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS
28. Tommy Kjær Lassen
EGENTLIG SELVLEDELSE
En ledelsesfilosofisk afhandling om selvledelsens paradoksale dynamik og eksistentielle engagement

29. Morten Rossing
Local Adaption and Meaning Creation in Performance Appraisal
 30. Søren Obed Madsen
*Lederen som oversætter
Et oversættelsesteoretisk perspektiv på strategisk arbejde*
 31. Thomas Høgenhaven
*Open Government Communities
Does Design Affect Participation?*
 32. Kirstine Zinck Pedersen
*Failsafe Organizing?
A Pragmatic Stance on Patient Safety*
 33. Anne Petersen
*Hverdagslogikker i psykiatrisk arbejde
En institutionsetnografisk undersøgelse af hverdagen i psykiatriske organisationer*
 34. Didde Maria Humle
Fortællinger om arbejde
 35. Mark Holst-Mikkelsen
Strategieksekverering i praksis – barrierer og muligheder!
 36. Malek Maalouf
*Sustaining lean
Strategies for dealing with organizational paradoxes*
 37. Nicolaj Tofte Brenneche
*Systemic Innovation In The Making
The Social Productivity of Cartographic Crisis and Transitions in the Case of SEEIT*
 38. Morten Gylling
*The Structure of Discourse
A Corpus-Based Cross-Linguistic Study*
 39. Binzhang YANG
Urban Green Spaces for Quality Life - Case Study: the landscape architecture for people in Copenhagen
 40. Michael Friis Pedersen
*Finance and Organization:
The Implications for Whole Farm Risk Management*
 41. Even Fallan
Issues on supply and demand for environmental accounting information
 42. Ather Nawaz
*Website user experience
A cross-cultural study of the relation between users' cognitive style, context of use, and information architecture of local websites*
 43. Karin Beukel
The Determinants for Creating Valuable Inventions
 44. Arjan Markus
*External Knowledge Sourcing and Firm Innovation
Essays on the Micro-Foundations of Firms' Search for Innovation*
- 2014**
1. Solon Moreira
Four Essays on Technology Licensing and Firm Innovation
 2. Karin Strzeletz Ivertsen
*Partnership Drift in Innovation Processes
A study of the Think City electric car development*
 3. Kathrine Hoffmann Pii
Responsibility Flows in Patient-centred Prevention
 4. Jane Bjørn Vedel
*Managing Strategic Research
An empirical analysis of science-industry collaboration in a pharmaceutical company*
 5. Martin Gylling
*Processuel strategi i organisationer
Monografi om dobbeltheden i tænkning af strategi, dels som vidensfelt i organisationsteori, dels som kunstnerisk tilgang til at skabe i erhvervsmæssig innovation*

6. Linne Marie Lauesen
Corporate Social Responsibility in the Water Sector: How Material Practices and their Symbolic and Physical Meanings Form a Colonising Logic
7. Maggie Qiuzhu Mei
LEARNING TO INNOVATE: The role of ambidexterity, standard, and decision process
8. Inger Høedt-Rasmussen
Developing Identity for Lawyers Towards Sustainable Lawyering
9. Sebastian Fux
Essays on Return Predictability and Term Structure Modelling
10. Thorbjørn N. M. Lund-Poulsen
Essays on Value Based Management
11. Oana Brindusa Albu
Transparency in Organizing: A Performative Approach
12. Lena Olaison
Entrepreneurship at the limits
13. Hanne Sørum
DRESSED FOR WEB SUCCESS? An Empirical Study of Website Quality in the Public Sector
14. Lasse Folke Henriksen
Knowing networks How experts shape transnational governance
15. Maria Halbinger
Entrepreneurial Individuals Empirical Investigations into Entrepreneurial Activities of Hackers and Makers
16. Robert Spliid
Kapitalfondenes metoder og kompetencer
17. Christiane Stelling
Public-private partnerships & the need, development and management of trusting A processual and embedded exploration
18. Marta Gasparin
Management of design as a translation process
19. Kåre Moberg
Assessing the Impact of Entrepreneurship Education From ABC to PhD
20. Alexander Cole
Distant neighbors Collective learning beyond the cluster
21. Martin Møller Boje Rasmussen
Is Competitiveness a Question of Being Alike? How the United Kingdom, Germany and Denmark Came to Compete through their Knowledge Regimes from 1993 to 2007
22. Anders Ravn Sørensen
Studies in central bank legitimacy, currency and national identity Four cases from Danish monetary history
23. Nina Bellak
Can Language be Managed in International Business? Insights into Language Choice from a Case Study of Danish and Austrian Multinational Corporations (MNCs)
24. Rikke Kristine Nielsen
Global Mindset as Managerial Meta-competence and Organizational Capability: Boundary-crossing Leadership Cooperation in the MNC The Case of 'Group Mindset' in Solar A/S.
25. Rasmus Koss Hartmann
User Innovation inside government Towards a critically performative foundation for inquiry

