# Gender coding and the consequences of campaigns for equality

A study in the wake of #MeToo

by

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May 2018

Master's Programme in Managing People, Knowledge and Change

# Abstract

**Title:** Gender coding and the consequences of campaigns for equality - a study in the wake of #MeToo

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**Course:** BUSN49, Degree Project at master's Programme Managing People, Knowledge and Change, Business Administration.

**Date of submission**: May 18th, 2018

**Keywords:** Gender, gendered relations, occupational segregation, occupational identity, masculinity, femininity, campaign, fashion, trend, IT

**Purpose:** The purpose of the thesis is to examine how gender relations are expressed by women within the IT occupation. Moreover, our objective is also to enhance our understanding of the meanings of campaigns for increased equality, by more specifically aiming to comprehend the meaning or meanings of the #MeToo campaign.

**Methodology:** The study is based on a qualitative abductive research approach with a hermeneutic approach. From these approaches, 10 semi-structured interviews and an observation was conducted. Furthermore, utilising and analysed the gathered material in a reflexive manner.

**Theoretical Perspectives:** Our research is based on the theory of occupational gender segregation, gendering in organizations and initiatives for inclusion and justice, in order to get background knowledge and a comprehension of general perceptions of women in gender atypical occupations and applied this as our benchmark.

**Conclusions:** The results indicate that occupations have certain identities and gender coded work ideals. Furthermore, i the existence of a sub segregation within IT, where the masculine identity is more apparent in the roles of developers and programmers having features of nerdiness and hegemonic masculinity. In addition, we have come across that women perceive greater pressure to perform, being responsible "for the whole world's female population" (as one respondent expressed) as and also different adaptation strategies among the women to cope with the tough environment in IT. We found that the #MeToo campaign within IT has spread and made impact on a considerably lower level, than we initially expected. Moreover, our study has found that organizations has not acted upon the #MeToo campaign to the extent it is described within social media and general press. More precisely, the leaders of said organizations has not brought the forthcoming campaign to light whatsoever.

# Acknowledgements

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# 1 Introduction

In this introductory chapter, we will provide a background and overview to our main theoretical topics in this thesis: women in IT, gender in organisations, occupational segregation and the gendering of jobs, and the #MeToo campaign. After this, we will present our purpose of the thesis and our research questions. These will we followed by a short section of knowledge contributions and thereafter, our limitations of our study. In the end of this first chapter, there will be an outline of the study functioning as a guideline for the reader.

## 1.1 Background

The #MeToo campaign went viral in October 2017. Since then, the western world has been hit by story, after story, regarding women's experiences of sexual harassment. In Sweden, the campaign developed to also point out entire organizations, industries and occupations where this occurs, indicating that there are not only uncommon single perpetrators, but also more general structural problems (Dagens Nyheter, 2017). As in the US, the acting industry were the first out with their call up, which gradually spread to other industries and occupations in Sweden like ripples (Regeringskansliet, 2018). These call ups were seen mainly through hashtags, special for each of the different occupational categories, such as actors, lawyers, or women in academia (Sköld & Ohlin, 2017). The reason why the #MeToo campaign has become so rewritten and a subject for attention in particularly Sweden is according to Eriksson and Björling (2017) because of the connection to the workplace. Since Sweden has among the highest employment rates for women in the world, that is probably where the linkage is (Eriksson & Björling, 2017). For us, being women soon to proceed from academics into the labour market starting our careers, the #MeToo campaign touched us when it came like a bolt from the blue.

Moreover, since Sweden is a very gender segregated country when it comes to different occupations and industries (Williams, 1995: SCB 2016), we therefore see a reason for exploring a segregated occupation to further understand injustice issues enlightened through

initiatives as the campaign. Consequently, this imply that we, in this study, will originate from research of gender studies and the social constructivist perspective, including for instance gender processes (Acker:1990:1992: West & Zimmerman, 1987), and Acker's (2006) concept of the ideal worker. Occupational segregation will also be processed such as horizontal organisation (Charles and Grusky, 2006: Wahl, Holgersson, Höök and Linghag, 2011) as well as research covering theoretical concepts, and initiatives, regarding change in relation to diversity or unjust conditions (Prasad, Prasad and Mir, 2010).

In terms of a gender segregated occupation, the technology industry was one of the call-ups in the #MeToo campaign. They all gathered together under the hashtag #teknisktfel (#teknisktfel = technical fault), which include women working in occupations in tech, construction, automotive, industry and IT (IT stands for information technology which is a generic term for the technical possibilities that has been created through advancement within computer technique and telecommunication). In this study we will specialise on the IT occupation. IT is not only interesting because of its well-known domination of men, but also due to a seemed prevailing perception of the occupation as associated with the image of a male nerd (Hayes, 2010, Misa, 2010). With this in mind, the thesis will include the investigation of this field, hence expanding our research field by adding feminism studies focused on the relation to technique and IT.

Given a brief overview of our interests and reasons for our chosen area of study, putting them together ends up in our purpose investigating how gender relations are expressed in the IT occupation as well as the meanings of the #MeToo campaign considering this context. Because of this, it becomes clear that our second question or aim regarding the meanings of #MeToo, cannot be accomplished without us approaching and answering the research area of the IT occupation first.

Moreover, we will fulfil our purpose by drawing on an interview study of women working in the IT occupation, as well as participate on an event for women working in the IT. We will use a qualitative abductive approach, meaning that we will have a greater freedom when it comes to make interpretations and analysing our gathered data in depth. Furthermore, to accomplish our study will include a hermeneutical approach, implicating the interpretation of texts (Prasad, 2005), in order to see correlations, differences, themes et cetera in our theoretical material.

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By performing our thesis, our overall aim is thus to provide a broader understanding of outcomes of campaigns and or similar initiatives for gender equality. Our study has resulted in interesting findings. Our study has found that the IT occupation is gender coded which is especially seen in explored sub segregated roles. Consequently, we have provided results of difficulties adjusting for women, included greater pressure, leading to exclusion from male bonding and the use of adaptation strategies. The segregation in roles within the IT occupations can depend on different reasons which will discuss in our analysis. Further findings regarding our second research aim is that the campaign on a personal or societal level may function as a voice or practice for change, yet, not in our interpretation if focusing on an occupational or organisational level, based on the IT context. Hence, a final finding is that #MeToo currently, could be seen as a general fashion which is not locally anchored in the IT occupation.

## 1.2    Knowledge contribution

In regard to gender in organisations and in occupations, there already exists extensive research covering these areas. Also, when it comes to the IT and technical work overall, there are feminist scholars that have investigated gender this field (Berner, 2003: Wajcman, 1991: Faulkner, 2003). However, our ambition is to explore how gender relations are expressed in specifically the IT occupation and since it is a field, which constantly moves forward, the way gender is expressed may have changed to some extent as well, thus motivating our research considering this area. Moreover, our interest is further to inquire into the meanings of the #MeToo campaign for women working in these IT occupations. In our opinion, our study is a clear contribution since there are not yet academic studies of the #MeToo movement, due to its recentness. The campaign itself has provided data showing women being exposed for sexual assaults and harassment within the IT occupation. With this in mind, there is a need for knowledge contribution when it comes to what the #MeToo campaign, as a phenomenon, means e.g. for the IT occupation.

We find our research of relevance for several groups. First of all, we think it can be of interest for organisations acting in the IT sector, gaining insights of gender typing and occupational identities within the occupation and its potential influence. Additionally, we imagine that a

greater knowledge of the #MeToo campaign and its meanings for our interviewed women in IT occupations, is also valuable for these actors in terms of general understanding but also for the future. Besides, other organisations figuring in business similar to IT or possessing similar characteristics as in IT could potentially also take advantage of our study. Finally, we recognise that employees within different occupations are in request of a greater awareness overall of the interplay between gender, occupational identities and the #MeToo movement.

## 1.3    Research aim and research questions

The purpose of the thesis is to examine how gender relations are expressed by women within the IT occupation. Furthermore, an objective is to enhance our understanding of gender relations in the IT occupation, and the meaning of campaigns for increased equality. Our ambition is to accomplish this through an interview study of women working in the IT occupation, and complementary observation performed at an event for women working in IT. Our research questions are thus:

*1. How are gender relations expressed among the interviewed women (working in IT)?*

*2. What meaning(s) has the #MeToo campaign had in this context?*

## 1.4    Disposition

This section describes the structure and outline of this thesis, thus presenting a general view of all chapters. In the following chapter, i.e. chapter 2, we will provide a review of theoretical concepts, previous research on the topics as well as popular press that are of importance for our study. By this chapter, we aim to give the reader an overview of the current research within several fields, namely gender in organisations, occupational segregation and campaigns in terms of initiatives for inclusion and injustice. It will furthermore serve as a bridge to the analysis in chapter four.

After the literature review we will declare our chosen research methodology. It will cover our

approach to the set-up research questions and how we gathered our empirical material. The methodology chapter will also include how we analysed our data as well as an elaboration in terms of credits, reflexivity an ethics concerning our study. Lastly, there will be a discussion regarding the limitations of our method.

A good comprehension of how the empirical data was conducted and examined will promote a broader understanding thus facilitate for the reader to grasp the analysis.

The empirical data and analysis will be brought up after the methodology chapter. Here we will present several diverse themes that we have come across when studying our results in compliance with theory. In these paragraphs we are reviewing how gender is expressed in the IT occupation as well as perceive meanings of the #MeToo campaign. In order to accomplish this task, we use theory brought up in our literature chapter.

Followed by the empirical material and analysis, is chapter 5, which is our discussion. Here we will discuss the findings presented in previous chapter and analyse it further. We will bring forward our research questions as starting points and base in order to lead our discussion towards conclusions, that will be acknowledged in chapter 6.

Lastly, in chapter 6, the conclusion(s) will be given and our research questions till be answered. We will also present our perceived contributions to the academic fields. Finally, we will display suggestions for further research.

# 2    Literature Review

In this section, relevant literature for our research will be presented. This review includes four sections; the first one describes women in IT/computing in order to provide the reader with a historical background, which we find are fundamental for understanding our further literature and the results. Secondly, there will be a chapter including theories of gender in organisational context, gender construction, and the ideal worker. Third, a chapter of occupational segregation and the gendering of jobs will follow, presenting concepts such as gender typing, occupational identity, and adaptation to masculinity. By providing this theory of the IT occupation and expressed gender relations, that lays a foundation to enable an answer our first research question. Also, it will create a prerequisite for being able to answer the second research question in 4.2. Lastly, a chapter of the #MeToo campaign will be outlined, discussing the overall progress of #MeToo as well as similar campaigns and initiatives. The literature review will overall serve as a base to our gathered material and facilitate for the analysis and discussion that will follow in chapter four and five.

## 2.1    Gender in organisations

### 2.1.1    Social constructivist perspective

In terms of diversity management and diversity studies, there are two main perspectives that are named the social constructivist approach and the functionalist approach. The latter is founded on the belief that diversity is a result and it explores how varied or diverse staffs makes a strategic source for the organisation (Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop & Nkomo, 2010). The social constructivist approach, on the other hand, implies that diversity is a discourse, which is socially constructed and facilitated by other main organizational and social discourses (Prasad et al., 2010). The latter is thus relevant for us since our study focuses on how gender is situated, constructed and expressed in the IT occupation. Though our main focus is how it is expressed.

Alvesson and Billing (2011) furthermore discuss that most gender scientists today are in favour of the social constructivist approach, in contrast of a biological perspective, considering gender as a result of biological differences. Wahl et al. (2011) provide a background to this standpoint of gender as social and cultural constructed, namely social anthropology, a discipline that was early in exploring women studies. According to the authors, social anthropology views the human as a social figure, building societies rather than acting alone. What we observe as people in everyday settings depends on our frames of reference. We need concepts to think and all these concepts are based in a context constituted by the culture we are acting within, in that particular moment. This viewpoint is the basis for the view of gender as socially constructed that has been established, not just in anthropology but also in most gender theoretical research. Thus, it is the foundation for the assumption that we as humans create, build and construct what we perceive as feminine and masculine (Wahl et al., 2011).

## 2.1.2   Gender as a social construction – work is not gender neutral

In regard to gender as a social construction, West and Zimmerman (1987) and Acker (1990) where early in the field introducing concepts explaining gender as happening through interaction and social processes, of many considered as influential landmark studies in gender scholarship (Wharton, 2011). These studies of gender occurring through interactions are relevant for us, as well as the reader's understanding in order to comprehend following sections of gender in terms of organisation and occupations. West and Zimmerman's (1987) concept of doing gender belongs to interaction theories, meaning that the focus is on the social context in which the individuals interact (Wharton, 2011). Interactionism perspectives reason that people's reactions and actions vary depending on the social context (Wharton, 2011). The concept of doing gender signifies that gender is not a role, nor a variable but a verb that is created through interactive activities (Gonäs, 2000). These processes happen at different arenas, formal as well as informal, e.g. whilst performing the work of organizing, one is simultaneously "doing gender" (Gonäs, 2000: West & Fenstermaker, 1995). Hence, doing gender is e.g. when differences are created between men and women, girls and boys, that are neither natural, nor essential or biological. When these distinctions have been made, they work as reinforcing the "essentialness" of gender, i.e. ideas of gender as two absolute distinct species (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 137: Wahl et al., 2011). Hence doing gender occurs while individuals are interacting in accordance with the appropriate behaviour

associated with their own gender (Gonäs, 2000). Nevertheless, when an individual act against it, the routine is challenged (West & Zimmerman, 1987). One's different actions are often based on how they will be perceived by the other actors (Gonäs, 2000). Relevant critics towards this perspective argues that it rather described gender conformity and how differences of gender are preserved instead of interactions which challenge these differentiations (Deutsch, 2007).

Moreover, Acker (1990:1999) has contributed to the development of gender theory by opening up and enlightened the impact of social processes on an organization level (Gonäs, 2000). According to Acker (1990) but also later researchers such as Ashcraft (2013), work is not gender neutral. To express that an organization is gendered implies, that "advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine" (Acker, 1990, p 146). Thus, the gendering of organizations can be understood through processes that interact with each other.

Acker (1990) presents five different dimensions or processes that highlight and examine how gendering is created in organizations. In practice the processes overlap, but at the analytical level it is easier to separate them. In short, the first one involves construction of gender patterns in organizations and involve hierarchies, wages etc., while the second category highlights the construction of symbols and images, explaining and reinforce gender distinctions (Acker, 1990: Acker 1999: Gonäs, 2000). The third one is similar to West and Zimmerman's (1987) theory of doing gender, implying that gendering processes happens through interactions between women and women, men and men and between women and men (Acker, 1990). Because of this, patterns that enact subordination and dominance are created as well as but also network and exclusion. The fourth of Ackers' dimensions emphasise processes which creates "gendered components of individual identity" (Acker, 1990, p.147) and the fifth one implies gender to be a constitutional factor in "organizational logic "or in the underlying practices that construct them and can for instance take form in rules or tools or appraisal systems (Acker, 1990, p. 147).

In regard to gender structures and gendered organizations, Acker (2006) has moreover introduced another concept i.e. the one of the ideal worker. This concept implicate that the ideal worker illustrates who is considered as privileged in organizations. In most situations,

this is the white heterosexual man, being the main daily-breader and furthermore dedicated to work no matter what (Acker, 2006). By reflecting how organizations evolved back in the days, it is easier to gain insight into how Acker's concept has emerged. Because traditionally back then, organizations were made of men and also made for men (Acker, 2006).

To summarise we have presented that our base is the social constructivist perspective the interactionist theory viewing gender as socially constructed and happening though interactive processes (Zanoni et al. 2010: West and Zimmerman, 1987). Likewise, we have displayed Acker's (1990:1992) five dimensions of processes stressing how gendering is created in organizations as well as her idea of the ideal worker (Acker, 2006). These insights serve as a good foundation for next section outlining and explaining occupational segregation.

# 2.2    Occupational Segregation

## 2.2.1    Forms of occupational segregation

In relation to gender in organisation, occupational segregation is relevant parameter. The line of research performed by McDonald (2013) found that occupational segregation, is prominent and pervasive today in the labour market all over the world. Furthermore, it can be concluded from decades of organizational scholarship, that work is not gender neutral, rather it is based on the social identities e.g. gender. Furthermore, Williams (1995) states that segregation exists in almost every occupation, at least when it comes to sexes.

Gender segregation can be described at community level to illustrate how the labour market looks, but also at the organizational level to illustrate how it is in the organization internally (Wahl et al., 2011). It is usually described through different dimensions, most commonly vertical, and horizontal. Vertical segregation implicates the segregation of men and women in the organizations' hierarchies. In this thesis, the latter will mainly be of interest. Horizontal segregation refers to how women and men work in different sectors, industries, organizations, professions and different tasks (Wahl et al., 2011).

## 2.2.2    The gendering of occupations

Considering the fact that organizations are gendered, and that interaction and social processes produces and reinforce gender, Wharton (2011) reason that gender is integrated in our comprehension of job demands and characteristics. As a result, certain jobs and occupations within organizations are gender typed (Wharton, 2011). This is of importance for our study since we are investigating gender expressed in an occupation. Gender typing implicates that jobs, occupations, roles and relations at work are not gender neutral but loaded with gender meanings. Therefore, they are considered more or less suitable for one gender compared to the other (Acker, 1992: Wharton, 2011). Closely related to the idea of gender typing, is the concept of gendered work ideals, suggesting the vital and suitable skills, talents and behaviour in order to be in compliance with the gender code of that occupation (Petersson, 2007). Work ideals that are gendered and joint with masculinist reinforce gender segregation and furthermore the stratification between work performed by the distinct genders (Fondas, 1997). Williams (1993) argues similarly that women and men are separated into specific clusters of occupations depending on their respective gender and that jobs are noticeably segregated into women's work respectively men's work (Williams, 1993).

