Feminism and Sexual Harassment in the Land of Gender Equality: An Analysis of Young Danish Women’s Feminist Identities with Implications for Sexual Harassment

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ABSTRACT

Feminism and Sexual Harassment in the Land of Gender Equality: An Analysis of Young Danish Women’s Feminist Identities with Implications for Sexual Harassment

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In this thesis, I investigate the components of young Danish women’s feminist identities in relation to their reactions to sexual harassment. The four personal characteristics I consider are social gender identity, gendered view of sexual harassment, exposure to feminism, and non-stereotyping of feminists. I hypothesize young Danish women’s personal characteristics to be positively correlated to their feminist self-identification. I further hypothesize personal characteristics and feminist identification to exhibit a positive relationship with Danish women’s collective action against sexual harassment, and a neutral relationship with confrontation as a response to sexual harassment. To test my hypotheses, I gathered survey data from 106 self-identifying Danish women aged 18-26. I utilized measures from existing studies to quantify my variables and calculated the Spearman bivariate correlations between measures. I found social gender identity, exposure to feminism, and non-stereotyping of feminists to be positively related to participants’ feminist identification. I also found no direct relationship between the personal characteristics and participants’ use of collective action as a response to sexual harassment; however, feminist identification produced a positive relationship to the collective action coping response. Confrontation as a response exhibited no directional relationships. These findings offer an explanation of how feminist identification functions with confrontation and collective action against sexual harassment within Denmark’s gender-equal cultural environment. The sample for this study was small and convenient and thus should not be generalized to reflect all Danish women. I offer suggestions for future research to build on these findings.
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Introduction

Denmark, a global leader for gender equality, has made headlines in the international discussion of feminism and sexual harassment. During the 1990s, Denmark found itself alongside Sweden, Norway, and Finland atop worldwide gender equality rankings (UNDP 1995). Denmark gained notoriety for its gender-neutral work family reconciliation policies, granting fathers the right to parental leave and legislating against discrimination on the basis of pregnancy and childbirth in 1989 (NIKK 2019). Yet, in 2019, the YouGov-Cambridge Globalism Project reported that only 25% of women in Denmark identify as feminist; a lower percentage than Sweden (46%), Great Britain (32%) and Italy (31%) (YouGov 2019). With the explosion of the #MeToo movement in 2017, issues of sexual harassment have been cemented in the feminist fight for equality. Consequently, Amnesty International’s condemnation of Denmark for its "widespread sexual violence" and systemic problems in prosecuting rape resulted in headlines across major media outlets (Sorensen 2019; Nagesh 2019). The apparent disconnect between Denmark’s gender-equal reputation, rejection of the feminist movement and persistent sexual harassment warrants investigation.

This study explores the puzzling state of gender equality, feminism, and sexual harassment in Denmark at the individual level. I analyze four components of young Danish women’s feminist identities in relation to their coping responses to sexual harassment. What attitudes and experiences are correlated with young women’s feminist self-identification in Denmark? How do these components relate to young women’s coping responses to sexual harassment? In answering these questions, I identify the role a feminist identity plays in young Danish women’s coping responses to sexual harassment, with a specific focus on collective action. I also address the personal characteristics which set young Danish feminists apart from
their non-feminist counterparts and the relationship between these characteristics and
individuals’ reactions to sexual harassment.

**Motivation**

In this section, I address the existing literature on feminism and sexual harassment. I
specifically address studies done on these topics in the Danish context, and consequently,
identify a gap in the existing literature. I situate the present study to fill this gap in research and
introduce the hypotheses I will test to answer my research questions.

**Feminism**

The study of social movements is fundamental in sociological literature. With the rise of
the civil rights and second-wave feminist movements in the 1960s, sociologists developed new
ways to analyze collective action (Morris and Mueller 1992). During this time, feminist
scholarship took hold in the academe, particularly within women’s studies programs (DuBois
1987).

In recent decades, academics have sought to understand the positive outcomes of
partaking in feminist movements (Yoder, Perry, and Saal 2007). Some scholars have studied the
distinct difference between feminist attitudes (e.g. supporting gender equality) and identifying as
a feminist (Eisele and Stake 2008; McCabe 2005). Zucker and Cheng (2010) categorize women
who hold feminist beliefs, but do not identify as feminist, “non-labelers.” There are a variety of
reasons as to why a woman may choose to distance herself from the feminist label. Conlin et al.
(2019) attribute women’s perceived self-discrepancies in meeting the feminist ideal as why they
choose to not identify as feminist. Conlin et al. (2019) suggest increasing education about the
different types of feminisms so that women understand the inclusive nature of feminism and to
hopefully curb the “bad feminist” phenomenon. Feminist identification has been found to lead to collective action (Yoder, Tobias, and Snell 2011). Thus, understanding what factors affect women’s identification with the feminist movement is crucial to enacting social change (Leaper and Arias 2011).