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>26. Kristian Gylling Olesen
<i>Flertydig og emergerende ledelse i folkeskolen</i>
<i>Et aktør-netværksteoretisk ledelsesstudie af politiske evalueringsreformers betydning for ledelse i den danske folkeskole</i></p> <p>27. Troels Riis Larsen
<i>Kampen om Danmarks omdømme 1945-2010</i>
<i>Omdømmearbejde og omdømmepolitik</i></p> <p>28. Klaus Majgaard
<i>Jagten på autenticitet i offentlig styring</i></p> <p>29. Ming Hua Li
<i>Institutional Transition and Organizational Diversity: Differentiated internationalization strategies of emerging market state-owned enterprises</i></p> <p>30. Sofie Blinkenberg Federspiel
<i>IT, organisation og digitalisering: Institutionelt arbejde i den kommunale digitaliseringsproces</i></p> <p>31. Elvi Weinreich
<i>Hvilke offentlige ledere er der brug for når velfærdstænkningen flytter sig – er Diplomuddannelsens lederprofil svaret?</i></p> <p>32. Ellen Mølgaard Korsager
<i>Self-conception and image of context in the growth of the firm</i>
<i>– A Penrosian History of Fiberline Composites</i></p> <p>33. Else Skjold
<i>The Daily Selection</i></p> <p>34. Marie Louise Conradsen
<i>The Cancer Centre That Never Was</i>
<i>The Organisation of Danish Cancer Research 1949-1992</i></p> <p>35. Virgilio Failla
<i>Three Essays on the Dynamics of Entrepreneurs in the Labor Market</i></p> | <p>36. Nicky Nedergaard
<i>Brand-Based Innovation</i>
<i>Relational Perspectives on Brand Logics and Design Innovation Strategies and Implementation</i></p> <p>37. Mads Gjedsted Nielsen
<i>Essays in Real Estate Finance</i></p> <p>38. Kristin Martina Brandl
<i>Process Perspectives on Service Offshoring</i></p> <p>39. Mia Rosa Koss Hartmann
<i>In the gray zone</i>
<i>With police in making space for creativity</i></p> <p>40. Karen Ingerslev
<i>Healthcare Innovation under The Microscope</i>
<i>Framing Boundaries of Wicked Problems</i></p> <p>41. Tim Neerup Thomsen
<i>Risk Management in large Danish public capital investment programmes</i></p> <p>2015</p> <p>1. Jakob Ion Wille
<i>Film som design</i>
<i>Design af levende billeder i film og tv-serier</i></p> <p>2. Christiane Mossin
<i>Interzones of Law and Metaphysics</i>
<i>Hierarchies, Logics and Foundations of Social Order seen through the Prism of EU Social Rights</i></p> <p>3. Thomas Tøth
<i>TRUSTWORTHINESS: ENABLING GLOBAL COLLABORATION</i>
<i>An Ethnographic Study of Trust, Distance, Control, Culture and Boundary Spanning within Offshore Outsourcing of IT Services</i></p> <p>4. Steven Højlund
<i>Evaluation Use in Evaluation Systems – The Case of the European Commission</i></p> |
|---|---|

5. Julia Kirch Kirkegaard
AMBIGUOUS WINDS OF CHANGE – OR FIGHTING AGAINST WINDMILLS IN CHINESE WIND POWER
A CONSTRUCTIVIST INQUIRY INTO CHINA'S PRAGMATICS OF GREEN MARKETISATION MAPPING
CONTROVERSIES OVER A POTENTIAL TURN TO QUALITY IN CHINESE WIND POWER
6. Michelle Carol Antero
A Multi-case Analysis of the Development of Enterprise Resource Planning Systems (ERP) Business Practices

Morten Friis-Olivarius
The Associative Nature of Creativity
7. Mathew Abraham
New Cooperativism: A study of emerging producer organisations in India
8. Stine Hedegaard
Sustainability-Focused Identity: Identity work performed to manage, negotiate and resolve barriers and tensions that arise in the process of constructing or ganizational identity in a sustainability context
9. Cecilie Glerup
Organizing Science in Society – the conduct and justification of resposible research
10. Allan Salling Pedersen
Implementering af ITIL® IT-governance - når best practice konflikt med kulturen Løsning af implementerings-problemer gennem anvendelse af kendte CSF i et aktionsforskningsforløb.
11. Nihat Misir
A Real Options Approach to Determining Power Prices
12. Mamdouh Medhat
MEASURING AND PRICING THE RISK OF CORPORATE FAILURES
13. Rina Hansen
Toward a Digital Strategy for Omnichannel Retailing
14. Eva Pallesen
In the rhythm of welfare creation
A relational processual investigation moving beyond the conceptual horizon of welfare management
15. Gouya Harirchi
In Search of Opportunities: Three Essays on Global Linkages for Innovation
16. Lotte Holck
Embedded Diversity: A critical ethnographic study of the structural tensions of organizing diversity
17. Jose Daniel Balarezo
Learning through Scenario Planning
18. Louise Pram Nielsen
Knowledge dissemination based on terminological ontologies. Using eye tracking to further user interface design.
19. Sofie Dam
PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS FOR INNOVATION AND SUSTAINABILITY TRANSFORMATION
An embedded, comparative case study of municipal waste management in England and Denmark
20. Ulrik Hartmyer Christiansen
Follwoing the Content of Reported Risk Across the Organization
21. Guro Refsum Sanden
Language strategies in multinational corporations. A cross-sector study of financial service companies and manufacturing companies.
22. Linn Gevoll
Designing performance management for operational level
- A closer look on the role of design choices in framing coordination and motivation

23. Frederik Larsen
*Objects and Social Actions
– on Second-hand Valuation Practices*
24. Thorhildur Hansdottir Jetzek
*The Sustainable Value of Open
Government Data
Uncovering the Generative Mechanisms
of Open Data through a Mixed
Methods Approach*
25. Gustav Toppenberg
*Innovation-based M&A
– Technological-Integration
Challenges – The Case of
Digital-Technology Companies*
26. Mie Plotnikof
*Challenges of Collaborative
Governance
An Organizational Discourse Study
of Public Managers' Struggles
with Collaboration across the
Daycare Area*
27. Christian Garmann Johnsen
*Who Are the Post-Bureaucrats?
A Philosophical Examination of the
Creative Manager, the Authentic Leader
and the Entrepreneur*
28. Jacob Brogaard-Kay
*Constituting Performance Management
A field study of a pharmaceutical
company*
29. Rasmus Ploug Jenle
*Engineering Markets for Control:
Integrating Wind Power into the Danish
Electricity System*
30. Morten Lindholst
*Complex Business Negotiation:
Understanding Preparation and
Planning*
31. Morten Grynings
*TRUST AND TRANSPARENCY FROM AN
ALIGNMENT PERSPECTIVE*
32. Peter Andreas Norn
*Byregimer og styringsevne: Politisk
lederskab af store byudviklingsprojekter*
33. Milan Miric
*Essays on Competition, Innovation and
Firm Strategy in Digital Markets*
34. Sanne K. Hjordrup
*The Value of Talent Management
Rethinking practice, problems and
possibilities*
35. Johanna Sax
*Strategic Risk Management
– Analyzing Antecedents and
Contingencies for Value Creation*
36. Pernille Rydén
Strategic Cognition of Social Media
37. Mimmi Sjöklint
*The Measurable Me
- The Influence of Self-tracking on the
User Experience*
38. Juan Ignacio Staricco
*Towards a Fair Global Economic
Regime? A critical assessment of Fair
Trade through the examination of the
Argentinean wine industry*
39. Marie Henriette Madsen
*Emerging and temporary connections
in Quality work*
40. Yangfeng CAO
*Toward a Process Framework of
Business Model Innovation in the
Global Context
Entrepreneurship-Enabled Dynamic
Capability of Medium-Sized
Multinational Enterprises*
41. Carsten Scheibye
*Enactment of the Organizational Cost
Structure in Value Chain Configuration
A Contribution to Strategic Cost
Management*