Above reasoning of gendered jobs and works ideals, are similar with Ashcraft's (2007:2013) research of occupational identity and social identities, i.e. that occupations may have certain identities more or less suited for employees, depending on how well you are in compliance with the particular identity.

Whilst referring to occupational identity Ashcraft (2007) discussed the situation of women being included in the occupational identity of aircraft pilots. It started off with people who generally felt insecure when it got to flying, because of the pilot's occupational identity suggested a loner, risk taker and daredevil personality (Ashcraft, 2007: Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004). Thus, the occupational identity in question, was branded differently to make it seem safer to the public, by integrating women as pilots and in the identity, e.g. by the term "ladybird," (Ashcraft, 2007, p.76). If women could do it, anyone could. The reconstructing of the occupational identity made people comfortable with flying and therefore, the occupational identity got cohesive with the professionalism of being a pilot. Consequently, this led to women being excluded, going from the cockpit as a glamourous pilot to the cabin sexy stewardess, being important in terms of defining the norm of the man. Until at least the mid-1970s, the identity of the pilot occupation got to be seen as masculine. Another example, making the same point are is the accounting field (McDonald, 2013). The accounting field

aimed to be considered professional and sought to separate itself from the bookkeeper occupation, thus, gender coding the bookkeepers of being female and the professional accountants of being male (Kirkham & Loft, 1993). These examples, supports the fact that identities are socially constructed (McDonald, 2013: Wharton, 2011).

Ashcraft (2013) furthermore states that the characteristic of an occupation is tied to the social identities, which it is adapted to. Her research on occupational segregation confirms that people in general judge the nature of work from the social identities aligned with the work itself. People tend to think that people get their identity from work, and not a mutual relationship, i.e. that work derive identity from the people it's associated with. "To a significant extent, that is, we know the character of an occupation by the company it keeps." (Ashcraft, 2013, p. 6).

Furthermore, Ashcraft (2013) introduce the metaphor of the glass slipper, that entails how occupations appear and by nature will be more suited and enabled for certain people, due to specific characteristics. Just like the shoe in the Cinderella fairy tale only fits her, Ashcraft's metaphor illustrate that particular types of occupations are constructed for people that are in line with certain social identities. On the other hand, those with alternative identities, encounter problems when entering occupations, which identities were not intentionally made to properly fit them.

## 2.2.3   Adapting to male domination and masculinity

In regard to not fitting the occupation's social identity, there are certain strategies or adaptation found in previous research, that women tend to apply. For our research this is of relevance since it can be an example of how gender is expressed in the It occupation. Kanter's (1977) theory of tokenism, which will be reviewed more below, demonstrate that women in a male dominated group can perceive difficultness adjusting, because men felt ambiguous due to their presence. (Kanter, 1977). Similarly, characteristics perceived as female are in many contexts highlighted as desirable and contributing when there seems to be benefits applying "female behaviour" such as being diplomatic (Berner, 2003, p.188: Wahl et al., 2011). Due to the expectations from the surrounding of females having certain traits and being good at handling relations and emotions, space is created for female construction, for women to be good at those skills (Berner, 2003: Wahl et al., 2011). Also, according to Berner (2003)

studying female engineers, there were an ambiguousness among women, both appreciating that they could "behave as women", but simultaneously some did not feel comfortable behaving in line with the particular feminine identity that was premiered.

To act in accordance with that premiered femininity is a form of strategy to adaptation in male dominated environments and when not fitting the occupational identity (Kanter, 1977: Lindgren 1985, Wahl et al., 2011). Similarly, Wahl's (1992) research showed that applying a positive strategy, that is to say, to promote the benefits of their gender, was usual. Another strategy, which are less sustainable, according to Lindgren (1985) is the conformist, thus trying to emphasize its resemblance to the majority and masculinity, keeping distance to femininity. It is difficult to continue in the long run since an organisation just have room for a few, and one need to be very pervasive and competent not act outside the informal systems (Lindgren, 1985).

## 2.2.4    Gender coding in IT

In terms of occupations being gender coded as described in section 2.2.2. we will in this section provide research of how it is in IT occupation, which is of value for our study.

McDonald (2012) argues that women, being the underrepresented gender, are excluded from discourses regarding IT and computing. Moreover, when occupations, dominated by men starts to take a path towards being more integrative, it often results in the creation of female dominated groups within certain parts of the occupation, creating a ghetto dominated by females (Charles & Grusky, 2006).

Furthermore, Petersson's (2007) study of IT consultants in Sweden illustrates that the perception of the ultimate IT consultant is gendered and strengthens stereotypical evaluations of masculinity and femininity, when praising masculine qualities and devaluing feminine traits. Additionally, Petersson (2007) demonstrate that different work implicates different value, meaning that women have been permitted to enter particular fields or disciplines within the IT domain, e.g. user-friendliness as well as interest for design and appearance. However, these were seen as "soft fields", shown to be lower in status and connected with characteristics considered as female, this furthermore led to the notion that these roles requested less essential competencies and technical qualities. The IT consultants, who worked

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within these so-called soft fields, were thus not considered as the ideal workers. There was a created image of an ultimate IT consultant with ideals that mainly the male employees could identify with, whereas the female employees expressed a lack of identification. Being allowed in these certain working areas, the female workers was neither a threat to the male dominance or challenged it (Petersson, 2007).

## 2.2.5    Inclusion and exclusion

Concerning exclusion, which McDonald (2012) stressed in previous section, Kanter (1977), in her theory of tokenism, also mentions exclusion as an outcome when being the underrepresented gender. Tokens are those working in skewed distributed groups i.e. dominated by the other gender with approximately 85 % (Kanter, 1987). Her result illustrate that these tokens carried additional weights of visibility and by being more salient in terms of physical attributions this shadowed and took attention away from their actual skills. Due to this enhanced focus on difference, women were marginalised and excluded in informal socialisations and networking. Besides, these token women were subject to greater pressure to perform comparing to those in the dominant group. Moreover, their achievements or failures where perceived as indicators of all women's potential to meet the expectations (Kanter, 1987: Wahl et al., 2011). As for our study, these above are important points, as it also is expressions of gender relations. Also, the women's attendance caused ambiguity among the men, causing them to emphasise the gender differences even more. Consequently, the women were more viewed in terms of their gender rather than their roles or positions. Although Kanter (1977) believed tokenism to be gender neutral, hence applicable both to men or women, William's research (1995) demonstrate that male tokens in some situations take advantages instead.

In addition, Davies' (1996) paper describes the routine or complex matters of inclusion in less defined supporting roles. It is thus about how women are included in some professions, but more specifically in the role of support staff. Davies (1996) describes gender as being interpreted via binary thought, where the feminine is treated as "other" and where masculinity is valorised, causing repressing abilities, which are culturally attributed to the feminine. Women are important in terms of defining the norm of the man. Hence, there is an underestimating or failing to recognise the work performed by women in support of the professional ideal (Davies, 1996). By highlighting how gender is expressed (women figuring in support roles), it is of use for us if similar is shown in the IT occupation. Likewise, Wahl et

al. (2011) declare that some men claim that women contribute to the organisation by representing other occupational categories. Consequently, women feel welcomed but not fully integrated in the organisation (Wahl et al. 2011).

Simpson (2004) furthermore argues that when moving into gender uncharacteristic occupations and roles, one often face issues since they challenge conventional mind-sets and prevailing assumptions. Additionally, Alvesson and Billing (2002) claim that for women in a managerial role, which has traditionally and historically been regarded as male, this can imply a difficult balancing act and contradict with a need to exceed the normative women's role. In other words, although women act in line with the actual work ideal and gender typing, this behaviour might yet not be rewarded if it at the same time indicate the failure of meeting the expected behaviour viewed as appropriate for her own gender (Forseth, 2005).

In relation to inclusion and exclusion, but also relevant in the light of #MeToo campaign, is the concept one of voice, thus substantiating us bringing it forward. The concept of voice originates from Hirschman (1970) but is also brought up by Rennstam and Sullivan (2018) in their study of peripheral inclusion through informal silencing and voice. They suggest a new concept, namely peripheral inclusion, entailing a co-existence of exclusion and inclusion but also the conflict between silencing and the expression of voice, where the two latter consequently end up someplace on the periphery of the continuum. The authors moreover bring up research of modes in form of silencing and voice, in which silence may be seen as a key feature of the power dynamics in organisations. Bearing this in mind, inclusion is thus something that cannot be in total realized if there are not present possibilities to express voice. What the two authors came down to was that there was an explicit silence at the 80's and 90's from the LGB voice within the police force. Therefore, exclusion was also the case for this group. However, ten years later the status had change. Having an LGB voice instead of explicit silence, there was informal silencing in the organisation, and by having an LGB voice, the LGB police where thus peripheral included (Rennstam & Sullivan, 2018). To put this in context for our thesis, the #MeToo campaign can be compared to the voice of the LGB officers, implying a voice.

## 2.3    Women in IT

### 2.3.1    Gender segregation in the IT occupation at the Swedish labour market

Although Sweden from an international perspective has a high participation among women in the labour market, it is very gender-segregated (Williams, 1993: Regeringskansliet, 2017: SCB 2016). There is prominent evidence of opposition when it comes to egalitarian pressures, which appear clearly in the comparison of the corresponding rate of change in other spectrum of the gender stratification system (Charles & Grusky, 2006).

Sweden is a country well known for being egalitarian and having policies which are friendly of families, although, country wise, it is profoundly sex segregated. Furthermore, there are countries which are said to be of a more conservative manner when it comes to gender, e.g. Italy and Japan. If making an observation of these countries, they do not tend to be segregated to a larger extent in comparison to countries, which are seen as less conservative (Charles & Grusky, 2006). The authors state that the countries with the highest levels of segregation are often those who are considered socially and culturally progressive ones, e.g. Sweden, rather than the more conservative ones, e.g. Japan. If concentrating on horizontal segregation (which we will explain more thoroughly further on) which refers to segregation in terms of male or female domination across sectors, industries or occupations, the IT occupations is included in that category by clearly being male dominated (Charles, 2003: SCB, 2016).

In general, only 4 of the 30 most popular occupations in Sweden were equally gender distributed 2014. This is demonstrated by the latest statistics from 2016, of equality at the labour market in Sweden (SCB, 2016). Hence, the labour market is strongly gender-segregated and only 16 % of the employed women and 15 % of the employed men were in professions with an equal gender distribution. Though, it has improved during the years comparing to 1985, were only 6 and 5 % respectively in professions with an equal gender distribution (SCB, 2016: SOU: 2004). In regard to IT and computing, with jobs such as software, system developers et cetera, was not included among the 4 equally gendered integrated occupations and furthermore illustrated a gender segregation with a male domination of approximately 80 % men and 20% women (SCB, 2016). Even though the latter may seem like a low number, it has increased from previous years. A government public

investigation from 2004 shows that the proportion of female computer technicians increased by approximately 7 % between 1997 and 2002 (SOU:2004).

An additional survey from 2017 investigating the use of IT among individuals, illustrate that when it comes to more general areas of expertise, such as editing images, video and audio files, creating digital presentations with images, charts and tables, installing software, etc., there are no or very small differences between men and women (SCB, 2017). However, for skills such as programming, using advanced features in spreadsheets, or changing settings in software, there are significant differences between the sexes. The survey showed that 16 % of the men had written code in any programming language, while the corresponding number for women was only 5 %. Thus, the proportion of women who have programmed is still significantly lower compared to men (SCB, 2017).

### 2.3.2   Historical view of women's role in IT

From literature on the subject IT and computing, it is clear that women are and have been the underrepresented gender (McDonald, 2012: Linnakivi, 2000). That has not always been the case. At least in the US, IT and computing has a history of more women and the occupation was quite gender balanced at 1960's to 1980's and a popular choice among women (Hayes, 2010). Ensmenger (2010) mention a post wartime and high demand enabling low entry barriers and subsidized education and as potential reasons for women finding programming appealing in the 60's. However, it was not a high demand that enabled opportunities for women in this field but rather a perception of the programming as not yet a science field or possessing an engineering identity (Ensmenger, 2010).

In Sweden, in harmony with the industrial expansion, it was a similar demand as described above in the US, of employees within technical work i.e. with technical competencies (Berner, 1981 cited in Lindgren, 1985). From the 30's until the 80's, there was an increase of people in technical work in Sweden, where the peak appeared between the post wartime and until the middle of the 60's. Ergo, an expansion of the technical programs followed since education, especially technical, was seen as the strongest stimulus to economic growth (Lindgren, 1985). Consequently, all resources including women, immigrants and other workers were up for discussion in order to solve the shortage of technicians. As in the US, this resulted in a greater representation of women in technical occupations until the middle

70's, although the rate of increase was more modest. Contrary, the US an approximate estimation of female employers in programming 1960 is 30 %, whereas the first government statistics in 1970 demonstrated that there were 22,5 % women in programming (Ensmenger, 2010). In regard to computing overall, 38 % of the white-collar workforce in computing jobs were held by women in the late 80's, hence being the most gendered balanced in the engineering field in the US (Misa, 2010). Programmer, system analysis and operator were some work titles within the area that women at that time had. Yet, in general women tended to be gathered in the lower status jobs within the computing profession (Ensmenger, 2010).

In Sweden, there were 277 000 people in technical roles in the middle of the 70's, whereas 10 % of these where female (Berner, 1981 cited in Lindgren, 1985). Hence, there was a lower representation of women than in the US. Moreover 90 % of people in technical occupations could be referred to holding autonomous jobs such as engineers, programmers, system developers. Only 4 % who held these jobs were women, while there was a female representation of 65% in the rest of the technical roles, i.e. assisting or supporting positions such as laboratory assistants (Lindgren, 1985). Thus, it is possible to distinguish a similarity in accordance with the Ensmenger (2010) statements above, i.e. that women were included or employed in roles where the job was considered less independent and not holding an engineering identity. The absence of women in technical educations began to be perceived as a problem in the early 80's in Sweden (Salminen-Karlsson, 2003).

In the US, there was a clear fall of the number of women in computer science after the 80's, in fact exceptionally compared to other fields. In contrast to previously 38 % females in the computing workforce in the late 80's, the percentage of women was down to 29 % in 2005 (Misa, 2010). Still, Ensmenger (2010) points out that this attentive downturn is only relative to an equivalent rise in female employers during the previous decades. Dissimilar to other academic domains that have been male dominated from the start, computing had an imprecise gender identity in its introductory phase. Ensmenger (2010) argues that programming, which represented a great deal of computing back then was seen as a low status job, not considered a professional discipline and therefore suitable and more open towards women. In terms of academics, computer science was from the beginning a field with a wide diversity of "disciplinary cultural influences" but then gradually became more similar to engineering culture (e.g. by moving registrations to computer educations back among the engineering disciplines), and with a corresponding proportion of women (Hayes, 2010, p.44). Likewise,

computer programming gradually became intentionally perceived as a scientific, masculine status discipline and the previous openness to women ended (Ensmenger, 2010: Hayes, 2010). According to Ensmenger (2010), masculinity is a visible trait in any academic discipline that becomes professionalized. Nonetheless, this process was not a linear nor universal process, declaring why computing continued to have a female representation throughout the 80's (Ensmenger, 2010).

Except for computing becoming more of a scientific and masculine status field, Hayes (2010) argues that the decline of women in IT occupations may partly depend on the IT occupation as associated with the image of a nerd. Misa (2010) furthermore stresses a connection between how computing is represented in popular culture and the computing culture itself. In other words, that there is not a coincidence that the decline of women in computing 1980 overlapped with the growth of male geeks in the popular culture (Misa, 2010). During the 70's and 80's, the discipline of computer work became more familiar to the public and so did these not very appealing stereotypes of scientists working with computing, as nerds and hackers, that settled in people's consciousness (Hayes, 2010). Also, mass media contributed by providing a misleading masculine image of computing, less gender equal than the reality, which also most likely affected the interest for the occupation among women (Hayes, 2010). In addition, the downturn of women in computing also occurred in accordance with the increased (very gendered) gaming industry (Misa, 2010). Ensmenger (2010) describes that even though this nerdy image often has been associated with personal computing, "the social construction of the computer programmer as a nerdy eccentric" originated already in 60's (Ensmenger, 2010, p.137). It began by the connecting of programming capability with playing chess and solving mathematical puzzles, which was reinforced by test and other hiring activities used by the computer industry. This is according to Ensmenger (2010) an example of gender norms being institutionalized and an example of how culture and structure are reciprocally constitutive and, in the end, self-replicating.

### 2.3.3   The masculine identity in technique, technology and IT

Ashcraft's (2013) theory of the Glass slipper provides an influential metaphor to gain insights into the associations of socially constructed bodies with certain occupations or jobs (McDonald, 2012). Focusing on IT, Petersson (2007) research on IT consultants showed that efficient and competent performance of an ideal consultant in IT was perceived to required

actions, talents, technical abilities and knowledge that were associated with hegemonic masculinity, male abilities and skills, and men's experiences. Hegemonic masculinity in technology, is a theoretical concept from Wajcman (1991) shaped in two main practises, i.e. physical toughness and mechanical abilities and the more professional rational calculative technical expert. In regard to the glass slipper, it raises the question of how IT and computing became gender coded as masculine.

