

Victims, Power, Prevalence, and Silence – Framing of Sexual Harassment in Newspaper Articles from The New York Times and Helsingin Sanomat in the Time of #MeToo

Master's thesis
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<p>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</p> <p>Tutkimukseni ensimmäisenä tarkoituksena on selvittää, kuinka seksuaalista häirintää kehystetään <i>The New York Timesissa</i> ja <i>Helsingin Sanomissa</i> #MeToo-liikkeen ensimmäisen kuukauden aikana. Toisena tavoitteena on vertailla näiden kahden sanomalehden artikkeleista löytämiäni kehyksiä ja tutkia, miten ne eroavat toisistaan tai millaisia samankaltaisuuksia niissä on. Aineistonani on molempien sanomalehtien kotisivuilla aikavälillä 16.10.-16.11.2017 julkaistut artikkelit. Analyysimenetelmänäni toimii kehysanalyysi. Entmanin (1993: 53) mukaan kehystettäessä korostetaan puheenaiheena olevan asian tiettyjä osia ja parannetaan niiden huomattavuutta (<i>salience</i>). Käyttämällä siis eri kehyksiä tietystä asiasta, se muuttuu myös luonteeltaan erilaiseksi (Karvonen 2000: 78). Näin ollen kehyksillä on vaikutusvaltaa sen suhteen, miten jokin asia nähdään.</p> <p>Analyysini tuloksena tunnistin yhteensä viisi kehystä <i>The New York Timesista</i>: valta-kehys, uhri-kehys, yleisyys-kehys, hiljaisuus-kehys ja ainutlaatuinen hetki-kehys. <i>Helsingin Sanomista</i> löysin kuusi kehystä: valta-kehys, uhri-kehys, yleisyys-kehys, hiljaisuus-kehys, sukupuoli-kehys ja häiritsijä-kehys. Seksuaalinen häirintä kehystettiin molemmissa lehdissä siis yleisenä ilmiönä, jota ympäröi hiljaisuus ja joka on kytkeytynyt sukupuoleen ja valtaan. Kuten edellä olevista tuloksista näkee, <i>Helsingin Sanomat</i> ja <i>The New York Times</i> kehystivät seksuaalista häirintää hyvin samalla tavalla. Eroja syntyi lähinnä siinä, miten kehykset rakentuivat näissä sanomalehdissä. Esimerkiksi tämän vuoksi olen luonut sukupuoli- ja häiritsijä-kehykset <i>Helsingin Sanomien</i> artikkeleista, sillä <i>The New York Timesissa</i> sukupuolta ja häiritsijöitä käsiteltiin enemmän valta-kehysten kautta. Lisäksi ainutlaatuinen hetki-kehys oli läsnä ainoastaan <i>The New York Timesissa</i>. Tämän kehyksen keskiössä oli Weinstein-paljastusten ja #MeToo:n luoma erityinen konteksti. Erityisen mielenkiintoista tuloksissani oli se, että häirintää kehystettiin vahvasti vallan, sukupuolen ja uhrien kokemusten kautta molemmissa lehdissä.</p> <p>Mediakehysten tutkiminen on siis tärkeää, koska ne voivat vaikuttaa siihen, kuinka ilmiö ymmärretään. Jotkin löytämistäni kehyksistä näyttävät osittain vahvistavan kuvaa seksuaalisesta häirinnästä vakavana ongelmana, mutta toisaalta osa kehyksistä myös esittää seksuaalisen häirinnän vain tietyssä rajatussa valossa. Tällä on voinut olla seurauksia siihen, millaisena ilmiö on näyttäytynyt julkisessa keskustelussa ja miten ihmiset ovat sen ymmärtäneet. Tämä puolestaan voi vaikuttaa siihen, millaisena ongelmana asia määrittyy yhteiskunnalle ja miten siihen reagoidaan.</p>	
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION	5
2 BACKGROUND	8
2.1 Sexual harassment	8
2.1.1 The definition	8
2.1.2 Sexual harassment in the United States	15
2.1.3 Sexual harassment in Finland	22
2.2 #MeToo	28
2.3 Sexual harassment in the media in the United States	34
2.4 Sexual harassment in the media in Finland	40
3 FRAME ANALYSIS	47
4 METHODOLOGY	51
4.1 Research Questions and Aim	51
4.2 Data Selection and Collection	52
4.3 Method of Analysis	55
5 ANALYSIS	58
5.1 Framing of sexual harassment in The New York Times	58
5.1.1 Power frame	58
5.1.2 Victim frame	64
5.1.3 Prevalence frame	69
5.1.4 Silence frame	72
5.1.5 Unique Moment frame	74
5.2 Framing of sexual harassment in Helsingin Sanomat	77
5.2.1 Victim frame	78
5.2.2 Power frame	80
5.2.3 Prevalence frame	82
5.2.4 Silence frame	85
5.2.5 Gender frame	87
5.2.6 Harasser frame	88
5.3 The four functions of a frame	89
5.4 Comparison between the two newspapers	92

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS96

BIBLIOGRAPHY104

Primary sources104

The New York Times104

Helsingin Sanomat107

Secondary sources110

1 INTRODUCTION

Sexual harassment has been a reality for many people for a long time. However, it was not until the 1970s that the concept was given a name and framed as a gendered problem by American feminists (Zippel 2006: 53, 14). Sexual harassment affects a great number of people worldwide and is a problem for societies due to the impact it has on victims and organizations. Starting from October 15th, 2017, the #MeToo movement underlined the pervasiveness of this problem. Even though sexual harassment also affects men and boys, women and girls are more subjected to it, as can be seen from different prevalence studies (e.g. Stop Street Harassment 2018, Pew Research Center 2018, Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018, Ikonen and Helakorpi 2019).

Therefore, it is important to study sexual harassment in order to gain a better understanding of this prevalent issue present in society and also of the ways in which it is being discussed. It is this second part to which this thesis strives to contribute. Seppänen and Väliaverronen (2012: 170) say that media can be considered a fourth state power, in addition to legislative, executive, and judicial. Media is constantly present both in people's lives as well as in the functions of institutions and organizations (Seppänen and Väliaverronen 2012: 170). Thus, it is important to study how sexual harassment is framed and represented in the media, as it can affect public perception of the issue. This, in turn, can have effects on, for example, whether the issue is perceived as a problem at all. Sexual harassment in the media has already been the subject of some research. For example, Bing and Lombardo (1997) studied the framing of sexual harassment in American newspapers and news magazines, whereas McDonald and Charlesworth (2013) conducted content and critical discourse analysis on news media articles about sexual harassment from four English-speaking countries. However, when looking for previous research, there did not seem to be a great amount of studies focusing on how sexual harassment has been discussed in media, particularly in Finland. Therefore, there is a gap this thesis can contribute to fill.

The first aim of this thesis then is to identify how sexual harassment has been framed in online articles from two newspapers, *The New York Times* and *Helsingin Sanomat*, during the first month of the #MeToo movement. The #MeToo movement offers a special context for this study because it raised sexual harassment into a global discussion topic as people shared their experiences. Many allegations were also made against high-profile individuals. My second aim

in this thesis is to compare the frames identified in both newspapers and see what possible similarities and differences exist between them. I chose these newspapers because they are both similar in size in their countries and, thus, could be argued to have social and political influence. They are also similar in regard to their political stance. In addition, both countries offer their own interesting contexts in which to study the framing of sexual harassment. For example, the term *sexual harassment* as well as the #MeToo movement originated in the United States, and Finland is considered to be a country with high gender equality. However, Finland has also been dealing with violence against women (STM 2019). Therefore, my research questions are:

- 1) How is sexual harassment framed in the online articles published in *Helsingin Sanomat* and *The New York Times* since the beginning of the #MeToo movement?
- 2) How do the frames in *Helsingin Sanomat* and *The New York Times* compare to one another? What similarities and differences there are, and what do they tell about the trends according to which sexual harassment is discussed in newspapers.

As mentioned, my data includes online articles (e.g. news articles, opinion pieces, editorials) published on the websites of *The New York Times* and *Helsingin Sanomat* during the first month of the #MeToo movement (16.10.-16.11.2017). I analysed my data by using frame analysis. According to Entman (1993: 53), frames increase the salience of certain pieces of information of a communicated issue by emphasizing them. Karvonen (2000: 78) also states that as an issue is surrounded by different frames, its nature also changes. Therefore, as frames can affect the way an issue is presented, and thus perceived, it is important to study them. It is particularly important to study media framing because media also has power to create and define topics of societal discussion (Seppänen and Väliverronen 2012: 170).

As a result of my analysis, I identified five major frames in *The New York Times*: *Power*, *Victim*, *Prevalence*, *Silence*, and *Unique Moment*. In *Helsingin Sanomat*, I found six main frames: *Power*, *Victim*, *Prevalence*, *Silence*, *Gender*, and *Harasser*. Therefore, as can be seen from these results, both newspapers framed sexual harassment very similarly. The main differences between the newspapers arise primarily from how the frames were constructed in them. For example, in *The New York Times*, harassers and gender were more connected with power, whereas in *Helsingin Sanomat* this was not the case, and thus I decided to have them as their own frames.

Regarding the structure of this thesis, in the next chapter I will discuss previous research on sexual harassment, #MeToo, and sexual harassment in the media. This will be followed by the third chapter in which I will present a theoretical discussion on frame analysis. In chapter four I will present the methodology of this thesis, and in chapter five I will discuss the results of my analysis in detail. The final chapter includes the discussion and conclusion of this thesis.

2 BACKGROUND

In this section, the key terms and previous research related to the topic of this thesis will be discussed. First, I will introduce the definitions of sexual harassment in both countries and offer some context regarding its prevalence both in the United States and in Finland. Secondly, I will present background information on the #MeToo movement by briefly describing the movement and by presenting some studies that have already been made of the phenomenon. The #MeToo movement brought sexual harassment and assault into the public consciousness and discussion in fall 2017, and therefore, it provides an important context for the newspaper articles included in my analysis. Lastly, I will discuss previous research about how sexual harassment has been discussed in the media, and this will provide the base on which I can reflect my own analysis results.

2.1 Sexual harassment

In the following chapters, I will present the history of the concept in the United States and provide a definition for sexual harassment from both countries in order to give an understanding on how the issue is defined by an American and a Finnish authority. In addition, presenting these definitions will also show how sexual harassment is defined and understood in this thesis. I will also discuss studies on the prevalence of sexual harassment both in the United States and in Finland in order to give some perception regarding the scale and forms of this issue in society.

2.1.1 The definition

The *sexual harassment* concept was coined by American feminists in 1975 (Zippel 2006: 53). Feminists of the second-wave women's movement primarily viewed sexual harassment as a "gendered" problem: men with higher status than women due to their gender and position in the workplace abusing power (Zippel 2006: 14). In addition, according to Zippel (2006: 14), in this framing sexual harassment was a problem encountered by female workers, simply due to their sex. Moreover, according to feminists, harassment was also an issue that had economic impact: basing her argument on feminist sociological theories, MacKinnon (1979, as cited in Zippel 2006: 14-15) stated that as women's economic rights were influenced by sexual harassment, it constituted discrimination. In addition to the emotional suffering, by refusing to

engage in sexual relations with their supervisors, women can risk unemployment, and they might resign when hostile actions from co-workers become unbearable (Zippel 2006: 15).

In addition, Zippel (2006: 32) says that as feminists coined the term sexual harassment, they also assigned certain meanings to it. By defining sexual harassment, they, thus, transformed the perception of everyday behaviour: what was viewed as private before was now politicized and redefined as an injustice to which women were being subjected (Zippel 2006: 32). Further, through strategic framing, movements aim to persuade different actors, like states, courts, and organizations, to give the matter serious consideration (Zippel 2006: 32). As an example, she (2006: 32-33) mentions how by employing the sex discrimination frame, American feminists could refer to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Furthermore, it is very important whose definitions of meanings prevail in the battles over policies and laws (Zippel 2006: 33). Here Zippel (2006: 33) discusses one value of frames: in addition to naming problems, frames also make interpretations of their nature, the actors behind the problems, and the potential remedies for the problems. Thus, frames can be powerful tools for movements in their efforts to advance their causes.

In addition to creating and defining the concept of sexual harassment, American feminists also had an influence on sexual harassment law, even though it still primarily evolved through courts (Zippel 2006: 42-43). In the beginning of the 1970s, various women not only filed official complaints, but also sued their employers after they had been fired for rejecting sexual advances from their superiors (Zippel 2006: 46). In these lawsuits, filed under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it was argued that the women's civil rights had been violated due to discrimination on the basis of their sex (Zippel 2006: 47). However, like the defence, judges also regarded the matter as a private issue and thought that employers were not at fault (Zippel 2006: 47). The plaintiffs' side and feminist theorists, nevertheless, persisted that women were subjected to sexual harassment due to their sex, and thus it constituted sex discrimination (MacKinnon 1979: 191, as cited in Zippel 2006: 48). Moreover, they connected sexual harassment with work-related gender inequality: it created an unfair work environment (Zippel 2006: 48). Eventually, in 1976, sexual harassment was recognized to constitute sex discrimination for the first time in a court case, and Title VII formed acceptable grounds for lawsuits (Zippel 2006: 48). The judge's ruling set a precedent and influenced sexual harassment law considerably (Zippel 2006: 49). Moreover, this case helped lawyers to challenge earlier court rulings, and in many cases,

they were reversed by appellate courts (Zippel 2006: 49). The media attention also picked up alongside these court cases, increasing public awareness (Zippel 2006: 49).

Connecting sexual harassment with sex discrimination was critical as, firstly, it made passing a new law unnecessary (Zippel 2006: 51). Secondly, the American belief in individual rights to equal and “fair” treatment appealed to people, was sensible from a legal viewpoint, and matched the growingly popular view that the violation of these rights at work was an injustice (Zippel 2006: 51). Moreover, once sexual harassment constituted sex discrimination, it was possible to benefit from the powerful mechanisms offered by anti-discrimination laws that put emphasis on employers’ actions (Zippel 2006: 51). Lastly, it was also possible to use the execution and enforcement structures, such as the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), that were already in place to ensure that sexual harassment law would be recognized (Zippel 2006: 51-52).

In the 1970s, a few women’s organizations also began to be founded around the issue (Zippel 2006: 54-55). Establishing sexual harassment as a social problem and turning it into a legitimate political problem were the most essential achievements of these organizations (Zippel 2006: 55). Similarly to the rising anti-violence movement, members of these women’s organizations saw the urgency to find a language with which this issue could be discussed (Zippel 2006: 55). In addition, these feminists sought to demonstrate the prevalence of sexual harassment and how it was a systemic problem related to gender discrimination, instead of one concerning individual women (Zippel 2006: 55). According to Zippel (2006: 51), Catharine MacKinnon, a feminist legal scholar specialized in sexual harassment, became the most prominent figure in her field. In her book, published in 1979, MacKinnon argued civil rights law as the ideal way for conceptualising sexual harassment due to its basis on equality and the fact that it protects women as a group instead of individuals (Zippel 2006: 51). In addition, MacKinnon divided the phenomenon into *quid pro quo* and hostile environment sexual harassment (Zippel 2006: 51). In *quid pro quo* sexual harassment, superiors try to extract sexual favours from employees by either offering benefits or threatening with retaliation (Zippel 2006: 20). According to the EEOC (1990), when considering if unwanted behaviour can be defined as hostile environment sexual harassment, the following key question is posed: if the behaviour “unreasonably interfer[es] with an individual's work performance” or creates “an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment.”” (29 C.F.R. § 1604.11(a)(3), as cited in EEOC 1990).

Moreover, a significant event for sexual harassment policy happened in 1980, when the EEOC, under the leadership of Eleanor Holmes Norton, created sexual harassment guidelines (Zippel 2006: 59). In their definition, the EEOC, like MacKinnon, separated sexual harassment into *quid pro quo* and hostile environment (Zippel 2006: 59). Courts were not bound by these guidelines, but the Supreme Court confirmed them in its ruling in 1986 (Zippel 2006: 59). After this, organizations began to pay attention to them and to create procedures for workplaces (Zippel 2006: 59).

Nowadays the EEOC defines sexual harassment as follows on their website:

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual's employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance, or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment. ("Facts about Sexual Harassment", EEOC, n.d., para. 2. Taken from: <https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/publications/fs-sex.cfm>)

From the definition above it is possible to see that it refers to different forms of sexual harassment: they include sexual advances, asking for sexual favours, or some other type of behaviour that is sexual and verbal or physical. Moreover, the interpretation of the person toward whom these actions are directed is also important: he or she needs to consider the behaviour as unwanted. Moreover, the context of work is an important element in the definition as well. However, this emphasis on the work context can be explained by the fact that the EEOC is an agency that enforces federal laws protecting job applicants and employees from discrimination ("Overview", n.d., para.1). In addition, as discussed in this chapter earlier, sexual harassment was first recognized from a policy and legal perspective in the context of employment.

In Finland, sexual harassment and gender-based harassment in workplaces and learning institutions are prohibited under the Act on Equality between Women and Men (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 34). The Act came into effect in the beginning of the year 1987, and during the past decades it has been amended numerous times ("The Equality Act in a nutshell", n.d., para. 1). Also known as the Equality Act, its objective is prohibiting any discrimination related to gender ("The Equality Act in a nutshell", n.d., para. 1). It also aims to advance gender equality and to enhance women's position, especially in professional life ("The Equality Act in

a nutshell”, n.d., para. 1). Regarding sexual harassment, it is considered as one form of discrimination in the Act (“The Equality Act in a nutshell”, n.d., para. 3). In other areas of life, sexual harassment is regulated in the Criminal Code of Finland (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 34). Since 2014, the more severe form of sexual harassment, *seksuaalinen ahdistelu*, has been considered a crime, and according to the law, it is defined as a physical act that violates an individual’s sexual self-determination (THL 2020).

On the website of the Ombudsman for Equality in Finland sexual harassment is defined as:

[...] verbal, non-verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature that is unwanted and by which a person’s psychological or physical integrity is violated intentionally or factually, in particular by creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive atmosphere. (“Sexual harassment and gender-based harassment, The Ombudsman for Equality, n.d., para. 1. Taken from: <https://tasa-arvo.fi/en/sexual-harassment>)

As can be seen from the definition above, it has many similarities when compared to the definition given by the EEOC. In both definitions sexual harassment is described as *unwanted* (Finnish) and *unwelcome* (USA). Therefore, one central element in both is that the behaviour is defined as harassment when the person experiencing it perceives it as unwanted. Both definitions also describe the forms of sexual harassment: that the behaviour is sexual in nature and can be verbal or physical (and in the case of the Finnish Ombudsman for Equality also non-verbal). However, some differences between the two definitions can also be identified. For example, in the Finnish definition above the word *violated* is used. Therefore, sexual harassment in the Finnish definition is also a violation against another person’s integrity. In addition, the American definition focuses on the context of workplace whereas in the Finnish definition the specific context is not mentioned. However, as mentioned previously, this could be due to the fact that the EEOC is specifically responsible for protecting employees and job applicants from discrimination (“Overview”, n.d., para.1).

The sexual harassment definition can, however, contain problems, and this is something that Carstensen (2016) discusses in her study. Specifically, Carstensen (2016: 269) aims to show how the sexual harassment term, thanks to the way in which it is defined and applied, produces what she calls a “grey zone”. According to her (2016: 269-270), this grey zone results from the unclear relation between the “objective” and “subjective” characteristics of sexual harassment, the indistinct limits of the objective definitions, and, lastly, the imprecise part that the victim’s

perception has in defining sexual harassment. For Carstensen (2016: 269), the subjective definition is the victim's interpretation of the behaviour, and the objective definition entails the legal interpretations of outsiders, such as courts and people from the workplace. Furthermore, Carstensen (2016: 270) points out the existence of a paradox in which the intended aim to promote gender equality in a work environment inherent in the concept of sexual harassment could be hampered by the subjective and objective criteria also included in the concept, which have the habit of diverting attention away from conduct that is connected to gender.

According to Carstensen (2016: 271), and as can also be seen from the definitions of sexual harassment by the EEOC and The Ombudsman for Equality in Finland presented earlier, for an action to be regarded as sexual harassment, it needs to be defined as such by the person subjected to it. The central element in this is that the behaviour is considered as unwanted by the individual experiencing it (Carstensen 2016: 271). However, Carstensen (2016: 271) points out that objective criteria for sexual harassment also exist. According to her (2016: 271), these aspects of sexual harassment can be found in legal definitions as well as in studies and texts about the issue, which provide certain actions and situations as examples.

This duality of the subjective and objective characteristics in the concept, and in the phenomenon itself, also creates problems (Carstensen 2016: 272). Whereas the official dogma gives a woman experiencing unwanted behaviour the privilege to define it either as sexual harassment or not, the environment, including, for example, organizations and courts, has to express doubt (Carstensen 2016: 272). Carstensen (2016: 274) also says that if particular conducts and situations can objectively be defined as sexual harassment, what need is there for the subjective definition? She (2016: 274) continues that if the objective criteria are fulfilled, then sexual harassment could be stated to have occurred regardless of the victim's perception. Moreover, the subjective interpretation makes it possible that any behaviour could be regarded as sexual harassment (Carstensen 2016: 274). However, the subjective interpretation also makes it possible that nothing is regarded as sexual harassment if no one views it as such (Carstensen 2016: 274). Carstensen (2016: 274-275) also says that despite the official dogma, the objective definition appears to outweigh the subjective definition of a victim when deciding whether something constitutes sexual harassment.

Carstensen (2016: 276) also describes that sexual harassment could be viewed as a line where one end would include acts that could be objectively determined as harassment, and the other end would contain acts which from an equality and non-sexual harassment perspective would not straight away be considered as a problem. Between these two ends then would be the grey zone, in which different behaviours lie (Carstensen 2016: 276). When a person is subjected to a behaviour that objectively could be considered to be sexual harassment but is not perceived as such by the individual, this creates what Carstensen calls “the dark grey zone” (Carstensen 2016: 276). There is also a “lighter grey” zone, which contains acts that are not objectively defined as sexual harassment even though they are considered improper from a gender standpoint (Carstensen 2016: 276-277). These behaviours include, for example, dirty jokes told by co-workers (Carstensen 2016: 277).

Carstensen (2016: 277) says then that in general behaviours and situations constitute harassment, and lead to corrective actions in organizations, when they are both subjectively and objectively perceived as such. The possible consequence deriving from this is that only certain actions are defined and viewed as sexual harassment, while leaving several gender-problematic behaviours unrecognized (Carstensen 2016: 277). Carstensen (2016: 278) also says that questioning the dogma in which the victim determines what constitutes sexual harassment presents a challenge for future researchers. However, she (2016: 278) continues to point out that the reliance on only the objective criteria when deciding what constitutes harassment could also create many challenges, one of them being the diminishing of people suffering from harassment. Therefore, even though the current definition of sexual harassment, as Carstensen (2016) argues, can be problematic in tackling the structural gender inequalities present in workplaces, I would also argue that the subjective perspective in it is also important. The subjective perspective highlights victims’ experiences and right to self-determination.

As can be seen above, the concept of sexual harassment was coined by feminists and originated in the United States. Language played an important part in the struggle over sexual harassment law, as feminist organizations and legal theorists framed the issue as a form of sex discrimination: something women were subjected to due to their sex. In addition, framing sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination made it possible to argue that it was a violation under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Suddenly something considered as a private matter was thus seen as a public one - a structural and social problem. Regarding the definitions given to sexual harassment by authorities in both countries, they were similar to one

another. For example, in both cases the victim's perception of the situation formed a part of the definition: whether the action is unwanted. In addition, in both countries sexual harassment is considered a form of discrimination. However, as can be seen from the study by Carstensen (2016), the sexual harassment concept also might contain some problems, particularly related to how behaviours are defined as sexual harassment. In sum, the evolutionary history of sexual harassment, and its definitions in both countries, give important background for this study, as they present how the concept was formed and is understood. Even though the origins of sexual harassment definition are in the second wave women's movement in the United States, sexual harassment is also something that is not only limited to women or the workplace but has many forms and manifestations in society. This prevalence and the different forms of sexual harassment will be discussed in the following chapters.