2016

1. Signe Sofie Dyrby
Enterprise Social Media at Work
2. Dorte Boesby Dahl
*The making of the public parking attendant
Dirt, aesthetics and inclusion in public service work*
3. Verena Girschik
*Realizing Corporate Responsibility
Positioning and Framing in Nascent Institutional Change*
4. Anders Ørding Olsen
*IN SEARCH OF SOLUTIONS
Inertia, Knowledge Sources and Diversity in Collaborative Problem-solving*
5. Pernille Steen Pedersen
*Udkast til et nyt copingbegreb
En kvalifikation af ledelsesmuligheder for at forebygge sygefravær ved psykiske problemer.*
6. Kerli Kant Hvass
*Weaving a Path from Waste to Value:
Exploring fashion industry business models and the circular economy*
7. Kasper Lindskow
*Exploring Digital News Publishing
Business Models – a production network approach*
8. Mikkel Mouritz Marfelt
*The chameleon workforce:
Assembling and negotiating the content of a workforce*
9. Marianne Bertelsen
*Aesthetic encounters
Rethinking autonomy, space & time in today's world of art*
10. Louise Hauberg Wilhelmsen
EU PERSPECTIVES ON INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL ARBITRATION
11. Abid Hussain
On the Design, Development and Use of the Social Data Analytics Tool (SODATO): Design Propositions, Patterns, and Principles for Big Social Data Analytics
12. Mark Bruun
Essays on Earnings Predictability
13. Tor Bøe-Lillegraven
BUSINESS PARADOXES, BLACK BOXES, AND BIG DATA: BEYOND ORGANIZATIONAL AMBIDEXTERITY
14. Hadis Khonsary-Atighi
ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF DOMESTIC INVESTMENT IN AN OIL-BASED ECONOMY: THE CASE OF IRAN (1965-2010)
15. Maj Lervad Grasten
*Rule of Law or Rule by Lawyers?
On the Politics of Translation in Global Governance*
16. Lene Granzau Juel-Jacobsen
SUPERMARKEDETS MODUS OPERANDI – en hverdagssociologisk undersøgelse af forholdet mellem rum og handlen og understøtte relationsopbygning?
17. Christine Thalsgård Henriques
In search of entrepreneurial learning – Towards a relational perspective on incubating practices?
18. Patrick Bennett
Essays in Education, Crime, and Job Displacement
19. Søren Korsgaard
Payments and Central Bank Policy
20. Marie Kruse Skibsted
Empirical Essays in Economics of Education and Labor
21. Elizabeth Benedict Christensen
*The Constantly Contingent Sense of Belonging of the 1.5 Generation
Undocumented Youth
An Everyday Perspective*

22. Lasse J. Jessen
Essays on Discounting Behavior and Gambling Behavior
23. Kalle Johannes Rose
*Når stiftertiljen dør...
Et retsøkonomisk bidrag til 200 års
juridisk konflikt om ejendomsretten*
24. Andreas Søeborg Kirkedal
*Danish Stød and Automatic Speech
Recognition*
25. Ida Lunde Jørgensen
*Institutions and Legitimations in
Finance for the Arts*
26. Olga Rykov Ibsen
*An empirical cross-linguistic study of
directives: A semiotic approach to the
sentence forms chosen by British,
Danish and Russian speakers in native
and ELF contexts*
27. Desi Volker
Understanding Interest Rate Volatility
28. Angeli Elizabeth Weller
*Practice at the Boundaries of Business
Ethics & Corporate Social Responsibility*
29. Ida Danneskiold-Samsøe
*Levende læring i kunstneriske
organisationer
En undersøgelse af læringsprocesser
mellem projekt og organisation på
Aarhus Teater*
30. Leif Christensen
*Quality of information – The role of
internal controls and materiality*
31. Olga Zarzecka
Tie Content in Professional Networks
32. Henrik Mahncke
*De store gaver
- Filantropiens gensidighedsrelationer i
teori og praksis*
33. Carsten Lund Pedersen
*Using the Collective Wisdom of
Frontline Employees in Strategic Issue
Management*
34. Yun Liu
Essays on Market Design
35. Denitsa Hazarbassanova Blagoeva
The Internationalisation of Service Firms
36. Manya Jaura Lind
*Capability development in an off-
shoring context: How, why and by
whom*
37. Luis R. Boscán F.
*Essays on the Design of Contracts and
Markets for Power System Flexibility*
38. Andreas Philipp Distel
*Capabilities for Strategic Adaptation:
Micro-Foundations, Organizational
Conditions, and Performance
Implications*
39. Lavinia Bleoca
*The Usefulness of Innovation and
Intellectual Capital in Business
Performance: The Financial Effects of
Knowledge Management vs. Disclosure*
40. Henrik Jensen
*Economic Organization and Imperfect
Managerial Knowledge: A Study of the
Role of Managerial Meta-Knowledge
in the Management of Distributed
Knowledge*
41. Stine Mosekjær
*The Understanding of English Emotion
Words by Chinese and Japanese
Speakers of English as a Lingua Franca
An Empirical Study*
42. Hallur Tor Sigurdarson
*The Ministry of Desire - Anxiety and
entrepreneurship in a bureaucracy*
43. Kätlin Pulk
*Making Time While Being in Time
A study of the temporality of
organizational processes*
44. Valeria Giacomini
*Contextualizing the cluster Palm oil in
Southeast Asia in global perspective
(1880s–1970s)*