The relation between technique, gender, symbols, identity and structures have been studied in feminist's scholars over a long time Faulkner (2003). In regard to gendering of jobs, there is a perception that technical work is masculine (IT included) and masculinity (Faulkner, 2003: Mellström, 2003:1995). Faulkner (2003) mentions two main reasons for the fact that technique is gender characterized. First, men have been the dominated gender to make decision behind technical formations. Secondly, men have in general had greater success in terms of contending their competence, including technical. Connell (1987) cited in Faulkner (2003) furthermore highlights that since the modern technique historically is associated with the industrial capitalism, they are symbolically connected through themes such as control and dominance. Mastering the nature is still a powerful symbol for technique and natural science, and in this sense, the technology can be understood as the carrier of masculine culture (Faulkner, 2003: Wajcman, 1991).

Technique can be comprehended as producing gender and as an outcome of gender relations (Wajcman, 1991). It is illustrated through gender structures, yet also in shapes of symbols and identities (Cockburn, 1991: Wajcman, 1991). In regard to Wajcman's (1991) concept of hegemonic masculinity, Mellström (2003) reason what bring these two masculine forms together. His analysis is that they are expressive and constituted shapes of masculinity, and that both conceptualize how men create identity in relation to technology and machines (Mellström, 2003). Mellström (1995) furthermore concludes that men's identification with technology is obvious and "taken for granted" (p. 171). It is included in what it implies to be a man. Being multi skilled in terms of technical capabilities is according to Mellström's research (1995) in accordance with the definition of masculinity. Contrary, being technically helpless is pictured as feminine. This is also stated by Wajcman (1991) "Technical competence is central to the dominant cultural ideal of masculinity, and its absence a key feature of stereotyped femininity" (p. 159). In regard to men's identification with technique Mellström (1995) research demonstrated that Swedish engineers' ritually shows of practical

technical competence were examples of a homosocial ceremony, which occurred among engineers and tended to reproduce patterns of homosociality. This is similar to what Cockburn (1991) cited in Wahl et al. (2011) describes as "male bonding" (p.121) that foster masculinity and marginalises women. Studies of female engineers displayed that they did not share the same obsession (McIlwee & Robinsson, 1992 cited in Faulkner, 2003). Wahl et al. (2011) also declare that some men hold the perception that women disturb male's social intercourse. Thus, it is not surprising if women tend to leave the field since they never really are included in the club and are excluded from informal networks (Faulkner, 2003).

Faulkner (2003) also stresses factors influencing the perception of technique as masculine, namely technical artefacts that are gender coded as masculine through social relations and likewise existing cultural images of technique as masculine. The latter is in line with above described stereotype of a person typically associated with computers is the nerd or hacker (Misa, 2010: Hayes:2010).

In regard to this image of a hacker, Nissen (2003) also discuss more thoroughly that the historical development of computers and emerge of the hacker culture, has influenced the perception of IT as masculine. Even though there are women in prominent positions in IT areas, as well as are users of IT in working life, IT is still perceived as a male domain (Nissen, 2003). Nissen (2003) describe hackers in terms of three generations from 1950-1990 where a red thread is that computers, computer companies, computer games, consoles and so on were founded and used by males and men dominated computer clubs. Hence, this culture was created by men, for men. In accordance to Wajcman's (1991) two forms of hegemonic masculinity, these traits are found among hackers as well, e.g. in terms of an aim and strive to master and control technique i.e. computer programs systems memory functions et cetera. The aim to appear as hero within the own culture is prominent, for instance by using terms of risks, danger, challenge to overcome to describe their work (Nissen, 2003). Moreover, it can be stated that the construction of masculinity in the technical world is changeable. From an outside perspective, people with a computing interest were viewed as lonely wolfs, losers and geeks. However, the language within the closed sphere has been of masculine character and later, the outside world has changed its image (Nissen, 2003). Mastering computers is nowadays an essential part of a hegemonic form of masculinity.

## 2.4 The #MeToo Campaign

### 2.4.1 Campaigns

Regarding the #MeToo as a campaign, it is difficult to find and compare it to recent phenomenon or movements, due to the fact that the event started quite recently. Still, we are of the perception that one way to see it is as a campaign for inclusion and justice.

While inquiring into other campaigns and similar initiatives for inclusion and justice we discovered the initiative "Sit with me". It is described and reviewed in the research performed by James McDonald in 2013 regarding occupational segregation in IT. "Sit with me", as such, attempted to make dominant discourses, which surround an occupation, more inclusive by the use of occupational desegregation. Thus, the occupation would be transformed from an exclusive work environment to an inclusive work environment (McDonald, 2013). McDonald (2013) identified a paradox when it came to the inclusivity, namely, that the campaign challenged the exclusion within the occupational discourses. However, several exclusionary discourses remained the same as before, unchallenged.

In Sweden there have also been initiatives aiming to increase inclusion and justice within the IT occupation. For instance, this has been expressed in female networks for women in IT (similar to the one we attended) both for students and in working life. One such initiative to support women and girls in IT, is the ideal association "data girl", a non-profit association for girls and non-binary who like data (DataTjej, 2018).

In terms of sexual assaults against women, which was the first theme the #MeToo campaign highlighted; there have been previous campaigns in this regard. For instance, the first edition of #MeToo phrase, founded 2006 of a community organiser Tarana Burke. She created the MeToo phrase to spread and rise attentiveness and knowledge about sexual assaults in poor districts of colours (Shugerman, 2017: Ohlheiser, 2017). A similar debate has been held in Sweden under the hashtag #prataomdet (#prataomdet = "talk about it"), which was initiated by journalist Johanna Koljonen (Farran-Lee, 2017). The aim was to generate a conversation of about the grey zone between abuse and voluntary sex (Koljonen, 2012: Ljung, 2012).

However, these campaigns or other have not considered the working life in the way the #MeToo movement has done in Sweden, nor has it received the same major width of attention and response in traditional and social media. As stated in the introduction, the reason for the broad spread of #MeToo in Sweden is its connection to workplaces, whereby Sweden has the highest employment rate among women in the EU, and not to the private sphere like many previous debates (Eriksson & Björling, 2017).

Moreover, in regard to the #MeToo campaign and the discussion of initiatives for inclusion and equality, Professor Christina Florin describe the #MeToo campaign as a historical movement in an article in Dagens Nyheter (Delin, 2018). She compares it with women's struggle for voting rights shame occurred in the early 20th century. Back then, women gathered from different backgrounds and from different camps to drive their questions forward in broad campaigns. She debates that those women wanted influence in the state, whereas today's women want influence over their own bodies. Hence, they work similarly (Delin, 2018). Yet, without institutions taken responsibility for these questions, as well as changed legislation and structures there is a risk that the matter will only slowly thaw away (Delin, 2018). Though, we would like to highlight that this is one person's opinion.

By continuing to examine inclusion and justice initiatives in relation to the workplace, Leopold and Harris (2009) stress that although there has been equality legislation since the 1950s, there are still not equal conditions in the workplaces. Yet, today's organizations may seem equal, from an outside perspective, because of the advancement of policies concerning diversity (Rennstam & Sullivan, 2017). In terms of policies and diversity management, diversity training, programs similar initiatives can also be seen as forms of initiatives for inclusion and equality, we interpret, with the difference that it comes from organizations. Whilst #MeToo for example, is a campaign from the public. Concerning diversity management programs, Prasad's et al. (2010) study 'One mirror in another': Managing diversity and the discourse of fashion" is interesting. They examine how the discourse of fashion affected the design and realisation of "workplace diversity management programs" (p.703). The authors argue that there seems to be a discourse of fashion considering diversity management. For our thesis, Prasad et al.'s (2010) study is of relevance and brought up here since we consider their research and conclusions upon fashion potentially comparable to the #MeToo campaign, as it also regards is an initiative for inclusion and equality.

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To begin with, Prasad et al. (2010) establish that diversity management could be comprehended as policy formulations and certain program functions i.e. recruitment, career evolvement, training, and mentoring. One way to describe the term fashion is furthermore to similar wording, since ideas, words and pictures of fashion seem to be structured around particular themes and also, communicate certain "meanings of logics of fashion" (Lurie, 1981: Polhemus and Proctor, 1978 cited in Prasad et al. 2010, p. 709). Hence, if a thing is fashionable, it become systematically connected to concepts of rapid change, something being trendy, avant-garde, being novel. This macro fashion discourse is probable to be fine-tuned by different actors to encounter specific local circumstances. Fashion is often also associated with luxury goods and haute couture and its invasion to spheres of western countries is remarkable (Prasad et al. 2010). Organisation's policies and practices are also thought of as vulnerable to the impact of fashion, which commands changes time to time in management techniques and work (Abrahamsson 1996: Kieser, 1997: Bos, 2000 cited in Prasad et al., 2010).

Connecting to above-mentioned progression in policies for managing diversity in today's organizations, this is hence what the authors mean by taken on a trend or fashion. Fashion is an active discourse when it comes to managing diversity (Prasad et al, 2010). The discourse of fashion is described by the authors as a textual system in which certain notions as invention, fast change, and being at the forefront come together. In addition, the authors demonstrate the discourse of fashion's interpenetrating presence, its affect over the range of diversity initiatives, the people and institutions that formed it and indirect implications on organisations.

From their research, Prasad et al (2010) illustrate "that the discourse of fashion drove both innovators and imitators of diversity programs, scripting their design and implementation" (p. 704). A handful prominent diversity consulting firms, as well as a few fortune 500 companies, who were fast adopters, were the fashion setters of new diversity management (Prasad et al., 2010, p.713). The diversity and HR managers were furthermore followers of these concepts. Though, the study displays that several of the HR managers and Diversity managers (in spite of their criticism of the conservatism in their organisations) tended to play the safety card, being satisfied to follow fashion rather than being inventors or the first adopters.

Bearing this in mind, fashion could function as making the topic of fashion, i.e. diversity management, become reliable to the sceptic ones (Prasad et al., 2010). It works as a tool to pressure organisations not wanting to be perceived as old fashioned or conservative. Yet, there is a paradox regarding this, namely that organisations might act since it is fashionable. Managers may take initiatives due to the awareness of the symbolic capital that might be achieved being up to date and bringing forward new fashions (Bourdieu, 1986 cited in Prasad et al. 2010).

The authors also bring forward other concerns in regard to fashions. Fashions are according to the authors more by nature sensible for imperatives as well as external trends. Hence, they are less sensible to local dynamism in organisations. Because of this, management programs might therefore be too aware of pressures of fashions, leading to exact copies in detail and are thus improbable to meet local demands (Prasad et al., 2010). It might initiate a form of pointless replication by organizations who are applying diversity management initiatives. Initiatives lacking local relevance have a counterproductive impact, according to the authors. Those not locally adjusted initiatives generated a cynicism concerning both diversity but also equal future arrangements, instead of open up for change in the way of understanding and adaptation. Since fashions, as stated, are more sensible for imperatives as well as external trends, the authors declare an unfavourable outcome of the discourse of fashion. Yet, having an understanding, diversity management events, which are conscious of the institutional field that they are embedded in, can avoid the traps of local irrelevance and instead, use the trends as generators of change in the organizations.

Likewise, being among the first adopting new fashions often depends on the fact that an organisation aims for uniqueness and be different from competitors. Yet, the thing that is appealing of efficient, popular management fashions also entail that these are fast copied by other enterprises and the paradox is thus that this leads to every organisations looking being pretty much the same. Hence, more uniformity than being unique. It is thus a pity, due to above reasoning, missing the local anchoring of an initiative, since it might become counterproductive leading to cynicism in regard to diversity initiatives (Prasad et al, 2010).

## 2.4.2 The #MeToo campaign in the US

As demonstrated in the introduction, the #MeToo campaign started in October 2017, and was visible and spread virally. Most likely, the majority who has access to social media in the western world has been acknowledged and followed this movement. The phrase "Me too" in relation to sexual assaults actually originates from 2006 (Shugerman, 2017: Ohlheiser, 2017). However, the phrase and use of the #MeToo hash tag has gained new life and meaning when the #MeToo movement exploded this autumn 2017. In 5th of October 2017, a digging reportage from New York Times was published disclosing how a particular Hollywood producer had exposed a large number of women to sexual harassment (Kantor & Twohey, 2017: Gustafsson & Farran-Lee, 2017).

Hence, the #MeToo movement took off in the acting industry, with an exposure of countless accusations and claims of a particular Hollywood producer and thus (Khomami, 2017). In days, the writing and hash tagging of "Me too" was used and shared by millions of women, but also from some males, over social media to reveal harassment and abuse that they all had fallen victims for during their lifetime (Khomami, 2017: Schmidt, 2017). Thus, #MeToo moved from being about individual accused perpetrators i.e. any one man, to involve and putting attention to men's overall behaviour towards women and additionally, the inequality of power between the genders (Khomami, 2017). Soon, both celebrities and ordinary people spook out, empowered by the campaign. Women from different industries and occupations all over the world started to share stories, and the hashtag #MeToo thus developed into a joint call up cry against sexual harassments and assaults (Khomami, 2017: Schmidt, 2017).

## 2.4.3 The #MeToo campaign in Sweden

The #MeToo movement started by a post on Instagram the 13th of October published by a Swedish TV host, accusing another famous TV host for being the Swedish counterpart to the acclaimed Hollywood producer (who has been accused for sexual assaults, mentioned above) (Thegerström, 2017). This was after New York Times reportage but before Milan's post. On October 15, 25 Swedish posts were written, where "#MeToo" was mentioned on Twitter and Facebook (Thegerström, 2017). The next day close to 2000 and this day a second public person outed a medial journalist for sexual abuse on Instagram (Thegerström, 2017). On

October 17 there were more than 11000 posts concerning #MeToo, which, according to an analysis, is the highest number so far on a single day. Yet, in Sweden this debate figured on social media whilst other traditional media was lagging behind (Thegerström, 2017). In her Instagram account, a journalist student gathered women's stories and published them with all names blurred. Over a few days, she achieved more than 100 messages from women who had their own experiences of harassment and abuse (Thegerström, 2017). Her intention was to gather as much information since the newspapers did not present much. Therefore, she describes that it was an attempt to put pressure on the traditional media to wake up but also to present that there were more cases than the two outed media profiles (Thegerström, 2017). Not until October 20th, #MeToo it was widely noted in editorial media with 771 articles and a month later, there were 1,479 pieces. Furthermore, in November, the first revolt derived to an industry or occupation started. More than 700 actors reported experiences of sexual harassment and abuse (Regeringskansliet, 2018). It was the first collective Swedish so called industry revolt or insurgency in the framework of #MeToo. It came to influence a number of different industries in society to also make its voices heard (Regeringskansliet, 2018). In the end, the movement draw attention to unequal working conditions in more than 50 different industries (Göteborgs Posten, 2018: Eriksson & Torén Björling, 2017). It was these big manifestos or calls, where women from different industries and left abandoned anonymous testimony, which came to generate a stream of articles in the newspapers (Thegerström, 2017).

As brought up in the background, IT industry and the IT occupation is included under the hashtag #teknisktfel, together with automotive, industry and tech (Tekniskt fel, 2018) The hashtag enfolds signatures and stories from women IT-business and contain 1940 signatures at the moment, making up a quantitative support for unequal conditions in these industries and occupations (Tekniskt fel, 2018). Though, to sign one does not have to be female, also men can sign now. The stated objective with #teknisktfel is, according to its own website, to demonstrate that the technology industry also is pervaded by structural problems that they believe society in general suffers from, and to reach an equal society in which people are equally worthy (Tekniskt fel, 2018).

In total, #MeToo in Sweden resulted in over 63,000 signatures on the various industry calls focusing on sexism and harassment in the professional working life (Delin, 2018). Later articles claim that the #MeToo revolts in Sweden have disclosed behaviour patterns and

structural problems beyond sexual harassment and violations (Towns & Wägnerud, 2018: Eriksson & Torén Björling, 2017: Dagens Nyheter, 2017).

To further understand #MeToo in context of the Swedish labour market, it should be mentioned that Sweden (as many other countries) has government regulations against discrimination and harassment (SFS 2008:567). Additionally, there are regulations stating that companies must work to prevent workplace inequality and take action if they are notified that it occurs (SFS 1977:1160: AFS: 2017). These regulations generate that most organisations in Sweden have policies against discrimination and harassment and/or guidelines how employees should proceed if they have been exposed or seen someone who have been exposed.

Policies is moreover one of the actions that companies in Sweden appoints that they have change or revised as a response to the #MeToo campaign (Örstadius, 2018: /SVT). The most common change is the introduction of new routines, changing opportunities for reporting incidents, information efforts and new work environment investigations (Örstadius, 2018: Zachariasson & Wicklén, 2017). Also, from a survey of 1000 respondents of Dagens Nyheter, approximately 20 % of the women stated that they had been victims for sexual harassment (Örstadius, 2018). Moreover, 32 % of men and 13 % of women reported in the survey that they thought about their own behaviour and whether they should change this (Örstadius, 2018). Additionally, the same newspaper asked all companies and organizations in Sweden with more than 2,000 employees, with a response rate of 97 % from 446 organisations. The survey indicates that these employers in Sweden have gained a great deal of impression from the #MeToo call since 75 % responded that they have taken action, because of the recent attention to sexual harassment (Örstadius, 2018). Likewise, another publicised consequence of the campaign is that 40 companies and organizations are under investigation of the Ombudsman for discrimination (Delin, 2018). Besides, there has been a 33 % rise of reported incidents of sexual abuse to the police in November compared to last year (Thörnqvist, 2017). Lastly, a review of the medial attentive cases discloses that over 30 men have resigned or been dismissed, after #MeToo, from their positions of power in for instance politics, media and the cultural world (Delin, 2017).