2.1.2 Sexual harassment in the United States

Regarding prevalence studies, McDonald (2012: 3) points out that the estimates on the prevalence of sexual harassment differ noticeably depending on the methodological choices made in the studies. A study by Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau and Stibal (2003: 607) focused on this issue by making a meta-analytic review regarding the prevalence of sexual harassment in American workplaces. According to them (2003: 609), the chosen definition of sexual harassment results in certain measurement methodologies in studies estimating the prevalence of the phenomenon. Regarding sexual harassment studies, two main survey methods can be identified: firstly, there is the direct query survey, in which participants are simply asked whether they have experienced sexual harassment in the context of work, and secondly, there is the behavioural experiences survey, in which certain unwelcome sexual harassment acts are listed and participants are asked if they have encountered at least one of them (Culbertson and Rosenfeld 1993, as cited in Lengnick-Hall 1995: 846). Therefore, the first aim of the study by Ilies et al. (2003: 612) was to provide meta-analytical assessments for, firstly, the prevalence of sexual harassment according to behavioural experiences surveys and direct query surveys, and, secondly, how much the results from these two methods differ from each other. Ilies et al. (2003: 613) also found it important to study the effects different sample types could have on the measurement results of sexual harassment prevalence. In addition, they (2003: 613) also examined if the organizational context, and more specifically the power differences created by an organization's structure, affects the prevalence rates of sexual harassment obtained in that context.

According to the results, the prevalence rates of sexual harassment are considerably affected by the chosen survey type and what sampling process is applied in selecting participants (Ilies et al. 2003: 623). Ilies et al. (2003: 623) found that “Across a variety of work environments and based on 86,578 respondents from 55 independent probability samples, 58% of women report having experienced potentially harassing behaviours and 24 % report having experienced sexual harassment at work.” This result is interesting, as it also gives some indication on the prevalence of sexual harassment in American workplaces.

Regarding organizational context, the researchers concluded that their results offered some support to the view that the organizational context affects the sexual harassment prevalence rates found in different organizations (Ilies et al. 2003: 627). However, Ilies et al. (2003: 625) stated that similarly to the overall sample in their study, the survey type also significantly affects the prevalence rates of sexual harassment within individual work contexts. Therefore, this would indicate that the organizational context is not a major factor behind the difference between the overall estimate of sexual harassment prevalence by direct query surveys (24 %) and the overall estimate of prevalence by the behavioural experiences surveys (58%) (Ilies et al. 2003: 624-625). This study, thus, presents how in prevalence studies on sexual harassment it is important to keep in mind the methodological choices made by the researchers.

In another study on the prevalence of sexual harassment at work, The United States Merit Systems Protection Board (USMSPB) conducted a survey on the perceptions of sexual harassment of the employees in Federal workplaces in 2016 (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 1). The survey presented 12 different examples of behaviours that could be considered to constitute sexual harassment (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 2). When asked from the respondents if they thought each behaviour to constitute sexual harassment, the majority agreed (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 2).

According to the survey, in total 14,3 % of the respondents had experienced one or more of the sexual harassment behaviours in the past two years before the survey (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 3-4). When it comes to gender, from the female employees 20,9 % answered that they had experienced one or more of the sexual harassment behaviours during the preceding two years (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 4). In comparison,

8,7 % of the male respondents answered the same (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 4). Women, thus, had experienced sexual harassment more often than their male colleagues. When compared to the earlier survey made in 1994, the number of employees with sexual harassment experiences had dropped (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 4). In 1994 there were only 8 behaviours listed, but when looking at the results of the 2016 survey based only on these same 8 items, a decrease could be seen: for example, in the 1994 survey 44,3 % of women reported of having experienced any of the eight behaviours whereas in the 2016 survey 17,7 % of women responded the same (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 4). Based on this result, it could be said that the situation seems to have improved in Federal workplaces. Nevertheless, as the report pointed out, sexual harassment behaviours are still encountered by Federal employees (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 4). The top three most encountered behaviours by women were: “Unwelcome invasion of personal space” (12,3 %), “Exposure to sexually oriented conversations” (9,5 %), and “Unwelcome sexual teasing, jokes, comments, or questions” (9,4 %) (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 6). For male respondents, the four most common behaviours were: “Exposure to sexually oriented conversations” (5,4 %), “Derogatory or unprofessional terms related to sex or gender” (3,0 %), and “Unwelcome sexual teasing, jokes, comments, or questions” (2,9 %) as well as “Unwelcome invasion of personal space” (2,9 %) (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 6).

Moreover, the respondents with sexual harassment experiences were asked in the survey to think about the one experience that had most affected them and to describe the perpetrator(s) (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 7). Most often the respondents answered that the harasser had been a colleague or other agency worker: 45 % said the harasser had been a co-worker and 27 % said the perpetrator to have been other agency employee (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 7). Moreover, altogether 23 % responded that the harasser had been an immediate or higher-level supervisor (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 7). The third most frequent answer was a customer or a member of the public, with 15 % of the employees indicating them as the perpetrator (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 7). In addition, usually the harassment had been committed by one individual (74 % of the respondents with sexual harassment experiences), and also 68 % of the respondents stated that the harasser had been male, whereas 18 % said the harasser had been a woman and 14 % responded both sexes (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 7).

Regarding the actions by the respondents when they had experienced sexual harassment, most commonly (61 %) they had avoided the perpetrator (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 8). Other common responses were: “Asked the harasser(s) to stop” (59 %), “Reported the behaviour to officials” (36 %), “Threatened to tell or told others” (35 %), and “Ignored the behaviour or did nothing” (35 %) (USMSPB Office of Policy and Evaluation 2018: 8). Even though this study focused solely on the employees of Federal agencies, it gives some indication regarding the phenomenon of sexual harassment. As mentioned earlier, women had experienced sexual harassment more often than men. However, it is also important to note that harassment is not only perpetrated by men, even though it is still more common, but women also harass sexually.

In the wake of the discussion raised by the hashtag #MeToo, the non-profit organization *Stop Street Harassment* commissioned a study regarding sexual harassment and assault in the United States (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 3, 10). The study was conducted by GfK, Growth from Knowledge, which is a company offering research services on markets and consumers (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 3, “About GfK” n.d.). About one thousand women and one thousand men, all over the age of 18, participated in the online survey, and the gathered data was analysed by the UC San Diego Center on Gender Equity and Health (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 7).

According to the findings published in a report, 81 % of the female respondents and 43 % of the male respondents had been sexually harassed and/or assaulted during their life (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 7). As can be seen, also in this study women had experienced harassment more than men. Regarding the forms of sexual harassment, most often the respondents had encountered verbal sexual harassment, which had been experienced by 77 % of women and 34 % of men (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 14). From the respondents, 62 % of women and 26 % of men had experienced physical harassment (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 14). For example, slightly over half of the women and 17 % of men answered that they had experienced unwanted touching of sexual nature (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 14). Regarding the other physical forms included in the survey, 34 % of women and 12 % of men had been followed by someone, and 30 % of women and 12 % of men answered that someone had revealed genitals to them without their consent (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 14). Moreover, 41 % of the female respondents and 22 % of the male respondents had experienced cyber-sexual harassment: for example, harassment committed through text messages or phone or on the internet (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 14).

Furthermore, sexual harassment also happens in different locations, but in the survey, a public space was the location where the respondents had most often experienced it (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 8). From the female respondents, 66 % responded that they had been sexually harassed in a public space, 38 % reported of harassment experiences at work, and 35 % had had sexual harassment experiences at their residence (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 8). Other common locations included a nightlife venue and school (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 21). The male respondents also reported a public space as the location where they had most often encountered sexual harassment (19 % of men answering this), and other reported locations with approximately equal shares of prevalence included school, workplace, home, and via phone or text (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 8).

Out of the respondents with sexual harassment and assault experiences, 85 % of women and 44 % of men responded that in their most recent experience, the person(s) committing the act had been one or more men (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 8). In comparison, 30 % of the male respondents and 3 % of the female respondents said that the perpetrator(s) had been one or more women (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 8). Moreover, the respondents with only sexual harassment experiences most often replied that the harasser across the respondents' life had been someone who was a stranger to them (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 8).

In addition, there were mostly no statistically significant differences between demographics among the female respondents (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 18). However, the exceptions were sexual orientation and whether the person had a disability (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 18). For example, compared to persons who did not have disabilities, people (both men and women) with disabilities had an increased likelihood of encountering all types of sexual harassment and assault (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 18-19). However, with men there were more differences between demographics, and the male respondents belonging to marginalized groups had experienced sexual harassment, and particularly sexual assault, more often (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 18). For example, 42 % of gay and bisexual men responded that they had been sexually harassed in a physically aggressive way whereas the number for heterosexual men was 25 % (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 18).

Age was also strongly linked to women's sexual harassment and assault experiences in this study (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 19). Women in the age group 25-34 years had the highest

prevalence rates in almost all types of sexual harassment and assault, whereas women belonging to the over 65-year-old age group had the lowest prevalence rates in all but one of the forms (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 19-20). The findings were similar for the male respondents, as men between the ages 25 and 49 years had higher prevalence rates in all forms of sexual harassment than men in the other age categories (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 20). It was, however, pointed out in the report that as the survey asked about sexual harassment and assault experiences that the respondents had had during their lifetime, an expected result would have been that the older respondents would have had higher prevalence rates than younger people (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 19). As can be seen, this did not happen (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 19). It was stated in the report that the reasons for this were not clear, and few possible questions were presented (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 19).

Regarding the effect sexual harassment and assault had on the respondents, for women (31 % of the female respondents) the most common reported consequence was anxiety or depression (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 32). From the male respondents, 20 % also reported this outcome (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 32). In the second common effect, which was reported by 23 % of women and 12 % of men, the respondents had changed their route or regular routine after the incident, and in the third most frequent answer (reported by 15 % of women and 12 % of men) the abuse had led the respondents to walk out of a relationship (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 32). However, less than 10 % of women said they had made an official complaint or reported the incident to an authority (Stop Street Harassment 2018: 32).

In another recent study on the prevalence of sexual harassment, Pew Research Center did an online survey about sexual harassment at work in February-March 2018, and the nationally representative sample consisted of over 6 200 participants (Pew Research Center 2018: 3). According to the survey, approximately 44 % of the respondents had experienced unwelcome sexual advances or had been sexually harassed verbally or physically (Pew Research Center 2018: 8). As seen in the other studies discussed earlier in this chapter, according to this study, too, women had experienced sexual harassment more than men: 59 % of women reported of having had these experiences, whereas the number for men was 27 % (Pew Research Center 2018: 8). Interestingly, among women, their educational background had an effect on the sexual harassment experiences: 70 % of the women who had at least a bachelor's degree and 65 % of the women who had some college education but did not have a bachelor's degree reported that they had experienced sexual harassment, whereas 46 % of the women who had a high school

education or less responded the same (Pew Research Center 2018: 8). When it comes to male respondents, the differences between their educational levels are not as stark: 27 % of men with a bachelor's degree or higher education, 30 % of men with some college education and 24 % of men with high school education or less responded of having experienced sexual harassment or unwanted sexual advances (Pew Research Center 2018: 9).

Moreover, 63 % of white women responded of having experienced sexual harassment or unwelcome sexual advances, whereas 50 % of black women and 50 % of Hispanic women answered the same (Pew Research Center 2018: 8). Regarding the male respondents who had experienced sexual harassment or unwanted sexual advances, Hispanic men were the largest group (34 %), followed by white men (25 %) and black men (22 %) (Pew Research Center 2018: 9). Interestingly, and in contrast to the study by *Stop Street Harassment* (2018), among the female respondents with sexual harassment experiences there were no large differences in prevalence between age groups in this study (Pew research Center 2018: 8).

When it comes to the places where sexual harassment had occurred, 55 % of the women with sexual harassment experiences reported that they had experienced it both in and outside of a work setting, 14 % of the women with these experiences had been sexually harassed only in a work environment, and 30 % stated that the harassment had occurred only outside of a work context (Pew Research Center 2018: 9-10). Of the men who had sexual harassment experiences, 42 % reported of experiences both in and outside of a work setting, 19 % stated that they had been sexually harassed only in a work setting, and 38 % said that sexual harassment experiences had happened only outside of a work environment (Pew Research Center 2018: 9-10).

In sum, as seen in the study of Ilies et al. (2003), the chosen methodology in sexual prevalence studies can affect the results. In addition, due to the methodological and time frame differences between the studies discussed in this chapter, the results on the incidence of sexual harassment can vary, and comparisons between them can be difficult. However, the studies discussed above are presented here in order to provide some understanding and context regarding sexual harassment in the United States. It seems that sexual harassment perseveres still in the American society today and seems to be a problem that women face more often than men. Therefore, these prevalence studies could be argued to indicate that sexual harassment can be considered a common phenomenon in society, and thus, an important topic for research. Regarding the types of sexual harassment, verbal forms seem to be the most common. There has also been

much focus in research on sexual harassment in the context of employment, but as seen from the studies by *Stop Street Harassment* (2018) and Pew Research Center (2018), sexual harassment can be experienced in other parts of everyday life as well. All in all, these prevalence studies are also interesting to my thesis in the sense that they provide a picture of how sexual harassment manifests in society. Therefore, it is also possible to see how the frames found in my data possibly relate to the results from these studies. In the following chapter I will present some studies on the incidence of sexual harassment in Finland.

2.1.3 Sexual harassment in Finland

There are a few studies regarding the prevalence of sexual harassment in Finland. In 2012 the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) conducted a survey on violence against women in the European Union (FRA 2012a). At least 1 500 women were interviewed for the survey in all 28 countries belonging to the EU (except in Luxembourg which had 908 interviewees), making the total number of interviewed women 42 000 (FRA 2014: 7, 16). The women were selected through random sampling, and they were all between the ages 18 and 74 years as well as belonged to the general population of their respective countries (FRA 2014: 16). The face-to-face interviews took place in the homes of the respondents, and all the interviewers, who completed the questionnaires based on the answers of the interviewees, were also women (FRA 2014: 17).

Regarding sexual harassment, the survey defined it as behaviours that the women considered unwelcome and offensive or intimidating (FRA 2014: 96). There were in total 11 potential sexual harassment behaviours, which the women regarded as unwelcome and offensive, included in the survey (FRA 2014: 97). These ranged from physical acts (e.g. “unwelcome touching, hugging or kissing”), to verbal forms (e.g. comments or jokes that offended the women and were sexual in nature), to non-verbal forms (e.g. staring or leering that was inappropriate and made the respondents feel intimidated), and to cyber-harassment (such as offensive and unwelcome text messages or emails of sexual nature) (FRA 2014: 97). When reporting on the results, the prevalence of sexual harassment was first measured based on all the 11 behaviours included in the study and then by using selected six behaviours (FRA 2014: 98). These six behaviours were considered to be possibly the most serious and threatening for the women and included the following acts: “Unwelcome touching, hugging or kissing”, “Sexually suggestive comments or jokes that made you feel offended”, “Somebody sending or

showing you sexually explicit pictures, photos or gifts that made you feel offended”, “Somebody indecently exposing themselves to you”, “Somebody made you watch or look at pornographic material against your wishes” and “Unwanted sexually explicit emails or SMS messages that offended you” (FRA 2014: 98).

Regarding the prevalence of sexual harassment based on all the 11 acts, the survey showed that 55 % of women in the whole EU region had had at least one sexual harassment experience since turning fifteen, and 21 % in the 12 months prior to the survey (FRA 2014: 98). In addition, based on the selected six behaviours, 45 % of all the respondents had been sexually harassed at least once since the age of 15, and 13 % had had at least one experience in the preceding year (FRA 2014: 98). When it comes to Finland, the results showed that the country was above the EU averages (FRA 2014: 99). Focusing on all the 11 items, 71 % of the Finnish respondents had experienced sexual harassment since the age of 15, while based on the selected six items, 62 % had experienced sexual harassment after turning 15 (FRA 2014: 99). Regarding the types of sexual harassment, since turning fifteen, the Finnish women had most commonly experienced verbal forms of sexual harassment (52 % of the Finnish respondents) (FRA 2012). This was followed by non-verbal forms (46 %), physical forms (42 %), and cyber-harassment (14 %) (FRA 2012). When it comes to harassment experiences since turning fifteen, the Finnish women who were between the ages 18 and 49 years had the highest prevalence rates (74-77 % depending on the age group) in having experienced any of the 11 sexual harassment behaviours (FRA 2012). In comparison, 69 % of the Finnish women in the age group 50-59 years reported of having experienced at least one of the 11 behaviours after turning fifteen and 61 % of the women who were over 60 years answered the same (FRA 2012). Regarding the harasser in sexual harassment experiences since the age of fifteen, 69 % of the Finnish respondents stated that the perpetrator(s) had been male, and 23 % answered both male and female (FRA 2012). Moreover, majority of the Finnish respondents (72 %) indicated that the perpetrator had been a stranger (FRA 2012).

When it comes to the prevalence of sexual harassment in the 12 months prior to the survey, 23 % of the Finnish women had experienced sexual harassment based on the full set of 11 items, and 15 % when measured with the selected six items (FRA 2014: 100). In this time frame, verbal forms of harassment were also most common among the Finnish respondents (18 % of the women had experienced these) (FRA 2012). In addition, 43 % of the Finnish women in the age group 18-29 years had experienced harassment based on the 11 items, which was higher

than in the other age groups (FRA 2012). However, the report stated that the differences in the incidence of sexual harassment between the EU countries can be the result of several coinciding factors (FRA 2014: 101). The customary ways through which violence against women, such as sexual harassment, is viewed, defined, and reported influence estimates on the prevalence of the phenomenon (FRA 2014: 101).

When it comes to national studies about the issue, the Ministry for Social Affairs and Health in Finland publishes regularly the Gender Equality Barometer which measures attitudes, opinions, and experiences related to gender equality and their development in Finland (Attila, Pietiläinen, Keski-Petäjä, Hokka and Nieminen 2018: 15). The Gender Equality Barometer also offers information about sexual harassment experiences (Attila et al. 2018: 15-16). The information for the barometer was collected via phone interviews (Attila et al. 2018: 123). All in all, 1682 persons out of a sample of 3 000 (56 %) persons between ages 15 and 74 took part in it (Attila et al. 2018: 123).

According to Keski-Petäjä and Attila (2018: 32), the female respondents in the barometer had experienced inappropriate behaviour (for example, sexual harassment, hate speech related to gender, and belittling) clearly more often than men. They (2018: 32) stated that in the two years preceding the study, 38 % of the women and 17 % of the men had experienced sexual harassment. Moreover, younger women had experienced sexual harassment more often when compared to others: over half of the women who were under the age of 35 had faced sexual harassment during the previous two years (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 32). The most common forms of sexual harassment that had been experienced were offensive jokes with double entendre, raunchy talk and inappropriate comments about body or sexuality (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 32). In addition, 15 % of women stated they had experienced unwanted physical contact, and approximately 11 % of women said that they had received offers for sex in inappropriate contexts (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 35).

As mentioned above, compared to women, fewer men in the barometer had experienced sexual harassment (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 35). Those men who had faced sexual harassment also reported that it generally had been in the form of offensive jokes with double entendre or raunchy talk as well as inappropriate comments related to body or sexuality (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 35). Unwanted physical contact had been experienced by 6 % of the male respondents (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 35). Moreover, according to the Gender Equality

Barometer, 7 % of women and 2 % of men had faced sexual harassment also in social media or elsewhere on the internet (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 35).

In addition, most women said that their harasser had been a man, regardless of the form of sexual harassment (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 35). The female respondents had rarely experienced harassment from a harasser belonging to their own gender (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 35-36). Men, however, reported noticeably more often than women of having experienced sexual harassment from both women and men (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 36). When experiencing sexual harassment from someone of their own gender, men reported that most often it had been verbal harassment than the other forms (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 36).

Moreover, both women and men reported that the harasser had primarily been someone they did not know: 46 % of the women and 35 % of the men who had experienced sexual harassment said the harasser had been a stranger to them (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 36). One in four women mentioned they had been harassed by a client or a student, and one in five women said the harasser had been a colleague (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 37). In addition, out of the men who had experienced sexual harassment, also one in five said the harasser had been a co-worker (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 37). Out of both the women and men who had been sexually harassed, 17 % informed that the harasser had been someone who was a part of their circle of friends (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 37). Furthermore, about one third of the women and men said that they had experienced sexual harassment from some other acquaintance than client, student, co-worker, friend from studies, member of the circle of friends, neighbour, teacher, family member or partner (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 37). Small percentages of women and men responded of having been harassed by a former or current partner (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 37).

When compared to the earlier barometers, the women under the age of 35 and between the ages 35 and 54 years reported slightly more often of having been sexually harassed by a man, whereas the number for women over 55 years stayed the same as in the last barometer from the year 2012 (Keski-Petäjä and Attila 2018: 37). With the men, those who were under 35-year-olds and between the ages 35 and 54 years had had slightly fewer sexual harassment experiences by female harassers in the year 2017, compared to their counterparts in the earlier barometers (Keski-Pitäjä and Attila 2018: 38). Keski-Petäjä and Attila (2018: 40) mention that the slight

rise in the sexual harassment experiences can be because harassment has been experienced more often than before, but it is also possible sexual harassment is more and better recognized, for example due to the increased public discussion of the matter.

In a survey on sexual harassment in working life, which was commissioned by *Elinkeinoelämän keskusliitto*, the Confederation of Finnish Industries, and realized by *Taloustutkimus*, 7 % of the working-age people reported of having experienced sexual harassment at work in the two years preceding the survey (Elinkeinoelämän keskusliitto 2018). Similarly to the Gender Equality Barometer, more women than men had experienced sexual harassment: 12 % of women and 2 % of men reported of having been sexually harassed at work in the past two years (Taloustutkimus 2018). Regarding the female respondents, age seemed to be a factor in this survey as well, as 24 % of the women between the ages 18 and 24 years and 19 % of the women between the ages 25 and 34 years reported that they had been sexually harassed at work in the past two years (Taloustutkimus 2018). After the age of 35 the percentages drop and, for example, in the age group of 45-54-year-olds, 6 % responded that they had experienced harassment in their work in the preceding two years (Taloustutkimus 2018). There is no information regarding differences between the age groups of the male respondents. In addition, when asked if the respondents had experienced sexual harassment in their current workplace or in any of their former ones, 23 % answered yes (Taloustutkimus 2018). Here again, more women than men had experienced sexual harassment: from women 38 % and from men 9 % (Taloustutkimus 2018).

When the respondents who had experienced sexual harassment at work in the past two years were asked about the harasser, they stated that most often the harassment had been perpetrated by a customer: 60 % of all respondents answered this (Taloustutkimus 2018). Interestingly, when looking at the results according to gender, with the male respondents the harasser was most often a colleague (51 %), followed by a customer (42 %), someone else (25 %), and then their superior (9 %) (Taloustutkimus 2018). In comparison, with the female respondents, the harasser was most often a customer (63 %) followed by a colleague (34 %), a superior (17 %), and someone else (6 %) (Taloustutkimus 2018).

The survey also found that the respondents who had been sexually harassed did not often report it: of those respondents who said to have experienced sexual harassment in the preceding two years, 58 % answered that they had not reported about it at all (Taloustutkimus 2018). Of those

who had reported about the harassment, most commonly they had reported it to their nearest supervisor (22 %) and 18 % of the respondents said to have reported to the person committing the harassment (Taloustutkimus 2018). The most common reason for not reporting sexual harassment was the fear that it would not be taken seriously (46 % of all the respondents who had experienced harassment in the past two years without reporting it) (Taloustutkimus 2018). Other reasons included that the reporting could cause difficulties for themselves (31%), feelings of shame (16 %), thinking it wasn't serious (14 %), thinking that there isn't enough proof (13 %), that reporting the incident could harm career prospects (7 %), and some other reason (26 %) (Taloustutkimus 2018).

As younger age seemed to increase the likelihood of encountering sexual harassment in the studies discussed above, the results of a survey on the experiences of girls and boys in school is also discussed here. In *Kouluterveyskysely*, the School Health Promotion study, conducted in 2019, 32 % of the girls in the 8th or 9th grade responded that they had experienced sexual harassment in the previous 12 months, whereas 8 % of the boys answered the same (Ikonen ja Helakorpi 2019: 7). Of the students in the 1st and 2nd grades in high school, 33 % of the girls and 6 % of the boys indicated that they had experienced sexual harassment in the past 12 months (Ikonen ja Helakorpi 2019: 1, 7). The results were also similar, when the same question was posed to students in the 1st and 2nd grades of vocational school: 34 % of the girls and 6% of the boys said that they had experienced sexual harassment in the past 12 months (Ikonen ja Helakorpi 2019: 1, 7). These results seem to indicate that sexual harassment experiences are also fairly common among girls in these school grades. Therefore, even though it is important to note that both boys and girls can experience sexual harassment, girls seem to experience it more. This is in line also with the results from the other studies presented above.