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 45. | Jeanette Willert
<i>Managers' use of multiple Management Control Systems: The role and interplay of management control systems and company performance</i> | 2017 |
| 46. | Mads Vestergaard Jensen
<i>Financial Frictions: Implications for Early Option Exercise and Realized Volatility</i> | 1. Mari Bjerck
<i>Apparel at work. Work uniforms and women in male-dominated manual occupations.</i> |
| 47. | Mikael Reimer Jensen
<i>Interbank Markets and Frictions</i> | 2. Christoph H. Flöthmann
<i>Who Manages Our Supply Chains? Backgrounds, Competencies and Contributions of Human Resources in Supply Chain Management</i> |
| 48. | Benjamin Faigen
<i>Essays on Employee Ownership</i> | 3. Aleksandra Anna Rzeźnik
<i>Essays in Empirical Asset Pricing</i> |
| 49. | Adela Michea
<i>Enacting Business Models An Ethnographic Study of an Emerging Business Model Innovation within the Frame of a Manufacturing Company.</i> | 4. Claes Bäckman
<i>Essays on Housing Markets</i> |
| 50. | Iben Sandal Stjerne
<i>Transcending organization in temporary systems Aesthetics' organizing work and employment in Creative Industries</i> | 5. Kirsti Reitan Andersen
<i>Stabilizing Sustainability in the Textile and Fashion Industry</i> |
| 51. | Simon Krogh
<i>Anticipating Organizational Change</i> | 6. Kira Hoffmann
<i>Cost Behavior: An Empirical Analysis of Determinants and Consequences of Asymmetries</i> |
| 52. | Sarah Netter
<i>Exploring the Sharing Economy</i> | 7. Tobin Hanspal
<i>Essays in Household Finance</i> |
| 53. | Lene Tolstrup Christensen
<i>State-owned enterprises as institutional market actors in the marketization of public service provision: A comparative case study of Danish and Swedish passenger rail 1990–2015</i> | 8. Nina Lange
<i>Correlation in Energy Markets</i> |
| 54. | Kyoung(Kay) Sun Park
<i>Three Essays on Financial Economics</i> | 9. Anjum Fayyaz
<i>Donor Interventions and SME Networking in Industrial Clusters in Punjab Province, Pakistan</i> |
| | | 10. Magnus Paulsen Hansen
<i>Trying the unemployed. Justification and critique, emancipation and coercion towards the 'active society'. A study of contemporary reforms in France and Denmark</i> |
| | | 11. Sameer Azizi
<i>Corporate Social Responsibility in Afghanistan – a critical case study of the mobile telecommunications industry</i> |

12. Malene Myhre
The internationalization of small and medium-sized enterprises: A qualitative study
13. Thomas Presskorn-Thygesen
The Significance of Normativity – Studies in Post-Kantian Philosophy and Social Theory
14. Federico Clementi
Essays on multinational production and international trade
15. Lara Anne Hale
Experimental Standards in Sustainability Transitions: Insights from the Building Sector
16. Richard Pucci
*Accounting for Financial Instruments in an Uncertain World
Controversies in IFRS in the Aftermath of the 2008 Financial Crisis*
17. Sarah Maria Denta
*Kommunale offentlige private partnerskaber
Regulering i skyggen af Farumsagen*
18. Christian Östlund
Design for e-training
19. Amalie Martinus Hauge
Organizing Valuations – a pragmatic inquiry
20. Tim Holst Celik
Tension-filled Governance? Exploring the Emergence, Consolidation and Reconfiguration of Legitimatory and Fiscal State-crafting
21. Christian Bason
Leading Public Design: How managers engage with design to transform public governance
22. Davide Tomio
Essays on Arbitrage and Market Liquidity
23. Simone Stæhr
*Financial Analysts' Forecasts
Behavioral Aspects and the Impact of Personal Characteristics*
24. Mikkel Godt Gregersen
Management Control, Intrinsic Motivation and Creativity – How Can They Coexist
25. Kristjan Johannes Suse Jespersen
Advancing the Payments for Ecosystem Service Discourse Through Institutional Theory
26. Kristian Bondo Hansen
Crowds and Speculation: A study of crowd phenomena in the U.S. financial markets 1890 to 1940
27. Lars Balslev
Actors and practices – An institutional study on management accounting change in Air Greenland
28. Sven Klingler
Essays on Asset Pricing with Financial Frictions
29. Klement Ahrensbach Rasmussen
*Business Model Innovation
The Role of Organizational Design*
30. Giulio Zichella
Entrepreneurial Cognition. Three essays on entrepreneurial behavior and cognition under risk and uncertainty
31. Richard Ledborg Hansen
En forkærlighed til det eksisterende – mellemlederens oplevelse af forandringsmodstand i organisatoriske forandringer
32. Vilhelm Stefan Holsting
Militært chefvirke: Kritik og retfærdiggørelse mellem politik og profession

- | | | |
|---|--------------------|--|
| <p>33. Thomas Jensen
<i>Shipping Information Pipeline: An information infrastructure to improve international containerized shipping</i></p> <p>34. Dzmitry Bartalevich
<i>Do economic theories inform policy? Analysis of the influence of the Chicago School on European Union competition policy</i></p> <p>35. Kristian Roed Nielsen
<i>Crowdfunding for Sustainability: A study on the potential of reward-based crowdfunding in supporting sustainable entrepreneurship</i></p> <p>36. Emil Husted
<i>There is always an alternative: A study of control and commitment in political organization</i></p> <p>37. Anders Ludvig Sevelsted
<i>Interpreting Bonds and Boundaries of Obligation. A genealogy of the emergence and development of Protestant voluntary social work in Denmark as shown through the cases of the Copenhagen Home Mission and the Blue Cross (1850 – 1950)</i></p> <p>38. Niklas Kohl
<i>Essays on Stock Issuance</i></p> <p>39. Maya Christiane Flensburg Jensen
<i>BOUNDARIES OF PROFESSIONALIZATION AT WORK An ethnography-inspired study of care workers' dilemmas at the margin</i></p> <p>40. Andreas Kamstrup
<i>Crowdsourcing and the Architectural Competition as Organisational Technologies</i></p> <p>41. Louise Lyngfeldt Gorm Hansen
<i>Triggering Earthquakes in Science, Politics and Chinese Hydropower - A Controversy Study</i></p> | <p>2018</p> | <p>1. Vishv Priya Kohli
<i>Combatting Falsification and Counterfeiting of Medicinal Products in the European Union – A Legal Analysis</i></p> <p>2. Helle Haurum
<i>Customer Engagement Behavior in the context of Continuous Service Relationships</i></p> <p>3. Nis Grünberg
<i>The Party-state order: Essays on China's political organization and political economic institutions</i></p> <p>4. Jesper Christensen
<i>A Behavioral Theory of Human Capital Integration</i></p> <p>5. Poula Marie Helth
<i>Learning in practice</i></p> <p>6. Rasmus Vendler Toft-Kehler
<i>Entrepreneurship as a career? An investigation of the relationship between entrepreneurial experience and entrepreneurial outcome</i></p> <p>7. Szymon Furtak
<i>Sensing the Future: Designing sensor-based predictive information systems for forecasting spare part demand for diesel engines</i></p> <p>8. Mette Brehm Johansen
<i>Organizing patient involvement. An ethnographic study</i></p> <p>9. Iwona Sulinska
<i>Complexities of Social Capital in Boards of Directors</i></p> <p>10. Cecilie Fanøe Petersen
<i>Award of public contracts as a means to conferring State aid: A legal analysis of the interface between public procurement law and State aid law</i></p> <p>11. Ahmad Ahmad Barirani
<i>Three Experimental Studies on Entrepreneurship</i></p> |
|---|--------------------|--|