## 2.5  Chapter Summary

In summary, this chapter included four sections which are; theories of gender in organisational context, gender construction, and the ideal worker, occupational segregation, women in IT and contextualising the #MeToo campaign. As for gender in organisations, theories regarding gender as a social construction and the view of work not being gender neutral, has been presented. Furthermore, research regarding occupational segregation have been outlined, such as gendering of occupations, women's adaptation to male dominated cultures and forms of exclusion and inclusion within the occupation. In the section of women in IT, we have presented theory of gender segregation within the IT occupation, in the context of the Swedish labour market. Lastly, the section regarding #MeToo, includes theory of the #MeToo campaign, how the campaign started, what it started like in the US as well as what it has meant to Sweden in regard to the labour market. These theories are interesting to contextualize our study further, e.g. in the matter of seeing differences and resemblances. In the coming chapters, chapter 4 and chapter 5, we will reconnect to these theories and challenge its meanings in regard to our study.

# 3 Methodology

Through this methodology chapter, our method and data collection will be presented, as well as our arguments supporting our choices. The chapter begins with our research approach followed by our method of data collection, and thereafter limitations of our choice of method. Next section will be our data analysis, i.e. how we aim to analyse our empirical data. After this, there will be a section involving credibility, ethical principles and reflexivity where we reflect upon this in relation to our performed research e.g. our methodology. The purpose of this chapter is moreover to provide an outline of how our study has been conducted.

## 3.1 Research Approach

While doing research, one can take several different approaches to reason. We chose to use a qualitative for our study. Applying a qualitative approach implies a greater freedom when it comes to interpreting and analysing our material in depth (Bryman, 2011). This is an appropriate approach, since our purpose implied examining the meaning of #MeToo for women in the IT occupation, and hence allow us for interpretation and in-depth analysis rather than limit us to be act and relate objective towards our surrounding (Bryman, 2011). Moreover, a qualitative approach tends to be predominantly inductive, meaning that the researcher draws a general conclusion based on several individual cases. The conclusion is drawn from the researchers own experiences (Fejes & Thornberg, 2009).

Furthermore, our thesis includes a hermeneutical approach, which implicates the interpretation of texts (Prasad, 2005). These are for example transcriptions from our performed interviews (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). The hermeneutic approach allowed us to go from a holistic perspective, "the whole" (p. 34-35), and the reviewing single sections of information. Thus, add the value and greater understanding of each other, in compliance with the hermeneutic circle (Prasad, 2005). Without hermeneutics it would have been difficult to answer our second research question since it requests described above approach. This approach is also valuable due to the ability to proceed further beyond "the appearance of

everyday life" to gain a deeper understanding (Prasad, 2005 p. 41). In other words, a hermeneutical approach enabled us to interpret observations, and our respondent's reflections, which in our case was women working in IT. While gathering empirical material we simultaneously transcribed our interviews. This enabled constant literature review in order to find and select appropriate theories for our master thesis. Moreover, in parallel with collecting data i.e. the observation we made at an event for women in IT, we also analysed it, thus enabling us to review and refine our questions that we later asked in interviews. In this way, we reached a greater focus upon themes that we had identified during analysing and could also immerse ourselves into relevant theory. Hence, the process was a continuous circle as described above by Prasad (2005).

## 3.2 Data Collection

### 3.2.1 Sample

At first, we reached out at different online networks for women in IT, in order to gain interviewees. Since we knew that it existed quantitative data in terms of signatures under the hashtag #teknisktfel, our first aim was to interview women who had signed under that hashtag. Unluckily, we did not receive any answers in regard to these requirements but received a few respondents through these posts that was interesting in participating and very aware of the hashtag, it was unfortunately not enough. Because of this, we began reaching out through our own personal networks in order to find suitable respondents i.e. women in IT with knowledge of #MeToo. This resulted in a sample of interviewees (women) which worked in different organisations and had different backgrounds.

According to Bryman (2011), this gathering of interviewees could be referred to as chain sampling or the snowball sampling technique. It entails the finding a relevant interviewee as a "source" or "seed" through targeted selection, who can refer the researchers to more people who fit the description, and when they in turn help finding even more interviewees, the process is similar to that of a snowball rolling down a hill growing in size (Sadler, Lee, Lim and Fullerton, 2010). There are also cons with this way of selecting sample, which we will discuss in limitations of our study in 3.5.

## 3.2.2   Interviews

In this thesis, we performed semi-structured interviews, in order to receive developed thoughts and ideas of the interviewees, which can be done more freely (Denscombe, 2009). Similarly, Kvale (1996) describes semi-structured interviews as an interview with the intention of acquiring descriptions of the interview object's lifeworld "with respect to the interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena" (p. 6). Using this type of interviewing thus fostered an open dialogue and with further questions to follow up, this gave us the prerequisites for a deeper understanding of the mind of the interviewees (Bryman, 2011). The semi-structured interviews were formulated in a flexible manner and focus on open questions rather than closed ones, although with a certain structure in comparison to entirely open questions (Denscombe, 2009).

In total we performed ten interviews with women working in the IT occupation. In order to encounter and meet our set up objectives, we determined to interview women, due to the fact that our purpose is to enquire into women's experiences and perceptions working in a male dominated occupation. For obvious reasons, i.e. that we wanted to get a picture of the occupation, and not investigate a specific organization, the women that we interviewed worked at different workplaces and had different backgrounds, implicating broad range or spectrum in our empirical material. It is unavoidable to not have preconceptions from theory, but we tried to remain open and observant during the interviews.

The interviews were performed via Skype as well as face to face, in places chosen by the interviewees such as café and at the respondent's offices. The ambition was to perform the interviews in a place where the interviewee was comfortable (Bryman, 2011). Each interview took approximately one hour and was recorded in order to obtain the statements and reviews in full hence, as highlighted by Bryman (2011), it provides better conditions to perform a reliable analysis further on. Both of the researchers were present during the interviews. While one was asking the questions, the other one observed respondent as well as taking notes.

The interviews were carried out and transcribed in Swedish. This was done to promote a fluent conversation as well as providing good conditions for the respondents to express themselves as well as possible since everyone had Swedish as their native language. The answers were then translated in English. There is a disadvantage of translating, such as the

fact that some expressions have a certain meaning in Swedish that does not appear as well in English. We have tried to translate directly to the greatest extent but modified quotes where the order of words or similar affect the understanding.

### 3.2.3 Observations

Besides interviews, we have participated in an event organised by a female IT community, where we did observations as a second source of data. This observation is thus used complementary to our interviews. Activities at this event relevant to our research was a panel discussion including the question of #MeToo's impact (if any) on the IT-industry, as well as conversations among the participants during the breaks. Observation, in qualitative research, is a procedure where people's interaction is studied and where their actions and conversations can be derived to context (Patel & Davidson, 2011). During this event, especially in the breaks, we used participating observation, which Stake (2010) argues fits well with qualitative research. Furthermore, we were participants as observers, meaning that we made our position as researchers clear but still participated in discussions with attendants (Ritchie, Lewis, McNaughton Nicholls & Ormston, 2014). Being overt rather than covert, thus stating clearly that we were there as researchers (Ritchie et al., 2014), also allowed us to contain more relevant information. As stated by Patel & Davidson (2011), the covert observer does not have the same ability to ask questions due to consideration of norms in the group, in contrast to the overt observer where questions can be a natural and expected part of the observation. We tried to be systematic, i.e. gathered data with care, to enable examination further ahead (Adler & Adler, 1994). In order to prevent incorrect data or interpretations of data, the observations were written down.

## 3.3   Data Analysis

When we analysed our data, we determined, based on our purpose and research questions as well as "on the nature of our interview material" which type of methods were appropriate for analysing our data from the interviews (Kvale, 1996, p. 88). Consequently, we applied an abductive approach in our thesis since this enabled us, as the researchers, to switch back and forth between empirical material and theory (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018). Thus, our

intention was to base our own analysis on both theory and empirical facts that in our case implies semi-structured interviews and an observation.

Moreover, in the beginning of our research our intention was to make use of the #MeToo campaign as a tool in the sense of a critical incident. We interpreted it as a critical incident mainly due to the widespread all over the world and huge media cover in Sweden whereby it was expressed in relation to the work life. Therefore, We intended to use the critical incident technique (CIT), in which there is focus on "significant occurrences (events, incidents, processes, or issues), identified by the respondent" to understand "the way they are managed, and the outcomes in terms of perceived effects" (Chell, 2004, p. 48). Thus, we intended to use the #MeToo campaign as a tool to make sense of the in-depth material, which is based upon concrete experiences (Rennstam, 2013), as in our case, the experiences of the women working in the IT occupation. As we proceeded with our interviews, we noticed that the #MeToo campaign did not appear as such a critical incident within the IT occupation, as we first thought.

In accordance with Styhre's (2013) guidelines, our purpose with following the plan of data analysis was to describe how the process, structure and analysis after the data collection had taken place. Our objective was to be to be reflexive and self-critical concerning the capability of interviewees and the interview data. Furthermore, we intended to be careful and reflective if making knowledge claims (Schaefer & Alvesson, 2017). By analysing data gathered through multiple methods, we aimed to confirm findings achieved from different material (in our case interviews, academic research, popular press, observation) hence decreasing the influence of potential prejudices that may figure in e.g. one research.

In terms of observations, it is often the observations that raise questions rather than the opposite, i.e. providing a hypothesis beforehand (Spradley, 2016). We are furthermore aware of that there is a matter of subjectivity when it comes to observations, e.g. since the observant interprets the material (Styhre, 2013). The matter of subjectivity is also prevailing when interpreting texts and doing interviews (Bryman, 2011). Therefore, we tried to be open minded and attentive when analysing the data from our interviews, texts and observation.

We aimed to examine texts and our other qualitative empirical data by finding themes and subthemes, narrowing them down to a manageable amount and prioritising which would be most important for our task and connecting these to theoretical concepts (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Thus, we read and re-read our transcribed material as well as listened to our interviews several times. Furthermore, these found themes became the base of us sorting the responses and trying to make sense of the data. Themes can be described as "the conceptual linking of expressions" (p. 88). and are to be found both in the researcher's theoretical knowledge of the topic and from the empirical material (inductive perspective). While looking for themes we looked for repetition (subjects that are repeated), local words, similarities and differences, among others. We believe that the analysis process we made, took off more prominently when transcribing the interviews as, according to Sandelowski (1995) cited in Ryan and Bernard (2003), identifying themes often starts there. From our interviews, we found themes which enabled us to gain a more holistic view of the empirical data in relation to the theory (Ryan & Bernard, 2003), which helped us to draw connections and conclusions later in the thesis. We have furthermore used theoretical concepts to categorise our findings in chapter 4, as in accordance with themes (Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

## 3.4   Ethical principles, credibility and reflexivity

As our biases and limitations needs to be acknowledged in order to discuss the credibility of our work, we will do so in this section. We have tried to be critical of the way our biases and limitations may have directed and affected our research process and have sought to keep a high level of reflexivity (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018). As our aim was to conduct a reflective research, we have tried to make careful interpretations and reflections. Due to this fact the empirical data we refer to is a production of our interpretations (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018). As Stake (2010) states, the data interpreted in qualitative research will always be subjective. We were aware that these interpretations would be affected by our biases and pre-understandings but acknowledged them rather than neglecting them. One of these acknowledgements is the fact that the Swedish society we grew up in has been strongly influenced by the notion of gender equality. Through childhood and the school system we have been told that men and women are equal. Whichever career we choose we can get, has always been the underlying message. In parallel to this however, we have also been affected by previous debates regarding inequalities between genders on executive level. Hence, the

views on this topic of the Swedish society have influenced us. An additional bias is that one of us has a parent who have worked in the IT occupation, which biased by having pre-assumption within this occupation.

Furthermore, in terms of biases, for instance we acknowledged that one interviewee after the interview told us that she had turned in her resignation to the company she worked for, partly because not enjoying the environment for female CEOs. With this in mind, it entails that she might have reflected more upon of the bad things since taking the step of leaving. This is also something she expressed herself, i.e. reflected more over things that you may not have done otherwise, allowing yourself to see what is not so good. Hence this is an example of respondents being biased.

Our aim of keeping a high level of reflexivity also means that we made interpretations of interpretations (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018). To be reflexive about how we interpreted the material, we discussed each other's perceptions in order to recognize our pre-assumptions. However, being two women grown up in the same area, who have studied the same education, we acknowledge that there is a risk that we have similar mindsets and having more distinct background would probably have implicated more diverse interpretations and challenging each other. We also paid attention to contradictions and inconsistencies in the answers given by the interviewees. When such contradictions were discovered, we could hereby start reflecting upon their separated responses and therefore enhance our comprehension of their views of the matter. For example, this was the case when one interviewee said in the beginning that she had not experienced any unjust conditions in the IT. Yet, during the interview, she mentioned experiences of being excluded. Hence, this demanded reflection and reading between the lines to gain insight.

Our ambition in this thesis has furthermore been to achieve credibility. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2018) states that a key factor when seeking to achieve credibility in the collection and analysing phase of empirical material, is the use of source criticism. When taking in someone else's reality by for example conducting interviews, there will always be a risk of that information to be distorted between reality and researcher (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018). Source criticism is a way of minimizing that distortion. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2018) presents four aspects of source criticism. Criticism of authenticity, the first aspect, regards whether the source actually is a source or not. Narrative sources are sources that have passed

through a subjective medium, or in our case when conducting interviews, a person (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018). As the interviewees cannot be seen as a completely objective subject, there will always be a risk that the information has been distorted. To balance this, we also made use of remnant sources, in the form of the observations at the event we attended where we as researchers could see what happened and therefore, the information was not distorted in any way. We also made use of the empirical material from our remnant sources when comparing them to the results of our transcribed interviews. The second aspect is the criticism of bias. This aspect entails the risk of bias sources and the possibility of their statements being skewed or twisted (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018). The way we countered this was to interview women from different backgrounds, ages and in different occupations. Hence, we could search for broader themes and similarities in the statements from different women. The last two aspects of source criticism are distance and dependence. Distance is about the source's distance in time and space from the event, and dependence refers to how far the information has travelled before it reached the source (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018). We sought to counter the risks with the distance aspect by focusing the interview to the sources broad view, perception and experiences instead of a specific event while inquiring into their perceptions of working in IT. In regard to the aspect of dependence, this was countered the same way as with the bias aspect, by interviewing people from different occupations thus gaining a broader understanding of major themes.

Lastly, we have also respected and considered ethical principles while doing this research. One starting point within our research of women working in the IT occupation, ethical consideration was individual protection claim. This entails that individuals participating in the study are not to be exposed of any psychological or physical danger, humiliation or violation (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002). Furthermore, based upon the individual protection claim formulated by Vetenskapsrådet (2002), it has summarized four main claims which were taken into account while performing our study. These four demands are the information requirement, the consent requirement, the confidentiality requirement and the utility requirement. The information requirement entails the researcher's obligation to inform the individuals who are affected by the research regarding the purpose of the research and what terms the individuals are participating on. The consent requirement entails that the individual participating in the research has the right to control over their participation and that they have the right to interrupt their participation, whenever they may want to. The confidentiality requirement entails information stating that all participating individuals shall be treated with

confidentiality and thus, unauthorized people not having insight to this information. The utility requirement entails that information that has been gathered about the participating individuals shall only be used for the purpose of the research. The interviewees were informed of all of the above requirements prior to their participation and applied in full in the study. Another step we took to ensure we were ethical towards the interviewees were to transcribe the interviews. As argued by Kvale (1996), an ethical problem worth consideration is how far the respondent's answers has been interpreted, so by transcribing the interviews word for word we minimized the risks of misinterpretations.

## 3.5   Limitations

In this thesis, there are some limitations that should be highlighted. First and foremost, the scope of our study should be mentioned. Because of being limited concerning time and range of the study, the research only encloses one type of occupation, one observation and ten respondents. A more extensive collection of empirical data would have entailed a broader comprehension of women working in a male dominated occupation as well as of the #MeToo movement's implications. Most likely, it could also have contributed with a broader view of differences between organisations, occupations, roles et cetera.

In regard to the #MeToo campaign, there are also limitations in terms of academic material or rather the lack of it. If the study would have been performed in a few years, there might have been a more comprised amount of academic research that could have enriched the study. Yet, it is a double-handed question since the lack of material is also the answer to our interest for the area.  Last, these organisational and feminist theories that we have used are complex and induce complexities. Therefore, in regard to our limited scope, our study does not enclose additional interesting theories and reviews that are closely related to those we have applied in ours.

As stated by Dutton and Dukerich (2006), limited knowledge and language barriers can be a problem when conducting interviews. To counter this, we tried to avoid certain terms and formulated our questions with this in mind. However, it cannot be guaranteed that every interviewee interpreted every question the same exact way. Furthermore, we performed some

interviews face to face and others over skype. Hence the circumstances were not the same for every interview which may also have affected some answers. Another limitation we had to work around was the difficulty of finding interview subjects to our original idea of interviewing women who signed the hashtag #teknisktfel, which we elaborated in 3.2.4 Analysis of data. Moreover, some of these interviewees were found through our own network, which may have risked the group to be more homogenous.

In regard to our sampling of interviewees, Sadler et al. (2010) argue that one of the downsides snowball sampling is that it is a non-probability method, meaning that the interviewees are not chosen randomly, implicating a risk of them being biased. However, not even samples made using the probability method can be guaranteed to be unbiased, since a form of self-selection bias is formed due to certain groups of people being more likely to respond to a probability-based recruitment, e.g. people with higher education who are able to value the legitimacy of a research compared to people unfamiliar with the process (Sadler et al., 2010).

Concerning our observation, we chose to be overt observers, which according to Patel and Davidson (2011) may lead to a change of behaviour from the participants as they know they are being observed. However, Patel and Davidson (2011) also highlights the problem of not being able to ask questions as freely when being a covert observer, which we valued highly.