In this study, most generally, the respondents indicated that the harassment had happened on the phone or the internet (14-17 % depending on the school grade), or in a public space (8-12 % depending on the school grade) (Ikonen ja Helakorpi 2019: 7). Only a small number of the respondents had experienced sexual harassment in school: these included 4 % of the 8th or 9th graders, 2 % of the high schoolers and 3 % of the students in vocational school (Ikonen ja Helakorpi 2019: 7). From pupils in the 4th and 5th grades, 4 % responded of having experienced sexual commentaries, sexual suggestions, sexual messaging, or being shown pictures at least once in the previous year (Ikonen ja Helakorpi 2019: 7). In this age group there were no

differences between the genders regarding the commonality of the experiences (Ikonen ja Helakorpi 2019: 7).

As can be seen from the studies discussed above, the results from Finland are similar to those from the United States. It could be argued that sexual harassment is still a problem in the Finnish society as well. In addition, according to the results, it seems that also Finnish women and girls are more likely to face sexual harassment than men and boys. It also seems that verbal forms of sexual harassment are experienced more often in both countries than the other forms. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the methodology used in these studies can have an effect on the results they give. For example, in some of the studies the respondents had been asked about experiences across their lifetime whereas in others they were asked about more recent possible experiences. Nevertheless, these studies still give some indication on the prevalence of sexual harassment in Finland. Moreover, the survey commissioned by the Confederation of Finnish Industries seems to suggest that many individuals do not report about the sexual harassment they have experienced in the workplace. Therefore, it could be that many accounts of sexual harassment, particularly the ones happening outside work contexts when there is no official place to make a complaint, can go unreported. Therefore, it is possible that surveys and studies like these could only be a tip of the iceberg. Furthermore, sexual harassment seems to be a problem that exists in all age groups, but most particularly it affects girls and young women. Sexual harassment can also be encountered in many different spaces: work, public, and internet, for example. Due to the pervasiveness of this form of sexual violence in society, and particularly now that sexual harassment has risen into public awareness, it is important to study how the issue is perceived and framed in newspapers. In the next chapter, I will discuss in more detail the #MeToo movement.

2.2 #MeToo

In the beginning of October 2017, *The New York Times* reported on sexual harassment allegations that had been made against Harvey Weinstein, a Hollywood producer, during almost three decades (Vainio 2017). It was quickly followed by another article published by *The New Yorker*, in which more women shared their allegations of sexual harassment and assault against Weinstein (Kerola 2018). Among dozens of people accusing Weinstein there were also famous Hollywood names like Angelina Jolie and Gwyneth Paltrow (Kerola 2018). Almost two weeks

after the first revelations regarding Weinstein by *The New York Times*, actor Alyssa Milano sent a tweet that is shown in Picture 1 below.



Picture 1. Tweet by Alyssa Milano asking people to post Me Too if they had experienced sexual harassment or assault. Taken from: https://twitter.com/alyssa_milano/status/919659438700670976

Her tweet gained attention quickly and many survivors, including public figures, began using the hashtag, either by only answering #MeToo or by including their stories as well, in social media. For example, Milano published her tweet on Sunday and, according to Twitter on the following Tuesday, the hashtag had been used 825 000 times (Santiago and Criss 2017). As the personal experiences filled social media, more revelations about sexual harassment and assault allegations against famous men began to appear in the mainstream media, too, resulting in many consequences for the accused, such as the loss of a position or job. The revelations in the media, however, were not only limited to the fields of entertainment and culture but swept over other fields as well, including politics and sports. In Finland, there were also allegations made against few famous and high-status men. In March 2020, Weinstein was found guilty of rape and sexual abuse in a trial and was sentenced to 23 years in prison (Kokkonen 2020).

As discussed above, the hashtag #MeToo became viral in 2017, but the term *Me Too* was first coined by Tarana Burke, who had created an activist group by that name over ten years earlier (Brockes 2018). She had created *Me Too* in order to help young, female survivors of sexual violence and exploitation (Santiago and Criss 2017). In an interview with *CNN*, Burke described *Me Too* as being a bold statement that both declared of not being ashamed and alone and connected survivors with each other in shared understanding and support (Santiago and Criss 2017).

Even though the #MeToo movement managed to bring sexual harassment and assault into public discussion and to show how widespread these problems are in society, some concerns have also been expressed. In an editorial for *European Journal of Women's Studies*, Zarkov and Davis (2018) discussed the #MeToo movement and some of the concerns they had. Davis (Zarkov and Davis 2018: 5) wanted to call attention to the issue of who can come forward. According to her (Zarkov and Davis 2018: 5), many women could not take part in the movement due to lack of access to “the (social) media” or because the price for speaking out would have been too high. Zarkov (Zarkov and Davis 2018: 5) agreed that it is of great importance who gets to be heard. She (Zarkov and Davis 2018: 5) also pointed out that the women who were most visible in the movement at the time were women with power, like celebrities, journalists, and persons belonging to political elites. Their fame and the fact that there were several coinciding stories from different people, made it possible for their allegations to be heard and believed (Zarkov and Davis 2018: 5).

Zarkov (Zarkov and Davis 2018: 6) also pointed out that what took place in these political and cultural elites does not mean that the same would automatically happen in other parts of society. She (Zarkov and Davis 2018: 6) explained that making public allegations about alleged harassers, and thus shaming them, or for someone to be fired for harassing or assaulting several people, should not be expected to happen as easily in workplaces, like offices, schools, and shops. Moreover, she (Zarkov and Davis 2018: 6) expressed worry that people will think that exposure and visibility will solve the issue of sexual violence. When powerful men are portrayed as the ones committing these acts and their victims are presented to be young and beautiful female celebrities, there is a risk of neglecting the fact that sexual harassment and violence are everyday experiences for a great number of people, regardless of gender (Zarkov and Davis 2018: 6). Zarkov (Zarkov and Davis 2018: 6) also stated that when feminists connect the issue with ‘power relations’, instead of power being something that is possessed by a number of men, they mean larger power structures making it possible for men (who either have or do not have power) to behave towards women as if women were men’s sex objects.

The #MeToo movement has also already been the topic of some studies. For example, Bogen, Bleiweiss, Leach and Orchowski (2019: 1) studied the use of #MeToo and examined how Twitter users applied the hashtag in telling about their own experiences and responding to the disclosures of sexual violence by others. Closer to my own thesis, Peltonen (2018: 7) studied in her master thesis the first three days of the #MeToo movement in Finland. Using tweets from

Twitter and online media content as her data, she focused on how the movement began, who were in the key roles in spreading the campaign in Finland, the content of the tweets and online media articles (in other words what was talked about and to what extent), and lastly, the circulation of contents (Peltonen 2018: 7). Peltonen (2018: 85) observed that the fall of 2017 was an opportune moment for the movement to begin, due to the Weinstein scandal. In addition, it was also crucial that the conversation was started by a messenger who fulfilled the criteria of the law of the few: Alyssa Milano had knowledge of Hollywood's inner circle, and she possessed large networks (Peltonen 2018: 85). She was also a social media influencer with a great deal of credibility and an ability to persuade people around the world to take action through one tweet (Peltonen 2018: 85). Milano also managed to include in the tweet a message that rose above all other social media discussion and also raised emotions and opinions (Peltonen 2018: 85).

Milano's tweet spread first in social media, from which it was picked up by the mainstream media (Peltonen 2018: 86). Thus, as the campaign rose to the mainstream media, it continued to spread in social media from where the conversation and new stories of harassment brought the matter back to mainstream media, from which it was reflected again into social media, and so the circle went on (Peltonen 2018: 86). Peltonen (2018: 86) also found that journalists, media personalities, and media organizations had a very visible role during the first days of the Me Too communication: in total they created nearly one tenth of all the tweets published during that period. This result is interesting, because it indicates that media took part in the discussion, and, thus, studying newspaper frames on sexual harassment during this time is important. Her (2018: 86) analysis, however, revealed that most of the tweets from the initiators (*alkujoukko*) came from personal user accounts (93 %) and mostly from unknown private individuals (85 %). In addition, most of the tweets were posted by women (73 %) (Peltonen 2018: 86).

Regarding the online media content, Peltonen (2018: 90) found that 70 % of the online news articles published during the first three days of the movement dealt with public individuals/celebrities' sexual harassment experiences, and 90 % of them included showy headlines. She (2018: 90) continued to say that even though news were continuously picked up from social media, they did not address themes that were common among people who were discussing the issue online. As an example of this Peltonen (2018: 90) said that sexual harassment victims who were not public figures or celebrities and the perspectives focusing on

support and help were almost completely left out of the mainstream publicity (*valtajulkisuus*) as media focused on click journalism.

Peltonen (2018: 90) also mentions that self-expression and receiving support could be considered as motivators for people to take part in the #MeToo campaign. The personal stories of sexual harassment experiences came to be a dominant theme in the campaign, according to Peltonen (2018: 90). She (2018: 90) also suggested that one motivation for the community could be sharing information and support - this was highlighted mostly in retweets. Defining sexual harassment, portraying it as common, and presenting the possibilities for action to eliminate sexual harassment also rose as key themes in the tweets and retweets (Peltonen 2018: 91).

Starkey, Koerber, Sternadori and Pitchford (2019: 437), on the other hand, conducted a frame analysis of news articles on #MeToo that had been published in four different countries (the United States, Japan, Australia, and India). They (2019: 438) particularly focused in their analysis on comparing how the national medias had framed four women, one from each country, and each of whom could be regarded a silence breaker. In addition, the women were also included in the study because they were presented as initiators of the #MeToo movement in their countries by the national media (Starkey et al. 2019: 438). The online news articles included in their data were collected from February 2017 to October 2018, and they were all published in English-language news sites (Starkey et al. 2019: 442).

Starkey et al. (2019: 443) found four media frames that were used in all four countries. There was the *brave silence breaker frame* in which it was emphasized how the persons were brave for speaking out (Starkey et al. 2019: 443). The second identified frame was the *stoic victim of an unjust system*, which described the risks involved in the woman's pursuit of justice when the system is unfair (Starkey et al. 2019: 443). The third frame was the *reluctant or recovered hero*, and in the *reluctant hero frame*, the woman, without her intending it, became a highly visible figure in a global movement, whereas in the *recovered hero frame*, the victim was first attacked before becoming a hero (Starkey et al. 2019: 443). Lastly, the fourth frame is the *hysterical slut*, in which the feelings, sex life, and credibility of the women were put into question, and this frame also entailed the most negativity (Starkey et al. 2019: 443).

Even though all the four frames were present in all four cases, Starkey et al. (2019: 452) said that there were differences within the frames which seemed to emerge from the varying social

and cultural norms of the countries, and that their results also offered evidence supporting Fung and Scheufele's (2014, as cited in Starkey et al. 2019: 452) findings. However, Starkey et al. (2019: 455) also said that the fact that their data included only English-language news articles and that the women were also fluent in the language, presented a limitation to their study. In addition to English, India has many other official languages, and particularly in Japan, English is not commonly used (Starkey et al. 2019: 455). Therefore, the Japanese English-language news publications target international readers more than those written in Japanese (Starkey et al. 2019: 455). This can pose some questions on whether the framing of the silence breaker could have differed if news articles written in Japanese had been included in the data as well. Moreover, Starkey et al. (2019: 455) pointed out that as the four women were the focal point of their study, they could have overlooked more general news coverage of #MeToo that could have made it possible to examine the national settings in which the news developed in more detail.

All in all, the #MeToo movement spread rapidly across the globe and brought sexual harassment and assault into public discussion and commandeered the headlines of news media outlets for weeks. Suddenly the pain and suffering that women had experienced in their everyday lives were brought to the eyes of the world. Several men faced allegations about their past behaviour and faced consequences, usually by losing their positions. The movement has also been described as a pivotal moment, from which there is no turning back to the way things were before. Nevertheless, as discussed previously in this chapter, the movement has also given cause for some concerns, as expressed by Zarkov and Davis (2018), for example, regarding who could speak out. However, as the movement thrust sexual harassment in the spotlight, the phenomenon was turned into a highly discussed topic and these discussions were had in the special context that the movement created. Therefore, due to this great amount of attention on sexual harassment during this time, it is worthwhile to study how issue was framed in newspapers. For example, whether these frames could be considered similar in themes to the #MeToo movement, such as focus on victims, or if they were different, as found by Peltonen (2018). As discussed above, there have already been some studies made regarding #MeToo, the thesis of Peltonen (2018) and the study by Starkey et al. (2019) being the closest to this thesis. However, as Starkey et al. (2019) pointed out, they focused on studying news articles written about four individual women, whereas in my study I will strive to give more a generalized picture of how sexual harassment was discussed in two newspapers in the beginning of

#MeToo. In the following chapters, I will discuss in more detail previous studies on sexual harassment in the media in both countries.

2.3 Sexual harassment in the media in the United States

In their research, McDonald and Charlesworth (2013: 95) focused on mainstream news media articles about sexual harassment and studied their contents and discourses. Their (2013: 95, 97) data consisted of over 300 texts that were published during a time frame from March to August 2010 and gathered from four English-speaking countries (the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia). The data was also narrowed down to include only text articles with over 500 words and more extensive descriptions of sexual harassment (McDonald and Charlesworth 2013: 97).

Their analysis consisted of two parts: first, they used content analysis in order to examine the characteristics of the harassment cases discussed in the texts, and, secondly, they used critical discourse analysis to find the main discourses (McDonald and Charlesworth 2013: 98). Based on their analysis, McDonald and Charlesworth (2013: 98) found that from the articles reporting on certain harassment cases or incidents, the great majority had a man as the harasser and a woman as the subject of harassment. Moreover, they (2013: 99) discovered that the articles reported almost solely on “classic” types of sexual harassment: cases where a male harasser held a more senior position than the harassed person. The articles also usually focused on overtly sexualized conduct (McDonald and Charlesworth 2013: 99). In addition, 57% of the relevant texts presented the incidents from the victim’s point of view, in contrast to one in four reporting the response of the accused harasser and one in three including the viewpoint of the organization (McDonald and Charlesworth 2013: 99). Of the texts, approximately one third also discussed financial compensation in some way, usually by citing the amount of money sought or received by the plaintiff (McDonald and Charlesworth 2013: 99).

Moreover, McDonald and Charlesworth (2013: 99) identified four key discourses in their data, adding that some texts contained more than one of them. In the prevalent discourse (present in 88% of the articles) sexual harassment was reported as an *individual aberration*: as one person’s actions against another person, or possibly several people (McDonald and Charlesworth 2013: 99). Texts using this discourse described the harasser’s behaviour and the persons involved in the situation in detail as well as often discussed the credibility of the allegation as it was the

harassed person's word against the harasser's (McDonald and Charlesworth 2013: 99). In addition, hardly any references were made to the larger workplace contexts of the harassment incidents, and usually larger trends regarding the incidence or patterns of sexual harassment were not discussed in the texts (McDonald and Charlesworth 2013: 99).

The other discourses they identified were *systemic*, *gender inequality*, and *techno-legal* (McDonald and Charlesworth 2013: 100). When using the *systemic discourse*, sexual harassment was framed as a bigger problem than inappropriate behaviour by individuals: it was portrayed more as an issue that was embedded in an industry or organization (McDonald and Charlesworth 2013: 100). In the third discourse, used in a few texts, sexual harassment was reported as an expression of gender inequality, and the texts dealt with larger topics related to diminished opportunities or society's sexualization of both genders (McDonald and Charlesworth 2013: 100). The final discourse diagnosed by McDonald and Charlesworth (2013: 101) was *techno-legal discourse*. Texts using this discourse usually discussed some legal clarification or a technical matter, often in connection with national sexual harassment laws or when comparing different jurisdictions (McDonald and Charlesworth 2013: 101).

Whereas McDonald and Charlesworth (2013) used content and critical discourse analysis, Bing and Lombardo (1997: 294) conducted a frame analysis on articles about sexual harassment allegations published in American news media. In their study, Bing and Lombardo's (1997: 295) assumption was that in discussions about sexual harassment, the frames chosen by writers raise expectations regarding what is or is not essential to these discussions. They (1997: 295) also said that people remember and perceive elements that match with a specific frame or schema, whereas inconsistent ones are more likely to be overlooked or minimized. As data they had articles (such as news articles, op-eds, and editorials) that had been published in altogether seven American mainstream newspapers and news magazines during a time period that started from 1989 and ended in 1995 (Bing and Lombardo 1997: 294).

Based on their analysis, Bing and Lombardo (1997: 295-296) discovered four major frames: *judicial*, *victim*, *initiator*, and *social science frames*. In the *judicial frame*, established legal policies or statutes were used as comparison points for actions, and writers adopted legal interpretations of guilt, culpability, and accountability and examined the value, amount, and quality of evidence as well as discussed how credible the witnesses were (Bing and Lombardo 1997: 296). Moreover, characteristic for news texts containing this frame was to list

punishments or solutions, to make connections between conduct and established policies or laws, and to refer to concepts, such as truthfulness, justice, and credibility, as well as to refer to legal processes and use terms typical to them (Bing and Lombardo 1997: 296).

Whereas the *judicial frame* focused on legal understandings, the *victim frame* placed harassment experiences in its centre and particularly highlighted the extent of the harm or injury caused by the harassment to the presumed victim (Bing and Lombardo 1997: 297). In this frame, the definitions of sexual harassment were also based on the harm caused by the harasser's actions to the victim, instead of being confined to legal interpretations (Bing and Lombardo 1997: 297). Moreover, texts with this frame often described the victims sympathetically, reported the harmful behaviour and its consequences to the victims in detail, presented the uneven power positions between victims and harassers, and described the negative consequences to victims for resisting harassers (Bing and Lombardo 1997: 297). Moreover, the perception of how victims did not have enough power to change the situation were also often included in the texts (Bing and Lombardo 1997: 297).

The texts containing the *initiator frame*, on the other hand, concentrated on the alleged harasser's conduct, portraying it as something different from harassment (Bing and Lombardo 1997: 299). In this frame, victims were considered as the ones who were responsible for the harassment and justifications were made for the perpetrator's actions, for example, as illustrated by Bing and Lombardo (1997: 299): "she misunderstood" and "boys will be boys". Moreover, the impact the actions had on the victim was in a minimal role, and the victim's interpretation of the behaviour was compared to someone more reasonable who not only would have been able to predict or endure it but also use their choices (Bing and Lombardo 1997: 299). In addition, alleged harassers were often reframed in ways that made them socially acceptable, for example, by presenting evidence on how they were respectable in other areas of life (Bing and Lombardo 1997: 299). According to Bing and Lombardo (1997: 299), it was usually also implied in this frame that the alleged victim had ulterior motives in making these claims, for example, a plan to damage the career of a high-profile politician. Moreover, typically writers applying this frame acknowledged that the harassment behaviour had occurred, but they reframed it as a simple misunderstanding (Bing and Lombardo 1997: 299).

Lastly, as opposed to the other three frames discussed above, in the *social science frame*, the texts were written from the perspective of an 'objective' observer, and the writers usually

examined sexual harassment generally and in abstract terms and did not go into the details of specific cases (Bing and Lombardo 1997: 302). As one characteristic Bing and Lombardo (1997: 302) mentioned the focus in the texts on how identifying a common definition for sexual harassment was difficult. Authors using this frame also referred to the frequency and extent of sexual harassment in society, and often the texts included data and statistics from current studies on the issue (Bing and Lombardo 1997: 303). Moreover, in order to form a shared definition of harassment, the *social science frame* utilized different points of view, whereas the other three frames discussed above typically included only one perspective (Bing and Lombardo 1997: 304).

Bing and Lombardo (1997: 305) also mentioned that reporters, and especially columnists, either know about the significance frames have or are unconsciously aware of it. Moreover, they (1997: 305) said that in few cases included in their data, some columnists used other frames as rhetorical tools in their writing. They (1997: 306) also pointed out, however, that the news articles included in the data rarely contained several frames. Bing and Lombardo (1997: 308) concluded that identifying different frames could be useful in easing discussion between people holding opposite views, as then the participants would notice that they have different frames of an issue and through this realization could improve their communication.

Differently from the other two studies discussed above, Saguy (2002: 111) studied how the news coverage of sexual harassment differed in France and the United States. She (2002: 111) focused on three elements in the reportage: the number of articles, their topics, and media frames. Saguy (2002: 112-113) also had five different hypotheses in her study. Her (2002: 114) data included 685 articles about sexual harassment from three major newspapers and news magazines published in France and three published in the United States. In addition, Saguy (2002:114) also used data which had been gathered as a part of another, broader study that examined the conceptualizations of sexual harassment in both countries. The time frame for the collected media texts started from the first time the term “sexual harassment” was used in 1975 and ended at the end of the year 2000 (Saguy 2002: 114).

In her findings, Saguy (2002: 118) stated that the amount of coverage of sexual harassment was considerably much higher in the American press than in the French press, which was in line with her prediction in hypothesis 5. The coverage in the American data was also much more extensive from 1991 to 1998, which was the time period when there were several high-profile

political scandals: sexual harassment allegations made by Anita Hill against Clarence Thomas who at the time was a Supreme Court Justice nominee, harassment allegations against senator Packwood, the Tailhook scandal, and harassment allegations made by Paula Jones against President Clinton (Saguy 2002: 119). Her first hypothesis, therefore, predicted correctly that American news reporting was more inclined to concentrate on sexual harassment cases with prominent politicians and institutions (Saguy 2002: 120).

According to Saguy (2002: 120), due to this great focus on these high-profile cases, it was an expected result that many articles about sexual harassment also framed it in political terms or as a scandal. The *politics frame* was used in 40 % of the articles and 35 % contained the *scandal frame* (Saguy 2002: 120). In addition, and contrary to Bing and Lombardo (1997), Saguy (2002: 121) noted that a single article could contain multiple frames. Moreover, according to her (2002: 122), especially the *politics* and *scandal frames* had a high likelihood of appearing together. However, despite the prevalence of the *scandal frame*, framing sexual harassment through morals or implying that victims were after money, and thus discrediting them, was not likely in the American articles (Saguy 2002: 123). In addition, Saguy (2002: 123) found that 34 % of the American articles framed the issue as a *social problem* and 42 % of them portrayed it as a *women's issue*.

In addition, in the American articles on sexual harassment, there was little focus on new laws and court decisions (Saguy 2002: 125). Nevertheless, despite this lack of focus on major legal decisions, a legal influence could still be detected in the articles (Saguy 2002: 125). As illustrated by Saguy (2002: 125): 61 % of the texts presented legal means for solving harassment, and 23 % contained quotations from one or more attorneys. Moreover, according to Saguy (2002: 125), legal formulations of sexual harassment have influenced the way in which the phenomenon is framed in the media. One sign of this was that out of the following legal frames: discrimination, violence, and dignity, the American sample most frequently contained the *discrimination frame* (Saguy 2002: 125-126). Saguy (2002: 126) explained that this finding was in line with American law as, under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, sexual harassment is considered to be one manifestation of workplace gender discrimination. In addition to the *discrimination frame*, sexual harassment was also frequently framed through power in her American sample (Saguy 2002: 126). In some cases the *power frame* highlighted hierarchical power, and in other cases it focused on men's power over women (Saguy 2002: 126). Moreover, similarly to the legal system, there was also much focus on sexual harassment

in the context of work in the American sample: in 66 % of the texts, sexual harassment had happened in a work environment, whereas in less than 30 % of the articles it had taken place somewhere (Saguy 2002: 126).

Regarding the French articles included in the data, Saguy (2002: 126) observed that the level of reporting on sexual harassment was relatively low. Moreover, she (2002: 127) discovered that national sexual harassment cases had not dominated the French news coverage of the issue, which was in line with her first hypothesis. In addition, as predicted in Saguy's (2002: 127) second hypothesis, the French press usually concentrated on the United States in its reporting and especially on the same sexual harassment cases that were much discussed in American news. Regarding framing, of the French articles focusing on sexual harassment, approximately a third used the *scandal frame* and 29 % the *politics frame* (Saguy 2002: 128). Approximately another third also portrayed the issue in terms of law and social justice (Saguy 2002: 128). Noticeably, half of the texts contained the *power frame* (Saguy 2002: 128). Often the articles using the *power frame* described harassment situations in which power differences were very salient: victims were portrayed as women who were economically and socially vulnerable and taken advantage of by men with powerful statuses (Saguy 2002: 128). Moreover, approximately a third of the French texts with sexual harassment as focal point used the *women's issue frame*, and slightly over a quarter of the articles used the *social problem frame* (Saguy 2002: 128). Approximately another quarter of the texts also presented the phenomenon as *a form of violence* (Saguy 2002: 128).