During the 1970s-80s, Denmark’s second-wave feminist movement, the Redstockings (Rødstrømperne), flourished (Andreassen 2004). This coincided with Denmark’s adoption of groundbreaking work and family leave policy reforms that put Denmark on the map for gender equality. Yet, only 25% of women in Denmark identify as feminist today (YouGov 2019). Recent literature regarding feminism and gender equality in Denmark addresses the decline of the feminist movement beginning in the 1990s (Dahlerup 2018; Johansson 2018; Melby, Ravn, and Wetterberg 2008). This decline has been attributed, in part, to negative stereotypes of feminists (Dahlerup 2018; Johansson 2018; Melby, Ravn, and Wetterberg 2008), perceptions of gender inequality as a ‘closed-case’ (Dahlerup 2018) and the political shift away from gender equality and towards issues of immigration and citizenship (Dahlerup 2018). Most of this research points to the dominant discourse surrounding feminism in the media, which has in recent years been co-opted by right-wing conservatives to reinforce anti-immigration policies.

To understand Danish attitudes toward feminism, sociologist Ann-Dorte Christensen conducted a qualitative study on young Danish women’s feminist attitudes in the early 2000s (Melby, Ravn, and Wetterberg 2008). At this time, young women in Denmark were expected to position themselves with the new feminist movement as the “daughters of the Redstockings Movement,” having been raised by the generation of second-wave feminists (Melby, Ravn, and Wetterberg 2008). Through qualitative interviews with young Danish women, Christensen found that the young left-radical, self-identified feminists aligned themselves with the Redstockings
movement and were knowledgeable of the academically driven discourse on feminism. On the other hand, the non-feminists in Christensen’s study had little awareness of the current feminist movement. The non-feminists appeared to embody Dahlerup’s closed-case mindset, in that they agreed the Redstockings movement was important at its height, but feminism in Denmark was no longer justified. There was an acknowledgement of persistent gender inequalities from all of the women in Christensen’s study, but the non-feminists believed that these should be addressed by the individual rather than collective action. This sentiment came from their expressed belief that collective action limited the individual, rather than empowered her. While Christensen’s study sheds light on the differences in attitudes and experiences between young Danish women and their non-feminist counterparts, her research was conducted nearly two decades ago.

**Sexual Harassment**

There is no universal definition of sexual harassment. The UN emphasizes the unwanted nature of verbal and physical advances as a key marker for sexually harassing behavior (UN Women). While sexual violence and rape are an extreme form of sexual harassment, everyday sexual harassment is often verbal. According to the Nordic Information on Gender organization, ending sexual harassment is a precondition for obtaining gender equality (NIKK 2019). Sexual harassment and sexism have been found to have negative psychological effects on women including post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), overall well-being, and work performance (Berg 2006; O’Donohue, Downs and Yeater 1998; Schneider, Swan and Fitzgerald 1997; Glomb et al. 1999). Public opinion polls conducted in 2017 found that less than 40% of Danes considered unwanted physical contact, when it occurred in a club or bar, to be harassment (Epinion DR 2017). While there are a handful of public opinion polls that mention sexual
harassment and everyday sexism in Denmark, there is not extensive literature on the topic (Epinion for DR 2015; 2017).

Recently academics have begun investigating sexual harassment in Danish institutes of higher education. Skewes, Skewes and Ryan (2019) found that, on average, the professors at a Danish university held sexist beliefs in identifying reverse discrimination against men in hiring practices. The researchers predict these beliefs to be potential barriers to structural changes preventing sexual harassment at the university, should the university seek to make changes. Another study found that what is deemed as sexual harassment, and as acceptable, is highly context-dependent among students at a Danish university (Guschke et al. 2019). Additionally, Guschke et al. (2019) found that Danish students were less likely to label acts as sexual harassment than non-Danish students.