## 3.6   Chapter Summary

In conclusion, we used a qualitative research method and in line with a hermeneutical approach, we interpreted interviews and an observation. Furthermore, we applied an abductive approach in order to be flexible in relation to empirical material and theory. We conducted semi-structured interviews which we transcribed and as a second source of data, we made an observation by being overt and participative. Lastly, we presented our methods regarding ethics, credibility and reflexivity.

# 4    Empirical Material and Analysis

In this chapter, we will submit and further analyse our empirical material aiming to respond to our research questions. This will be performed by analysis of our semi-structured interviews and our observation. The findings presented below will be a starting point for the discussion in chapter five, in which we will answer our research questions, and furthermore, discuss our findings.

## 4.1    Gender relations expressed in IT

In these paragraphs, we will examine the gender relations expressed in IT based on our empirical material. The purpose with this part of the analysis is to set a base from where we can proceed responding our first research question:

*How are gender relations expressed among the interviewed women (working in IT)?*

The first section 4.1.1. will function as more of a general, introducing, section. We will give an account of how the IT occupation, through our respondent's views, can be considered gendered and possess a masculine identity. Although, in this section we will present data that substantiate gender being expressed through surrounding expectations of that you, as a woman, do not fit in, as well as in forms of exclusion. In the following subsections 4.1.2, 4.1.3, 4.1.4, we will demonstrate more of this, i.e. clarify how gender is expressed in the IT occupation. In the paragraphs of 4.1.2, we will present theory and data illustrating how adaptation to masculinity take place. Afterwards, there will be a following section, 4.1.3, of how (even though some of the women, through adaptation, seems satisfied with their situation) a majority of the respondents perceive less space for permitting mistakes and being an indicator for all women, while performing. Lastly, we will present our results indicating sub segregation or subgroups existing within the IT occupation.

## 4.1.1 Gendered occupations and occupational identity

This section will, as explained, be more of an introducing, general part where we demonstrate results showing indications of IT being gender coded. Though, we will show gender expressed in form of surrounding expectations of whether you fit in and experiencing forms of exclusion. We know from our literature review that the IT occupation is male dominated (SCB, 2016). Here, we will start out by presenting data emphasising tendencies that technical work is also perceived and gender coded as masculine:

From an interviewee we got this response,

*"I never thought when I went to study that I would work in the IT industry. Never. My brother was programming. And it felt like I shouldn't do that, it wasn't my thing, it was not how I saw myself at all. It felt too technical, but now it has happened a lot since I started working like 20 years ago. IT is such an integrated part of everything you do. And UX didn't even exist when I studied. Now it feels supernatural. But I mean, I did not have that picture, when I was a student."*

From the observation we performed at an event for women working in IT, there was a similar response indicating above, from a conversation about why women seem to move from developer roles to project or managerial roles:

"*It is not seen as obvious that a girl wants to go digging into data*" One person expressed:

We received an equivalent answer from another one of our interviewees,

"*[...] I think it's origins from that technology, well, is a guy thing as well. And that one believes that even though a girl may have a technical education, she cannot perform, or she is not as good as a man.*"

Later on, in the interview, the same person said correspondingly:

"*"[...] I also think it's about, generally in society, and like that, and seeing that technology is an obvious male interest. Such like that, and that girls, yes, are unable and should do other things and so on. And that I've also heard several times when I studied, "yes but what do you*

*do on this program" and "shouldn't you engage on soft values" and such things. So, I think that one sort of, I think many might not even consider it to be a, a, yes but a career for them"*

This last quote not only indicate a male identity but also that gender is expressed among others through expectations of not fitting in as a woman. It could be viewed as a form of exclusion, which also was seen in below quote from a woman working as a developer,

*"Yes, you sometimes notice, while taking a fika, that the guys are sitting and talking about lots of strange things and laughing loudly. Then I arrive, and then they start talking about something completely different. "Oh, now comes X, then we cannot talk about this anymore," they say. "[...]"*

Exclusion from programmers is also mentioned by another woman in below quote,

*"[...] Then you can say that programmers, in particular, there it exists some that can be quite introvert but think it's really fun to work with technology.[...] But it is clear that there is one and another nerd as well, who think that what I am doing is the most fun and most important. And if you cannot just these 3 scalable abbreviations that I work with, then you are not worth anything. It exists such like that, that different techniques are opposed to each other. So, then they may not always be so inclusive[...]"*

Moreover, this quote above also illustrate an additional result, namely that several of our respondents experienced that the IT occupation often is associated with identity of a nerd, and a few as associated with power.

In regard to a nerdy image, a different respondent said the following:
*"We have quite a lovely nerdy atmosphere where people can sit and talk about different, clinging to mathematical problems."*

An additional comment also supports this:
*"Overall in IT, it's some sort of lone star developer attitude, that you should be some kind of super coder"*

Another woman describes the connection to power.

*[...] I can perceive that some developers have a very exclusive attitude. For example, that "everyone who is not in the same role as me", like we are not as worthy in a way. sort of. But those individuals, there's usually no one who thinks it's fun to work with them.[...] Even though it is still the developers, those who write the actual code, are those who have very much power. Because it's those who can actually make what you actually want.[...]"*

To sum up, above presented results stress a masculine identity and gender code of the IT occupation. Besides, our data emphasise gender expressed through the environment's expectation of women not fitting in, and in terms of exclusion. Moreover, an image of a nerd associated with the IT occupation is shown, while also power have been mentioned. Our respondents thus express much of what other researchers have shown earlier. For instance, that occupations are not gender neutral, but gender coded i.e. having an identity, and that gender is socially constructed, viewed as created through interactive activities (McDonald, 2013: Wharton, 2011: Gonäs, 2000: Petersson, 2007: Ashcraft, 2007; Kirkham & Loft, 1993: Prasad et al., 2010: Wahl et al., 2011: Acker 1990: 1992; West & Zimmerman 1997). Also, other previous research, overlapping with our result, disclose that the IT, technology and technical work being connected to masculinity and that men have been developing much of IT (Mellström, 1995:2003, Wajcman, 1991: Faulkner, 2003: Nissen, 2003: Ensmenger, 2010). Like our results, previous research has also stressed an image of a male nerd in regard to IT and programming, as well as power connected to hegemonic masculinity (Misa, 2010: Ensmenger, 2010: Hayes: 2010: Nissen, 2003: Petersson, 2007: Wajcman, 1991). Lastly, there is also earlier studies of occupational identity, stating that that work can derive identity from the people it is associated with, in our case men (Ashcraft, 2013), which is relevant for our case due to IT's male domination (SCB, 2016).

### 4.1.2   Pressure to adaption

We have previously stated that quantitative data ensure a male domination in the IT occupation (SCB, 2016). In the previous paragraphs in 4.1.1, we also showed that the IT profession seems to have a male identity that appears to be but also associated with a nerd but may also with power. In regard to these two parameters, we will present varied results about what the respondents think about, and how well they are satisfied working within the IT occupation. We will also display data exhibiting pressure to adapt to masculinity. Many of the respondents had the perception that it was a tough environment being a woman.

"*[...] I think girls who are tech-intensive and very competent cannot take, in the long run, to always have to prove themselves.*"

Another woman told us:

"*I feel that it's quite well known that it's not so fun always being a girl in this industry, so I think those who come into it may not be left for so long.*"

The same person also expressed:

"*[...] Generally, I think it's very sad, because there are many, or I think there are many more women, who would think it would be fun, than currently working in IT. but I also understand if you do not, I mean you should have a passion to stay, given that if you are not lucky to end up in a workplace that has a very nice environment then you can, or the risk is quite big or high that you end up in a workplace where this is, yes, not an ultimate environment if you say so. Then it's no wonder that you, like a woman, will get away from it. I'm stayed only because I have a very strong interest. If I had not had it, I would have changed industry quite quickly.*"

Equivalently, another respondent stated,

"*[...]But where I used to be before, it has been very much, no, but the girls have, it has been a lot of gossip, or yes, talk among the girls about e.g. what men to stay away from and such things.*"

However, two respondents did not share the same apprehension, as shown in the quotation below:

"*I think one should look at the positive trend. How the companies have worked and trying to recruit women in IT. Today we are more. [...]...I haven't experienced any problems being welcomed / accepted in IT, the industry and so on.*"

Concerning the last quote, bearing in mind that IT is male-dominated and seems to have a male identity, does not always seem to be deterrent to women. Although the IT occupation at a symbolic level seems to be coded with males, it is not certain that women do not feel welcomed or are not satisfied with it. Since the identity is socially constructed, they can fit in with the masculine identity, for example, if they are more in accordance with what typically is perceived as "masculine" in terms of discourse and behaviour. In other words when the Cinderella shoe fit quite well (Ashcraft, 2013). Responds from some interviewees confirmed this:

*" [...]They are, a man is yes, yes, now I generalizes, yes. Since way back, they are more straightforward than us, women. They are quite direct, strict, straightforward, and some more" [...]...currently I enjoy working with men. Because me myself, as a woman, is very straightforward.                                                                                          "*

*"I think it's a bit nice that it's a bit manly. I've always been more of a tomboy than a very girly girl. It's very good atmosphere, you are still one in the gang, not so much back talk. Well, that is the advantage with it. It is a bit tougher, you may still, maybe, have to show a bit more."*

Regarding this, we have previously presented strategies in our literature section 4.1.3, brought up by Wahl (1992) and Lindgren (1985). Responds from some women seem to confirm these adaptation strategies,

*"It is obviously sad. Sometimes in some situations, it's nice to work with guys, it's straightforward. Not much .. I have never worked with lot of girls, backtalk and such things, that you don't get."*

This quote indicates an interpretation of women as more back talking, thus a negative connotation. In other words, this can be likened to keeping distance to femininity by deprecate it.

Other signs of attempts to adapt to the male identity are shown in these quotes:

*" [...]Men are much more direct in their communication. But men they are just like "blah" - then they just say it. Yes, but then I know what to relate to. Like that. So that's something I work on myself, and become more, like, more direct in my communication"*

*"Sometimes I can be a bit like a guy and run a guy jargon. little funny jokes with the allusion of sex and men. It may be because I have been in male structures for so long and end up in the male jargon. It is probably not good in any context to end up in such jargons. [...] You can be kidding quite a while, but in the end, someone can be bad. [...] I try to stay away from it..[...] "*

This quote show adaptation tendencies to male jargon that has been developed during the years working in the IT occupation. A probable interpretation is that it was necessary for her in order to fit in. It also shows that she does not view this type of jargon as a good one.

Similarly, another woman shows signs of pressure to adapt to a male identity in the statement below. It is from our observation at the IT event, where this particular woman described a period when she worked as a developer in an organisation.

*"I toned down myself into that environment, to fit in among the quiet guys"*

Another respondent also mentions adapting to male jargon, as respondent above stated, but also about previous female executives which seemed to apply male ideals to fit in with the male identity had taken on male ideals

*[...]...the jargon becomes very, can be very rough or, like very, male like that. Or stereotyped male. And as a girl very easy to hang on that jargon as well, but it is also something I noticed, or among with female executives I've had, that they could treat one equally condescendingly that a male boss might have done. [...]...Yes, I can imagine that it is difficult maybe to do a career in a male-dominated industry if one does not adapt. Like to the jargon and so on. And they might not have been in these positions if they had not behaved typically manly.*

A different woman said succinct and to the point,

*"Either you can bite the bullet or leave. "*

These three quotes, thus indicate a pressure to adapt to the male gender code i.e. identity, if working in the IT occupation.

Moreover, we have also interpreted an alternative form of adjustment. This could be observed in particularly one of the women's reflections.

*"[...]I take in more of the soft values, than, maybe, sometimes the guys do."*

*"I have never experienced that I have not been accepted in a work team just because I am a woman. Rather, I experience it more like that I have been very positively met because they think it's fun that there is a mix. And they perceive that the soft values that we, women bring, are very positive and needed in a man-dominated world, which is very tough."*

In summary, our results highlight that many women experienced that working within the male dominated, masculine coded IT occupation could imply a tough environment for females. Furthermore, it implicates a request or pressure to adapt, if not already having these qualities. These results are observed in previous studies, such as Simpson (2004) and Kanter's (1977) theory of tokenism demonstrating that when females are underrepresented in a group they can perceive difficultness adapting to the male surrounding. Likewise, there are research in congruence with our results regarding adaptation and adaptation strategies, from Wahl (1992), Lindgren (1985) and Berner (2003).

### 4.1.3  The difference of slack

In previous section, we outlined results illustrating a tough environment for women working in the IT occupation and how this difficulty entailed various ways of adapting to the masculine identity. In these paragraphs our ambition is to provide results of how women seem to have less space or slack than men in the IT occupation, in terms of work and performance. By using the term "slack", we refer to the use of the rope in climbing, where you need slack to climb. If you have too little slack in the rope, you will be pulled or fallen down.

In regard to the notion of that women have less slack, our results point in the direction that work performed by women in this occupation are more a subject for question. This is shown in following quote,

*"[...]I think girls who are interested in technology and very skilled, do not manage to take, in*

*the long run, to always prove themselves. "[...] I have also experienced that if there are female system developers, their work is more questioned, much more than the guys' work [...].*"

Additionally, the results display a harder fall among females when making mistakes, and if failing, her failure affects women as a group. This are demonstrated in following reflections from our respondents:

"*Yes, that was a bit like I said, I think girls that are skilled are noticed, even more than skilled guys actually. That's the advantage. But you have to be quite good. If so. If you are not so good then it will be, then you will drag some other girls down in that. So, when you are few, when you are the minority, it is very easy that you, someone says, "Yes we tried with a girl in this position before, it did not work" and so it takes a while before someone else gets the chance. You pull others along even though it might have the least to do with what gender you were when failing something. I think so. But in contrary, if you're good then you stand out from the crowd, and you'll get good roles.*"

The same women correspondingly said,

"*[...] And if you fail something, there is the risk that someone says "yes, it's typical for girls. Knowing that I have to succeed with this, otherwise, the whole world's female population will be blamed for this.*"
Specifically, in terms of space and slack, a different woman said,

"*As a woman, you do not get the same space. It is not given. You have to take space and sometimes when you take space, it's not okay either. It is a difficult balance.*"

We interpret her statement as stressing that one's performance or behaviour may not be received in a good way even though you adapt in terms of taking space (as the men do).

Overall, in these paragraphs, we display empirical data of how women in the IT occupation appear to have less slack when working comparing to men. This is shown in the work performed by women being more questioned highlighting a greater pressure upon women. When making mistakes they also fall harder, and sometimes your actions are not met by

positive reviews even though you have tried to adapt. Besides, a woman's failure affects the women as a group, being an indicator for all women's work. These outcomes have partly been illustrated in other theory of the subject. For instance, being an indicator and perceiving a balancing act is demonstrated in Kanter's (1977) theory of tokenism, Alvesson and Billing (2002) and Forseth (2005). In addition, Berner (2003) and Forseth (2005) is also brought up in the literature review when considering space for women.

### 4.1.4   Occupational sub segregation

In previous sections of 4.1, it has been stressed that the IT occupation has a male gender code i.e. a masculine identity, by some associated by a nerd or power. It has besides this been stressed that within the IT occupation, the environment can be tough and that there are different adaptation strategies if not being suitable for the occupational identity. Moreover, we emphasised that women have less slack, i.e. more pressure to perform, being more acknowledged if failing and thus falling harder while simultaneously dragging down the reputation of women.

However, even if IT has a masculine identity, as exhibited in 4.1.2, there were also women who had not experienced non-acceptance or not being welcomed in the IT occupation and in work teams. Having this in mind, when analysing our material thoroughly we found results disclosing that there exists sub segregation within the IT occupation. In other words, our results illustrate that some roles are more male dominated and more connected to a perceived masculine identity, whereas other roles are more occupied by women, and there seems to be tendencies of less male identity. The interviewee who felt welcomed and included in the IT occupation, belonged to the latter. Besides, it was the same women who stated that some men are positive towards females since they bring more soft values.

In short, the sub segregation is mainly seen by the means of a male domination in the role of developer, system developer or programmer. Women, on the other hand, seem to be more present in the role of project leaders, managers, managerial roles or roles that are more administrative and coordinating. Likewise, they are seen in roles of containing test management, colour and form, such as UX designer. One interviewee explained UX as standing for user experience and that it contains interviewing customers and making user

tests. she also explained that it can be seen as demand processing. The following two quotes describes the respondents' perception of occupational gender segregation:

*"The closer you get to system development, the more men, there are fewer girls."*

*"[...] The majority are technicians in the form of guys."*

*"When looking at the networking section, network technicians, [...], I think there are very many guys."*

While asking about whether the IT occupation is male dominated, the respondents answered as follows:

*"Yes, yes. It depends on which, at least it is in the developer role. Just in the area I am, UX, there are some more women. IT is male-dominated, it is."*

*"If you mean predominantly men, it's man-dominated, yes, it is. Particularly in the parts of technology, more in programming and such things, then it is quite male-dominated. "*

*"In the real technical parts, I miss girls."*

*"When you rely on the networking site, network technicians, I rarely feel that I'm meeting .., I think there are very many guys there..[...]"*

Examples of women being more present in the role of project managers, managerial, administrative, coordinating roles, or containing test management, colour and form, is illustrated in below quotations.