In addition, Saguy (2002: 129) divided the French sample by analysing separately the French articles focusing on sexual harassment in France and the French articles discussing sexual harassment in the US. Most commonly the articles focusing on France contained the *power frame* (62%) (Saguy 2002: 130). Moreover, a third of them used the *social problem frame*, and 31 % of the texts contained the *women's issue frame* (Saguy 2002: 130). From the articles focusing on France, another third also presented the issue as a form of violence, which is how sexual harassment is primarily defined in French law (Saguy 2002: 130). According to Saguy (2002: 130), in the French articles discussing American sexual harassment cases, on the other hand, it was noticeably more common to use frames downplaying sexual harassment (such as the *politics* or *scandal frame*), which was also predicted in her second hypothesis. In addition, and as predicted in hypothesis 3, using frames that increased public awareness on sexual harassment, for example, by portraying the issue as a social problem or by highlighting the

power or violence aspects of the phenomenon, was not as common in the French texts discussing sexual harassment in the United States as it was in the French articles about sexual harassment in the national context (Saguy 2002: 130).

Based on the findings, Saguy (2002: 133) also presented a modified version of her fourth hypothesis, according to which American and French articles focusing on sexual harassment in their national contexts have a higher likelihood of using the *discrimination frame* (American articles) and *the form of violence frame* (French articles). In addition, Saguy (2002: 134) argued that the economic, political, legal, institutional, and cultural characteristics of the two countries have influenced the different ways in which the American press and the French press perceived sexual harassment.

As can be seen from the studies discussed above, there has been some research on how sexual harassment has been discussed in the media in the United States. The studies presented here have all had different approaches to the topic, but a few similar findings can be identified. For example, McDonald and Charlesworth (2013: 99) identified the *individual aberration discourse* in which sexual harassment was presented as one person's actions against another individual. This is somewhat similar to Saguy's (2002: 120) finding that the American articles had a habit of concentrating on sexual harassment cases that included high-profile politicians or institutions. It could be argued that in both findings the focus is on individuals and their actions. McDonald and Charlesworth (2013: 99) also found that a great number of their articles presented events from victims' point of view, and Bing and Lombardo (1997: 297) identified the *victim frame*. Therefore, both studies found that there was focus on the victims' perspectives in the data. These studies provide an interesting background for my thesis, to which I can compare my own results. In the next chapter I will discuss few Finnish studies on sexual harassment in the media.

2.4 Sexual harassment in the media in Finland

Whereas the United States has had a few big sexual harassment scandals over the past decades, also Finland has witnessed a couple of cases that attracted media attention. In February 2001, *Helsingin Sanomat* published an article about a CEO of a big Finnish company who had sexually harassed his female employees (Haukka 2013). The CEO or the company were not named, however (Haukka 2013). The journalist, Harri Nykänen, behind the story attended a

talk show called *Palaneen Käry* in March 2001 and revealed the article to be about Matti Ahde who was the CEO of Veikkaus (Isola 2013). Veikkaus is owned by the Finnish government and has a monopoly in organizing gambling games, like lottery and slot machines, in Finland (“Mikä Veikkaus on?”, n.d.). After the revelation, the board of Veikkaus began an inquiry which was conducted by Pirkko K. Koskinen, who was the retired deputy-ombudsman of the Finnish Parliament (Isola 2013). On April 17th, 2001, the board announced that they had lost their trust in Ahde, and he was fired (Isola 2013).

This case was studied by Puustinen (2002). Focusing on editorials and columns written by editors and journalists from 25 Finnish newspapers, she (2002: 56-57) examined the discourses which were either accusatory or defending. Puustinen (2002: 57) found that after the episode of *Palaneen käry* had aired, the first persons to respond were the editors who knew Ahde and Virkkunen (editor-in-chief of *Helsingin Sanomat* at the time) well, and the texts contained accusatory and dismissive discourses. According to Puustinen (2002: 58), the editorials at the time did not directly defend Matti Ahde but portrayed the persons accusing him as incompetent. The indirect defence of Ahde also manifested as doubts about the truthfulness of the harassment cases and the genuineness of the witnesses (Puustinen 2002: 58). In addition, most of the editorial departments of the newspapers were cautious in taking the side of the accusers and waited for the report by Koskinen (Puustinen 2002: 58). Therefore, the possibility of Ahde being guilty was little discussed and subtle in manner, and it was mostly visible in how sexual harassment in workplaces was condemned as a phenomenon (Puustinen 2002: 58-59).

Puustinen (2002: 59) also found that in the editorials, sexual harassment was often discussed from a moral and legal point of view. Therefore, it was possible to discuss the issue in a general way by making references to Ahde as an example case without placing the blame on him (Puustinen 2002: 59). However, it was often highlighted in comments that the sexual harassment case had to be taken seriously and the involvement of Ahde needed to be investigated (Puustinen 2002: 59). In some editorials, the story of making sexual harassment allegations as revenge was also presented (Puustinen 2002: 59). Many editors also expressed concern regarding Ahde’s protection under the law, and in the texts, it was discussed how women working in Veikkaus could have come up with stories as a revenge against Ahde (Puustinen 2002: 59).

Another issue discussed in the texts was the difficulty of defining sexual harassment and this seemed to bring sympathy for Ahde (Puustinen 2002: 60). In this context Ahde was also written about in a dismissive way, and he was portrayed as an elderly man who was not criminally responsible and who did not realize what he was doing (Puustinen 2002: 60). Puustinen (2002: 60) also says that in the editorials the show *Palaneen käry* and journalist Harri Nykänen were reprimanded for their actions, but media in general was also accused of the publicity surrounding Ahde. Some of the writers also expressed compassion and pitied the treatment that Ahde had received (Puustinen 2002: 61).

However, after the report by Koskinen was published and Ahde had been dismissed from his position, the newspapers did not hesitate to comment on his guilt (Puustinen 2002: 62). Most newspapers saw that the media had done its duty by bringing Ahde's case into public attention (Puustinen 2002: 62). Puustinen (2002: 63) also found that after the report and the firing of Ahde, more editorials about the case began to appear, and most of her data was published between the 18th of April and the 30th of April (the report had been published on the 17th of April). After Ahde had received his "verdict", his guilt was clear and, therefore, it could be safely commented (Puustinen 2002: 63). In conclusion Puustinen (2002: 63) says that in the beginning middle-aged editors seemed to dismiss the critique expressed by younger journalists and accused them of hunting down Ahde (Puustinen 2002: 63). After this, the press blamed "the media" for acting as a judge and jury, but after the board of Veikkaus decided to fire Ahde, "the media" congratulated themselves for bringing the matter into public knowledge and forgot the persons who had started the whole process (Puustinen 2002: 63).

In another study of this sexual harassment case, Mäkelä (2002: 64) analysed articles from 25 Finnish newspapers and interviewed Pirkko K. Koskinen, journalist Harri Nykänen, and one of the women in the report. According to Mäkelä (2002: 66), there was a contradiction between the victim account and the report written by Koskinen, in which the harassment was described as mild, touching, and getting handsy (*käpälöinti*). In approximately 30 articles, the case was interpreted as a mild one or described in circumspect terms, including the term "getting handsy" (Mäkelä 2002: 66). When it comes to reacting to gender-based harassment, the different medias were unanimous in condemning it (Mäkelä 2002: 66). However, according to Mäkelä (2002: 66), the general conclusion in the newspapers was that the case involving Ahde was not sexual harassment, and this conclusion was based on the report by Koskinen. In the newspapers the

root of the problem seemed to be the difficulty in interpretation, and in one example provided in the study it was described how people react differently to situations (Mäkelä 2002: 67).

In the newspaper articles the dominant impression seemed to be that Ahde did not understand the seriousness of his actions, and this was explained, for example, by saying that in the Ahde household hugging was usual (Mäkelä 2002: 67). Another common conclusion in the newspapers was that this case has negative consequences for everyone (Mäkelä 2002: 67). There was seemingly a risk of a gender war, and the problem of harassment was made worse by the issue that not even all women seemed to be of one mind what harassment is (Mäkelä 2002: 68). Moreover, it was seen that the publicity of the case was favouring the women (Mäkelä 2002: 69). There was also concern expressed that women could make allegations as revenge, and the accounts of the women were seen as unbelievable (Mäkelä 2002: 69-70). In her conclusions, Mäkelä (2002: 71) wonders how the reporting in newspapers might have been different if the wording “getting handsy” had not been used in the report by Koskinen, and instead the women’s accounts had been told in more detail. She (2002: 71) doubts that the harassment would have been diminished to merely hugging and border-line flirting.

Whereas Puustinen (2002) and Mäkelä (2002) focused on the scandal surrounding Ahde, in her master thesis, Viitanen (2012) focused on the sexual harassment scandal in the Finnish Parliament in 2008. Viitanen (2012) studied discourses used of sexual harassment, and the subject positions present in them, in articles from *Iltalehti*, a Finnish tabloid newspaper, as well as in comments written on *Iltalehti*’s website. The articles and comments were published during the same time period in January-February 2008, and they focused on the revelations by *Yleisradio* (Finnish national broadcasting company) and *Helsingin Sanomat* in January 2008 of a survey conducted in the Finnish Parliament, according to which some of the employees had experienced sexual harassment (Viitanen 2012: 20).

Viitanen (2012: 34) identified seven main discourses from the data: *sexuality is natural*, *male desire is natural*, *oppressed men*, *legal*, *individuality*, *organization’s culture*, and *belittling*. The first three discourses (*sexuality is natural*, *male desire is natural*, and *oppressed men*) viewed the questions related to sexual harassment through gender relations (Viitanen 2012: 58). In the *sexuality is natural discourse*, sexually coloured conversations were considered to be natural to relationships between women and men in the workplace and outside of it (Viitanen 2012: 58). In addition, in this discourse the focus was on discussing what is not sexual harassment, and

the discourse was primarily used to redefine actions that had been viewed as sexual harassment in the earlier texts (Viitanen 2012: 35). Moreover, sexual harassment was partly defined through physical integrity, whereas verbal communication was not included as harassment (Viitanen 2012: 36). In this discourse it was also implied that harassment allegations could be a result of a misunderstanding of a normal communication between women and men (Viitanen 2012: 37).

In the *male desire is natural discourse*, the sexuality between men and women was discussed from a male perspective (Viitanen 2012: 58). Men were viewed as biologically sexual beings and women were the natural targets and arousers of this sexuality (Viitanen 2012: 58-59). Moreover, the influence of biological factors on the relationships between men and women was emphasized (Viitanen 2012: 38). This discourse also highlighted men's right to view women as primarily sexual beings and tolerating sexual attention was perceived as women's duty (Viitanen 2012: 39). The responsibility for sexual harassment behaviour was also shifted on women (Viitanen 2012: 39). In addition, harassment was not seen to be possible if a woman's appearance did not fulfil certain beauty criteria (Viitanen 2012: 40). The youth of women was also used as a way to explain the occurrence of sexual harassment (Viitanen 2012: 41). In the *oppressed men discourse*, sexual harassment was defined as one way to oppress men in a fight between genders (Viitanen 2012: 59). It was presented that women who were held to be an oppressed group in society were actually in many ways oppressing men (Viitanen 2012: 42). The discourse also emphasized the fact that women also harass, and thus, if women and men both sexually harass in equal measures, women have no cause to complain about men's behaviour (Viitanen 2012: 43). In this discourse, anti-feminism was also used to present the women who had raised the issue of sexual harassment as haters of men who used the harassment allegations to oppress men as a group (Viitanen 2012: 44).

In the *legal discourse*, sexual harassment was defined as a punishable action with a victim and a guilty party (Viitanen 2012: 45). There were clear criteria for defining sexual harassment based on which outsiders could also recognize a situation as such (Viitanen 2012: 46). It was also emphasized that there is a right way to handle harassment allegations (Viitanen 2012: 45). This discourse was used in many cases to criticize the actions of the women who had reported the harassment and the manner in which the issue had been handled in the media (Viitanen 2012: 46). In the *individuality discourse*, on the other hand, sexual harassment was perceived to be an issue between individuals (Viitanen 2012: 46). Men and women were not seen as representatives of their sexes but as individuals who interpret situations in their own unique

way (Viitanen 2012: 46). Moreover, this discourse recognized that for someone who had experienced harassment the situation and doing the right thing in the harassment situation could be difficult (Viitanen 2012: 47). However, the discourse was also used to minimize the experiences of those who had been sexually harassed (Viitanen 2012: 48).

In the *organization's culture discourse*, the causes for sexual harassment were located on the organizational level: harassment was seen to be connected to the atmosphere in the workplace (Viitanen 2012: 59). Sexuality was seen as a natural and obvious part of interactions in the workplace, and sexual culture was presented as an abstract fact that individuals could not influence (Viitanen 2012: 48). In addition, workplace culture was defined through gender differences (Viitanen 2012: 50). It is based on male perspective and women can be part of it, place themselves outside of it, or aim to change it (Viitanen 2012: 50). Sexual harassment was also defined through the positions people hold in an organization: same action could be defined as harassment or joking depending on the relationship between the persons (Viitanen 2012: 52). Lastly, the *belittling discourse* saw the whole discussion on the topic as redundant and aimed in different ways to deny the seriousness of the issue (Viitanen 2012: 59). Through this discourse there were also attempts to narrow down the definition of sexual harassment so that it would only cover the most outrageous cases, including, for example, physical violence (Viitanen 2012: 54).

Viitanen (2012: 63) pointed out that the texts occasionally addressed the possibility that men could also encounter sexual harassment. However, men were not offered possibilities to be offended by the harassment nor were the possible negative consequences on the lives of harassed men addressed (Viitanen 2012: 63). Regarding sexual harassment, men were seen as victims only when they faced unfounded allegations (Viitanen 2012: 63). It could also be said that due to the focus in the data on a tabloid newspaper, it could have had an effect on the types of discourses identified, as often tabloid newspapers aim to sensationalize the news in order to make them more appealing to audiences. In addition to this, Viitanen (2012) also had as data comments posted on *Ilta-lehti's* website, where people were able to place comments anonymously by inventing a username for themselves. Therefore, this could also have affected the discourses as some people might make more colourful comments due to the protection offered by anonymity, or because they perhaps could have wished to provoke.

I have here discussed few Finnish studies on how sexual harassment has been discussed in the media. As mentioned before, during my search for previous literature, it seemed that there has not been extensive research done on this topic. Therefore, my thesis can help to fill this gap. Regarding the studies presented above, they focused on two relatively recent sexual harassment scandals and how these were discussed in the media, and in the case of Viitanen (2012), also on the online comment section of a newspaper. In comparison, even though #MeToo offers a unique context for my study, my topic is not limited to one certain sexual harassment event but rather focuses on a more general discussion of the phenomenon that was started by the movement. It is also interesting that, according to the results of these three studies above, sexual harassment seems to have been discussed in somewhat minimizing terms. As mentioned before, the research studies discussed in the previous and this current chapter offer an interesting comparison point to my own analysis and findings. In the next chapter I will discuss in more detail the theory of frame analysis, which I will use as my method.

3 FRAME ANALYSIS

Erving Goffman is held as the father of the term *frame* (Karvonen 2000: 79). In his theory of frames, which was first published in 1974, Goffman (1986: 8) says that when people become a part of a situation, they are essentially presented with the question “What is it that’s going on here?”. The persons can ask the question out loud or quietly in their minds, and the answer that they come to can be presumed from the way they begin to act in situations (Goffman 1986: 8). Goffman (1986: 8) also points out that as situations usually contain different participant roles, people can have different views on what is happening. Goffman’s (1986: 10) purpose, thus, is to identify some basic frameworks of understanding existing in society and which people use in order to comprehend situations. He (1986: 10) also aims to examine the vulnerabilities of these frameworks. For instance, a person’s perception of the situation leads him/her to think that this is what is going on, when in reality what is truly occurring in the situation is, for example, a joke, a mistake, or a deception (Goffman 1986: 10).

Karvonen (2000: 79) offers some examples on how individuals strive to define the situations they are facing in everyday life. According to him (2000: 79) most of the social situations we face in everyday life occur so often that we recognize them routinely, like grocery shopping. In that situation we know what to expect and what is expected of us. However, Karvonen (2000: 79) points out that there are also situations that are not as clear to us. As an example, he (2000: 79) gives a man who is lying on the ground without moving, and as we see him, we need to choose which frame is the correct one to apply in the situation. One option is the *illness frame* in which the person on the ground has suffered a health problem, and thus we call an ambulance (Karvonen 2000: 79). Another possibility is the *drunk frame* in which the police is called instead of an ambulance (Karvonen 2000: 79). Particularly, if we get the cue in which the person on the ground smells of alcohol, the *drunk frame* is activated (Karvonen 2000: 79). Therefore, in situations people are constantly looking for cues or signs that would confirm a certain frame as the correct one to apply in a particular situation (Karvonen 2000: 79).

Karvonen (2000: 79) also points out that public, societal discussion is in principle similar in form as the examples mentioned above. As the world changes, we are also constantly asking “what is it that is going on?” (Karvonen 2000: 80). Often we look for experts to help us, and different interest groups present different definitions of situations and the required actions by these definitions (Karvonen 2000: 80). Thus, there is a constant battle in society for hegemony:

which group manages to make their definition the dominant one in public thinking and discussion (Karvonen 2000: 80). Moreover, also journalists face in their work the situation in which they have to find or create some combining narrative for large amounts of information pieces coming from different sources (Karvonen 2000: 80). Mostly, they can rely on routine and commonly shared frames of situations (Karvonen 2000: 80).

In his article, Entman (1993) has a different approach to frames from Goffman, which is also more relevant to my thesis. He (1993: 52) defines framing through selection and salience. Entman (1993: 52) explains that while framing, the salience of certain features of a perceived reality is increased in a manner that advances a certain interpretation of a problem and its causes, moral evaluation, and solution for the problem. Frames, thus, have four different functions, and Entman (1993: 52) explains that frames name problems and describe the causes behind them, make moral evaluations of the causal forces and the consequences they have, and, lastly, provide solutions for the problems and discuss their possible impacts. However, a frame does not always contain all these functions in a text (Entman 1993: 52).

Moreover, Entman (1993: 52) says that the communication process contains at the minimum four positions for frames. Firstly, there are *communicators* who knowingly or unconsciously make framing decisions while communicating and who are also directed in this process by the frames structuring their belief systems (Entman 1993: 52). Secondly, frames come into existence in *a text* when elements, such as particular key words, stock phrases, stereotypical images, sources, as well as sentences offering collections of facts or judgments that strengthen certain themes, are included (or excluded) (Entman 1993: 52). This second location is also the one on which my study focuses. Thirdly, there are *receivers* who have their own frames guiding their thought processes, and these frames either can reflect the framing used in a text and what the communicator intended or not (Entman 1993: 52-53). Lastly, there is *culture*, which contains a collection of frames that are commonly used (Entman 1993: 53).

In addition, according to Entman (1993: 53), frames make certain pieces of information about a communicated issue more salient by emphasizing them. It is possible to enhance the salience of a piece of information in a text through placement, by repeating it, or by connecting it to well-known cultural symbols (Entman 1993: 53). Yet Entman (1993: 53) points out that even one, inconspicuous mention of an idea in a text can be very salient, provided that it corresponds with “the existing schemata in a receiver’s belief systems.” Therefore, the schemata in the

receiver's mind can also affect the way the receiver could be influenced by texts and the frames in them.

Entman (1993: 55) also discusses the effects framing has on political communication. According to him (1993: 55), frames highlight some parts of reality but at the same time fade out other parts, and this can consequently create varied reactions in audience members. Therefore, framing has an important part in wielding political power, and frames found in news articles can in fact be viewed as the marks of power: they record the identities of the parties involved in the fight for dominance in the text (Entman 1993: 55).

In his article, Karvonen (2000: 78) describes the concept of frame as, on the one hand, related to how, for example, journalists organize information flow by quickly and routinely applying certain frames, and, on the other hand, how a particular issue can be surrounded with different frames and thus its nature is also defined differently. Moreover, according to Karvonen (2000: 82), framing seems to be in essence about a certain kind of selective contextualization. A communicator can persuade his or her audience to think in a desired way of an issue by creating suitable frames or viewing context for it, and he or she can do it either consciously or unconsciously (Karvonen 2000: 82). As an example, Karvonen (2000: 82) presents history, which can be read selectively so that those matters that are suitable in their meaning can be brought up and used as comparison points for the current topic. In this way it is possible to create frames for a case that emphasize certain aspects of the case and fade out others (Karvonen 2000: 82).

Karvonen (2000: 83-84) also presents the difference between the concepts of discourse and frame. According to him (2000: 83-84), even though discourse theory and frame theory have begun to resemble each other, their origins are different. He (2000: 84) continues on saying that the concept of discourse mostly focuses on how the units of meaning differ from one another whereas the concept of frame is focused on recognizing shapes. Discourse is based on "language game" or social conventions, and, in contrast, frame is based on the situational context and understanding it (Karvonen 2000: 84).

Seppänen and Väliverronen (2012: 97) say that in communication studies framing means the process of choices and editing with which media presentations are produced. Journalists shape and organize world events in established ways (Seppänen and Väliverronen 2012: 97). Framing

includes different linguistic, visual and sonic means with which a certain picture of world events is constructed (Seppänen and Väliverronen 2012: 97). Therefore, it is one of the central means of representation politics (Seppänen and Väliverronen 2012: 97). According to Seppänen and Väliverronen (2012: 97), framing can also be seen as constructing a context for issues being represented. Moreover, framing is one expression of media's power to determine topics for public discussion, and thus, many social actors try to get their frames through in the media (Seppänen and Väliverronen 2012: 99).

In conclusion, frames can be understood to organize human behaviour and understanding in situations. We look for different cues and signs in order to know what is expected of us in a given situation, even though sometimes we can interpret the situation wrongly. My approach to framing in this thesis, however, is closer to Entman (1993) and Karvonen (2000). As discussed above, frames highlight certain pieces of an issue while obscuring others, and as Karvonen (2000: 78) said, the nature of the issue can thus be defined differently. The more detailed description on how frame analysis is applied in this study will be discussed in more detail in next chapter on methodology.

4 METHODOLOGY

In this section I will explain in more detail the aim of my thesis and present my research questions. This is followed by the detailed description of my data collection and selection methods. Finally, I will describe how the analysis method, which is frame analysis, is applied in this study.

4.1 Research Questions and Aim

The first aim of this thesis is to study what kind of frames have been used in online articles about sexual harassment published in *The New York Times* and *Helsingin Sanomat* since the beginning of the #MeToo movement. Examining frames can provide insight as to how sexual harassment has been discussed in these two newspapers. In addition, as said by Seppänen and Väliverronen (2012: 188), media is a central link between people and social reality. They (2012: 188) continue by stating that it creates agenda for societal discussion and offers people conversation topics for their everyday lives. Therefore, media can have an influence on public discussion: what is being discussed and how. Especially since the #MeToo movement turned sexual harassment into a highly discussed topic, it is worthwhile to examine through which frames the discussion was conducted in these two major newspapers.

In addition, as mentioned in the previous chapter, framing contains different means, the linguistic means being most central to this thesis, with which a specific picture of world events is built (Seppänen and Väliverronen 2012: 97). This is also why studying newspaper frames is important: by examining frames used of sexual harassment it can also be seen what kind of pictures they portray of the phenomenon. Therefore, newspaper framing could influence the way people understand and perceive social phenomena, and have implications, for example, on whether the issue is considered a problem, and if yes, then what kind of problem it is and what kind of solutions there are. This could also be seen as tied to the four functions of frames that were presented by Entman (1993).

My second aim is to examine how these frames used in the articles from these two newspapers from two different countries might differ or be similar to each other. Sexual harassment is an issue that is experienced all over the world, and, therefore, it is important to examine how it is framed in newspapers in different countries. Moreover, as said, media frames can also affect

how an issue is understood by readers. The comparison between the two newspapers also makes it possible to examine whether there are differences in the reporting of an issue that has become a global topic of discussion.

The research questions are the following:

1. How is sexual harassment framed in the online articles published in *Helsingin Sanomat* and *The New York Times* since the beginning of the #MeToo-movement?
2. How do the frames in *Helsingin Sanomat* and *The New York Times* compare to one another? What similarities and differences there are, and what do they tell about the trends according to which sexual harassment is discussed in newspapers.