In terms of collective action against sexual harassment, Johansson (2018) conducted a comparative study between Denmark and Sweden to analyze why Denmark was less responsive to the #MeToo movement in 2017. Johansson (2018) identified five factors which contributed to women’s mobilization around #MeToo: state support, political opportunities, culture, framing processes and previous mobilization structures. To carry out her research in Denmark, Johansson relied on media coverage of the #MeToo movement, political and cultural history in Denmark, and interviews with three respondents who were actively engaged in the discourse around #MeToo. Respondents in Johansson’s study said most of the initial support for the movement came from feminist groups and those within the academe. In 2019, only two years after the movement’s onset, only 8% of the Danish women involved in the YouGov-Cambridge Globalism Project had a “very favourable” view of the #MeToo movement (YouGov 2019).
Leine, Mikkelsen and Sen (2019) studied the media accounts of male sexual violence in Denmark to “expose a collective desire to sustain a populist image of ‘gender equal’ Denmark.” They found that the dominant discourse regarding sexual harassment in Denmark is racially charged, placing blame on racial minorities and immigrants rather than Danish men. This reallocation of blame on immigrants has geared the political focus on sexual violence and harassment in Denmark to immigration rather than structural issues in policy addressing sexual violence.

**Danishness**

In 2016, Denmark’s word of the year was “Danskhed,” or Danishness (Nielsen 2018). Danishness refers to a national identity, both in what it means to be Danish and to feel Danish. An initiative to identify the social values, traditions, and movements which shape Danish culture was enacted by Denmark’s former Minister of Culture, Bertel Haarder, in 2016. After conducting a survey with over 2000 respondents, Haarder published the top 10 Danish values, including welfare society, trust, freedom, gender equality, Danish language, and equality for the law (“Danmarkskanon”). A lot of the values identified by Haarder’s project reflect an old set of Scandinavian cultural values called Janteloven.

Janteloven reflects a centuries-old mindset predominantly found in Denmark and Norway. The dominant message portrayed by Janteloven is that no matter how excellent an individual is, he is no better or worse than any other human (Carlsen 1997). Janteloven affords the Danes construction of a national identity by emphasizing similarities rather than differences. Contemporary Danes believe the concept Janteloven to be old fashioned yet embrace the values it promotes as main markers of Danishness: collective identity, solidarity, equality, and humility.
Danes place a high level of trust in one another, including a trust that they all adhere to the values of Janteloven and treat one another fairly. While most Danes positively view Danishness’ collective value, scholars have identified ways in which it promotes homogeneity and excludes outsiders. The emphasis on gender equality as a facet of Danish society has been recently weaponized by conservative political actors to support anti-immigration efforts, especially regarding Middle Eastern immigrants, under the assumption that their cultural practices violate gender equality (Dahlerup 2018).

Presently, Janteloven proves as a potential barrier to true gender parity in Denmark. The literature suggests that the influence of Janteloven in Denmark can be seen in the belief that “Danish women already are privileged… but still want more,” (Johansson 2018). One Danish professor of sociology goes so far as to label feminism as favouritism, in that it asserts women as belonging higher on the social ladder than men (Bonde 2014). Feminism has been equated with gender inequality and the initiative for women to take on a higher status than men in society, rather than achieve gender parity. This mindset goes hand-in-hand with Drude Dahlerup’s concept of gender equality as a closed-case. When gender equality is considered to be already obtained, engaging in social movements, such as feminism or the #MeToo movement, can be seen as violating Janteloven. In Johansson’s (2018) analysis of the #MeToo movement in Denmark, she identifies the pervasiveness of Janteloven as one of the main cultural factors inhibiting the #MeToo movement in Denmark. Thus, the closed-case mindset in combination with Janteloven can deter women from joining the feminist movement in Denmark.

The Gap

The relationship between feminism, sexual harassment, and the pervasive ideology of gender equality in Denmark is complex. Once heralded for its adoption of gender-equal policies,
Denmark has come under fire for its reluctance to pro-actively combat sexual harassment. The narrative that feminism has become ‘favouritism’ has turned young women away from the women’s movement. Yet, at the same time, gender equality remains a core value in the construction of what it means to be Danish.