12. Carsten Allerslev Olsen
Financial Reporting Enforcement: Impact and Consequences
13. Irene Christensen
New product fumbles – Organizing for the Ramp-up process
14. Jacob Taarup-Esbensen
Managing communities – Mining MNEs' community risk management practices
15. Lester Allan Lasrado
Set-Theoretic approach to maturity models
16. Mia B. Münster
Intention vs. Perception of Designed Atmospheres in Fashion Stores
17. Anne Sluhan
Non-Financial Dimensions of Family Firm Ownership: How Socioemotional Wealth and Familiness Influence Internationalization
18. Henrik Yde Andersen
Essays on Debt and Pensions
19. Fabian Heinrich Müller
Valuation Reversed – When Valuators are Valuated. An Analysis of the Perception of and Reaction to Reviewers in Fine-Dining
20. Martin Jarmatz
Organizing for Pricing
21. Niels Joachim Christfort Gormsen
Essays on Empirical Asset Pricing
22. Diego Zunino
Socio-Cognitive Perspectives in Business Venturing
23. Benjamin Asmussen
Networks and Faces between Copenhagen and Canton, 1730-1840
24. Dalia Bagdziunaite
Brains at Brand Touchpoints A Consumer Neuroscience Study of Information Processing of Brand Advertisements and the Store Environment in Compulsive Buying
25. Erol Kazan
Towards a Disruptive Digital Platform Model
26. Andreas Bang Nielsen
Essays on Foreign Exchange and Credit Risk
27. Anne Krebs
Accountable, Operable Knowledge Toward Value Representations of Individual Knowledge in Accounting
28. Matilde Fogh Kirkegaard
A firm- and demand-side perspective on behavioral strategy for value creation: Insights from the hearing aid industry
29. Agnieszka Nowinska
SHIPS AND RELATION-SHIPS Tie formation in the sector of shipping intermediaries in shipping
30. Stine Evald Bentsen
The Comprehension of English Texts by Native Speakers of English and Japanese, Chinese and Russian Speakers of English as a Lingua Franca. An Empirical Study.
31. Stine Louise Daetz
Essays on Financial Frictions in Lending Markets
32. Christian Skov Jensen
Essays on Asset Pricing
33. Anders Kryger
Aligning future employee action and corporate strategy in a resource-scarce environment

34. Maitane Elorriaga-Rubio
The behavioral foundations of strategic decision-making: A contextual perspective
35. Roddy Walker
Leadership Development as Organisational Rehabilitation: Shaping Middle-Managers as Double Agents
36. Jinsun Bae
Producing Garments for Global Markets Corporate social responsibility (CSR) in Myanmar's export garment industry 2011–2015
37. Queralt Prat-i-Pubill
Axiological knowledge in a knowledge driven world. Considerations for organizations.
38. Pia Mølgaard
Essays on Corporate Loans and Credit Risk
39. Marzia Aricò
Service Design as a Transformative Force: Introduction and Adoption in an Organizational Context
40. Christian Dyrland Wåhlin-Jacobsen
Constructing change initiatives in workplace voice activities Studies from a social interaction perspective
41. Peter Kalum Schou
Institutional Logics in Entrepreneurial Ventures: How Competing Logics arise and shape organizational processes and outcomes during scale-up
42. Per Henriksen
Enterprise Risk Management Rationaler og paradokser i en moderne ledelsesteknologi
43. Maximilian Schellmann
The Politics of Organizing Refugee Camps
44. Jacob Halvas Bjerre
Excluding the Jews: The Aryanization of Danish-German Trade and German Anti-Jewish Policy in Denmark 1937-1943
45. Ida Schrøder
Hybridising accounting and caring: A symmetrical study of how costs and needs are connected in Danish child protection work
46. Katrine Kunst
Electronic Word of Behavior: Transforming digital traces of consumer behaviors into communicative content in product design
47. Viktor Avlonitis
Essays on the role of modularity in management: Towards a unified perspective of modular and integral design
48. Anne Sofie Fischer
Negotiating Spaces of Everyday Politics: -An ethnographic study of organizing for social transformation for women in urban poverty, Delhi, India

2019

1. Shihan Du
*ESSAYS IN EMPIRICAL STUDIES
BASED ON ADMINISTRATIVE
LABOUR MARKET DATA*
2. Mart Laatsit
*Policy learning in innovation
policy: A comparative analysis of
European Union member states*
3. Peter J. Wynne
*Proactively Building Capabilities for
the Post-Acquisition Integration
of Information Systems*
4. Kalina S. Staykova
*Generative Mechanisms for Digital
Platform Ecosystem Evolution*
5. Ieva Linkeviciute
*Essays on the Demand-Side
Management in Electricity Markets*
6. Jonatan Echebarria Fernández
*Jurisdiction and Arbitration
Agreements in Contracts for the
Carriage of Goods by Sea –
Limitations on Party Autonomy*
7. Louise Thorn Bøttkjær
*Votes for sale. Essays on
clientelism in new democracies.*
8. Ditte Vilstrup Holm
*The Poetics of Participation:
the organizing of participation in
contemporary art*
9. Philip Rosenbaum
*Essays in Labor Markets –
Gender, Fertility and Education*
10. Mia Olsen
*Mobile Betaling - Succesfaktorer
og Adfærdsmæssige Konsekvenser*
11. Adrián Luis Mérida Gutiérrez
*Entrepreneurial Careers:
Determinants, Trajectories, and
Outcomes*
12. Frederik Regli
Essays on Crude Oil Tanker Markets
13. Cancan Wang
*Becoming Adaptive through Social
Media: Transforming Governance and
Organizational Form in Collaborative
E-government*
14. Lena Lindbjerg Sperling
*Economic and Cultural Development:
Empirical Studies of Micro-level Data*
15. Xia Zhang
*Obligation, face and facework:
An empirical study of the communi-
cative act of cancellation of an
obligation by Chinese, Danish and
British business professionals in both
L1 and ELF contexts*
16. Stefan Kirkegaard Sløk-Madsen
*Entrepreneurial Judgment and
Commercialization*
17. Erin Leitheiser
*The Comparative Dynamics of Private
Governance
The case of the Bangladesh Ready-
Made Garment Industry*
18. Lone Christensen
*STRATEGIIMPLEMENTERING:
STYRINGSBESTRÆBELSER, IDENTITET
OG AFFEKT*
19. Thomas Kjær Poulsen
*Essays on Asset Pricing with Financial
Frictions*
20. Maria Lundberg
*Trust and self-trust in leadership iden-
tity constructions: A qualitative explo-
ration of narrative ecology in the dis-
cursive aftermath of heroic discourse*