*"Test, test lining, then the girls are visible. Particularly in systems, then there are large numbers of guys. Shape and colour and so on, UX, then there's a little more girls again."*

*"[...]There is brutal dis diversity, very few women here in the office. One woman of a total of 40 developers. Within UX we have a 50/50 representation."*

*"[...]..In some departments, there are more girls in the roles of project leaders..[...]"*

*"[...]Men in technical positions and girls as project managers[...]"*

*"Within the administrative field within IT, we have more women"*

In regard to the latter quote, the same person also said,

*"Many girls are project managers, are positioned as team leaders, in economics, that is not IT, but there are also economists within IT. Much team-leading and much leadership".*

Hence, our results show a sub segregation, whereby women are more occupied in the roles described above. Furthermore, these roles seem to require skills such as administrative talents, communicative skills and skills for colour and appearance. For example, one women being UX designer explained the requirement of communicative skills:

*[...]. it is still the developers, those who write the actual code, are those who have very much power. because it's those who can actually make what you actually want. But it's a big task, and a big part of my role that I have to succeed in explaining or communicating on to them what I want to get done in a sufficiently attractive way for it to be built as well. So that lays very much within that role."*

Similarly, another person working as a service delivery manager and a delivery coordinator mentioned the necessity of communication and coordination, administrative qualities,

*[...] I keep that communication and coordinate all the technical parts needed for a delivery, one can say. Roughly. [...] I'm getting a little bit more administrative. But I need to have a technical language when I implement it so that the technicians will understand [...] I have to be very technical in order to be able to talk with technicians who will put this together. So, they (the customer) are going to get what they have in mind, in the end. [...]"*

What also is evident in our results is that the roles, in which the women in our study are present, are by some, found to be associated with so-called soft values.

*" [...] You can become a project leader, but it's not the first step... [...] There are many girls who want to become that. You get to work a lot with people. It's a bit softer within IT, still. The softer it gets the more girls will it be [...]"*

Another women (quotation used before in 4.1.2), said similarly,

*"I have never experienced that I have not been accepted in a work team just because I am a woman. Rather, I experience it more like that I have been very positively met because they think it's fun that there is a mix. And they perceive that the soft values that we, women bring, are very positive and needed in a man-dominated world, which is very tough."*

Furthermore, in regard to the project leader role, the results indicate a mutual interest among the women in regard to reflections upon this role. Two women gave us the following answers:

*"I've been thinking about it very much through my career, why it's always been so that the girls who become e.g. programmers, they often leave the programming a bit earlier and then they become project managers or what we call BA, business analyst, who work with requirements, like the intermediate layer between the client and the programmers. And they may also become a middle manager quite fast. And why that is so ... If girls do not enjoy the nerdy environment or if there's actually something that is said, that I have not understood, at IT departments... I don't really know that."*

*"I think that the usual thing is that girls can start as a system developer, and be proficiently talented, but you can't take it, and then you move over and maybe become a project leader or ... because you also have that feature in you anyway. That it is an alternative way. Very sad. "*

When asking the same woman, what she meant by feature, she developed:

*"Yes, I think that. It may be prejudices, but I think that women are more likely to have a greater ability, and perhaps interest, hard to say which of them, to keep a group together. Perhaps being the one who sees where it needs to be structured. And then, then you get into the project leader role as well, in a natural way. You can handle it well too. In addition to being technically skilled, one can see that there is a way there."*

Except for showing a perception of that women possess certain skills, this last quote is also interesting since it accentuates that women may do not have the energy or manage to "take it" being in the developer role. It is interesting since this role is also a role, earlier pinpointed as male dominated and one of sub segregated roles, expressing a more male identity. Therefore,

while analysing these quotes, they point similarly to what have been stated before, i.e. that the IT occupation may imply a tough environment for women, due to male domination and male identity. Although, these quotations emphasise the developer role, thus a sub group to the IT occupation.

Similarly, to the quotes discussing the project leader role, further data from interviews and our observation display experiences or reflections upon of being pushed to take on a project leading or managerial role. We raise the question if this project management capacity is assumed to be a female quality and connected to a perceived female identity.

*"As a girl, you are pushed by managers and what is offered in development opportunities is to work more with people than technology. So, even if you have technical education, technical skills and technical background, you will receive more tasks that are more process-business-project management-oriented. And you have to spend a lot of time and nag a lot if you are going to work with technical things being a girl."*

Likewise, another woman said,

*"I have got the question of moving to project leading, managerial roles but I don't want to"*

Regarding the assertions of project-leading roles, it seems to suggest the role to be in line with perceived female qualities ideals and identity. This project leadership capability is also seen in terms of women being asked to carry out "projective" tasks beyond their usual duties. From our observation we heard these three reflections or experiences:

*"As a girl, you get the question of doing other work. "Can't you do this, you're so good at it""*
Another person said*,*

*"At a job where I gave notice to leave, a former boss called me and said," But you like our parties, if you can arrange such an event, do you think you want to stay then?"*

The same women talked about why she left the developer role in favour of becoming a project leader:

*"For me, I did not want to struggle anymore, much because one get the question of doing other tasks. Guys are better off saying "I do not have time".*

Hence, figuring in the role of project leader, according to these statements, among others seems to be a result of a perception of women possessing traits in line with this role. The data also indicate that women ends up in these roles either because they do not want to double work, i.e. be a developer and get the question of doing more project-oriented tasks, or because they cannot take being in the tougher environment as the male subgroup (developer, programmer role) seems to provide.

To sum up, there is a sub segregation within IT. Men are developers and programmer, we know from previously presented data in 4.1.1. is stated to as more associated with power but also nerdiness by some interviewees. The data above also show that women are instead seen in roles such as project leaders and UX designers and that these roles seem to request administrative, communicative skills and talent for colour and appearance. Also, a result is that the project leader implicates an association, by some, to soft values. This role is moreover highlighted by many, as a role that women possess and change into. Likewise, common experiences or reflections among our respondents are that it is a role they have been pushed into, requested to change to, or they have been asked to perform tasks in line with that type of role. Similarly, previous research from Williams (1995), Petersson (2007), Charles and Grusky, (2006), Gonäs (2000), Berner (2003), Wahl et al. (2011) and Davies (1996) also indicate similar results.

## 4.1.5   Summary of the first part of chapter 4

In this section we have enlightened several findings from out empirical data and briefly mentioned relevant theory from our review. Overall, we have presented data of how gender is expressed in the IT occupation according to our respondents. Firstly, our data shows that several of the women described the IT occupation as a tough environment and that the IT occupation has a masculine identity, often associated with a nerd or with power. Besides, we have illustrated a pressure to adapt if not fitting in with the identity, and different ways of adapting. We have also covered results disclosing more pressure on women, being an indicant

for all women's performance, and regardless adapting taking slack, your performance may not be received in a good way.

Furthermore, we have displayed results of sub segregation within the IT occupation, where men are seen in the roles of developers and programmers, whilst women are project leaders and UX designers among others. Our material highlight that these roles are viewed to demand communicative, administrative qualities and skill for appearance and colour. Likewise, the project leader role is by some connected to soft values. The project leader role as moreover emphasised by many, as a role that women are positioned in and also change to. Additionally, our results demonstrate reflections and experiences of being pushed into or requested to change to the project leader role. besides, there are results of experiencing being asked to perform tasks in line with that type of role.

What more can be taken away from the sections of 4.1 is that the IT occupation, still seems to be segregated, injustice conditions, and masculine identity. In our literature review we presented theory displaying this. However, some of our sources are not from this year or recent 10 years, which could have entailed that the conditions would have been different now when our research was conducted. Yet, those conditions then seem to still be prevailing although they seem to be clearer in the subgroups of programmer and developer, than for the whole IT.

In the next section, 4.2, we will process our second purpose of this thesis, namely the meanings of #MeToo, bearing in mind the context and findings from this section.

## 4.2    The meanings of #MeToo

In this section, we will provide and analyse our results from our interviews and observation regarding the #MeToo campaign in Sweden. Having the previous part of chapter 4 in mind, we aim to demonstrate results contributing to the response of our second research question,

*2. What meaning (s) has the #MeToo campaign in this context?*

In our second part, 4.2.3 we are in a similar way using a theoretical concept, namely Prasad et al.'s (2010) concept of discourse of fashion (brought up in the literature). We will also display results coming back to the hashtag #teknisktfel, Finally, we will have a chapter summary, before the discussion in chapter 5.

## 4.2.1    #MeToo as an anchor for change through voice empowerment

Introducing these sections covering #MeToo, we will provide a few parables of the initiative, from our literature as well from our empirical data. Afterwards, we will bring in the concept of voice used by Rennstam and Sullivan (2017) and Ann Swidler's concept of anchoring practices from her chapter "What anchors cultural practices" (Swidler, 2000). In this subdivision we will present some results of #MeToo's implications e.g. in terms of reflections and as informing.

In our literature chapter, we presented campaigns, which promote justice and inclusion. Bearing these in mind #MeToo can be seen as a campaign similar to some of those, since also having the aim of encouraging equal conditions. Furthermore, another way of perceiving #MeToo is as Professor Christina Florin stated in an article, calling the #MeToo campaign an historical movement (Delin, 2018). In the article she compares the #MeToo movement, with the struggle for women in Sweden, regarding voting rights in the early 20th century. From our respondents we have received following similes,

"*It's a revolution or a women's movement, towards equal jobs. Against sexism and at the workplace.*"

"*A revolution and a decisive movement, for how we handle and think, and think of, react to the injustices that exist in society at large. But for my part, more focused on, the work environments around sexual harassment but also as we have talked about, the power perspective [...]* "

"*What should you call it, a people's movement? Something that finally happens, you dare to say something. A better future, I hope. It's nice that it is enlightened that there are as many problems as there are. It's not just celebrities, it's everyone else.*"

*"I would describe it as a big awakening."*

*"I believe it's the beginning of something. The beginning of a change. Almost as a paradigm shift that has begun, hope it won't stop."*

These quotes above confirms that our respondents see the #MeToo movement similarly to as it is portrayed by Media. Although, from our respondents the #MeToo movement does not seem to be as game changing for them in terms of being employees in the IT occupation, does in society at large. We will further elaborate this matter in 4.3. and in chapter 5.

While interviewing the women working in the IT occupation, as well as performing the observation at the IT event, we discovered some themes regarding the #MeToo campaign. First of all, a theme that we have discovered is reflection and or self-reflection, as an implication of the #MeToo campaign. This is shown in following quotes.

When we asked a different woman about what she knew of the #MeToo campaign, she responded:

*"Just followed it in the media, news and so on. Very important and good that it is brought up, touched of it, it is outrageous. I think it is the case for many. Been talking to the friends about it, had quarrel with my partner. He does not really think it's certain that all this is true. It has affected me quite a lot."*

Another women, who generally stuck out from the crowd in terms of (not) perceiving issues in the environment for women in the IT occupation, yet, also reported reflection:

*"Yes, I know and have read a bit. Not very much though, not been digging myself down into it. [...] What I have noticed though is that the campaign gives a good foundation for reflection and a good, you get your eyes opened for the fact that it is not ok. it has come up to the surface. I examine myself maybe a little too far"*

Another woman said,

*"I have a bunch of old study friends, and we had, we actually met during this time and ate dinner together. Then we discussed a lot of what was happening and an incident we discussed as we had all reflected upon afterwards where when we went to college X. We were a little older crew of girls who had been there for a while. Also, there was a younger generation of girls, three, four five years younger than us. And we had an IT lab where we worked. And then there were some young stupid guys, like, or young stupid, they also studied IT, but it was just when IT became internet and web and so on. And then they had found some naked women and then they sat and looked at them in the IT lab. And then there was a damn outcry from this young girl crew, that they thought it was "you should not do when you're sitting with other girls" and so on. And then everyone reflected, these women who now were together now in November, because back then we thought they were a little bit silly. "This is a bit how it at this Uni, it's not so anxious" but so, we thought afterward that it had, it would have been better if we had supported them and said that "no, this is actually not acceptable". But instead, we protected the old structures. And like this in retrospective, in November, December, now this autumn then we all knew that if it had happened today, we would probably have acted differently. Do you understand what I mean? It was a bit like that "that's harmless" "it's not too bad". [...] In fact, maybe we would not even have talked about it unless metoo had happened. So, the benefit of metoo may be that you talk about it. Is this okay or is it not okay?*

In regard to these quotes, we analyse it as self-reflections that enhances the empowerment of voice. The concept of "voice" was originally created by Hirschman, 1971, but cited and mentioned in Rennstam and Sullivan's study (2017). As stated in the literature, peripheral inclusion is described as meaning a co-existence of exclusion and inclusion, but additionally the friction between silencing and the expression of voice, as a result, end up on the periphery of the continuum. From their study they discussed the LGB people in the Swedish police force and the progress from being excluded to peripheral included, thus going from explicit silence to informal silencing.

In this context, we interpret voice entailing the rise of one's voice to say no and questioning. Also, we interpret that voice in this context can be protesting or a discussion, which #MeToo has brought up, seen in quotes and our literature review. In above reflections we interpret their self-reflections as enabling voice. The voice is a product of their self-reflections which after a few turns seems to increase the voice. For instance, seen in the sentence below, from

the last quote, it indicates that if the same situation would have happened today they would have protested. This is tendency of voice empowerment as a result of the campaign and personal reflections upon it,

*" [...]but so, we thought afterward that it had, it would have been better if we had supported them and said that "no, this is actually not acceptable". [...]today we would have acted differently [...]"*

Other signs of voice are in terms of our second theme, namely, the one of #MeToo as an informing, educational, enlightening event. From the observation, we also observed following,

*"Us men do not understand our actions. Interest in this matter comes with someone informing/educating /highlighting this for you"*

In regard to this first quote, it should be mentioned that on the event where we made the observation, there were a few men participating, thereof, why the person starts with "us men".

A second person said,

*"To collect knowledge. – which is something metoo has contributed to. It has ensured its spreading. "*

A third person said,

*"Metoo has done a lot to acknowledge, put attention to the problem."*

Hence, we also analyse informing, enlightening as a form of voice, since it also could be a way of expressing the non-acceptance of the unjust conditions in the IT occupation.

A third meaning that was highlighted by three of our respondents was that the campaign has stressed master suppression techniques, and power. A quote, brought up above, is presented below here to exemplify,

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*"A revolution and a decisive movement, for how we handle and think, and think of, react to the injustices that exist in society at large. But for my part, more focused on, the work environments around sexual harassment but also as we have talked about, the power perspective. Who have the power and how to act on the basis that they have power in a workplace, at the expense of others, both women and men."*

This could also be interpreted as a type of voice empowerment, in terms of forcing a discussion about the conditions in the workplace, e.g. in terms of power which the women describe.

Thus, we have so far analysed the data of responds showing implications of #MeToo in form of enlightenment and informing, in reflections, and in the highlighting of sexual results and master suppression techniques. We have interpreted these as enabling or expressions of voice, whilst all result in voice empowerment. and that the voice empowerment has risen through #MeToo. Moreover, as one of the interviewees stated about the #MeToo campaign in the quote below, a further analysis is that the increased voice empowerment may be anchor for change,

*"I believe it's the beginning of something. The beginning of a change. Almost as a paradigm shift that has begun, hope it won't stop."*

As stated Christina Florin in DN compares #MeToo to an historical movement (Delin, 2018). Regarding historical movements, Ann Swidler's (2000) concept of anchoring practices, is based upon her reviews of historical events. Firstly, we need to shortly explain her theoretical idea in brief. in order to later describe analyse our results of the #MeToo campaign and its function as an anchor for change through voice empowerment. More elaboration on the concept in relation to #MeToo will be seen in the discussion.

Simply put, by anchoring practices, Swidler (2000) refer to some practices that happen in society, that act as an anchor for more fundamental change. Referring to fundamental change, Swidler (2000) puts it in the way that anchoring practices change "constitutive rules" (p. 90). A constitutive rule means that something will be seen or recognized as something in a specific

context. Moreover, practices play a big part in terms of being "repeated ritual confirmations that something is indeed what it is" (p. 98).

Connecting Swidler's concept to this context, we mean, in accordance with the heading, that #MeToo may be an anchor for change through voice empowerment, which our results has pointed at. In other words, we suggest that the campaign is social practices, which if anchored, can change the constitutive rules i.e. have fundamental change. What the prevailing constitutive role is here can be debated but even more so, can the question of future constitutive rules be. Since Swidler (2000) concept is built upon analysing previous historical events, we cannot draw any further conclusions here. As mentioned above, further elaboration will continue in the discussion.

Overall, as stated in the beginning we have in this section categorised findings and supported our interpretations by bringing in the theoretical concept of voice and anchoring practices for change. We have furthermore analysed the data indicating of #MeToo resulting in self reflections and information, enlightening having an educational function. We have analysed our findings interpreting a greater empowerment of voice as a result of self-reflection and after the campaign took off. Also, an interpretation of our results is that this voice empowerment may lead to anchors of change, although it is too early to say. In the next section, we will analyse the #MeToo movement in regard to be a fashion. We will provide results and analyse the #MeToo campaign in relation to Prasad et al. (2010) article and concept of discourse fashions in terms of diversity management.

## 4.2.2 #MeToo as a fashion

In this part we will present our findings, first concerning #teknisktfel. Secondly, we will bring forward Prasad et al.'s (2010) theoretical concept of discourse of fashion in terms of diversity management programs (brought up in the literature).

From the respondents of our study we discovered that the hashtag was not quite widespread as we had presumed. Some had not heard about the hashtag at all, some had heard about it but did not know any specifics and few knew of it. The majority of the interviewees had not signed the hashtag #teknisktfel. When we asked what the respondents knew about the hashtag, these are some of the responses we received:

*"Nothing, I've missed that."*

*"I don't know that at all. That is brand new to me."*

*"Not that much, I have probably not followed that hashtag. That is very strange."*

*"I don't think I've heard that much. It's probably mostly from the entertainment industry that you've heard."*

One respondent on the other hand was aware of the campaign and answered as follows:

*"I would like to say that it addresses equality issues within and in the technology industry. Enlightens structural problems regarding gender equality, in the workplace."*

*"I know of it, but I have not participated myself."*

We found it odd, that a majority knew so little of the hashtag, although, they all knew of someone who had experienced something in line with sexual harassment, or accordingly with the structural issues embedded in the #teknisktfel hashtag (also mentioned in Dagens Nyheter, 2017). Furthermore, as the IT occupation is, according to our results, theory and presumptions masculine, it is surprising that the #teknisktfel is not more widespread. We will discuss this further in chapter 5.