The existing literature on feminism in Denmark analyzes the rise and fall of the feminist movement via shifts in political ideology and public discourse surrounding feminism (Dahlerup 2018; Andreassen 2004; Melby, Ravn, and Wetterberg 2008). The most recent study investigating individuals’ feminist identification was conducted nearly two decades ago by Ann-Dorte Christensen (Melby, Ravn, and Wetterberg 2008). While Christensen established key components of young Danish women’s feminist identities at the turn of the 21st century, the evolution of the feminist movement over the past two decades warrants an update to these findings. Additionally, with the recent onset of the #MeToo movement, scholars have begun to investigate sexual harassment in the Danish context. Recent studies have considered sexual harassment in the university context (Skewes, Skewes and Ryan 2019; Guschke et al. 2019). Furthermore, Johansson (2018) investigated the #MeToo movement against sexual harassment in Denmark by utilizing Danish media, history, and first-hand accounts. No study thus far considers the relationship between feminist identification among young Danish women, their attitudes toward sexual harassment, and how they react to sexual harassment. Identifying the individual-level differences between feminists and non-feminists can shed light on Danes’ reluctance to take political and social action against sexual harassment in Denmark.

I aim to fill this gap in the literature by investigating the relationships between young Danish women’s personal characteristics, feminist identification, and coping responses to sexual harassment. To carry out my research, I used an adapted version of Leaper and Arias’ (2011)
survey framework to fit the Danish context. Further detail on the adaptations made to their survey is provided under methods.

**Motivation – Hypotheses**

I examine the relationships between young Danish women’s personal characteristics - social gender identity, gendered view of sexual harassment, exposure to feminism, non-stereotyping of feminists - and their feminist identification. I also investigate how a feminist identity and its components relate to two reactions to sexual harassment - confrontation and collective action.

**Gender-Related Cognitions**

Social gender identity and a gendered view of sexual harassment are both captured under the term coined by Leaper and Arias (2011), “gender-related cognitions.”

**Gender-Related Cognition A: Social Gender Identity**

Social identity theory defines one’s social identity as “an individual’s knowledge of belonging to certain social groups, together with some emotional and valuational significance of that group membership.” (“Social Identity Theory”). Thus, social gender identity refers to the importance a woman places on her membership in the larger community of women. Social gender identity was found to be correlated to feminist identification among Euro-American university students (Burn, Aboud and Moyles 2000). When a woman has a strong sense of solidarity with other women and recognizes the injustices women face, this can empower her to join the feminist movement (Leaper and Arias 2011). Additionally, Hornsey and Radkey (2016) found that a barrier to feminist collective action partially comes from the challenge of identifying with other women and feminists. Within the Danish context, the closed-case mindset and
emphasis on homogeneity in constructing a national identity can inhibit a woman’s social solidarity with other women. Thus, I hypothesize a strong social gender identity to be positively correlated with feminist identification.

*Gender-Related Cognition B: Gendered View of Sexual Harassment*

An individual’s gendered concept of sexual harassment refers to whether or not she attributes sexual harassment to be a gendered problem. This measure builds off one investigated by Leaper and Arias (2011): “awareness of sexism.” Sexual harassment disproportionately affects women more than men (Hoel and Vartia 2018). Yet, in Denmark, Danes accept a set of cultural values in which all humans should be treated equally. This can prove as a barrier to acknowledging the gendered nature of sexual harassment; that Danes assume they live up to this value of equality. Young Danish women’s’ acknowledgement of sexual harassment as disproportionately affecting women would indicate that they believe there is still work to be done to obtain gender equality. With the construction of Danishness as a potential barrier to feminist collective action, I expect only those women who are able to recognize that women are discriminated against to hold gendered concepts of sexual harassment. Thus, I hypothesize young Danish women’s gendered concept of sexual harassment to be positively correlated to feminist identification.

*Exposure to Feminism and Feminist Stereotypes*

Exposure to feminism refers to one’s experience learning about the feminist movement. A person can be exposed to feminism via their family members, friends, professional mentors, and academic courses. Exposure to feminism has been found to contribute to feminist identification, specifically among college-aged women (Reid and Purcell 2004; Leaper and Arias
In the Danish context, Ann-Dorte Christensen identified one distinct difference between the self-proclaimed feminists in her study and their non-feminist counterparts – feminists had an informed knowledge base of the current feminist movement (Melby, Ravn, and Wetterberg 2008). Given the negative media portrayals and misconceptions about feminism throughout Denmark, exposure to the goals of the feminist movement through an academic course or someone within one’s social network can be crucial in a young Danish woman’s construction of a feminist identity. Thus, I expect exposure to feminism to be positively correlated to feminist identification.