4.2 Data Selection and Collection

The data of this thesis consists of online text-based articles published on the websites of *Helsingin Sanomat* and *The New York Times* during the first month of the #MeToo movement. I chose to study these two newspapers as they are comparable due to their wide circulation. *Helsingin Sanomat* is the biggest daily newspaper in Finland (Media Audit Finland 2019) and *The New York Times* is one of the biggest daily newspapers in the United States (Cision 2019). Moreover, due to their size in circulation, it could be said that both newspapers have influence on social and political matters and, thus, they are meaningful sources of data for this thesis. In addition, *Helsingin Sanomat* describes itself to be an independent newspaper that defines its stance independently and regardless of political or economic decision-makers or other advocacy groups (Helsingin Sanomat 2020). Therefore, *Helsingin Sanomat* could be perceived to be a reliable newspaper in Finland and, by its own words, does not have a political stance. However, the newspaper can perhaps also be seen to have some liberal leaning, for example, due to its promotion of gender equality. When it comes to *The New York Times*, the website Media Bias/Fact Check (n.d.) states the newspaper to have left-center bias, but also says that it is regarded as a reliable news source because of its use of appropriate sources and due to the fact that its reporters and editors are respected. Further, a Pew Research Center (2014) study found that out of the readers of *The New York Times* (13 % of the people included in the survey), 65% reported of having political values belonging to the left of the scale. Thus, this result seems to suggest that there is some liberal leaning in the readership of *The New York Times*. However, both newspapers could also be argued to be reliable newspapers that strive for objectivity.

Lastly, *The New York Times* was the first newspaper to report on Harvey Weinstein, and thus, it seemed appropriate to include its articles as data.

I chose to study an American newspaper, as according to Zippel (2006), the concept *sexual harassment* originated in there. Therefore, the United States offers an interesting context in which to study the frames used of the issue in newspaper articles. Moreover, the #MeToo movement also began in the United States, which is also why I wanted to include the country in my data. Thus, it is possible to study what kind of frames have been used in the articles published in this context since the beginning of the movement. In addition, as the movement grew rapidly global, and was also the cause of much discussion in Finland, it is worth researching, how the issue of sexual harassment was framed in online articles published in a Finnish newspaper. Finland offers another interesting context as the country is considered to have high gender equality rates. However, and perhaps even paradoxically, violence against women has been a problem in Finland (Koskinen 2020, STM 2019). Therefore, I find it important and interesting to examine how a form of sexual violence, such as sexual harassment, is framed in Finnish newspaper articles.

My data focuses only on text-based online articles because articles published in the print newspapers might have limitations regarding their length. Therefore, online articles might be more extensive about the topic of sexual harassment as they could be longer. There might also be more online articles available than there are printed ones. I also chose online articles, because many people read their news on the internet rather than print paper, and therefore, the online articles might reach larger audiences. Moreover, they are more accessible as data.

My data also includes all the different types of text-based articles published during the selected time period. I find it important to include also texts, like opinion pieces, editorials, commentaries etc., because they are engaging in the public discussion about the topic of sexual harassment. Therefore, analysing the frames in these types of articles can provide more extensive information regarding how and with what frames sexual harassment was discussed in addition to news articles which usually aim to be more information giving in nature. However, even with news articles choices are still made by journalists regarding what kind of information about sexual harassment is being published and possibly from whose point of view. Therefore, they also form an important part of public discussion. Moreover, as there is versatility in the text types included in my data, I need to take this in consideration also during

my analysis. The different text types have different functions, and therefore, I also need to be aware of this during my analysis.

As mentioned before, my data was selected by using a certain time frame, which is the first month since the beginning of the movement: from 16th of October, 2017, to 16th of November, 2017. Even though Alyssa Milano sent her tweet on 15th of October, I chose to begin the time period from the 16th of October, because when searching for the articles, the first ones mentioning #MeToo are from that day. Moreover, I chose to restrict my data to the first month of the movement because it allows me to do a detailed analysis of the frames present in articles that were published when the topic was highly discussed.

In *Helsingin Sanomat* I collected my data by entering the single search term *seksuaalinen häirintä* (sexual harassment) and the chosen time frame (16.10.-16.11.2017) to the search engine on the website of the newspaper. The search engine gave altogether 79 results. In the case of *The New York Times*, I accessed the articles through the database of ProQuest available on the website of the Jyväskylä University Library. Here I also entered the single search term *sexual harassment* and the selected time period to the search engine. With these two criteria, the search engine gave altogether 317 results. Thus, in the beginning the total amount of articles from both newspapers was 396. The final number of articles included in my data, however, is smaller as some of the articles have been excluded according to certain principles, which I will specify in the following paragraphs.

Regarding *The New York Times*, from the 317 results I received from the search engine, three were videos and, therefore, they were excluded from the data set. Thus, at the beginning the total number of text-based articles was 314. I removed from the data 51 articles that were either evening, morning, or weekend briefings in which the main pieces of news are collected and summarized for readers. These briefings are quite short, and they also often present the same news which are handled more extensively in the main articles and most of these would be included in my data already. In addition, the data contained 10 Dealbook briefing articles, which focus on the economy and summarize relevant news articles on that topic for readers, and, thus, I decided to also exclude these from my final data. Moreover, there were 7 summaries on late-night shows. I did not consider these summaries on late-night shows necessary to be included in my data set as the focus in my thesis is on text-based articles written for newspapers, and these articles would be essentially summarising the content from the shows. After removing

also these from my data set, I was left with 246 articles. As I read the articles, I also removed the ones in which the main topic of the article focused on some other issue than sexual harassment, for example, rape or sexual assault, or only mentioned sexual harassment very briefly. Even though it could also be interesting to see in which contexts sexual harassment is brought up, the focus on my thesis is specifically on frames used in articles about sexual harassment. All these excluded articles accounted for in total 104 articles. Thus, after excluding all the aforementioned articles, the final number of articles included in my data from *The New York Times* was 142.

Regarding the texts from *Helsingin Sanomat*, I decided to include in my analysis also articles using the term *seksuaalinen ahdistelu*, which, as mentioned in chapter 2.1.1, consists of physical acts through which a person's sexual self-determination is violated (THL 2020). Moreover, in some texts the terms *seksuaalinen häirintä* and *seksuaalinen ahdistelu* seemed to be used interchangeably. As mentioned before, once I had collected my data from *Helsingin Sanomat*, I had altogether 79 articles. There were few articles in which the majority of the content was same as in another article. Therefore, I excluded these articles in order to avoid same text appearing twice. In addition, similarly to the texts from *The New York Times*, I also excluded articles from the data in which the main topic was something else from sexual harassment, such as rape. Thus, the total number of excluded articles was 15 and the total number of articles included in my data from *Helsingin Sanomat* was 64. In the next chapter I will describe in more detail my method of analysis.

4.3 Method of Analysis

As mentioned before, I will analyse my data by using frame analysis. In chapter 3, I presented theoretical discussion related to frame analysis, and in this chapter my intention is to present in more detail the way in which this method will be applied in my analysis. When conducting my analysis, I will focus on identifying the most commonly used frames in the texts in my data set, and more specifically, how they have been constructed. This will provide answers to my first research question on how sexual harassment has been framed. After this I will do a comparison between the results from the two newspapers to see whether there are any differences or similarities between them. This will answer my second research question.

Horsti (2005: 71) says in her doctoral thesis that the power of media frames is primarily based on selection and highlighting certain aspects while obscuring others. This is similar to Entman (1993: 52) who defined framing as being about selection and salience. In framing, certain pieces of information about an issue under discussion are emphasized and, thus, they are made more salient (Entman 1993: 53). In this thesis then framing is understood as highlighting certain aspects of an issue while at the same time leaving other aspects in the dark. Therefore, surrounding an issue with different frames means that the nature of the issue is also defined differently, as said by Karvonen (2000: 78).

When identifying the frames, my main focus is on the word choices made in the texts, and, thus, how these choices construct different frames. I will approach my data according to Gamson and Lasch (1983, as cited in Horsti 2005: 71) whose method of analysis in one part consisted of so called “framing devices”, which included metaphors, examples, catchphrases, descriptions, and visual pictures. In addition, as discussed by Entman (1993: 52), frames name problems, define the causes behind the problems, make moral evaluations of the causal forces and the consequences they have, and, lastly, provide means for solving the problem and evaluate their probable impacts. Once I have identified the frames used in my data, I will also examine these four functions in relation to them.

As mentioned before, in my analysis I will focus mainly on the word choices made in the texts, and one aspect of this is the use of metaphors. Seppänen and Väliverronen (2012: 100) say that metaphors are particularly strong tools for framing as they are often quite inconspicuous and obvious. In metaphors it is not assumed that the compared matters are identical, instead certain features are transferred from the source to the target (Seppänen and Väliverronen 2012: 100). Seppänen and Väliverronen (2012: 100) also say that the popularity of metaphors is explained by their openness and at least apparent ambiguity: everyone can think for themselves what those features that define and are transferred to the discussed issue are. The framing power of metaphors is also based on their ability to condense meanings, to induce emotions and, at times, even actions (Seppänen and Väliverronen 2012: 100).

When discussing a specific news topic, media can bring up examples and make comparisons to other events and attachments to other temporal, geographical and cultural contexts, and these work similarly to metaphors (Horsti 2005: 74). Examples and comparisons make it possible to transfer meanings from one event and context to another (Horsti 2005: 74). To which earlier

event the one discussed in the media is compared to, defines the way in which it is discussed (Horsti 2005: 74). This also works the other way around: the chosen frame in a news article guides what kind of examples and comparisons are used (Horsti 2005: 74). In addition, naming and catchphrases are also powerful means for defining issues and they also often utilize metaphors (Horsti 2005: 75). While naming and repeating the given names as catchphrases, it is possible to strengthen one particular perspective and establish legitimacy for it (Horsti 2005: 75). As an event is named it becomes a phenomenon and, thus, it becomes more concrete and visible (Horsti 2005: 75). Moreover, once something has been named it has been defined (Horsti 2005: 75). Here sources have a central role: who has the power to name and whose names and catchphrases become dominant (Horsti 2005: 75). I also mentioned earlier descriptions and visual pictures as framing devices. When conducting my analysis, I focus also on the descriptions used in the texts. However, as my data consists of only text-based articles, I will not be analysing any visual pictures.

I began my analysis by first focusing solely on the articles published in *The New York Times*. I read the articles through while making some preliminary observations. After this I read them again several times and coded the relevant parts of the texts. In my coding I used the *Atlas.ti* program. Once I had done the coding, I went through the codes identifying at the same time common themes or aspects and combined similar codes into larger entities, the frames. After I had analysed the texts in *The New York Times*, I followed the same procedure with the texts from *Helsingin Sanomat*. Lastly, I analysed the four functions present in the frames, as presented by Entman (1993). In the following chapter I will present the results of my analysis.

5 ANALYSIS

During my analysis I identified five frames in the articles from *The New York Times* and six frames in the texts from *Helsingin Sanomat* that were most dominant. In the following chapters, I will first discuss the results of my analysis from *The New York Times*, after which I will present my results from *Helsingin Sanomat*. These chapters will be followed by chapter 5.3 in which I will examine the four functions of frames, which Entman (1993) described in his article, in relation to the frames I identified in my data. In the final chapter 5.4, I will examine the differences and similarities of the frames from both newspapers.

5.1 Framing of sexual harassment in The New York Times

The most dominant frames I identified in the texts published in *The New York Times* were the *Power*, *Victim*, *Prevalence*, *Silence* and *Unique Moment* frames. It is important to note that some elements could be included under more than one frame. I have placed the elements under the frames to which they best fit according to my analysis, but in some cases separating the elements under different frames has been very difficult, and thus, whilst analysing one frame I have also made few references to elements which have been included in another frame.

5.1.1 Power frame

In the *Power frame*, sexual harassment is framed as intertwined with power. Thus, the frame consists of elements related to power, and one common element in this frame is that the alleged sexual harassers are portrayed in the texts as powerful. One typical way in which this is done, and as can be seen from the examples 1-3 below, is that often the alleged harassers' merits, titles, and accomplishments are listed. This was particularly present in news articles discussing sexual harassment allegations against certain individuals.

- (1) Mr. Price, a Harvard alumnus who once worked at the consulting firm McKinsey & Company, had been an executive at Amazon for the last 13 years. He oversaw several TV shows, including "Transparent" and "The Man in the High Castle." (17.10.2017 Koblin)
- (2) For decades, Mr. Landesman, 67, had been a pillar of the international art scene, [...] (25.10.2017 Feuer)
- (3) Mark Halperin built an empire as journalism's ultimate political insider, spinning the world of government into dramatic narratives of power and

ambition. His best-selling books and television appearances made him one of the most prominent and highly paid reporters in the country. (26.10.2017 Koblin and Grynbaum)

These descriptions of accomplishments, titles, and merits portray the alleged harassers as prominent and important members of their professional community. Therefore, they are also powerful figures within their respective fields. Moreover, in most of the news articles the alleged harassers are also very famous, for example, Louis C.K., Kevin Spacey, and Brett Ratner, but some of them might also be less known by the general public. Therefore, it could also be that the accomplishments and merits are listed so that their prominence is presented to the readers who might not have been familiar with the alleged harassers before.

Regarding the alleged harassers, there is one case that rises above the others: Harvey Weinstein. In the data there are several articles about him or someone close to him and the sexual harassment and assault allegations made against him. In addition, he is often referred to in other articles in which he is not the topic. Therefore, it seems that out of these powerful men against whom sexual harassment allegations have been made, Weinstein's case is the biggest and most talked about. Moreover, the revelations about him are regarded as a starting point for the subsequent discussion on sexual harassment and new allegations, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.1.5.

Whereas these descriptions demonstrate the alleged harassers as powerful and successful, in the texts the consequences they face after the sexual harassment allegations have been made are often also described. In other words, it could be said that in the texts it is often portrayed how the mighty have fallen. The most common consequence for the alleged harasser was resignation, being fired or losing some other work-related opportunity, as presented in examples 4 and 5.

- (4) The International Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, which presents the International Emmy Awards, announced on Monday that it would not honor Mr. Spacey with a founders award, which was to be bestowed at the International Emmy Awards Gala on Nov. 20. (30.10.2017 Koblin)
- (5) HBO said that Louis C.K. had been dropped from the lineup of "Night of Too Many Stars," a comedy benefit on Nov. 18, and that it had pulled other works of his from its on-demand service. Netflix, which struck a deal with Louis C.K. to create two new stand-up specials for the streaming

service, said on Friday that it will not produce the planned second special.
(10.11.2017 Itzkoff)

Regarding the consequences, the loss of work is also a sign that institutions and organizations wanted to distance themselves quickly from the alleged harassers. Moreover, the alleged harassers not only suffered career consequences but also lost their prominence and power as they were isolated from the professional community.

As mentioned above, the alleged harassers were in many cases persons who had higher status than the victims, for example, they were supervisors, directors or in some other way held more power than their victims, as can be seen in examples 6-9.

- (6) But in the course of her internship, she said, her supervisor began to behave in ways that made her increasingly uncomfortable. (25.10.2017 Schreuer)
- (7) [...], an extra in "Rush Hour 2," said that Mr. Ratner had touched her bare midriff while on the set of the 2001 movie, then asked her to join him in the bathroom. (1.11.2017 Abrams)
- (8) [...], then 23, was an aspiring actress. She said the two met a few times for dinner before he invited her to a hotel room. There, she said, he convinced her to take off her clothes to prove she could perform sex scenes as an actress. (22.10.2017 Fortin)
- (9) [...] was 22 and three months into a job as a chief of staff's assistant for Paul Simon, who was then a Democratic senator from Illinois, when one of his top donors groped her and forcibly kissed her at a fund-raiser held at a Washington hotel. (13.11.2017 Alcindor and Rogers)

In addition to the alleged harassers having a position with power over their victims, in many cases the young age of the victim is also told, as in examples 8 and 9. In the cases where the victims' age is told, they were often either teenagers or in their twenties. Therefore, there is a power difference in which the alleged harassers not only have power over the victims due to their position but also due to the fact that the victims have in many cases also been young at the time of the harassment incident. It could be argued that the two are also intertwined in the sense that as the victims have been young, they have also often been only a short time in working life, and thus, they are also in a more vulnerable position professionally as they are only beginning their careers.

When referring to sexual harassers or sexual harassment behaviour, the *predator* metaphor is often used in the data, in which the harassers are described as *predators*, exhibiting *sexual predation*, or *preying*, as demonstrated also in the examples 10 and 11.

- (10) The accusations spurred conversations about harassment and male sexual predation in Hollywood. (18.10.2017 Daniel)
- (11) [...] Anthony Rapp, the “Rent” star who accused Kevin Spacey of preying on him when he was 14. (10.11.2017 Hess)

The metaphor is powerful and creates a strong image of danger in the mind of the reader. Humans have learned to fear predators in nature as they are dangerous by posing a threat to one’s life. Moreover, the metaphor is related to power in the sense that predators are high on the food chain and prey on other animals who usually are weaker than them. Predators can also be considered creatures who hunt without sentiment as well as are always on the lookout for their next prey. Therefore, by using this metaphor sexual harassers are portrayed as dangerous, more powerful than their victims, and also hunting without conscience. It could also be said that the word *predator* is used to name harassers and *sexual predation* is used to name sexual harassment. Horsti (2005: 75) says that names can be repeated and, thus, used as catchphrases that strengthen one perspective. For example, by repeatedly calling sexual harassers *predators* the perspective in which they are dangerous, powerful and even evil is accentuated.

In addition to the alleged harassers being portrayed as prominent and the power difference between them and their victims, another notable issue in the data is that all the alleged harassers are men in the news articles. Moreover, in vast majority of these sexual harassment cases the victims are women, and in texts discussing sexual harassment, women are often portrayed as the ones mostly suffering from it and men as harassers. Only in few cases it is made clear that the victims have been male, for example, in the case of Kevin Spacey. Therefore, another element in the power frame is gender inequality. Sexual harassment is presented as an issue that is primarily committed by men in powerful positions and experienced by women, even though in few texts it is also stated that men and non-binary persons also experience sexual harassment. One characteristic in this gender inequality element regarding sexual harassment is that men are often described as *powerful* or having power, as illustrated by examples 12 and 13.

- (12) “It has not. Each of us has endured, or witnessed or worked with women who have experienced some form of dehumanizing behavior by men in power in our workplaces.” (17.10.2017 Nagourney and Medina)

- (13) [...], joins a growing list of powerful men in the media who have been forced from their perches after allegations of misconduct have surfaced [...] (3.11.2017 Ember)

In many articles, women are also often presented as the ones who are driving the conversation about sexual harassment.

- (14) While many women are showing defiance —outing the Weinstein types in their industries, using hashtags like #MeToo [...] (16.10.2017 Goldberg)
- (15) Countless women in the entertainment industry have come forward with their stories of sexual abuse and harassment [...] (16.11.2017 Daniel)

The #MeToo movement is portrayed as consisting essentially of women who are using the hashtag and share their sexual harassment experiences, or they are the ones who have come forward with sexual harassment allegations, as in examples 14 and 15. Only in a few cases it is mentioned that also some men have come forward with their experiences. Therefore, this is another characteristic that strengthens the view of women as the main group suffering from sexual harassment as they are sharing their experiences and upholding the discussion on the issue.

Moreover, whereas men are often portrayed as powerful, in some texts it is suggested that women are unprotected and vulnerable in this world.

- (16) What I had not taught them, it suddenly dawned on me, was how it feels to go through the world as a woman, the mental calculations involved in parking a car downtown or riding an elevator at night or taking a walk in the woods. (19.10.2017 Renkl)
- (17) But I'd say almost every female comic could name a comedy club she can't walk into, a booker she can't email or an agent she can't pursue because of the presence of a problematic guy. We are all avoiding someone who could help us make money. (10.11.2017 Kilmartin)

This vulnerability is often presented as tied to sex. As can be seen from examples 16 and 17, the fact that a person is a woman means that she is facing more difficulties and perils, such as sexual harassment.

In a few articles one reason for women's vulnerability and a factor contributing to the fact that they suffer more from sexual harassment is the lack of women in higher or powerful positions in workplaces, as in example 18. Therefore, also in a few articles increasing the number of women in industries and in positions of power is suggested as a way to improve the situation. This is illustrated by example 19 below.

- (18) Although the state has produced a number of powerful female politicians, about 80 percent of the legislature is male. (17.10.2017 Nagourney and Medina)
- (19) Fortunately for me, I have not dealt with any such incidents in the business since And I think it is because all the projects I have been a part of have had women in positions of power, [...] (19.10.2017 Nyong'o)

Sexual harassment is thus emphasized as an issue from which women suffer proportionally more than men, and men are often the perpetrators and enabled by having more power than women. In some of the texts a solution for erasing sexual harassment is co-operation of both genders. Especially men need to come forward.

- (20) On the discussion of who knew what about Mr. Weinstein and when, he said: "I'm calling on the other guys who knew more to not be scared. Don't just give out statements. Acknowledge that there was something rotten in Denmark. Vow to do better by our sisters." (19.10.2017 Kantor)
- (21) Like me, women who experience the darker side of kitchen work don't need men who've benefited and profited from its pervasively sexist culture to apologize and shrug. We need them to actively disown it, and then work, loudly and alongside women, to change it. We're waiting. (30.10.2017 McMillan)

As can be seen from example 21, men are considered to have an important role in making change possible and eradicating sexual harassment. In the same way as in examples 20 and 21, there are calls for action in which men need to do their part in changing attitudes and to speak up against sexual harassment.

In sum, the *Power frame* is constructed, firstly, through describing the alleged harassers' accomplishments and portraying them as prominent members of their fields, and thus, powerful. However, the consequences they suffer, once they have faced sexual harassment allegations are also reported on. It is, therefore, demonstrated that there are consequences for their actions, including how they have now lost their prominence due to the allegations. However, it remains

to be seen how permanent these consequences are, and whether some of the alleged harassers can redeem themselves. Regarding alleged harassers, the allegations against Harvey Weinstein are discussed a great deal in the data. There are several news articles and opinion pieces about him as well as he is referred to often also in articles discussing other topics. Secondly, in many cases there is also a power difference between the alleged harassers and their victims as, due to their status, the alleged harassers have in many cases been in a position of power over the victim as well as often also their victims have been young. The third element in this frame is the predator metaphor which is used in many texts in the data to describe harassers or sexual harassment. The fourth major element in this frame is gender inequality: in many articles it is suggested that women suffer the most from sexual harassment while men are most often the ones committing harassment. Therefore, one solution presented in the texts is that men need to join forces with women in fighting and ending sexual harassment.

5.1.2 Victim frame

The *Victim frame* highlights the victims of sexual harassment, their experiences and actions. A main element in this frame is the personal accounts of the victims in the texts. In many of the news articles about sexual harassment allegations, the point of view of victims is often present, and thus, the victims could tell their own personal experiences. Moreover, in some of the opinion pieces people also shared their sexual harassment experiences. One characteristic in such personal narratives is that they include detailed descriptions of the sexual harassment incidents.

- (22) As Ms. Lopez walked into the restroom, she said, she felt a large body pressing behind her. When she turned around, she saw that a lawmaker had locked the door behind him, had undone his pants and asked her to touch his genitals.
 “He had exposed himself and begun masturbating,” she said. “All I was thinking was what do I do, what do I do. And of course, I didn’t want to cause a scene.”
 “I said, ‘No, I am not going to touch you,’ ”she said. “I was firm and clear but I did not want to make a scene and he continued to masturbate and he kind of moved toward me and said, ‘Just put your hand on me.’ I said no.”
 (17.10.2017 Nagourney and Medina)
- (23) [...], the former president had attended a performance of a play she had been a part of. Mr. Bush came backstage during an intermission, she said, and the cast gathered around him to take a picture.
 According to Ms. Grolnick’s account, Mr. Bush then “reached his right hand around to my behind, and as we smiled for the photo he asked the group, ‘Do you want to know who my favorite magician is?’ As I felt his

hand dig into my flesh, he said, ‘David Cop-a-Feel!’ ” (27.10.2017 Bromwich and Stevens)

- (24) Several women on the chain said they were humiliated when Mr. Wieseltier sloppily kissed them on the mouth, sometimes in front of other staff members. Others said he discussed his sex life, once describing the breasts of a former girlfriend in detail. Mr. Wieseltier made passes at female staffers, they said, and pressed them for details about their own sexual encounters. (24.10.2017 Schuessler)

As mentioned above and as can be seen from examples 22 to 24, in many cases the sexual harassment incidents the victims suffered are described in detail: what kind of sexual harassment acts the perpetrator(s) committed. As illustrated in examples 22 and 23, sometimes the sexual harassment incidents are described with great detail: describing step-by-step what happened and there are also direct quotes. Directly quoting the victims allows their voice to reach the reader and lets them tell their story. In some cases, as in example 24, the sexual harassment incidents are described with less detail. The sexual harassment acts are reported on and listed by the victims or by someone else who has knowledge of them. However, the way in which the events unfolded are not described. The detailed descriptions of the harassment experiences also create a graphic and concrete image about what sexual harassment is and what the victims went through. This way it is also more possible for the reader to understand and empathize with the victims. In addition to the detailed accounts of the incidents, also the feelings and thoughts of the victims are described in some cases, which make the accounts even more personal.