21. Tina Joanes
*Sufficiency for sustainability
Determinants and strategies for reducing
clothing consumption*
 22. Benjamin Johannes Flesch
*Social Set Visualizer (SoSeVi): Design,
Development and Evaluation of a Visual
Analytics Tool for Computational Set
Analysis of Big Social Data*
 23. Henriette Sophia Groskopf
Tvede Schleimann
*Creating innovation through collaboration
– Partnering in the maritime sector*
 24. Kristian Steensen Nielsen
*The Role of Self-Regulation in
Environmental Behavior Change*
 25. Lydia L. Jørgensen
Moving Organizational Atmospheres
 26. Theodor Lucian Vladasel
*Embracing Heterogeneity: Essays in
Entrepreneurship and Human Capital*
 27. Seidi Suurmets
*Contextual Effects in Consumer Research:
An Investigation of Consumer Information
Processing and Behavior via the Applicati
on of Eye-tracking Methodology*
 28. Marie Sundby Palle Nickelsen
*Reformer mellem integritet og innovation:
Reform af reformens form i den danske
centraladministration fra 1920 til 2019*
 29. Vibeke Kristine Scheller
*The temporal organizing of same-day
discharge: A tempography of a Cardiac
Day Unit*
 30. Qian Sun
*Adopting Artificial Intelligence in
Healthcare in the Digital Age: Perceived
Challenges, Frame Incongruence, and
Social Power*
 31. Dorthe Thorning Mejlhede
*Artful change agency and organizing for
innovation – the case of a Nordic fintech
cooperative*
 32. Benjamin Christoffersen
*Corporate Default Models:
Empirical Evidence and Methodical
Contributions*
 33. Filipe Antonio Bonito Vieira
Essays on Pensions and Fiscal Sustainability
 34. Morten Nicklas Bigler Jensen
*Earnings Management in Private Firms:
An Empirical Analysis of Determinants
and Consequences of Earnings
Management in Private Firms*
- 2020**
1. Christian Hendriksen
*Inside the Blue Box: Explaining industry
influence in the International Maritime
Organization*
 2. Vasileios Kosmas
*Environmental and social issues in global
supply chains:
Emission reduction in the maritime
transport industry and maritime search and
rescue operational response to migration*
 3. Thorben Peter Simonsen
*The spatial organization of psychiatric
practice: A situated inquiry into 'healing
architecture'*
 4. Signe Bruskin
*The infinite storm: An ethnographic study
of organizational change in a bank*
 5. Rasmus Corlin Christensen
*Politics and Professionals: Transnational
Struggles to Change International Taxation*
 6. Robert Lorenz Törner
*The Architectural Enablement of a Digital
Platform Strategy*

7. Anna Kirkebæk Johansson Gosovic
Ethics as Practice: An ethnographic study of business ethics in a multi-national biopharmaceutical company
8. Frank Meier
Making up leaders in leadership development
9. Kai Basner
Servitization at work: On proliferation and containment
10. Anestis Keremis
Anti-corruption in action: How is anti-corruption practiced in multinational companies?
11. Marie Larsen Ryberg
Governing Interdisciolinarity: Stakes and translations of interdisciplinarity in Danish high school education.
12. Jannick Friis Christensen
Queering organisation(s): Norm-critical orientations to organising and researching diversity
13. Thorsteinn Sigurdur Sveinsson
Essays on Macroeconomic Implications of Demographic Change
14. Catherine Casler
Reconstruction in strategy and organization: For a pragmatic stance
15. Luisa Murphy
Revisiting the standard organization of multi-stakeholder initiatives (MSIs): The case of a meta-MSI in Southeast Asia
16. Friedrich Bergmann
Essays on International Trade
17. Nicholas Haagensen
European Legal Networks in Crisis: The Legal Construction of Economic Policy
18. Charlotte Biil
Samskabelse med en sommerfugle-model: Hybrid ret i forbindelse med et partnerskabsprojekt mellem 100 selvejende daginstitutioner, deres paraplyorganisation, tre kommuner og CBS
19. Andreas Dimmelmeier
The Role of Economic Ideas in Sustainable Finance: From Paradigms to Policy
20. Maibrith Kempka Jensen
Ledelse og autoritet i interaktion - En interaktionsbaseret undersøgelse af autoritet i ledelse i praksis
21. Thomas Burø
LAND OF LIGHT: Assembling the Ecology of Culture in Odsherred 2000-2018
22. Prins Marcus Valiant Lantz
Timely Emotion: The Rhetorical Framing of Strategic Decision Making
23. Thorbjørn Vittenhof Fejerskov
Fra værdi til invitationer - offentlig værdiskabelse gennem affekt, potentialitet og begivenhed
24. Lea Acre Foverskov
Demographic Change and Employment: Path dependencies and institutional logics in the European Commission
25. Anirudh Agrawal
A Doctoral Dissertation
26. Julie Marx
Households in the housing market
27. Hadar Gafni
Alternative Digital Methods of Providing Entrepreneurial Finance