As signposted above, we will take in present Prasad's theoretical concept of discourse of fashion, in order to sort our findings. Fashion can be portrayed by synonyms, e.g. if being fashionable, there is a systematically connection to concepts of trendiness, a change, avant-garde, luxury goods and haute couture (Prasad et al. 2010). Organisations' practices are also thought of as liable to the influence of fashion, such as diversity management programs in commanding changes time to time (Prasad et al., 2010: Abrahamsson 1996: Kieser, 1997: Bos, 2000 cited in Prasad et al., 2010). Moreover, the discourse of fashion could be portrayed as a textual system whereby particular notions as, quick changes, innovation, and being at the cutting edge are joint.

A conclusion we draw here is that if the #MeToo campaign had been seen as an important incident within the IT occupation in Sweden, the campaign would have caused action from the organizations. Only one out of ten respondents had experienced that the management had enlightened the issue. Thus, our findings are not aligned with what Örstadius (2018) wrote regarding the #MeToo campaign in Sweden, namely that 75% responded that they have taken action as a consequence of the campaign. As our study show almost no action has been taken after #MeToo, we interpret that the #MeToo campaign shows similarities with fashion - It comes and are highly visible, but few of them have long-lasting effects. Especially not at the local level, as in the IT occupation, as indicated by the limited weight given to their #MeToo version: #teknisktfel.

Furthermore, in terms of fashion (Prasad et al., 2010), we perceive that there can be other similar traits to the #MeToo campaign. Although a fact against a clean comparison between the two is that fashion normally is considered to be widespread, which #MeToo seems to be, yet not the #teknisktfel, which are important for us investigating the IT occupation.

However, despite this weakness, we will apply Prasad et al.'s (2010) concept for now, further structure of our findings.

From the observation, we discovered an interesting comment, from one debater. He claimed that #MeToo has indeed done a lot to acknowledge, though, problems remain since managers tend to say, "that is not relevant for us, that is TV4". This is an incline that people makes a difference between themselves and the "celebrities at TV4", therefore this could be likened to what Prasad et al., (2010) present regarding adopting new fashion, that it is often those organizations that aim to be unique and different that adopt new fashions. Superimpose that the #MeToo campaign is a fashion or trend, then jumping aboard this trend can depend on whether the organization is progressive in regards of acquiring new trends or more restrictive. Likewise, Prasad et al., (2010) states that organizations seemed to be quite satisfied riding in the backseat, being adopter and follower rather than at the cutting edge. Thus, as for our case, i.e. that organisations in IT has not taking action, can be in compliance with organisations sometimes wanting to see how others act, before acting at all themselves (Prasad et al., 2010).

Besides, Prasad et al. (2010) mentions that diversity programs are objects of imitations of

organization, which means that one part starts with something and that others copy it to be able to achieve legitimacy and credibility. If you're not quick to adopt and copy, the organization will not be unique, which commonly is an objective (Prasad et al. 2010). This is a paradox, since when diversity programs are alike, they are not unique, thus not probable to be locally anchored and therefore not integrated and long lasting. We are of the notion that the different call ups, after a few, may have been perceived in this way, being copies in succession. If so, it could affect the campaigns ability to be adapted locally, e.g. within the IT occupation in Sweden. Having troubles with recognizing themselves within all of this.

Our take away of this is that the #MeToo campaign started as a big deal, but while it was broken down into smaller pieces, the smaller pieces was not such a big deal anymore. Thus, #MeToo might not have been as locally rooted, although there were several individual appeals. We base this upon that the #teknisktfel appeal was not widespread within our respondents.

Further, one of our respondents explained that some men ridicule #MeToo in the workplace, this responded said the following quote,

*"We have chat channels where we ask questions about the projects. There are guys there, which have sometimes ridiculed the #MeToo campaign. Then I get mad. I don't think it is so damn fun, then I got furious."*

This is another incitement that makes the #MeToo campaign appear as a trend, rather than something substantial, the fact that people ridicule it and don't take it seriously. ridicule could also be a sign of cynicism that Prasad et al. (2010) brings up, as a result when the fashion is not locally implemented.

An additional comment, but which does not connect #MeToo to fashion, could yet be interesting bringing forward, since it may indicate a concurrence of ridiculing female initiatives in general.

*"[...] Also received comments about the network we had internally, I was chairman of it for a few years, terms like sewing circle and such things.[...]"*

Moreover, another discovery we made from our interviews was the lack of implementation when it comes to policies regarding sexual harassment and diversity. The majority of our respondents meant that they knew of the policies, although, the could not recall the content, thus could not confirm whether the policies are implemented within the organisation or not. One of the respondents said the following regarding these policies,

*"I do not know if people read it, but it is available to everyone."*

With this in mind, the lack of awareness around what policies the organization standby may be a reason for lack of implementation on a local level (Prasad et al., 2010). In line with this, one of the respondent said the following while discussing policies,

*"But the problem remains that this is something that is done alongside the core business. It is, as it does, it does not interfere with the organization as a whole."*

Thus, referring to that the policies are not in the core of the business, but rather a gathering of documents that exist for the purpose of existing. To be able to locally anchor (Prasad et al., 2010) that which comes in line with the #MeToo campaign, we interpret that these values that exists within a policy of e.g. sexual harassment needs to be implemented within the core of the organization and thus, taken into practice and not just rest in document form.

In summary, we have shown that #MeToo cannot be considered an important incident due to the fact that #teknisktfel was not widespread. We have also displayed the concept of discourse of fashion to compare to #teknisktfel as such. Also, after #MeToo and #teknisktfel, our results show almost no changes at the respondent's workplaces, implying #MeToo being similar to fashion. Also, we have indicated signs of organisations being comfortable not being the trendsetters, rather followers. We have also stressed the successively industry call ups as signs of #MeToo broken down into smaller pieces, perhaps leading to a more universal view off the campaign among organisations. Hence, causing less local relevance as shown in the non-spread of #teknisktfel. Moreover, results also show the ridicule of #MeToo, also implicating tendencies of a non-sustaining fashion. Moreover, we have also stressed data that policies were not visible in the organization, indicating an already prevailing lack of local relevance in terms of diversity inclusion practices in the companies.

## 4.3    Chapter Summary

Our study has shown both confirmed and challenged our previous idea of how gender relations are expressed among the interviewed women (working in IT) as well as what meaning(s) the #MeToo campaign has had in that context. We discovered that gender relations are, in several aspects, as somehow expected: women in a male dominated occupation, in this case IT, are in general forced into adapting to the masculine culture to be able to make it and stay within the occupation. As told by several of our respondents, women are often pushed into being project leaders or working with "softer" occupations that is claimed to be more suited for a woman. Which goes in line with what is presented by Berner (2003) and Wahl et al. (2011), that expectations from the surrounding of females having certain traits and being good at handling relations and emotions, space are created for female construction, for women to be good at those skills. Furthermore, to be able to make it through the masculine environment e.g. in terms of the less given slack, especially when working in programming and developing, the respondents describes the need to be tough and to adapt to the current jargon.

Moreover, as mentioned in the sections above, the #MeToo campaign is of great significance to women societal but cannot quite be viewed as an important incident when it comes to the IT occupation in Sweden. Prior to our study, we were under the impression that the #MeToo campaign had had a major impact on more or less every occupation in Sweden, especially the male dominated occupations, e.g. IT. Although, from our interviews we discovered quite the opposite. Organisations has in general not made any particular strategies as a result of the #MeToo campaign and the management has not made any effort of enlightening the structural issues, as a result of the campaign. For that matter, as workplaces has come to be of great significance for the #MeToo movement in Sweden, it is fascinating and notable, that the male dominated occupation of IT has not been affected in practice, as society been affected at large, in Sweden. In the following chapter, the discussion chapter, we will develop our thoughts and reflections further on this matter.

# 5 Discussion

Throughout the previous chapter, we have laid a foundation for what will be processed in this chapter, namely the discussion. We have demonstrated how interpretations of our empirical data can conduce to reach a greater understanding in terms of the gender inequalities expressed and dealt with within the IT occupation, especially in some sub groups, as well as how campaigns may function as voice for change of injustice, or as a fluctuating fashion. Here in this chapter, we aim to discuss our themes that we came across during the presentation of results and analysis. Our ambition is thus to try to respond to our formulated research questions in chapter one. We intend to accomplish this is by put it in relation to prevailing research literature. We have further allocated the discussion into two parts, just as our research questions. In the first part we will respond to our first question and hence determine how gender is expressed in the IT occupation. Secondly, we will debate and process our second question, i.e. the meanings of the #MeToo movement for the women in our context, but also allow us to interpret further its implication for gender injustice in male dominated occupations at the Sweden labour market in general. As a final part, there will be a summary to sum up this chapter as well. the next chapter will be enclosing conclusion, so will mainly function as a bridge to that final chapter.

## 5.1 The sub segregation in IT

In this section, our aim is to discuss our findings that will facilitate the answering of our first research question:

*How are gender relations expressed among the interviewed women (working in IT)?*

By discussing our results in regard to literature on the subject, we will enable an answer to this question. However, regarding that there is a lot of research in this subject, it fills more of a contextualizing function and make a prerequisite for responding to the second research question in 5.2.

Our aim is to discuss how gender relations are expressed among the interviewed women in the IT occupations. We will discuss how it is visible in terms of a male domination and a masculine identity. Also, expressions of gender relations will be discussed in terms of adaptation and adaptation strategies as well as through the difference of slack for women. Lastly, we will also elaborate on gender expressed in forms of segregation within subgroups of IT.

In the literature carried out, we have outlined a few approaches, events and assumptions worth stressing. Firstly, the literature review established that we have taken the social constructivist approach, whereby it is also highlighted that gender is socially constructed and is viewed as created through interactive activities (Prasad et al., 2010: Wahl et al., 2011: Acker 1990: 1992; West & Zimmerman 1997: Gonäs, 2000). In addition, we have underlined that the segregation in IT is mainly historical. IT has a history of men, especially in Sweden, although there were more females from the 60's and ten to twenty years ahead within the roles that were perceived as less independent, low status and not holding an engineering identity, e.g. programming (Ensmenger, 2010, Lindgren 1985). Because of programming was seen as appropriate to females back then, although later on became male and nerdy, it supports the fact that gender and work are constructed (Ensmenger, 2010: Acker, 1990: West and Zimmerman, 1987). Finally, we have furthermore demonstrated that Sweden is very horizontally segregated, and that the IT occupation's male majority is an example of this (Charles, 2003: Williams, 1993: Regeringskansliet, 2017: SCB 2016).

In regard to the latter, we have in our results from 4.1. shown that IT is gender coded, having a masculine identity. Hence, we have reinforced that work and occupations is not gender neutral (Gonäs, 2000: McDonald, 2013: Wharton, 2011). We have also provided results of a connection between masculinity, technique and technology. For instance, by quotes stating that technology is seen as a guy's thing. This has previously been discussed and enacted by Petersson (2007) and by feminist studies Wajcman, (1991), Faulkner (2003), Mellström (1995). This connection has also been shown among IT consultants (Petersson 2007). Since our results display what has already been established in the literature, our findings cannot be considered being new findings. Although, our thesis on this matter, is rather confirming IT being gender coded as male, and that there has not been any change in regard to that area.

In our results in 4.1.1 we also showed findings of there being an image of a nerd in IT, e.g. "nerdy environment" "some nerds", which as mentioned, also is observed in previous research. Besides, narratives of power, seeing their work as the most important, e.g. that one is "less worthy if not knowing all technical terms, has been connected to male programmers or developers (very male dominated roles). We have interpreted these expressions of power and hectorism as connected to a hegemonic masculinity (Wajcman, 1991)) in congruence with Nissens (2003) research of computer interested men viewing themselves as heroes doing risky, challenging work. Also, Wajcman and Faulkners (1991:2003) reasoning of men as perceived as masters over the nature, supports this image existence. Even though above implicate that also here, our findings are confirmed, it becomes interesting for us when acknowledging that these men are expressing power, were developers or programmers, which we will discuss in a further paragraph, in terms of segregated subgroups within the IT occupation.

Moreover, we have received results in section 4.1.2 suggesting women perceiving IT as a tough environment, where one is treated different because of one's gender, indicating that one does not fit in with the current occupational identity. The glass shoe does not fit, as stated by Ashcraft (2013). Relevant to this is Acker's (2006) ideas of the ideal worker, being a heterosexual man based on that traditionally, organisations were made for men by men. Nissen (2003) can also be brought forward describing the development of IT as totally dominated by men, e.g. by creating the computer. With these two concepts in mind and also taking Ashcraft's (2013) notion into account, i.e. that an identity may be so because of the people working there, we reckon it is reasonable that the historical male domination in IT imply some explanation for the masculine identity in the prevailing IT occupation. Though it should be said that it is constructed, thus changeable, shown by the fact that programming was recognised as appropriate for women in the past. The male identity, foster unjust conditions if you misfit it, as many of our respondents have experienced. Taken in previous sections' conclusions, an addition is that the historical male domination has influenced prevailing identity inclining tougher conditions for women.

In section 4.1.2, we also brought up results showing that a misfit of the masculine identity requests a pressure to adapt, which is an example of how gender relations expressed in IT. Simpsson (2004) and Kanter (1977) talks about this, namely that women as minority may experience difficultness to adapt. Likewise, our data displayed pure adaptation, in terms of

women mentioning their trying to adapt to the jargon. Other tendencies of adaptation were shown in talking down women and claiming one's likeness to men, e.g. *"[...]they are straightforward [...]"* and *"[...]me myself, as a woman, is very straightforward.* This is similar to Lindgren's (1993) conformist strategy, trying to emphasize its resemblance to the majority and masculinity, keeping distance to femininity. Moreover, a strategy mentioned by Wahl (1992) was disclosed in our result, namely to promote the positiveness with one's gender. Berner (2003) also discuss similarly that there seems to be a premiered female identity within which one can act. It could be good but if one is not in line with that identity either, you are trapped in the middle, without any glass shoe that fits (Ashcraft, 2013). We can thus conclude that our results regarding gender expressed through pressure to adaptation also are similar to previous research, supporting the already established conclusion that women previous observed conditions in IT, still seems to prevail.

Moreover, in section 4.1.3 we have revealed our data indicating that gender relations are expressed by women having less slack than men. This is shown by quotes expressing a notion of greater pressure upon women to perform, being responsible for women's reputation when trying to meet the set-up expectations. Also, if failing, our results show that the fall is harder. As a woman you are a token dofus, not permitted to make mistakes to the same extent as men, who have more slack. This is shown in this mentioned quote,

*"As a woman, you do not get the same space. It is not given. You have to take space and sometimes when you take space, it's not okay either. It is a difficult balance."*

We see a resemblance in Kanter's (1977) theory of tokenism, where women were exposed for more pressure to perform, and seen as indicators of women's potential to succeed. Furthermore, in terms of "balance", Berner (2003), Alvesson and Billing (2002) and Forseth (2005) point out similar issue i.e. the contradicting in possessing a traditionally perceived male role but with a need to exceed the normative women's role. Hereby, it is clear that these findings also are similar to several previous researches. Although, there are many years between our study and some of the previous research. Thus, it can be concluded that there is not much change in regard to gender expressed through women being given less slack.

Likewise, in section of 4.1.4, we have found segregated subgroups within the IT occupation, whereby the masculine gender code seems to be especially apparent in the developer and

programmer role, where most men are occupied. Women are more occupied in roles such as UX designer or project leader. This could be likened to the creation of "female ghettos" explained by Charles & Grusky (2006). Petersson (2007) has also shown an existing sub segregation in IT and that these roles were seen as requesting less technical skills and thus having a lower status.

As in our case, we see signs of similarity, e.g. the mentioned view among some developers, of them doing the important work. By claiming their importance, we interpret, the same time claiming the lack of importance of other roles. Also, our data expressed the common movement from developer to project leader, which by some, found to be associated with so-called soft values (similar to Petersson's (2007) soft fields). One notion was that this was because women getting asked to do those tasks anyway. In accordance, we have also pointed out requested traits for these sub segregated roles occupied by more women, such as coordinating or communicative skills. Also, one woman revealed being asked if she would cancel her resignation by the incentive of organising a party at the organisation. All this, we suggest, point in the direction that the project leader role and project-leading-oriented tasks are commonly viewed as requiring less technical skills, lower in status and less important. Relevant research upon this finding is Berner (2003) and Wahl et al. (2011) stating women being allowed in some roles. Also, Davies (1996) Wahl et al. (2011) and Ashcraft (2007) describe women's inclusion more specifically in the role of support staff, defining the norm of the man. We argue that the project leader could be an example of that role, and a role perceived as having less masculine identity associated to soft values. Thus, gender relations are also expressed in IT through sub groups. Even if this have been observed in previous theory, we have contributed by emphasising this as particularly for the project leader role, which overall seems to be a role on everyone's lips.