- (25) She realized he was masturbating, and was dumbfounded. The call went on for several minutes, even though, Ms. Schachner said, “I definitely wasn’t encouraging it.” But she didn’t know how to end it, either. “You want to believe it’s not happening,” she said. (9.11.2017 Ryzik, Buckley and Kantor)
- (26) Unsteady and intoxicated, the lawmaker began touching her and remarking on her legs, she said. “I looked at him and I told him, ‘Don’t ever talk to me again,’” Ms. Maple said. “He said, ‘Good luck finding a job in this town again.’” (29.10.2017 Bidgood, Jordan and Nagourney)

As can be seen in examples 22 and 25, in many cases the victims felt confusion and shock in the situation, due to which they may not have been able to react. In some cases they also felt disgust, shame, and humiliation. The reader is, thus, shown how sexual harassment can affect a person. However, in few cases the victims are also presented as strong, standing up against the harasser; this is the case in examples 22 and 26.

In connection to this, another element in this frame is the description of the consequences victims suffered from sexual harassment.

- (27) But now I am thinking about how those situations might have shaped the decisions I made, and the way I viewed myself as a professional. I know I am not the only one. (28.10.2017 Cogan)
- (28) But when Ms. Finnigan, a legislative director, took her complaints to the staff of the Assembly Rules Committee, she felt like the one on trial. A meeting with a committee staff member and Mr. Fox began with Mr. Fox “berating and threatening” her over her job performance, Ms. Finnigan said. A month after she made her complaint, she was fired. (29.10.2017 Bidgood, Jordan and Nagourney)
- (29) [...] - an uncountable number that represents not just the acute trauma of an unwanted touch or a dehumanizing comment, but the invisible ripples of confidence lost, [...] (17.10.2017 West)

In many cases sexual harassment victims faced consequences regarding their careers in the texts. In some cases they suffered professional consequences in the form of job loss (see example 28), or their careers were impacted in some other negative way. Some victims were also afraid that their careers would be negatively affected if they told about their experiences. In a few texts, there are also references to psychological consequences for victims, such as how the harassment experience affected their self-image and caused emotional pain (examples 27 and 29).

One element in the *Victim frame* is also the credibility of the victims, which is present in some news articles regarding sexual harassment allegations made against certain persons. For example, in many of the sexual harassment cases discussed in the news articles, the number of the victims coming forward with the allegations is given and showing how the alleged harasser had in fact had several victims. The fact that there are more than one person describing their experiences, and even an indication of a pattern of abuse, possibly makes the accusers look more credible. Another form of demonstrating credibility of the allegation is that in a few news articles it was mentioned that there was someone beside the victim who could corroborate the incident.

- (30) Her account was backed up by Kent Richards, a production assistant Ms. Sasaki was dating at the time. (1.11.2017 Abrams)

- (31) “We stand with the women who have courageously come forward to fight for themselves and indeed for all of those who have experienced similar abuse.” (18.10.2017 Saul)

Often the corroborating evidence was given by a person in whom the victim had confided after the sexual harassment incident, as in example 30. In very few cases, the victim had also provided *The New York Times* written records to prove their account, for example, emails that had been sent between them and the alleged harasser. However, in a couple of cases the alleged harasser provided written records in order to prove their innocence and, thus, to put the credibility of the victim into question. In addition, there are a few articles in which someone else questioned or wondered about the credibility of the allegations. Nevertheless, in a few texts victims of sexual harassment were commended for speaking out and telling their stories. As in example 31, the words *courage* or *brave* were often used when applauding the victims for coming forward. This also shows the difficulty that victims might have suffered from in deciding whether or not they can tell about their experiences of sexual harassment. The decision to come forward is shown not to be an easy one, but one that takes courage.

Within the *Victim frame*, some texts also demonstrate that there is a sense of a community among the victims.

- (32) Ms. Post, 50, said in an interview on Friday that it was scary to go public, and that the waves of new accusations had been shocking and draining. But it was a comfort, she added, to know she was not alone. (27.10.2017 Fortin)
- (33) Perhaps you’ve asked your partner, your mother, your boss or your friend for the first time, as I have, if she, too, is among this strange new tribe. (“Who was your Weinstein?” we all suddenly want to know.) (5.11.2017 Bennett)

For instance, as shown in example 32, some of the victims had perhaps suffered alone, but as other people began to share sexual harassment experiences, they could see that they were in fact not alone and that others had had similar experiences. In addition, a few texts suggest that there is a sense of solidarity among victims of sexual harassment, and, as demonstrated by example 33, even a feeling of belonging to a community. The solidarity comes through when the victims stand together in the fight against sexual harassment. Moreover, a few victims stated that they had come forward in order to protect others from being sexually harassed.

In some articles, it is also presented that in some organizations the system for reporting sexual harassment is flawed or insufficient.

- (34) “The fact that so many women signed the letter tells me that women don’t feel comfortable coming forward to make these complaints to the authorities as they are trained to do in sexual harassment training,” Ms. Dresslar said. (29.10.2017 Bidgood, Jordan and Nagourney)

As can be seen from example 34 above, in some cases the system is described as broken, and thus, as something that discourages victims to come forward with their complaints. Most of these articles discussed sexual harassment in governmental institutions, such as the senate and the congress in the United States, and the Parliament in the United Kingdom.

A related point made in a few articles is the victims’ survival strategies.

- (35) For women who had to interact with some of the most notorious sexual harassers, Ms. Sherry said she recommended they stay on the trading floor—a very public space. “Survival hints like that were shared pretty freely,” Ms. Sherry wrote in an email. That was the whisper network at work. (4.11.2017 Creswell and Hsu)

A common survival strategy (see example 35) was to warn other women of a person who was known to engage in sexually harassing behaviour. In a few texts it is also discussed how the victim tried to avoid certain situations or to ignore the sexual harassment behaviour they had faced. Thus, the victims seem to have been in a very vulnerable situation in which they had to rely on each other for protection and to engage in different survival tactics in order to be able to continue their lives.

All in all, the main element in the *Victim frame* consists of detailed descriptions of the sexual harassment experiences that the victims had suffered. In many cases, these are told from the victims’ perspective. In some cases, the victims are also directly quoted. The frame, thus, constructs a picture of sexual harassment through the experiences of the victims, sometimes also including the thoughts and feelings of the victims during and after the sexual harassment incident. In addition, the consequences the victims faced after suffering from sexual harassment are also told. One element in the frame is also the credibility of the victims, and in a few articles the victims are also commended for having the courage to come forward. Yet another element of this frame is the sense of communality and solidarity among victims. Within this frame, there

are also portrayals of insufficient reporting systems, which make coming forward with allegations more difficult for victims. Finally, this frame also involves the survival strategies that the victims have invented in order to protect themselves and others from sexual harassment.

5.1.3 Prevalence frame

In the *Prevalence frame*, the focus is on elements that construct sexual harassment to be a pervasive problem: existing in many fields, suffered by many, common and having existed for a long time, as well as having become a permanent fixture in some organizations' working life. One element regarding the pervasiveness of sexual harassment is that it is presented as a widespread problem affecting many different fields and industries.

- (36) Countless women outside Hollywood said they had experienced similar harassment and assaults in their own industries. (18.10.2017 Daniel)
- (37) [...] what happens behind closed doors or even in the open spaces of studios, newsrooms and other workplaces. (5.11.2017 Bennett)
- (38) "I also worry that there is the possibility for this to be treated like a cancer, and now Harvey is gone so the cancer is excised. But Harvey is not the only cancer." (5.11.2017 Bennett)

The discussion of sexual harassment might have begun in Hollywood, but as can be seen from examples 36 and 37, the issue is not only confined into the entertainment industry. As in example 37, in some articles the widespread nature of sexual harassment is portrayed through listing different industries. Therefore, sexual harassment is presented as prevalent in society: no field of work is immune to it. Moreover, in a couple of texts sexual harassment is described as an issue that is bigger than just a few harassers, as in example 38.

In this frame another typical element portraying the prevalence of sexual harassment is the vast number of people sharing their stories and experiences of sexual harassment. Some texts (e.g. example 39) report on how people have shared their experiences in huge numbers, for example, by using the hashtag #MeToo, or by coming forward with sexual harassment allegations. Therefore, these stories show the breadth of sexual harassment and the sheer number of people who have suffered from it.

- (39) [...] people, mostly women but also nonbinary and male survivors, using the hashtag #MeToo to demonstrate the staggering breadth and ubiquity of sexual predation. (17.10.2017 West)
- (40) After her tweet, social media was soon flooded with stories of harassment and assault, as #metoo became a way for users to tell their experience with sexual violence [...] (20.10.2017 Garcia)

Some texts also use natural disaster metaphors to describe the high number of stories about sexual harassment experiences or allegations. These metaphors include words like *flood* (example 40), *torrent*, *avalanche* and *engulf*. These metaphors have power as they not only invoke in readers' minds an image of something that cannot be contained, but they are also natural disasters that can wreak havoc. For instance, in example 40 social media were *flooded* with messages of sexual harassment experiences, which can be interpreted as that the number of messages was so great that they overtook everything else.

A third element in this frame, present in some texts, described sexual harassment as so common that it could even be described as an everyday occurrence.

- (41) "I've experienced sexual harassment in the workplace; we all know someone who has experienced sexual harassment in the workplace," said Ms. Rozic, [...] (23.10.2017 Friedman)
- (42) Since then, I've worked mostly with male comics, for male club owners. I've wiggled out of thousands of uncomfortable hugs and let my cheek catch a kiss meant for my lips. (10.11.2017 Kilmartin)

As can be seen in example 41, sexual harassment is common, and therefore, everyone either has a sexual harassment experience, or knows someone who has been sexually harassed, or has heard stories of others who have experienced it. In some articles it is also mentioned that sexual harassment is so common that one encounters it repeatedly, as in example 42 in which the writer has endured sexual harassment multiple times.

In the *Prevalence frame*, sexual harassment is also presented as an issue that has existed for a long time.

- (43) [...] sexually harassing at least nine women in episodes that stretched back almost a decade. (25.10.2017 Feuer)

- (44) You have to go back to the mid-1970s, when a writer named Lin Farley was teaching a course on “Women and Work” at Cornell. “I kept thinking we’ve got to come up with a name,” she recalled, “and the best I could come up with was sexual harassment of women on the job.” The phrase stuck.
New laws and workplace regulations came to pass in the hope of addressing the problem, yet it persisted. Fast forward to 1991. That was when the lawyer and academician Anita Hill testified before an all-male—and strikingly unsympathetic—Senate committee that was holding hearings on the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the United States Supreme Court. (17.10.2017 Haberman)
- (45) There has been a long and notorious history of sexual misconduct in state houses and Congress going back over at least the past 50 years. (17.10.2017 Nagourney and Medina)

Its long history is presented in three different ways. As in example 43, some of the alleged harassers had been able to sexually harass people during a long period of time, even decades, until the revelations followed by Weinstein’s case. Secondly, in a few texts sexual harassment is portrayed as an issue that has existed in society for a long time (see example 44), and that the #MeToo moment is not the first time that the issue is brought to public attention. Finally, the longevity of sexual harassment is also portrayed through individual industries and fields of work: as a problem that has persisted in a field of work, as done in example 45.

In this frame the prevalence of sexual harassment is also shown in some texts that discuss how in some industries or organizations there is a workplace environment that fosters sexual harassment behaviour.

- (46) [...], Congress is only beginning to grapple with tales of sexual aggression that have long been fixtures of work life on Capitol Hill. (13.11.2017 Alcindor and Rogers)
- (47) You see, I was entering into a community that Harvey Weinstein had been in, and even shaped, long before I got there. He was one of the first people I met in the industry, and he told me, “This is the way it is.” And wherever I looked, everyone seemed to be bracing themselves and dealing with him, unchallenged. (19.10.2017 Nyong’o)

As can be seen from the examples 46 and 47, sexual harassment has become part of the work culture and environment of an industry or organization. As a permanent aspect of working life, it must simply be endured. Most often this element was present particularly in articles that discussed sexual harassment in political institutions or the entertainment industry. A few texts

even argue that in some industries or fields there are structures and practices that enable sexual harassment.

In sum, in the *Prevalence frame* sexual harassment is depicted as a pervasive problem, present in many fields of work. Another element in this frame is the high number of sexual harassment stories shared, for example in social media with hashtag #MeToo, which shows how vast the problem is, and how it is affecting many people. The number of stories and people coming forward is also described through natural disaster metaphors. In some cases, sexual harassment is presented as a common occurrence. In addition, another element in this frame is the long history of sexual harassment. Finally, in some cases, sexual harassment is also presented as a persisting problem pertaining to an industry's or organization's work environment.

5.1.4 Silence frame

In the *Silence frame*, the focus is on elements which construct sexual harassment as an issue that is steeped in silence: victims suffering from it in silence and people turning a blind eye on it. However, one element in this frame also includes speaking out about sexual harassment. As mentioned above, a key element in this frame is that sexual harassment is presented as an issue intertwined with silence.

- (48) These are men, like my sons, who have not consistently heard these stories before because for too long women have not considered them stories worth telling. Or because too often such stories are not believed. (19.10.2017 Renkl)
- (49) "The goal is to push back on the silence that has been so pervasive," said Ms. Rozic, "and find a legislative solution to change the cycle." (23.10.2017 Friedman)

In some texts it is presented that sexual harassment is an issue that is surrounded by silence (see example 49). One reason for the silence is that victims who have suffered from sexual harassment have not told or could not tell about their experiences. For instance, in example 48 the writer had not considered the incidents worth telling. As mentioned in chapter 5.1.2, in some cases the victims have also been afraid to speak out, for example, for fear of possible negative consequences. In addition, they might have not been able tell about their experiences due to a settlement and a nondisclosure agreement.

Another element of the *Silence frame* is that sexual harassment is portrayed as an open secret: something that has been known to be happening but has not been publicly addressed or dealt with.

- (50) But some of the accounts were deeply familiar to him. “Everyone who was close to Harvey had heard of at least one of those incidents” chronicled in the first few articles, he said. “It was impossible they didn’t.” (19.10.2017 Kantor)
- (51) Now, after years of unsubstantiated rumors about Louis C.K. masturbating in front of associates, [...] (9.11.2017 Ryzik, Buckley and Kantor)

As illustrated by example 50, most commonly the texts say that many people have known that someone is sexually harassing other people, but they had turned a blind eye on it. In other words, harassment has been common knowledge but has not been addressed. A few texts (e.g. example 51) argue that there have been *rumours* or *gossip* about a certain person being a sexual harasser. Thus, the behaviour has been perhaps more of a secret, but there have still been stories circulating.

Moreover, as mentioned above, sexual harassment as an open secret is often accompanied by inaction. In other words, some texts argue that sexual harassment incidents were not acted upon.

- (52) “[...], then it doesn’t matter to them what may be happening behind the scenes if the girl can get a campaign. I give myself a C- for what I was able to accomplish to protect my girls. We all sold our souls to the devil so the model could become famous.” (27.10.2017 Friedman and Paton)
- (53) And many harassment cases disappear into the court system, where the outcomes are often sealed as women sign nondisclosure agreements. (29.10.2017 Bidgood, Jordan and Nagourney)
- (54) According to the women, male staff members routinely witnessed Mr. Wieseltier’s behavior and did nothing. (24.10.2017 Schuessler)

In a few texts it is said that sexual harassment was not acted upon by someone in an organization or a company because, by refraining from any reaction, they thought that there might have been gains for them. Thus, it was suggested that ignoring the sexual harassment incidents was in the interest of the organization or a person (see example 52). It is also brought up in few articles that the system in an industry or society itself helps to cover up sexual harassment incidents (see example 53). In this example, nondisclosure agreements prevent sexual harassment cases

from becoming public. Most often, however, the articles suggest that sexual harassment incidents have been simply ignored by either organizations or other people who witnessed or heard stories (see example 54).

In some texts, it is argued that one possible solution to fighting sexual harassment is speaking out, including how the victims themselves have begun to come forward.

- (55) Now that we are speaking, let us never shut up about this kind of thing. I speak up to make certain that this is not the kind of misconduct that deserves a second chance. I speak up to contribute to the end of the conspiracy of silence. (19.10.2017 Nyong'o)
- (56) In the wake of prominent women speaking out about the sexual harassment they endured from bigwigs like Harvey Weinstein and Fox News executives and hosts, many other women are standing up and speaking up, too. (31.10.2017 Salzman, Saylor and Kaufman)

As can be seen from example 55, speaking out is important in order to end the silence around the issue, and thus, sexual harassment behaviour. In some texts the breadth of the discussion is also shown: it is mentioned how many victims have come forward to tell their experiences of sexual harassment. At the same time these revelations are encouraging other victims to do the same (example 56).

To summarize, in this frame sexual harassment is an issue that is enshrouded by silence. One reason for this, according to the articles, is that victims have not or could not tell about their experiences. There are also articles that represent sexual harassment as an open secret, something that is known to happen, but it is not addressed or discussed. Related to this is the element in which sexual harassment is not acted upon, but most commonly ignored. However, there is also an element in this frame in which people have begun to speak out about sexual harassment.

5.1.5 Unique Moment frame

In the *Unique Moment frame*, the focus is, firstly, on the context in which the sexual harassment discussion and allegations are taking place, and, secondly, on how the moment is a special one, and possibly even one creating possibilities for change. Thirdly, a common element in this frame is that in many texts there is a link to Harvey Weinstein.

- (57) Mr. Fish, 65, joins a growing list of powerful men in the media who have been forced from their perches after allegations of misconduct have surfaced in the wake of reports about the movie mogul Harvey Weinstein. (3.11.2017 Ember)
- (58) Countless women in the entertainment industry have come forward with their stories of sexual abuse and harassment since The New York Times published accusations against the Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein , rocketing the subject to national attention. (16.11.2017 Daniel)
- (59) Since reports began to surface several weeks ago involving allegations of sexual harassment and assault by the entertainment tycoon Harvey Weinstein, the floodgates seem to have opened. (1.11.2017 Ember)

The allegations against Weinstein that were reported by *The New York Times* and *The New Yorker* are presented as a key event that set the wheels on motion. For instance, as shown in example 57, many articles mentioned that the reports of Weinstein sexually harassing and assaulting several women have been followed by sexual harassment allegations against other prominent men, too. Importantly, in very much the same way as in the case of Weinstein, also these other men have faced consequences after the allegations have been made. In addition to these other allegations, some articles discuss how the #MeToo movement happened in the aftermath of the Weinstein revelations, and how, due to these revelations, there has also been increased discussion of sexual harassment (see example 58). A related point is that in a few articles, there are metaphors that emphasize the force of the Weinstein revelations: examples of these include *floodgates opening* or *dam bursting* (see example 59). The metaphor of a floodgate having been opened gives the impression of an issue that has been pent up and now finally is flowing free with the force of nature that rushing water has.

As mentioned above, another element in this frame is that there have been other allegations against many prominent men.

- (60) Women continue to come forward, writing public letters about abuses ranging from lewd comments to groping, and joining others in a wide range of industries where powerful figures have been toppled, seemingly by the week, in the wake of the Harvey Weinstein scandal. (12.11.2017 Robertson and Bidgood)
- (61) Louis C.K. is just one of several powerful men who have recently faced rapid consequences after media reports brought attention to allegations of their sexual misconduct or harassment. Harvey Weinstein, the film producer and media executive; the actor Kevin Spacey; the filmmaker Brett Ratner; and the journalist Mark Halperin are among the prominent

men to have experienced precipitous downfalls as accounts about them accumulated. (10.11.2017 Itzkoff)

- (62) [...], resigned on Wednesday afternoon, hours after a lawsuit was filed in New York accusing him of sexually harassing at least nine women in episodes that stretched back almost a decade. (25.10.2017 Feuer)

As can be seen from examples 60 and 61, in many texts it is stated that there have been sexual harassment allegations made against many prominent men, something which can also be seen to be a characteristic for the moment. In some cases, there is a list of the men who have been accused of sexual harassment, and in some texts, the new man facing the allegation is presented as another name to add to the list (see example 61). Another important characteristic of these discussions is how the men are shown to not only having faced allegations of sexual harassment, but also having suffered consequences. As shown in examples 60-1, these have included how the men have been brought down by the allegations. Moreover, another characteristic in this frame is that the allegations have come in a rapid succession. Thus, some texts discuss how in a fairly short period of time there have been many allegations made against many powerful men (examples 60 and 61). In addition, another characteristic portrayed in some texts is that these alleged harassers have also faced the consequences very quickly after the allegations have been made (examples 61 and 62). In example 62, the alleged harasser resigned some hours after a lawsuit was brought against him. However, most commonly the consequences happened within a few days since the allegations had been brought to light.

A third element in this frame is that it is argued that the particular moment discussed in the articles is a moment that is imbued with the potential for positive change (see examples 63 and 64).

- (63) “There’s a teeny silver lining,” Ms. Lapidus said about the deluge of allegations. “It’s reached such a crescendo that there’s no going back.” (26.10.2017 Barnes)
- (64) And we hopefully ensure that this kind of rampant predatory behavior as an accepted feature of our industry dies here and now. (19.10.2017 Nyong’o)
- (65) But social change happens not in grand moments but in the less easily detectable changing of minds. Can we navigate through this moment to a new, better place? (6.11.2017 Alderman)
- (66) They share these experiences because all of us know that this moment demands our testimony: Here is the burden I have carried. (19.10.2017 Gay)

However, in a few texts some also express concern whether the change can happen, as portrayed in example 65, or whether it can be lasting. Moreover, sometimes it is expressed that this is a moment that demands action, as in example 66.

In a few texts the nature of the discussion on sexual harassment is described as a unique one.

- (67) A growing national outcry over sexual harassment reached the Senate on Thursday, [...] (16.11.2017 Fandos)
- (68) The first Times article represented the first time multiple women —among them the actresses Ashley Judd and Rose McGowan —went on the record with specific allegations against Mr. Weinstein. (18.10.2017 Daniel)

Example 67 portrays how in few texts the discussion is presented as a widely spread and growing one, potentially reaching the whole country. Moreover, the nature of the discussion is described in a few texts as one that is quite unique or fundamentally different from any scandals in the past. For instance, in example 68, it is stated that this is the first time that several women have gone on the record regarding Weinstein.

In sum, in the *Unique Moment frame* consists of elements that focus on the moment in which Weinstein and #MeToo movement happened. In one element the revelations regarding Harvey Weinstein are presented as the key event starting it all. Another element in the frame describes how this key event has been followed by several allegations against other prominent men in a short period of time, and the alleged harassers have faced consequences fairly quickly after the allegations have been made. The third element in this frame depicts the moment as an indication that there is hope for change. Lastly, the moment is described as a special one also thanks to how it has stimulated more discussion on sexual harassment. In the next chapter I will present the findings of my analysis of the texts from *Helsingin Sanomat*.

5.2 Framing of sexual harassment in Helsingin Sanomat

In my analysis of the data from *Helsingin Sanomat*, I identified six recurrent frames. I have labelled the frames the *Victim frame*, *Power frame*, *Prevalence frame*, *Silence frame*, *Gender frame* and *Harasser frame*. In the following, I will present each frame in more detail. However, as can already be seen, these frames are very similar to the ones I identified in *The New York*

Times. There are, nevertheless, some differences in how the frames are constructed. I will discuss the similarities and differences between the results from the two newspapers in more detail in chapter 5.4.

5.2.1 Victim frame

As in the case of *The New York Times*, also in *Helsingin Sanomat* the victims' voices are heard. The victims' experiences of sexual harassment are presented and in some cases the victims are directly quoted, as in examples 69 and 70 below.

- (69) “While walking on the streets people have whistled and catcalled me. The most distressing experiences are from cruise ships. Harassment is an ordinary thing in them. It happens a lot.”¹

”Kadulla kävellessä minulle on huudeltu ja vislattu. Kaikkein ahdistavimmat kokemukset ovat risteilylaivoilta. Niissä häiriköinti on ihan perusjuttu. Sitä tapahtuu paljon.” (17.10.2017 Niemi and Pajuriutta)

- (70) As an example she mentions an event organized about a year ago, in which she took part as a member of parliament. “Two men hugged me from behind and the other one kissed me on the eye. It was a confusing and invasive situation happening in broad daylight. Most likely the persons themselves did not realize they were doing something wrong.”