28. Mathilde Hjerrild Carlsen
Ledelse af engagementer: En undersøgelse af samarbejde mellem folkeskoler og virksomheder i Danmark
29. Suen Wang
Essays on the Gendered Origins and Implications of Social Policies in the Developing World
30. Stine Hald Larsen
The Story of the Relative: A Systems-Theoretical Analysis of the Role of the Relative in Danish Eldercare Policy from 1930 to 2020
31. Christian Casper Hofma
Immersive technologies and organizational routines: When head-mounted displays meet organizational routines
32. Jonathan Feddersen
The temporal emergence of social relations: An event-based perspective of organising
33. Nageswaran Vaidyanathan
ENRICHING RETAIL CUSTOMER EXPERIENCE USING AUGMENTED REALITY
05. Fei Liu
Emergent Technology Use in Consumer Decision Journeys: A Process-as-Propensity Approach
06. Jakob Rømer Barfod
Ledelse i militære højrisikoteams
07. Elham Shafiei Gol
Creative CrowdworK Arrangements
08. Árni Jóhan Petersen
Collective Imaginary as (Residual) Fantasy: A Case Study of the Faroese Oil Bonanza
09. Søren Bering
"Manufacturing, Forward Integration and Governance Strategy"
10. Lars Oehler
Technological Change and the Decomposition of Innovation: Choices and Consequences for Latecomer Firm Upgrading: The Case of China's Wind Energy Sector
11. Lise Dahl Arvedsen
Leadership in interaction in a virtual context: A study of the role of leadership processes in a complex context, and how such processes are accomplished in practice

2021

1. Vanya Rusinova
The Determinants of Firms' Engagement in Corporate Social Responsibility: Evidence from Natural Experiments
2. Lívia Lopes Barakat
Knowledge management mechanisms at MNCs: The enhancing effect of absorptive capacity and its effects on performance and innovation
3. Søren Bundgaard Brøgger
Essays on Modern Derivatives Markets
4. Martin Friis Nielsen
Consuming Memory: Towards a conceptualization of social media platforms as organizational technologies of consumption
12. Jacob Emil Jeppesen
Essays on Knowledge networks, scientific impact and new knowledge adoption
13. Kasper Ingeman Beck
Essays on Chinese State-Owned Enterprises: Reform, Corporate Governance and Subnational Diversity
14. Sönnich Dahl Sönnichsen
Exploring the interface between public demand and private supply for implementation of circular economy principles
15. Benjamin Knox
Essays on Financial Markets and Monetary Policy

16. Anita Eskesen
Essays on Utility Regulation: Evaluating Negotiation-Based Approaches in the Context of Danish Utility Regulation
17. Agnes Guenther
Essays on Firm Strategy and Human Capital
18. Sophie Marie Cappelen
Walking on Eggshells: The balancing act of temporal work in a setting of culinary change
19. Manar Saleh Alnamlah
About Gender Gaps in Entrepreneurial Finance
20. Kirsten Tangaa Nielsen
Essays on the Value of CEOs and Directors
21. Renée Ridgway
Re:search - the Personalised Subject vs. the Anonymous User
22. Codrina Ana Maria Lauth
IMPACT Industrial Hackathons: Findings from a longitudinal case study on short-term vs long-term IMPACT implementations from industrial hackathons within Grundfos
23. Wolf-Hendrik Uhlbach
Scientist Mobility: Essays on knowledge production and innovation
24. Tomaz Sedej
Blockchain technology and inter-organizational relationships
25. Lasse Bundgaard
Public Private Innovation Partnerships: Creating Public Value & Scaling Up Sustainable City Solutions
26. Dimitra Makri Andersen
Walking through Temporal Walls: Rethinking NGO Organizing for Sustainability through a Temporal Lens on NGO-Business Partnerships
27. Louise Fjord Kjærsgaard
Allocation of the Right to Tax Income from Digital Products and Services: A legal analysis of international tax treaty law
28. Sara Dahlman
Marginal alternativity: Organizing for sustainable investing
29. Henrik Gundelach
Performance determinants: An Investigation of the Relationship between Resources, Experience and Performance in Challenging Business Environments
30. Tom Wraight
Confronting the Developmental State: American Trade Policy in the Neoliberal Era
31. Mathias Fjællegaard Jensen
Essays on Gender and Skills in the Labour Market
32. Daniel Lundgaard
Using Social Media to Discuss Global Challenges: Case Studies of the Climate Change Debate on Twitter
33. Jonas Sveistrup Søgaard
Designs for Accounting Information Systems using Distributed Ledger Technology
34. Sarosh Asad
CEO narcissism and board composition: Implications for firm strategy and performance
35. Johann Ole Willers
Experts and Markets in Cybersecurity On Definitional Power and the Organization of Cyber Risks
36. Alexander Kronies
Opportunities and Risks in Alternative Investments

37. Niels Fuglsang
The Politics of Economic Models: An inquiry into the possibilities and limits concerning the rise of macroeconomic forecasting models and what this means for policymaking
38. David Howoldt
Policy Instruments and Policy Mixes for Innovation: Analysing Their Relation to Grand Challenges, Entrepreneurship and Innovation Capability with Natural Language Processing and Latent Variable Methods

2022

01. Ditte Thøgersen
Managing Public Innovation on the Frontline
02. Rasmus Jørgensen
Essays on Empirical Asset Pricing and Private Equity
03. Nicola Giommetti
Essays on Private Equity
04. Laila Starr
When Is Health Innovation Worth It? Essays On New Approaches To Value Creation In Health
05. Maria Krysfeldt Rasmussen
Den transformative ledelsesbyrde – etnografisk studie af en religionsinspireret ledelsesfilosofi i en dansk modevirksomhed
06. Rikke Sejer Nielsen
Mortgage Decisions of Households: Consequences for Consumption and Savings
07. Myriam Noémy Marending
Essays on development challenges of low income countries: Evidence from conflict, pest and credit
08. Selorm Agbleze
A BEHAVIORAL THEORY OF FIRM FORMALIZATION
09. Rasmus Arler Bogetoft
Rettighedshavers faktisk lidte tab i immaterialretssager: Studier af dansk ret med støtte i økonomisk teori og metode
10. Franz Maximilian Buchmann
Driving the Green Transition of the Maritime Industry through Clean Technology Adoption and Environmental Policies
11. Ivan Olav Vulchanov
The role of English as an organisational language in international workplaces
12. Anne Agerbak Bilde
TRANSFORMATIONER AF SKOLELEDELSE - en systemteoretisk analyse af hvordan betingelser for skoleledelse forandres med læring som genstand i perioden 1958-2020
13. JUAN JOSE PRICE ELTON
EFFICIENCY AND PRODUCTIVITY ANALYSIS: TWO EMPIRICAL APPLICATIONS AND A METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION
14. Catarina Pessanha Gomes
The Art of Occupying: Romanticism as Political Culture in French Prefigurative politics
15. Mark Ørberg
Fondsretten og den levende vedtægt
16. Majbritt Greve
Maersk's Role in Economic Development: A Study of Shipping and Logistics Foreign Direct Investment in Global Trade
17. Silje Julie J. Abildgaard
Doing-Being Creative: Empirical Studies of Interaction in Design Work
18. Jette Sandager
Glitter, Glamour, and the Future of (More) Girls in STEM: Gendered Formations of STEM Aspirations
19. Casper Hein Winther
Inside the innovation lab - How paradoxical tensions persist in ambidextrous organizations over time