In summary we have responded to our first research question, i.e. that gender relations are expressed in the IT occupation, e.g. through exclusion as a consequence of a tough environment not fitting in with the identity. Besides, through adaptation, less slack, and sub segregated groups. Overall, we have by our study confirmed a lot of earlier research, although put extra emphasis on the sub segregation within IT. Where, even though IT overall has a masculine identity, it is extra apparent in the programmer and developer roles. Additionally, we have highlighted the project leader as a role where gender relations are clearly expressed.

This section function as contextualising the prevailing conditions in IT, fostering for an answer to our second question followed in next part of chapter 5.


## 5.2 #MeToo as voice, anchor or fashion for change?

In this section, we will discuss upon findings drawn from 4.2 and answer our second research question below,

*What meaning(s) has the #MeToo campaign had in this context?*

Our main takeaways from the section 4.2 are the interpretations, which we could achieve through applying the concepts of voice, anchor for change and fashion.

As for the concept of voice, which we reasoned about in 4.2.1, we came down to that our result, from interviews and observation, showed self-reflection among the women. We also illustrated that #MeToo was perceived as having an enlightening implication, in terms of informing and educating. Thirdly, we also displayed notions of #MeToo as displaying master suppression techniques.

Through self-reflections, respondents expressed coming down to that #MeToo had influenced them in terms of enabling voice, disclosing a clear before, and after the #MeToo campaign. Hence, if a #MeToo incident (e.g. sexual harassment) would happen again after the campaign, they were of the notion that they would react, protest and say no. In other words, #MeToo enabled reflections which in turn enabled voice empowerment. As for the other two examples, i.e. #MeToo having an educational and enlightening effect, as well as disclosing master suppressions techniques these two also serves as voice empowerment, in terms of fostering a public discussion about the unjust conditions which #MeToo reveals.

In regard to Rennstam and Sullivan's (2018) conclusions regarding the silencing, voice and peripheral inclusion for LGB officers in the Swedish police force, they suggest that it went from exclusion, explicit silence and no voice, towards informal silencing, voice and peripheral inclusion. If putting this in parallel to #MeToo, we speculate that the campaign on a personal level have enabled our respondents in our context to be having voice. However, we are not as sure upon if there were explicit silencing and exclusion before the #MeToo. In our

context, IT women have illustrated sort of exclusion, e.g. from male networks. Yet, our findings also suggest that they are included in some sub segregated roles, whereby they are indications that they are more serving in the role of support staff, communicating to the developers who have the power of coding the task. Hence, our interpretation is that they were not excluded but rather somewhere on the continuum. Also, when it comes to speculating if they had a voice before #MeToo the answer seems like no. For instance, if referring to all our respondent's experiences and reflections upon assaults relevant for #MeToo. However, we are also open for the fact that they had a "quiet voice". Yet, these are just our attempts to understand #MeToo using the concept of voice.

Likewise, it is impossible to draw a conclusion of what #MeToo has resulted in for these women except for voice. In other words, it is still too soon to tell if the campaign will imply a non-silence and inclusion, or something else on the continuum. However, as for our context in the IT occupation, acknowledging our results in 4.1. of the prevailing inequality between the genders, the last made suggestion does not seems to likely be considering today's situation.

Moreover, an interpretation of our results is that #MeToo through this voice empowerment, may be an anchoring practice enabling change, a concept brought forward by Ann Swidler (2000). As we have described, Swidler's (2000) idea of anchoring practices mean that some type of practices, that occur in society, act as anchors for fundamental change. By fundamental change, Swidler (2000) aim changing constitutive rules, i.e. that something will be recognized as something in a specific context.

If #MeToo, as being the social practices, are anchored it could change the constitutive rules and there will be a change.

Regarding wheatear there #MeToo will lead to fundamental change, Swidler (2000) also discuss why some social practices are more influential than others, Swidler (2000) points out that those practices which stabilise constitutive rules that defines central social bodies, are more probable to be fundamental and thus anchoring bigger fields of "practice and discourse" (p. 95-96). Besides, social antagonistic relationships also influence the fundamental anchoring of practices (antagonistic interchanges may reproduce common structures more precise than friendly alliances do). Lastly, public visible enactment in terms of patterns that are new, does also matter, i.e. that all people have seen that everyone else also has viewed the changes.

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With this in mind, and what has been discussed above regarding the difficulties to establish if #MeToo will entail non-silence an inclusion, adding Swidler's (2000) concept thus lead to the question ask wheatear #MeToo, through the enhanced voice empowerment will lead to a fundamental change.

Our conclusion is that we cannot answer that yet due to #MeToo's recentness. Though focusing on Swidler's points above, namely factors promoting anchoring, #MeToo seems to have profound prerequisites. As one of our respondents express it,

*"I believe it's the beginning of something. The beginning of a change. Almost as a paradigm shift that has begun, hope it won't stop."*

However, lastly we will bring forward Prasad et al.'s (2010) concept of discourse of fashions. As Prasad et al. (2010) discuss in their study of fashions, to make a fashion sustain, it has to be locally relevant or anchored. Also, as our study illustrate, the lack of actions taken from the respondents' organisations after #MeToo, indicate some similarities with a fashion – suddenly arriving and highly visible. Nevertheless, few of them have long-lasting effects. Particularly not at the local level, as in our IT context, as displayed by the little weight given to their #MeToo edition: #teknisktfel.

Also, a finding based on #MeToo not being widespread in IT is that started as a big initiative, but while broken down into smaller parts, these were not such a big thing anymore. Thus, #MeToo might not have been as locally rooted, although there were several individual appeals.

As we previously have stated, the lack of knowledge among our respondents concerning their diversity policies, in compliance with the ridiculing of #MeToo also show that #MeToo is not taken seriously. Hence not locally anchored.

A last thought taking in regard to Prasad et al (2010) is that they mentioning fashion being synonymous to haute couture as well as luxury product. These are an association, we mean, from one can draw the connection to #MeToo as a high fashion but which have not (yet) reached the IT occupation. This can furthermore be elaborated by the fact that we in 4.1.2

brought up personal reflections as an implication of #MeToo. Most of these reflections were personal reflections upon #MeToo, from them as personal individuals. Thus, not from them being IT employees, e.g. UX designer. Also, another quote indicates the same,

*"That is not relevant for us, that is tv4"*.

Hence, we speculate that this indicate that #MeToo is a high global fashion but which has not been localized and reached the IT employee yet.

Summing up, our findings indicate that the #MeToo campaign has not had any severe meanings in regard to the women as employees in the IT occupation due to a lack of local relevance. However, on a personal level #MeToo has enabled voice empowerment which in the future, if #MeToo is anchored, might enable inclusion and non-silence. Moreover, if #MeToo, like a fashion are localized in the future, a reasonable conclusion is thus that it through voice empowerment could function as an anchor for fundamental change in regard to inclusion and justice. However, only time will tell.

## 5.3   Chapter Summary

In this chapter we have discussed our findings in compliance with previous literature on the subject. We have responded to our first research question by signposting certain ways, in which gender is expressed in the IT occupation. By answering our first research question we have found that many of our findings are similar to previous literature, thus inclining more confirmation than many novel findings. Though, we have contributed by highlighting that gender is especially visible when it comes to subgroups within IT, where the project leader role is stressed. In the second part of the analysis, we have highlighted

We have furthermore analysed the data indicating of #MeToo resulting in self reflections and having an educational function. Besides highlighting master suppression techniques. We have discussed our findings in regard to voice, anchoring practices and fashion.

# 6    Conclusion

In this chapter our conclusions and an aim for responds to our formulated research questions will be presented. It begins with a review of our findings followed by our potential contributions of our findings to prevailing research in these areas. Finally, we will debate and apprise our suggestions of further research on the subject.

## 6.1    Findings

The aim of this study is to contribute with insights on how gender is expressed in IT and whether the #MeToo campaign as an initiative for injustice has any implications regarding these matters, for instance by being a voice, anchor or fashion for change. Through a qualitative abductive study, we gathered data by performing 10 interviews with women working within the IT occupation. Also, we performed an observation at an IT event for women. These respondents have all together contributed with their experiences, reflections, and interpretations on how they comprehend the working conditions within IT and hence, created the empirical data required to approach and respond to our research questions shown below. Thus, enable us to achieve the aim set in this thesis.

*1. How are gender relations expressed among the interviewed women (working in IT)?*

By draw upon stories and reflections from our respondents collected during the interviews and observation, we have responded to our research questions. Within the stories expositions, we came across that the women in our study often felt having other unjust conditions in comparison to men within the occupation, leading among others to the perception of exclusion.

Moreover, we have reviewed and concluded that occupations have certain identities and gender coded work ideals, whereby the identity may come from the occupation but also from the people working there, thus facilitating for a masculine identity in a male dominated

occupation as IT (Wharton, 2011, Ashcraft, 2007: McDonald, 2012: Ashcraft, 2013). An identity which, in accordance with Ashcraft's (2013) Cinderella shoe, can be difficult for women to identify with. Moreover, we have shown a sub segregation within IT, where the masculine identity is more apparent in the roles of developers and programmers having features of nerdiness and hegemonic masculinity. Concerning the latter, we analyse that this may contribute to a view of the roles positioned by women (UX designers and project leaders) ass less important and requiring less technical skills, generating that these roles are more accepted, allowed, promoted to, and hence, occupied by women. In addition, we have come across that women perceive greater pressure to perform, being responsible "for the whole world's female population" (as one respondent expressed) as and also different adaptation strategies among the women to cope with the tough environment in IT. One strategy involves encouraging the benefit of one's gender and adapting to the female ideals that are premiered. This one is also a reason, we interpret, to why the sub segregation is maintained and reproduced. Overall, we have confirmed much of previous research, although put additional emphasis on the fact that gender is more visible expressed in the subgroups within IT.

Based on these findings we have, as mentioned in our introduction and research aim, created a base and prerequisite to respond to our second research question:

*What meaning(s) has the #MeToo campaign had in this context?*

We have therefore analysed the #MeToo campaigns implication(s) for these women in the IT occupation. The study conducted has resulted in several interesting findings. First and foremost, and what possibly surprised us the most, is that the #MeToo campaign within IT has spread and made impact on a considerably lower level, than we initially expected, resulting in that we could not use the critical incident technique as a part of the method, which we intended to. Although, it is evident, that the #MeToo campaign in general has widespread in society.

Furthermore, our study has found that organizations has not acted upon the #MeToo campaign to the extent it is described within social media and general press. More precisely, the leaders of said organizations has not brought the forthcoming campaign to light whatsoever.

When analysing it, we equalize it to Swidler's concepts of practices as anchor for change, Rennstam and Sullivan's concept of voice as well as a fashion (Prasad et al. 2010).

One finding and thus implication of #MeToo is that it has enabled voice empowerment among our respondents. Though it is too soon to tell if #MeToo as a social practice, is anchored yet or not, as Swidler's concept is based upon historical events.

Furthermore, an additional finding is that in our specific context, #MeToo can be likened to a fashion in terms of arriving and being highly visible, yet few of them have long term effects. Especially not at the local level, as in our IT context, as disclosed by the little weight given to our respondents #MeToo edition: #teknisktfel.

Also, a finding is that #MeToo can be likened to a high fashion i.e. haute couture, by the fact that is has not yet reached the IT occupation.

In summary, our findings show that the #MeToo campaign has not had any certain meanings in regard to the women as employees in the IT occupation because of a lack of local relevance. Still, on a personal plan, #MeToo has enabled voice empowerment which in the future, if #MeToo is anchored, may enable inclusion and non-silence. Furthermore, if #MeToo, like a fashion are localized in the future, a reasonable conclusion is thus that it through voice empowerment could function as an anchor for fundamental change in regard to inclusion and justice. However, only time will tell.

Hence, we are of the conclusion that the #MeToo campaign should rather be viewed as a fashion in regard to the IT occupation. Form our view it does not seem as an acknowledged event specifically for the occupation, e.g. due to a lack of knowledge of #teknisktfel, but rather an attentive more universal happening. Due to our analysis saying that there is a lack of local relevance of the #MeToo campaign, we are of the idea that it, at this moment, points in the direction of a non-particularly sustainable fashion.

By this study, we are of the interpretation that we have provided the reader with a view of how masculine occupations enable gender injustice as well as a broader understanding of consequences of campaigns and or initiatives for gender equality.

## 6.2   Contributions

We propose that our study has contributed with a few things. The most obvious is that we have analysed the #MeToo movement, which has not been done before because of being a happening that occurred recently, this autumn. We find that is of importance to have put it into light and comparing it to other initiatives.

Moreover, we also see a value of having contributed with an additional study of women in the IT occupation or industry, as it gathers concepts from different areas. Additionally, we also perceive a contribution by the fact that we have showed segregated sub groups within the IT occupation, where the masculine identity is clear and difficult for women to adapt to. Though, the parts involving the first research question, is most likely more valuable by its connection to the campaign, i.e. the findings being a foundation for understanding the implications of the campaign.

## 6.3   Future Research

After conducting this study, insights and inspiration for further research has come across. It would be interesting to perform a similar study with men, to investigate and discuss their reflections upon these issues. Furthermore, it would be interesting to conduct a similar study with people in leading positions within the IT occupation and hence perhaps also include vertical segregation as an area of study.

Moreover, it would be of interest to perform a similar study further ahead. Since it has been a pretty short period of time since this campaign set off, a future research might give very different results. Furthermore, it could be interesting to review if the #MeToo campaign was more widespread and entailed further or alternative meanings for specific occupations and or at the Swedish labour market in general.

In addition to this, it would also be interesting to perform a study more narrowed down in to particular roles within the quite broad occupation of IT. In other words, to perform this study with respondents working as developers and programmers, roles which has shown to be

very a male dominated, or on the contrary, employees working in more female dominated roles such as project leaders, more coordinating administrative roles or UX designers. Moreover, it would also be interesting to do the study of both and thus, compare the two.

It would also be interesting to conduct this research on another occupation, which has a domination of women, e.g. teachers, or one that has been male dominated, but has evolved into being female dominated, e.g. lawyers.

Lastly, there would also be a value to investigate gender expression in relation to IT on a private level, since programming are more common among male IT users than female.

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# Appendix A

## Questionnaire

Syftet med studien är att beskriva och analysera vad #MeToo-kampanjen har betytt för kvinnor som arbetar inom IT-yrket. Information ges om att intervjun kommer att spelas in och intervjupersonen har rätt att avbryta sin medverkan under intervjun om hen vill det. Informerar om att studien kommer att vara konfidentiell och att materialet från intervjun enbart används för att skriva kandidatuppsatsen. Intervjun beräknas ta ca 45 - 60 minuter.

**Bakgrund / Berätta om dig själv**

- Vad har du för akademisk bakgrund?
- Hur länge har du arbetat inom IT yrket?
- Vad har du för position/yrkesroll i IT yrket?
- Vad fick dig att välja den här yrkeskarriären?
- Hur känner du för ditt val?
- Vad har du gjort tidigare?
- Hur ser könsfördelningen?
- Hur ser en typisk arbetsdag ut?
- Vad innebär din position?
- Vad är dina uppgifter?
- Skiljer de sig från andras?

**Om företagskulturen och yrket**

- Hur skulle du beskriva att arbeta med yrke inom IT?
- Hur skulle du definiera en mansdominerad bransch?
- Ser du IT-branschen som en mansdominerad bransch? Varför/varför inte?
- Berätta om din arbetsplats som företag (internt & extremt om möjligt?)
- Vad tycker du kännetecknar ett bra arbetsklimat vs. Ett dåligt?
- Vad är bäst med att arbeta med IT som jag inte kommer se om jag bara går runt på företaget?
- Hur känner du att dina eller kollegors tankar och idéer förs vidare i företaget?
- Hur fungerar kommunikationen?
- Hur tas besluten?
- Hur hanteras konflikter?

**Stämningen på arbetsplatsen**

· Vad tänker du om att det är få kvinnor som arbetar inom IT yrket? Varför?

· Hur viktigt är det för dig att arbeta inom ett yrke där könsfördelningen är jämn?

· Från din synvinkel, ser du några fördelar med att arbeta i ett mansdominerat yrke?

· Från din synvinkel, ser du några nackdelar med att arbeta i ett mansdominerat yrke?

· Hur upplever du stämningen mellan kollegorna på jobbet (båda könen?

· Upplever du att jargongen skiljer sig åt mellan olika grupper? Hur?


**#MeToo-kampanjen**

· Vad känner du till om #MeToo-kampanjen?

· Hur skulle du beskriva den?

· Vad känner du till om hashtaggen #teknisktfel?

· Hur upplever du att #MeToo har uttryckts inom just IT yrket?

· Hur upplever du att det har uppmärksammats i dina nätverk?

· Känner du någon eller några som har varit med om någon händelse inom just IT yrket som är relevant för #MeToo?

· Hur upplever du att din arbetsplats har påverkats av kampanjen?

· Upplever du att din arbetsplats har förändrats på något sätt efter kampanjen? Om ja, hur?

· Upplever du att ledningen har uppmärksammat/pratat/gjort något efter #MeToo-kampanjen?


**Frågor om occupational segregation och inclusion / exclusion**

· Har ni en jämställdhetspolicy?

  - Känner du till vad den innehåller?

  - Upplever du att den är synlig i organisationen?

  - Upplever du att den efterföljs inom organisationen?

· Hur ser arbetsfördelningen ut, är det lika för alla?

· Har du upplevt att du har fått förfrågan om att utföra uppgifter som ligger utanför din arbetsbeskrivning? (Om ja, exemplifiera. Hur hanterade du det? Upplever du att andra får samma förfrågan, om ja – vilka?)

· Hur upplever du inkluderandet inom ditt yrke?

· Är samtliga på din avdelning med vid t.ex. möten, briefing av information et. Cetera?

· När det gäller projektledning, upplever du att det är lika fördelning av projekten mellan könen?

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