Hän mainitsee esimerkkinä noin vuosi sitten järjestetyn tapahtuman, johon hän osallistui kansanedustajana. ”Kaksi miestä halasi takaapäin ja toinen suuteli minua silmään. Se oli hyvin hämmentävä, päälleikävä tilanne keskellä kirkasta päivää. Varmastikaan henkilöt eivät itse ymmärtäneet toimineensa väärin.” (17.10.2017 Teittinen)

As can be seen from the examples above, in many texts the victims tell about their personal sexual harassment experiences. In some cases the victims briefly described what kind of sexual harassment they had encountered, and in other cases the situations were described in more detail (see example 70). These descriptions by the victims of sexual harassment acts make the phenomenon more tangible to the readers as they are able to read what the victim has experienced and what kind of acts sexual harassment contains.

The texts also discuss the thoughts and feelings of the victims. In some articles the victims themselves describe their feelings and thoughts in the situation or afterwards, and in some texts, it is discussed what kind of feelings sexual harassment can cause.

¹ I have translated all the excerpts from the articles published in *Helsingin Sanomat* from Finnish into English.

- (71) He acknowledges that it can be difficult for those experiencing harassment to talk about it. Some say immediately that the harassment needs to stop but some try to endure, thinking that soon they can go to a different worksite.

Hän myöntää, että häirinnän kohteiden voi olla vaikea puhua asiasta. Jotkut ilmoittavat heti, että häirinnän pitää loppua, mutta jotkut yrittävät kestää ajatellen pääsevänsä pian toiselle työmaalle. (18.10.2017 Vihavainen and Lehtinen)

- (72) The harassment – the attack – was a paralyzingly confusing experience and I wasn't able to react to it as I should have. I thought, had I given permission to get close? Had I made an inviting gesture without knowing? Did a boozy night-out offered by the superior to the employees give him a permission to do anything?

Ahdistelu – päällekyminen – oli lamaannuttavan hämmentävä kokemus enkä osannut reagoida siihen niin kuin olisi pitänyt. Mietin, olinko antanut luvan lähestyä? Olinko huomauttamani tehnyt sallivan eleen? Antoiko alaisille tarjottu kosta ilta esimiehelle luvan tehdä mitä tahansa? (8.11.2017 Opinion piece)

As can be seen in example 71, most often the texts discussed how difficult it can be for some victims to talk about harassment or to say something in the moment. In addition, as in examples 70 and 72, sometimes it is described how the situation can be confusing to the victim, and how reacting in the situation can also be difficult. Moreover, other feelings discussed included fear, shame, and distress.

The third element in this frame includes the consequences victims can suffer from sexual harassment that were described in some texts.

- (73) For many it has been easier to change to the other side of the street, route, bar, school, job or friends than say that I do not accept this.

Monelle on ollut helpompi vaihtaa kadunpuolta, kulkureittiä, baaria, koulua, työpaikkaa tai ystäviä kuin sanoa, että tätä en hyväksy. (17.10.2017 Virtanen)

For example, a couple of texts discussed the potential trauma that sexual harassment can cause. In a few texts it is also described how the sexual harassment experience might have had life altering effects, for example, in which the victims have made changes in their everyday life (see example 73), or behaviour. In some cases, it is also highlighted how the harassment had had an effect on their career.

Finally, a few texts discuss the importance personal experience has in the context of how sexual harassment is defined. As discussed in chapter 2.1.1, one part of the definition of sexual harassment is that the individual experiencing the behaviour considers it unwanted.

- (74) It is not a harmless joke, racy bro-culture or innocent petting – if the other person finds it unwanted.

Kyse ei ole harmittomasta läpistä, ronskista äijäkulttuurista tai viattomasta silittelystä – jos toinen osapuoli kokee asian ei-toivottavana. (17.10.2017 Mukka)

Therefore, as can be seen in example 74, a few texts mention that if a person feels that the actions directed at him/her are unwanted, then these actions constitute sexual harassment.

All in all, in the *Victim frame* the focus is on the victims of sexual harassment. A main element in this frame consists of victims' descriptions of their experiences of sexual harassment. The two other elements include reports on the thoughts and feelings the victims might have encountered during or after the situation, and in a few texts also the kind of consequences victims have faced or can face afterwards. Lastly, a few articles also highlight that the victims' experiences constitute what ultimately defines sexual harassment.

5.2.2 Power frame

In the *Power frame* sexual harassment is presented to be intertwined with power. In the texts this frame is mainly constructed so that power enables sexual harassment.

- (75) “Most severely this affects people who are at the beginning of their careers”, Niemi says. Or those, who are career-wise in a subordinate position to, for example, a director: actors and assistants.

”Pahiten tämä kohdistuu heihin, jotka ovat uransa alussa”, Niemi sanoo. Tai heihin, jotka ovat uransa puolesta alisteisessa asemassa esimerkiksi ohjaajalle: näyttelijöihin ja assistentteihin. (19.10.2017 Kanerva and Typpö)

- (76) According to her, also the quite masculine star-cult in classical music – the most visible examples being conductors and directors – makes particularly young women vocalists who are starting their careers easily targets for sexual harassment.

Hänen mielestään myös klassisen musiikin varsin maskuliininen tähtikultti – näkyvimpinä esimerkkeinä kapellimestarit ja ohjaajat – tekee erityisesti uraansa aloittelevista naissolisteista herkästi seksuaalisen häirinnän kohteita. (14.11.2017 Petäjä)

- (77) In a closed car suggestive talk and touching is not funny flirting but oppressive use of power.

Suljetussa autossa vihjailevat puheet ja koskettelu eivät ole hauskaa flirttiä vaan painostavaa vallankäyttöä. (29.10.2017 Virtanen)

Many texts discuss how sexual harassment is often done by a person in a position of power, and how the person being harassed often is someone with less power (examples 75 and 76). Moreover, as can also be seen from these examples, this power element is particularly visible in texts discussing sexual harassment in the field of culture. Some articles also describe sexual harassment as *vallankäyttö* ‘use of power’ (see example 77) and *vallan väärinkäyttö* ‘abuse of power’.

In addition to a power difference between the harasser and harassed, there is also a power difference with regard to gender that is expressed in a few texts.

- (78) Even though we pride ourselves with the equality of Finnish society, men mainly hold power in workplaces, economy and politics. Harassment, on the other hand, is most often focused on women and girls, according to the Gender Equality Barometer and the School Health Promotion study.

Vaikka ylpeilemme suomalaisen yhteiskunnan tasa-arvolla, valta työpaikoilla, taloudessa ja politiikassa on pääosin miehillä. Häirintä taas kohdistuu sekä tasa-arvobarometrin että kouluterveyskyselyn mukaan useammin tyttöihin ja naisiin. (23.10.2017 Vasantola)

- (79) “At one point in time harassment occurred often at work. Once, when I was making copies, an older man came from behind and grabbed me. [...]”

”Aikanaan töissä häirittiin kovastikin. Kerran, kun olin ottamassa kopioita, vanhempi mies tuli takaapäin ja otti kiinni. [...]” (17.10.2017 Niemi and Pajuriutta)

A few texts describe that men are the ones in positions of power (example 78). There is, therefore, a power difference between men and women, due to which women are in a more vulnerable position. A few texts also portray how at the beginning of their careers particularly young women are vulnerable to sexual harassment. In connection to this, in some texts it is expressed that the harasser was older than the victim (see example 79). Therefore, age could

also be considered as one form of power in sexual harassment situations: younger persons are more likely to be sexually harassed.

In conclusion, the *Power frame* focuses on how power is an important element in sexual harassment. As can be seen above, a recurring element through which this frame has been constructed is that sexual harassment is often done by people in positions of power whereas the victims have less power. In addition, the second element in this frame portrays how it is the men who are usually the ones in powerful positions, and women are in a more vulnerable position. The relationship between gender and sexual harassment is discussed in more detail in chapter 5.2.5. The third element in this frame includes age: in a few texts it is described how the harasser had been older, usually man. Therefore, young age also is presented as one thing that could make a person more easily a target of sexual harassment.

5.2.3 Prevalence frame

In the *Prevalence frame* sexual harassment is presented as a widespread problem: encountering it is common, and it occurs in many different settings. In the data, a recurrent element in constructing this frame is to portray the large number of people who have had sexual harassment experiences.

- (80) The Me too-campaign has made countless people to tell publicly about their harassment experiences.

Minä myös -kampanja on saanut lukuisat ihmiset kertomaan julkisesti kokemastaan häirinnästä. (18.10.2017 Vihavainen and Lehtinen)

As can be seen in example 80, a typical strategy was to mention that a large number of people have come forward with their sexual harassment experiences, thus, demonstrating how common sexual harassment is. Usually in these texts it is also suggested that the people did so, because they wish to take part in the Metoo campaign.

Another element in this frame is to indicate how widespread sexual harassment is: it is suffered from in different parts of society.

- (81) According to Väänänen, the problem is, however, larger than the movie industry. “This is also about a general attitude prevalent in society”, she says.

Ongelma on Väänäsen mukaan kuitenkin elokuva-alaa laajempi. ”Tässä on kyse myös yhteiskunnassa vallitsevasta yleisestä asenteesta”, hän sanoo. (19.10.2017 Kanerva and Typpö)

- (82) The studies by Treat’s group were published already last year, but the recurring revelations about the extent of sexual harassment made during this fall [...].

Treatin ryhmän tutkimukset ilmestyivät jo viime vuonna, mutta tämän syksyn toistuvat paljastukset seksuaalisen ahdistelun laajuudesta [...]. (6.11.2017 Puttonen)

As shown in example 81, a few articles assert that the issue of sexual harassment occurs widely in society. In addition, sexual harassment is also described in some articles with words such as *laaja* or *laajuus* ‘widespread’ (see example 82).

Another way in which the widespread nature of sexual harassment is framed in *Helsingin Sanomat* is that it discusses sexual harassment in different contexts. For example, there are articles about it in the field of culture (cinema, theatre, and music industry), construction sites, and political institutions. Moreover, in a few texts it is also listed how people from different fields have come forward (see example 83), or how sexual harassment has also emerged as an issue in different fields.

- (83) In Sweden, women all the way from politicians to corporate leaders to known artists have told about their experiences in social and traditional media.

Ruotsissa naiset aina poliitikoista yritysjohtajiin ja tunnettuihin artisteihin ovat kertoneet kokemuksiaan sosiaalisessa ja perinteisessä mediassa. (15.11.2017 Tuohinen)

- (84) The Union of Journalists in Finland asked their members to tell about sexual harassment in October. 360 members of the union answered to the survey, out of which ca. 85 per cent were women. Nearly half of the respondents told they had experienced sexual harassment during their career.

JOURNALISTILIITTO pyysi lokakuussa jäseniään kertomaan seksuaalisesta häirinnästä. Kyselyyn vastasi 360 liiton jäsentä, joista noin 85 prosenttia oli naisia. Lähes puolet vastanneista kertoi kokeneensa seksuaalista häirintää työuransa aikana. (10.11.2017 Hallamaa)

In addition, in few texts the results of studies and surveys were discussed (example 84). Most often they were about a particular field of work, such as journalism. However, these studies also add more weight to the *Prevalence frame*, as they present how widespread sexual

harassment is in the field. Moreover, a couple of articles mention the results of more general studies and statistics, such as a study by Finnish Institute of Occupational Health for working people. However, it seems that in *Helsingin Sanomat* the entertainment industry is portrayed to be particularly plagued with sexual harassment and especially those fields including acting.

In a third element of this frame, sexual harassment is presented as a common occurrence.

- (85) The discussion on the commonness of sexual harassment and violence began when it was revealed in the United States that movie producer Harvey Weinstein has been harassing actors and his assistants.

Keskustelu seksuaalisen häirinnän ja väkivallan yleisyydestä alkoi, kun Yhdysvalloissa paljastui, että elokuvatuottaja Harvey Weinstein on ahdistellut näyttelijöitä ja avustajiaan. (17.10.2017 Niemi and Pajuriutta)

- (86) “[...]. And the less important ones are so ordinary, everyday, exactly the same that everybody experiences. [...]”

”[...] Ja vähemmän tärkeät ovat niin tavallisia, arkisia, just sitä samaa mitä kaikki kokevat. [...]” (19.10.2017 Kallionpää)

In some texts (e.g. example 85) sexual harassment is described with the word *yleisyys* ‘common’. In addition, sexual harassment experiences are sometimes described as *arkea*, *arkipäivää* ‘everyday’ and normal occurrences (see example 86). Occasionally, the word *aina* ‘always’ is also used, for example, in the sense that one could always hear stories about sexual harassment.

The fourth element in this frame is the long history of sexual harassment.

- (87) “We ordered a study on equality and also on sexual harassment already in 2011, and the issue is still current”, reminds Kuusikko.

”Tilasimme tasa-arvosta ja myös seksuaalisesta häirinnästä tutkimuksen jo 2011, ja asia on yhä ajankohtainen”, Kuusikko muistuttaa. (23.10.2017 Sirén)

In some texts in the data it is presented that sexual harassment is a problem that has existed for a long time in a particular work context (example 87). Sometimes, however, it is also mentioned that sexual harassment is a problem that has persisted for a long time in society in general.

To conclude, the *Prevalence frame* focuses on sexual harassment as a widespread and common problem that has persisted for a long time. The main elements of the frame identified in the texts include the large number of people who have come forward with their experiences, sexual harassment as prevalent in many different work contexts, and its prevalence and long history at the societal level.

5.2.4 Silence frame

In the *Silence frame* sexual harassment is presented as an issue that is surrounded by silence. This silence about sexual harassment foregrounds three elements: the silence of victims, the silent approval of harassment, and the culture of silence.

- (88) Thinking about the post I noticed that it has been easier to stay silent. Joke back if it was “only” joking. Silently wish for the end of the driving lesson if the atmosphere becomes oppressive.

PÄIVITYSTÄ pohtiessani huomasin, että on ollut helpompi olla hiljaa. Vitsailla takaisin, jos kyse on ”vain” vitsailusta. Toivoo hiljaa ajotunnin loppua, jos tunnelma muuttuu painostavaksi. (17.10.2017 Virtanen)

- (89) “[...]. There is a kind of silent approval and it just needs to stop.”

”[...] Siinä on ikään kuin sellainen hiljainen hyväksyntä, ja se vaan pitää lopettaa.” (18.10.2017 Vihavainen and Lehtinen)

- (90) If the claim is true, it is a sad piece of evidence of a culture of silence built in British politics.

Jos väite pitää paikkansa, se on ikävä todiste Britannian politiikkaan rakennetusta vaikenemisen kulttuurista. (3.11.2017 Kähkönen)

As mentioned already in chapter 5.2.1, and as witnessed by example 88, one typical reason for the silence surrounding sexual harassment is the difficulty victims have in speaking about their experiences. In addition, it is sometimes mentioned that there is a silent approval or a culture of silence (see examples 89 and 90), which allow sexual harassment to continue.

Another element in the *Silence frame* is that sexual harassment is occasionally portrayed as something hidden.

- (91) The #metoo-campaign that began from the example set by actor Alyssa Milano has opened the eyes of the public around the world on how common harassment and even violence experienced by women is.

Näyttelijä Alyssa Milanon esimerkistä alkunsa saanut #metoo-kampanja on avannut ympäri maailman suuren yleisön silmiä sille, kuinka yleistä naisten kokema häirintä ja suoranainen väkivalta ovat. (19.10.2017 Mukka)

- (92) This virtual march of solidarity shows, how urgent it is to find a united voice and how hidden the breadth of the violence, which has earlier gone unnoticed, has been.

Tämä virtuaalinen solidaarisuusmarssi osoittaa, miten kiireellistä yhteisen äänen löytäminen on ja miten piilossa aiemmin merkille panemattoman väkivallan laajuus on ollut. (22.10.2017 Mlambo-Ngcuka)

- (93) “I blamed myself a little as well because I had turned my back on the problem. There has long been talk about harassment cases in the industry and I can’t claim that I hadn’t been at least distantly aware of them, including the names of the harassers”, Wennstam says.

”Soimasin hivenen itseänikin, koska olin kääntänyt ongelmalle selkäni. Alalla oli puhuttu jo pitkään häirintätapauksista, enkä voi väittää, ettenkö olisi ollut ainakin etäisesti tietoinen niistä, aina syyllisten nimiä myöten”, Wennstam sanoo. (11.11.2017 Petäjä)

As illustrated by example 91, this element was most often presented in *Helsingin Sanomat* by making references to how the #Metoo campaign or something/someone else has made sexual harassment visible. Therefore, it is implied that both sexual harassment and the scale of the problem have been hidden. Sometimes it is also explicitly mentioned that sexual harassment happens out of sight (see example 92). Moreover, in a few texts it is mentioned how people have been aware that sexual harassment occurs in their field or institution, as in example 93. However, the issue has not been addressed.

Another element which constructs the *Silence frame* is speaking out. Because there has long been a silence surrounding sexual harassment, speaking about it is important, as shown in example 94.

- (94) “According to Heinjoki, the good side of the Metoo-campaign is that it shines a light on the issue: “Words have been given to secret issues.”

METOO-KAMPANJAN hyvä puoli onkin Heinjoen mukaan se, että se nostaa ilmiön näkyväksi: ”Salatut asiat ovat saaneet sanoja.” (19.10.2017 Kallionpää)

All in all, in the *Silence frame* sexual harassment is seen as a phenomenon that is surrounded by silence. The reasons for this silence include the difficulty for some victims to speak about

their experiences and the existence of silent approval or a culture of silence in some cases. Another element in this frame is also that sexual harassment is presented to be hidden in society. The third element portrayed sexual harassment as an issue that people are aware of in their field or institution, but as one that is not addressed at all. Finally, the last element highlights the importance of speaking out.

5.2.5 Gender frame

In the *Gender frame* the focus is on sexual harassment as a fundamentally gendered issue in which women are the ones mainly suffering from sexual harassment and men are the ones who do the harassing. However, there are a few texts in which male victims describe their sexual harassment experiences, and occasionally it is mentioned that both men and women experience sexual harassment and sexually harass.

- (95) According to a recent poll, there are differences between the West-European countries with regard to what kind of behaviour is considered to be sexual harassment of women.

LÄNSI-EUROOPAN maissa on eroja sen suhteen, millaista käyttäytymistä pidetään naisiin kohdistuvana seksuaalisena häirintänä, selvää tuoreesta mielipidekyselystä. (11.11.2017 Huusko)

- (96) The article was followed by the #metoo-campaign during which an enormous number of women have told about rude suggestions, catcalls, groping, pressuring, and rapes, [...]

Artikkeliä seuranneen #metoo-kampanjan aikana suunnaton määrä naisia on kertonut törkeistä ehdotuksista, huuteluista, kähminnöistä, painostamisesta ja raiskauksista, [...] (15.11.2017 Lehmusvesi)

As illustrated by example 95, some texts use the phrase *naisten seksuaalinen häirintä* or *naisiin kohdistuva seksuaalinen häirintä* 'sexual harassment of women'. In this way the focus is explicitly put on gender and women. Moreover, sometimes it is pointed out that women are also the ones driving the conversation on sexual harassment. As can be seen in example 96, women have come forward and shared their sexual harassment experiences.

As discussed above, whereas women are most often portrayed as the ones mostly experiencing sexual harassment, the ones who had committed sexual harassment were most often men in the articles.

- (97) Some men have felt that the campaign labels all men. Of course, not all men harass.

JOTKUT MIEHET ovat kokeneet kampanjan leimaavan kaikki miehet. Kaikki miehet eivät tietenkään ahdistele, se on selvä. (17.10.2017 Ala-Risku)

- (98) “Yes, this is about women. But men need to also talk about this. We need to fight this together”, said MEP Terry Reintke from the Group of the Greens.

”Kyllä, tämä liittyy naisiin. Mutta myös miesten on puhuttava tästä. Meidän on käytävä tätä taistelua yhdessä”, totesi vihreän ryhmän meppi Terry Reintke. (25.10.2017 Mykkänen)

A few texts also discuss the concern that in the height of the Metoo campaign all men and boys would be labelled as harassers (example 97). Moreover, occasionally it is argued that men are also badly needed in tackling the problem of sexual harassment (example 98).

In conclusion, the *Gender frame* is mainly built through victims being mostly women in the texts and by using phrases like “sexual harassment of women”. Moreover, another element in this frame is that majority of the harassers were men in the texts. Lastly, in a few texts it was said that men need to also take part in the conversation on the topic and in the fight against sexual harassment.

5.2.6 Harasser frame

In the *Harasser frame* the focus is on alleged harassers and their perspectives. One element in this frame is the consequences that alleged harassers faced once an allegation had been made.

- (99) The tenor Tomi Metsäketo has been fired from the music show Tähdet, tähdet.

TENORI Tomi Metsäketo on saanut potkut Tähdet, tähdet - musiikkiohjelmasta. (21.10.2017 Koppinen)

The possible consequences were often present in texts that discussed specific sexual harassment cases in which people had come forward with sexual harassment allegations against an individual. In these cases, most often the consequences had to do with the person’s career, as

also in example 99. The alleged harasser was, for example, either fired or suspended until investigation was completed. In few cases the person had resigned.

Another element in this frame that was present in most of the articles dealing with specific sexual harassment cases, is the alleged harasser's response to the allegation.

(100) The teacher denies harassing students.

Opettaja kiistää ahdistelleensa opiskelijoita. (5.11.2017 Väliaho and Niskanen)

(101) “[...]. I have then assumed too much, or I haven't considered enough what would be acceptable and what not and acted accordingly: grabbed butt, licked ear and so forth. Later I have thought that what a stupid thing to have done.”

”[...] Olen sitten olettanut liikaa, tai en ole harkinnut tarpeeksi, että mikä olisi hyväksyttävää ja mikä ei, ja toiminut sen mukaisesti: kourinut takamusta, nuolaissut korvaa, yms. Myöhemmin olen ajatellut, että olipa hölmösti tehty.” (18.10.2017 Jokinen)

Most commonly, it seems that, according to *Helsingin Sanomat*, the alleged harassers denied the allegations (see example 100). In a few articles it is mentioned that the person had not realized in the situation that their behaviour was wrong and distressing for the other person (e.g. example 101), and in few articles it was discussed that it is possible that persons do not actually realize that they are harassing someone.

All in all, in the *Harasser frame* the focus is on harassers or persons alleged to have sexually harassed others. The main elements contributing to this frame include the consequences that the alleged harassers faced and alleged harassers' responses to the allegations. In a few cases it is also mentioned that the person might not have realized their behaviour was sexual harassment at all. In the following chapter I will discuss all of these frames in relation to the four functions of frames, which Entman (1993) described in his article.

5.3 The four functions of a frame

In this chapter I will analyse the four frame functions of the above defined frames. In his article about framing, Entman (1993: 52) describes that the four functions of frames include identifying problems and the causes behind them, making moral evaluations of the causal forces

and the consequences they have, and, finally, making suggestions on how the problems could be solved and evaluate the potential implications of these solutions. When examining these functions in the frames discovered in my data, it seems that some of the frames do indeed highlight the functions, while others do not. Moreover, when I mention one of the two newspapers in my analysis, I am discussing the identified frames only in the context of that newspaper.

In the *Victim frame* identified both in *Helsingin Sanomat* and *The New York Times*, the problem is defined to be sexual harassment. In the case of both newspapers, the victims' experiences of sexual harassment are described. The cause of the problem is sexual harassers who subject other people to sexual harassment. In addition, in the *The New York Times' Victim frame*, another cause for this problem could also be the insufficient reporting systems that make reporting sexual harassment incidents more difficult. Moreover, the moral evaluations made in frames also include the possible consequences the forces behind the problem cause (Entman 1993: 52). In the *Victim frame*, both newspapers describe these effects to be the possible negative consequences to the victims. Sexual harassers place people in situations which can cause victims to feel distressed, confused, ashamed, and unable to react. Both newspapers also include descriptions on how sexual harassment has affected victims' lives in general, for example, had effects on their careers. Moreover, in the *Victim frame* of *The New York Times*, another effect includes survival strategies, for example, in some cases women have begun to warn each other about certain individuals. Regarding the last frame function, solutions to the problem, I could not identify that any are presented in this frame in either newspaper.