20. Nikola Kostić
Collaborative governance of inter-organizational relationships: The effects of management controls, blockchain technology, and industry standards
21. Saila Naomi Stausholm
Maximum capital, minimum tax: Enablers and facilitators of corporate tax minimization
22. Robin Porsfelt
Seeing through Signs: On Economic Imagination and Semiotic Speculation
23. Michael Herburger
Supply chain resilience – a concept for coping with cyber risks
24. Katharina Christiane Nielsen Jeschke
Balancing safety in everyday work - A case study of construction managers' dynamic safety practices
25. Jakob Ahm Sørensen
Financial Markets with Frictions and Belief Distortions
26. Jakob Laage-Thomsen
Nudging Leviathan, Protecting Demos - A Comparative Sociology of Public Administration and Expertise in the Nordics
27. Kathrine Søs Jacobsen Cesko
Collaboration between Economic Operators in the Competition for Public Contracts: A Legal and Economic Analysis of Grey Zones between EU Public Procurement Law and EU Competition Law
28. Mette Nelund
Den nye jord – Et feltstudie af et bæredygtigt virke på Farendløse Mosteri
29. Benjamin Cedric Larsen
Governing Artificial Intelligence – Lessons from the United States and China
30. Anders Brøndum Klein
Kollektiv meningsdannelse iblandt heterogene aktører i eksperimentelle samskabelsesprocesser
31. Stefano Tripodi
Essays on Development Economics
32. Katrine Maria Lumbye
Internationalization of European Electricity Multinationals in Times of Transition
33. Xiaochun Guo
Dynamic Roles of Digital Currency – An Exploration from Interactive Processes: Difference, Time, and Perspective
34. Louise Lindbjerg
Three Essays on Firm Innovation
35. Marcela Galvis Restrepo
Feature reduction for classification with mixed data: an algorithmic approach
36. Hanna Nyborg Storm
Cultural institutions and attractiveness – How cultural institutions contribute to the development of regions and local communities
37. Anna-Bertha Heeris Christensen
Conflicts and Challenges in Practices of Commercializing Humans – An Ethnographic Study of Influencer Marketing Work
38. Casper Berg Lavmand Larsen
A Worker-Centered Inquiry into the Contingencies and Consequences of Worker Representation
39. Niels le Duc
The Resource Commitment of Multinational Enterprise R&D Activities
40. Esben Langager Olsen
Change management tools and change managers – Examining the simulacra of change
41. Anne Sophie Lassen
Gender in the Labor Market

42. Alison E. Holm
Corrective corporate responses to accusations of misconduct on societal issues
43. Chenyan Lyu
Carbon Pricing, Renewable Energy, and Clean Growth – A Market Perspective
44. Alina Grecu
UNPACKING MULTI-LEVEL OFFSHORING CONSEQUENCES: Hiring Wages, Onshore Performance, and Public Sentiment
45. Alexandra Lüth
Offshore Energy Hubs as an Emerging Concept – Sector Integration at Sea

2023

01. Cheryl Basil Sequeira
Port Business Development – Digitalisation of Port Authority and Hybrid Governance Model
02. Mette Suder Franck
Empirical Essays on Technology Supported Learning – Studies of Danish Higher Education
03. Søren Lund Frandsen
States and Experts – Assembling Expertise for Climate Change and Pandemics
04. Guowei Dong
Innovation and Internationalization – Evidence from Chinese Manufacturing Enterprises
05. Eileen Murphy
In Service to Security – Constructing the Authority to Manage European Border Data Infrastructures
06. Bontu Lucie Guschke
THE PERSISTENCE OF SEXISM AND RACISM AT UNIVERSITIES – Exploring the imperceptibility and unspeakability of workplace harassment and discrimination in academia

TITLER I ATV PH.D.-SERIEN

1992

1. Niels Kornum
Servicesamkørsel – organisation, økonomi og planlægningsmetode

1995

2. Verner Worm
*Nordiske virksomheder i Kina
Kulturspecifikke interaktionsrelationer
ved nordiske virksomhedsetableringer i Kina*

1999

3. Mogens Bjerre
*Key Account Management of Complex Strategic Relationships
An Empirical Study of the Fast Moving Consumer Goods Industry*

2000

4. Lotte Darsø
*Innovation in the Making
Interaction Research with heterogeneous Groups of Knowledge Workers
creating new Knowledge and new Leads*

2001

5. Peter Hobolt Jensen
*Managing Strategic Design Identities
The case of the Lego Developer Network*

2002

6. Peter Lohmann
The Deleuzian Other of Organizational Change – Moving Perspectives of the Human
7. Anne Marie Jess Hansen
To lead from a distance: The dynamic interplay between strategy and strategizing – A case study of the strategic management process

2003

8. Lotte Henriksen
*Videndeling
– om organisatoriske og ledelsesmæssige udfordringer ved videndeling i praksis*

9. Niels Christian Nickelsen
Arrangements of Knowing: Coordinating Procedures Tools and Bodies in Industrial Production – a case study of the collective making of new products

2005

10. Carsten Ørts Hansen
Konstruktion af ledelsesteknologier og effektivitet

TITLER I DBA PH.D.-SERIEN

2007

1. Peter Kastrup-Misir
Endeavoring to Understand Market Orientation – and the concomitant co-mutation of the researched, the researcher, the research itself and the truth

2009

1. Torkild Leo Thellefsen
*Fundamental Signs and Significance effects
A Semeiotic outline of Fundamental Signs, Significance-effects, Knowledge Profiling and their use in Knowledge Organization and Branding*
2. Daniel Ronzani
When Bits Learn to Walk Don't Make Them Trip. Technological Innovation and the Role of Regulation by Law in Information Systems Research: the Case of Radio Frequency Identification (RFID)

2010

1. Alexander Carnera
*Magten over livet og livet som magt
Studier i den biopolitiske ambivalens*