In the *Power frame* identified both in *Helsingin Sanomat* and *The New York Times*, the problem is that sexual harassment often happens from a position of power. In the articles from both newspapers, harassers were often persons with more power than the victims. In addition, particularly in *The New York Times* the individual alleged harassers are mostly described as prominent and powerful men. One cause for the problem in this frame in both newspapers includes gender: men are often the ones having these powerful positions. This is also especially highlighted in the texts from *The New York Times*. In addition, only in the *Power frame* used in *The New York Times* it is mentioned that one cause for the problem is the lack of women in high positions. Thus, due to gender, there is a power difference between men and women. In addition, in both newspapers this frame also portrays how in many cases there has been an age difference in which the victim has often been younger than the harasser, which could be

considered another cause for the problem as it creates another level of power difference between the harasser and harassed. The moral judgment in the *Power frame* used in *Helsingin Sanomat* is that sexual harassment has become a form of power use. In the *Power frame* identified in *The New York Times*, on the other hand, the moral judgment includes the *predator* metaphor, which describes harassers as dangerous, powerful, and merciless. As with the *Victim frame*, I could not identify any solutions for the named problem in this frame when it comes to *Helsingin Sanomat*. However, in *The New York Times*, one suggested solution for the problem is increasing the number of women in leadership positions. Another suggestion made in this frame in *The New York Times* is that men need to work together with women in eradicating sexual harassment.

In the *Prevalence frame* used in both *Helsingin Sanomat* and in *The New York Times*, the problem is that sexual harassment is pervasive. Both newspapers suggest that sexual harassment is a widespread phenomenon: it is present in different fields of work as well as in society in general. One cause for the problem in this frame in both newspapers is how sexual harassment has existed for a long time. When it comes to moral judgments made in this frame, one consequence of this pervasiveness in both newspapers is that many people have suffered from sexual harassment, and the phenomenon has become a common occurrence and even an everyday experience for some. Also with the *Prevalence frame* I could not identify any solutions for the identified problem in either newspaper.

The functions in the *Silence frame* are also similar in both newspapers. Both in the frame used in *Helsingin Sanomat* and the one used in *The New York Times* the problem is that silence surrounds sexual harassment. In the frame used in *Helsingin Sanomat* one cause for this problem is that victims find telling about their experiences difficult. Other causes for the problem in this frame from *Helsingin Sanomat* include silent approval and a culture of silence that are present in some cases, as well as that sexual harassment is a somewhat hidden issue. In the same way as in the frame in *Helsingin Sanomat*, the *Silence frame* identified in *The New York Times* considers that one cause for the problem is that victims have not told about their sexual harassment experiences or have not been able to come forward, for example, due to fear of negative consequences to their careers. Another cause for the problem in the *Silence frame* used in *The New York Times* is the inaction related to sexual harassment, for example, some people might have witnessed sexual harassment but have not addressed the issue. In the frame used in *Helsingin Sanomat* I could not identify any moral evaluations, but in the frame from

The New York Times the moral evaluation includes the consequence in which sexual harassment has become an open secret in many places, an issue that people know to exist, but it has not been dealt with. The solution for the problem offered in both newspapers is speaking out. In other words, the silence can only be lifted once people start to discuss and can speak up on sexual harassment.

In the *Gender frame* that I identified only in the texts from *Helsingin Sanomat*, the problem is that women are most often subjected to sexual harassment. The cause for the problem is sexual harassers who most often in the texts are men and who target women. I could not identify a moral judgment for this frame, but one suggested solution is that men join women in fighting sexual harassment.

As can be seen from above, most of the frames identified in both newspapers contain at least three of the four functions. My result is also in accordance with Entman's (1993: 52) remark in his article about framing that not all frames always contain all the four functions. However, there are also two frames, the *Harasser frame* identified only in *Helsingin Sanomat* and the *Unique Moment frame* identified only in *The New York Times*, in which I was not able to observe any of the four functions. In the following chapter I will discuss in more detail the differences and similarities between the frames found in the newspapers.

5.4 Comparison between the two newspapers

When comparing the frames used in the two newspapers, it became clear that there are many similarities. In both newspapers sexual harassment is framed through victims, power, silence, and prevalence. However, there are also differences in the frames, and these arise from the way in which the frames have been constructed in each newspaper. In other words, some elements included in the frames are present only in one of the two newspapers. For example, in *The New York Times*, one element included in the *Victim frame* is the survival strategies that people have developed to protect themselves and others from harassment. I did not find this element in the articles from *Helsingin Sanomat*, and thus, it is not part of the *Victim frame* used in *Helsingin Sanomat*. In addition to these common frames, there is also the *Unique Moment frame* that I identified only in *The New York Times*, and the *Gender* and *Harasser frames* I identified in *Helsingin Sanomat*.

Regarding the *Power frame*, in *The New York Times* many articles discuss sexual harassment allegations made against individual prominent men, and their powerful status is described in the texts. In contrast, in *Helsingin Sanomat* the number of articles discussing allegations made against specific individuals is a smaller one, particularly in the case of articles focusing on sexual harassment in Finland. Moreover, in *Helsingin Sanomat*, the prominence of the alleged harassers is not emphasized in the way it is done in *The New York Times*. Therefore, as *Helsingin Sanomat* does not portray alleged harassers through a power perspective in the same extent as *The New York Times* does, I decided to have a separate *Harasser frame* in *Helsingin Sanomat*. In addition, in the *Power frame* in *The New York Times*, harassers are often explicitly labelled as predators. By using this metaphor, sexual harassers are presented as dangerous hunters preying on other people. Again, in *Helsingin Sanomat* this metaphor is not used at all. Nevertheless, similarly to *The New York Times*, the *Power frame* used in *Helsingin Sanomat* also highlights that harassers are often persons in positions of power. *Helsingin Sanomat* also describes sexual harassment as a use of power.

In addition, another similarity is that the *Power frame* in both newspapers involves gender as a salient element. In both, men are usually the ones who are in powerful positions and the ones who harass, whereas women are the ones who most often experience sexual harassment. However, in *The New York Times*, this gender inequality seems to be linked more to power, due to which I decided to include it in the *Power frame*. For example, in *The New York Times*, men are often described as powerful and the alleged harassers' prominence is described. In contrast, in *Helsingin Sanomat* the gendered nature of sexual harassment is more emphasized: women are more subjected to sexual harassment than men. Therefore, it is not as tied to power as in the texts in *The New York Times*, and thus, I decided to have it as its own frame: the *Gender frame*.

When it comes to the *Victim frames* in the two newspapers, they are quite similar to each other. In both newspapers victims' personal experiences are reported on, and in both some victims are also quoted. Other common elements in the frames include descriptions of the thoughts and feelings of the victims as well as the consequences they suffered. However, *The New York Times* also uses other elements to construct its *Victim frame*, such as commending victims for coming forward, describing a sense of community among victims, and commenting on insufficient reporting systems and survival strategies. In *Helsingin Sanomat*, in turn, the personal experience is also linked to the very definition of sexual harassment.

The *Prevalence frames* in *Helsingin Sanomat* and *The New York Times* also include many similar elements. In both newspapers' frames, sexual harassment is presented as a widespread problem that exists in different fields of work and broadly in society in general. Moreover, in both newspapers, one element in this frame underlining the widespread nature of sexual harassment is the large number of people who have come forward with their sexual harassment experiences. In addition, in both newspapers sexual harassment is presented as common and having existed for a long time. The *Prevalence frame* in *Helsingin Sanomat* also includes one additional element in which different studies and surveys on sexual harassment are occasionally cited in the texts.

In addition to the *Prevalence* and *Victim frames*, also the *Silence frames* identified in *Helsingin Sanomat* and *The New York Times* are quite similar to one another in some respects. In both cases, it is presented that sexual harassment is surrounded by silence. In the frame used in *Helsingin Sanomat*, one reason for this is that some victims can find it difficult to share experiences of sexual harassment. Similarly, *The New York Times* portrays that victims have remained silent or have not been able to tell about their experiences. In both newspapers' frames it is also presented that speaking out about sexual harassment is important. In *Helsingin Sanomat* one element included in the frame, and not used in *The New York Times*, is that sexual harassment is presented as a hidden issue. In the frame in *The New York Times*, on the other hand, sexual harassment is more portrayed as an open secret.

Regarding the *Unique Moment frame*, identified only in *The New York Times*, the special nature of the moment is presented. In the frame it is portrayed that, since the Weinstein revelations and within a short period of time, many men have been brought down by sexual harassment allegations. In this frame it is also depicted that the scale of the discussion on sexual harassment has been unique and there is hope for positive change in society. In *Helsingin Sanomat*, this frame is not as explicitly present. This could in part be due to the fact that in Finland the #MeToo campaign did not become as big a phenomenon as in the United States. For example, in Finland there was not the same succession of allegations against specific, high-profile figures made in the media. In other words, there were few Finnish sexual harassment cases that made it to the news, but sexual harassment allegations against famous, prominent individuals were not made on the same scale as in the US. Whereas in the United States allegations of sexual harassment against prominent men in different fields were revealed frequently in the media, particularly in the beginning of the #MeToo movement, in Finland the discussion stayed mostly

on a general level. For example, in *Helsingin Sanomat*, there are articles discussing how sexual harassment is a problem in the entertainment business, but the alleged harassers are not named. This was a decision that the newspaper made, and there was also a comment from the editor-in-chief of *Helsingin Sanomat* explaining why they had chosen not to reveal the names.

Based on my analysis it would seem that sexual harassment is mostly framed in very similar ways in the two newspapers: through power, victims, prevalence and silence. It is notable that in both newspapers the victims' perspectives and experiences are included. Another notable issue regarding both newspapers is how sexual harassment is framed as a gendered phenomenon. In both newspapers, the majority of the articles present women as mainly suffering from sexual harassment and men as harassers. Power also seems to be a concept through which sexual harassment is often framed in both *Helsingin Sanomat* and *The New York Times*. Moreover, as presented above, the differences in framing manifest mostly in how the frames that were identified in both newspapers also contain different elements. Other noteworthy differences are the *Unique Moment frame* identified only in *The New York Times*, and the *Harasser* and *Gender frames* identified in *Helsingin Sanomat*.

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis my first aim was to examine how sexual harassment has been framed in online newspaper articles published on the websites of *The New York Times* and *Helsingin Sanomat* in the first month of the #MeToo movement. My second aim was then to see how these frames from the two newspapers differed or were similar to each other. Using frame analysis, I identified five main frames in the texts published in *The New York Times*: *Power*, *Victim*, *Prevalence*, *Silence* and *Unique Moment*. In *Helsingin Sanomat* I identified six major frames: *Power*, *Victim*, *Prevalence*, *Silence*, *Gender* and *Harasser*. Moreover, it would seem that sexual harassment was more discussed in *The New York Times* than in *Helsingin Sanomat* during the first month of the #MeToo movement, because there is a large difference in the number of articles published in the two newspapers during that time. Therefore, this could be regarded as one reason on why the analysis chapter is also shorter in the case of *Helsingin Sanomat*.

As can be seen, one major finding in my thesis is that both *The New York Times* and *Helsingin Sanomat* contain very similar frames of sexual harassment. Therefore, it could be argued that both newspapers understand the phenomenon in largely similar terms. However, there are also differences between the two newspapers, and these arise mainly on how the frames have been constructed. Therefore, for example, I have identified the separate frames of *Gender* and *Harasser* in the articles from *Helsingin Sanomat*. The *Unique Moment* frame, on the other hand, was only identified in *The New York Times*.

Another main finding in my thesis is how sexual harassment is framed in both newspapers as a fundamentally gendered problem: it is an issue that women suffer from more than men. This finding is in line with the result by McDonald and Charlesworth (2013: 98) who stated that in most of their articles dealing with particular sexual harassment cases or events, the harasser was a man and the person being harassed was a woman. Also Saguy (2002: 123) discovered that some of her American data framed sexual harassment as a women's issue. Moreover, in the same way as McDonald and Charlesworth (2013: 99) stated in their study that the discourses they found in their data "reflect prisms through which sexual harassment is viewed and understood in society", I would also argue this is the case with frames, too. For example, it could be argued that the framing of sexual harassment as a gendered phenomenon in both newspapers also reflects social reality because, as could be seen from the surveys and studies on the prevalence of sexual harassment discussed in the background section of this thesis,

women seem to be the ones who most often encounter sexual harassment in both countries. However, it could also be argued that the emphasis on women as victims of sexual harassment in the two newspapers can run the risk of overlooking the fact that also women sexually harass, and that men and boys suffer from it, too. There is, thus, a danger of diminishing the experiences of other people besides women. However, the #MeToo movement also seemed to become profiled as a movement for women to share their experiences. For example, the tweet by Alyssa Milano, presented also in Picture 1 in chapter 2.2, said that “[...]: ‘If all the women who have been sexually harassed or assaulted wrote ‘Me too.’ as a status, [...]’” (Milano 2017). Therefore, this could also be one possible reason for the focus on the sexual harassment of women in both newspapers.

In addition, particularly in *The New York Times* this gendered nature of sexual harassment is connected with power: sexual harassment was often perpetrated by powerful men against women who usually were in less powerful positions, and, as presented in a few articles, women were facing more risks due to their gender. Similarly to this finding, McDonald and Charlesworth (2013: 99) also found in their analysis that the great majority of their articles focused on cases in which the male harasser had a higher status in the workplace than the female victim, which they called “classic” form of sexual harassment. This kind of power difference is also present in the *Power frame* in some articles from *Helsingin Sanomat*. Saguy (2002: 126) also identified power frame to be common in her American data set, both in the hierarchical sense and as emphasizing men’s power over women.

This intertwined nature of sexual harassment, gender, and power present especially in *The New York Times’ Power frame* is also similar to the way feminists of the second-wave women’s movement regarded sexual harassment: it was primarily a “gendered” problem, in which men with higher status than women due to their gender and position at work abused power (Zippel 2006: 14). As discussed in the analysis section of this thesis, for example, in the texts from *The New York Times* the alleged harassers were all male and often persons with a more powerful status than their victims. Thus, it could be argued that the framing of sexual harassment in *The New York Times* is to some extent still shaped by the feminist framing of the issue.

In addition, another often used frame in both newspapers is the *Victim frame*. As mentioned earlier, for example, one notable element in this frame in both newspapers is that the majority of the descriptions of sexual harassment are from the victims’ perspective: what kind of acts

they were subjected to. The descriptions not only put emphasis on the victims' experiences but also on the sexual harassment acts themselves: what it concretely means to experience harassment, what kind of acts it includes. Therefore, as the articles contained these graphic descriptions of sexual harassment acts, it is possible that as a phenomenon sexual harassment became more concrete for readers, and, thus, the descriptions also possibly deepened the understanding of the phenomenon that people have. In addition, the thoughts and feelings of the victims, as well as the consequences they endured, were included in some articles. Therefore, the *Victim frame* I identified in both newspapers is quite similar to the victim frame by Bing and Lombardo (1997) presented earlier in this thesis. Bing and Lombardo (1997: 297) stated that in their victim frame, for example, victims were described sympathetically and there were detailed descriptions of the behaviour that had harmed the victims as well as of the consequences the behaviour had on the victims. These same elements are also present in the *Victim frames* identified in both newspapers in my data. Moreover, McDonald and Charlesworth (2013: 99) also found in their study that most of their relevant articles presented sexual harassment incidents from the victim's perspective. This is also similar to my finding, as in my data the events and sexual harassment acts are mostly described from the victims' point of view and often by the victim. In addition, as also discovered by Peltonen (2018: 90), and as mentioned above, in the #MeToo movement the personal experiences of victims became one of its essential parts. Thus, it could be possible that this emphasis also transmitted somewhat to these newspapers.

The fact that the victims' experiences are heard in both newspapers is noteworthy. Describing events from the victims' perspective allows the victims' voices to be heard. Therefore, as also mentioned in the previous chapter, this could make readers more sympathetic to the victims. In addition, by using the *Victim frame*, it could be argued that both *Helsingin Sanomat* and *The New York Times* also highlight how harmful sexual harassment is. This could also potentially affect public perception of the phenomenon: that it is indeed a harmful practice and not merely a question of improper behaviour or harmless joking. Thus, one implication of this framing could possibly be that sexual harassment would be regarded as an issue that needs to be taken seriously.

However, as discussed by Zarkov and Davis (2018), it is also important whose experiences are heard. As most of the alleged harassers discussed in the two newspapers in my data were powerful members of the media, entertainment business, culture, and politics, their victims'

allegations and experiences were more likely to get media's attention. There was not much discussion of the sexual harassment experiences of people who were not famous or did not work for high-profile individuals or in a field which can attract media attention easier, such as entertainment industry or politics, in *The New York Times*. This lack of other people's experiences was also commented upon in a few articles included in the data from *The New York Times*. In *Helsingin Sanomat*, there were few articles that included the experiences from ordinary people's everyday lives. However, in *Helsingin Sanomat*, too, most of the news articles concerned with the experiences of people working in the fields of culture, media, sports, or politics. As discussed in chapter 2.2 in this thesis, Zarkov and Davis (2018: 5) pointed out that many of the women taking part in the #MeToo movement were famous public figures and women who had power. Zarkov (Zarkov and Davis 2018: 5) said that this was also partly why their allegations were heard and believed. In the same vein, Peltonen (2018: 90) pointed out that the experiences of ordinary sexual harassment victims who were not celebrities were mostly excluded in the media articles included in her data.

In addition, even though the *Prevalence frame* presents sexual harassment as a widespread phenomenon both in *Helsingin Sanomat* and *The New York Times*, the two newspapers also contained articles that discussed sexual harassment allegations against specific men. However, the focus on these individual alleged harassers was more extensive in *The New York Times* than in *Helsingin Sanomat*. For example, there were more articles about these allegations in *The New York Times* and the newspaper also often presented the alleged harassers' merits and powerful status. However, in contrast to Bing and Lombardo's (1997: 299) study which identified the initiator frame that focused on the alleged harassers' behaviour and was mainly used in their defence, this type of frame could not be identified in either of the newspapers included in my data. Mainly in articles, such as opinion pieces, columns, and comments, from *The New York Times* about these individual alleged harassers their behaviour was condemned. One reason for why the alleged harassers' behaviour was mostly condemned in my data could be the atmosphere created by the #MeToo movement. Once the hashtag #MeToo began to be used and people began to come forward with their stories and allegations, the general tone of the discussion seemed to be sympathetic to victims and their accounts were believed, whereas sexual harassment and harassers were mainly condemned. Therefore, due to this context, it could have perhaps been difficult to write about the alleged harassers through a frame such as the initiator frame found by Bing and Lombardo (1997). In news articles, in turn, the sexual

harassment events and actions were mainly presented from victims' perspectives in both *Helsingin Sanomat* and *The New York Times*.

Moreover, as many articles from *The New York Times* dealt with sexual harassment allegations against specific prominent and powerful men, this highlights a somewhat similar finding as Saguy's (2002: 120) study in which she stated that American news reporting had a habit of concentrating on harassment incidents with prominent political figures and institutions. Even though many of the specific cases discussed in my data were not related to individual political figures, they nevertheless involved high-profile individuals facing sexual harassment allegations. Moreover, the focus on individual sexual harassment cases could also be partly attributed to the #MeToo movement, and the fact that there were many allegations against famous men made within a short period of time in the beginning of the movement.

The focus on these high-status alleged harassers especially in *The New York Times* puts emphasis also on sexual harassment as an issue that is perpetrated by individuals with powerful status. This could also be perceived to be somewhat similar to McDonald and Charlesworth's (2013: 99) finding, in which they identified the individual aberration discourse which highlighted sexual harassment as one person's actions against another person, or several people. In addition, it could be possible that this focus on individual powerful harassers in my data from *The New York Times* enforces an understanding in which sexual harassment is seen as an issue only perpetrated by powerful men. However, harassment by powerful individuals highlights only one aspect of the issue. As could be seen from the prevalence studies discussed in chapter 2.1, harassment can also be, for example, perpetrated by colleagues or complete strangers, and work is not the only setting in which people encounter sexual harassment. Moreover, as expressed by Zarkov (Zarkov and Davis 2018: 6) in relation to #MeToo, once these individuals have been exposed, the public might consider that the problem is also solved. Furthermore, as Zarkov (Zarkov and Davies 2018: 6) explained, according to feminists, sexual harassment is not merely an issue related to individual men in powerful positions, but it is about larger power structures enabling men's (who either have or do not have power) sexist behaviour towards women. Thus, even though in the newspapers included in my data the problem is shown to exist in different fields of work, some of which suffer from it more than others, and that many people have experienced sexual harassment, this framing could be counteracted by the focus on sexual harassment cases involving individual harassers. It could be argued that the newspapers, and particularly *The New York Times*, highlight the view of sexual harassment as a problem

concerning individuals and thus the systemic nature of sexual harassment might be overlooked. This could also have implications on how sexual harassment is understood by the wider public: for example, whether it is seen as a problem that only affects individual people or as an issue connected to larger structures existing in society.

Regarding the studies by Puustinen (2002), Mäkelä (2002), and Viitanen (2012), I could not observe similarities between my results and theirs. This could be due to their different approach and data, as for example Puustinen (2002) and Mäkelä (2002) focused on one specific sexual harassment case, and Viitanen's (2012) data included a tabloid newspaper and its online comment section. Therefore, for future research it could be of interest to see whether there are differences in how sexual harassment is framed in different newspapers. In both countries there are newspapers that can have very different political stances which could be expected to have an impact on how they frame their news. On the basis of my analysis of the two newspapers in focus in this thesis, even though they are published in different countries, they could be considered to be quite similar in nature to each other. Admittedly, this focus on only one newspaper from each country also presents a limitation to my study. As the results are from two newspapers only, they cannot be generalized to apply to how sexual harassment is represented in the media in general. However, both newspapers have a wide circulation and are among the biggest in their countries, and therefore, they can be argued to have an important role in the media field in their respective countries and that the way they frame issues has influence.

Another limitation in this thesis is the focus on articles published in the first month of the #MeToo movement, as it created a unique context for discussion on sexual harassment. Particularly the beginning of #MeToo was characterized by a large number of people coming forward with their experiences and allegations (something discussed with respect to the *Unique Moment frame* in chapter 5.1.5). However, #MeToo movement meant that sexual harassment became the topic of a heated public discussion, and thus, it is also important to study how the phenomenon was framed during this time. Nevertheless, it would be of interest to find out how the issue was discussed as time went on. For example, it would be interesting to examine whether there was a backlash at some point, or whether the framing stayed more or less the same. Therefore, another topic for future research could be how the discussion on sexual harassment has evolved in media from the beginning of the #MeToo movement to this day.

Moreover, during my search for previous literature, I noticed that there seemed to be little research on the topic of sexual harassment in newspapers, particularly in Finland. Therefore, the results of my thesis provide information on a topic that has not been extensively researched. Studying media frames is important as they can shape the understanding that people have of the phenomenon. As can be seen from my analysis, both newspapers frame sexual harassment as a silenced, but widespread issue that is experienced mainly by women, and that intertwines with power as, for example, harassers are often persons in powerful positions. Therefore, on the one hand, it could be argued that both newspapers highlight the seriousness of the issue with some frames, for example, by describing the victims' experiences, by presenting the issue as strongly connected with power, and by portraying it as a widespread phenomenon that has been experienced by a multitude of people. Therefore, it could be possible that these frames advance an understanding in which sexual harassment is a serious problem with consequences and one that needs to be addressed. On the other hand, as mentioned before, the two newspapers also include much focus on sexual harassment in certain fields of work, such as entertainment business, and on individual public figures accused of sexual harassment, and thus presenting a narrower perspective on harassment. For example, one implication of this could be that sexual harassment would be viewed as more of a problem pertaining to certain industries and an issue concerning individual people. Therefore, the way sexual harassment is framed in the two newspapers can also have an impact on how (or whether) it is perceived as a problem, and how it could be solved. For example, as discussed in chapter 5.3 on the four functions of frames, depending on the frame, different solutions are offered.

In conclusion, sexual harassment is framed in very similar ways both in *The New York Times* and *Helsingin Sanomat*: it is portrayed as an issue intertwined with power, as something silently experienced mostly by women while men are the ones who harass, and as a prevalent phenomenon in society with many people who have experienced it. Moreover, both newspapers also highlight victims' experiences and perspective. These frames reveal how the phenomenon is understood and constructed in these newspapers. Thanks to their significance in their respective countries, their views can also shape the ways in which the general public perceives it. For example, power seemed to be one of the main concepts through which both newspapers framed sexual harassment. Thus, they also highlight the view in which sexual harassment is an issue that strongly involves power. The way in which sexual harassment is perceived in public discussion could, in turn, possibly have an effect on, for example, policies on sexual harassment. In addition, it could also be argued that the frames reflect the way in which sexual

harassment manifests and is understood in society: for example, in both newspapers sexual harassment was framed to be experienced mainly by women, a view which is also supported by many prevalence studies and surveys. This framing could, thus, accentuate the understanding of sexual harassment as a problem that severely affects women. #MeToo opened the eyes of the world to the pervasiveness of and harm caused by sexual harassment. Hopefully, research and discussion can help us gain a better understanding of this issue, thus making it possible to find solutions for eradicating sexual harassment.

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