Feminist stereotypes in this study refer to the negative labels often attributed to feminists, including ugly, man-hating, and masculine. The stereotypical definition of a feminist can influence young women who do not fit this mold to reject the feminist label (Conlin et al. 2019). In Denmark, stereotypes of feminists emerged out of the second-wave feminist movement and still deter some young women from identifying as feminist (Johansson 2018; Melby, Ravn and Wetterberg 2008). Influenced by the negative stereotyping of feminists, the non-feminist participants in Christensen’s study viewed feminism as a “contrast to the part of their gender-identity work that concerns the right to market femininity, have lovers, and the right to be different,”(Melby, Ravn, and Wetterberg 2008). Perhaps the women in this study would identify as feminist if they understood the inclusive nature of the feminist movement and adopted non-stereotypical views of feminism. I thus hypothesize non-stereotypical views of feminists to be positively correlated to feminist identification.

**Implications for Sexual Harassment**

Identifying as feminist indicates a commitment to the goals of feminism (Leaper and Arias 2011). While Danish women in Christensen’s study accepted persistent gender inequalities
in society, this was not necessarily a precondition for feminist identification (Melby, Ravn, and Wetterberg 2008). The non-feminist identifying women in Christensen’s study endorsed an individual level approach to sexism as the best way to address the problem, as opposed to feminist collective action against sexism (Melby, Ravn, and Wetterberg 2008). Christensen’s findings indicate that young Danish women, regardless of their feminist identification, are willing to confront someone who is engaging in harassing behavior. Leaper and Arias (2011) identify confrontation as a proactive coping response utilized by individuals to address specific instances of sexism. While confrontation is traditionally expected among feminists as a more “direct” response to sexism, I expect the Danish women in my study to endorse confrontation as a coping response to sexual harassment regardless of their feminist identification.

The goals of feminism are closely related to the goals of social movements against sexual harassment, such as the #MeToo movement. Social movements like the #MeToo movement are a societal-level, as opposed to individual-level, response to sexual harassment. Given Christensen’s findings and Danish women’s reluctance to align themselves with the feminist movement, I expect to identify a link between feminist identification and social movements as a coping response. Specifically, I expect the two measures to be positively correlated.

Since I anticipate each of the personal characteristics to contribute to a feminist identity, I expect them to relate to collective action and confrontation as coping responses to sexual harassment similarly to feminist identification.

**Hypotheses**

The central focus of my study is to investigate young Danish women’s feminist self-identification in relation to their responses to sexual harassment, seeing as this has yet to be researched. I supplement this investigation by exploring the components of a feminist identity
among Danish women. To investigate the relationships between personal characteristics, feminist identifications, and coping responses to sexual harassment, I tested the following hypotheses among young Danish women:

H1: Gender-related cognitions ($A$ and $B$), exposure to feminism, and non-stereotyping of feminists are **positively** correlated to feminist identification.

H2a: Feminist identification is **positively** correlated to collective action as a coping response to sexual harassment.

H2b: Feminist identification has **no correlation** to confrontation as a coping response.

H3a: Gender-related cognitions ($A$ and $B$), exposure to feminism, and non-stereotyping of feminists are **positively** correlated to collective action as a coping response to sexual harassment.

H3b: Gender-related cognitions ($A$ and $B$), exposure to feminism, and non-stereotyping of feminists have **no correlation** to confrontation as a coping response.

I first consider how each of the personal characteristics relate to a feminist identity by testing H1. I then consider how feminist identification relates to collective action (H2a) and confrontation (H2b) as coping responses to sexual harassment. I finally investigate the relationships between the personal characteristics and the two coping responses to sexual harassment (H3a, H3b). The chart in Figure 1 illustrates the relationships being investigated by the hypotheses.
Unexpected Outcomes

Disproven hypotheses could indicate that other individual-level factors, outside of those included in this study, are important to feminist identification. Additionally, if any of the variables have no correlation to feminist identification and social movements as a coping response to sexual harassment, this could indicate that it is not as important to feminist identification as previous studies have suggested. If I do not observe feminist identification to have a significant relationship to collective action against sexual harassment, this could suggest a separation between feminism and the #MeToo movement in Denmark.

Research Design and Methods

In this section, I address my research design, which utilized a closed-response survey. I then explain my sample and recruitment process and elaborate on the measurements used to
address personal characteristics, feminist identification, and coping responses to sexual harassment.

**Survey Design**

To examine the relationships between personal characteristics, feminist identification, and coping responses to sexual harassment, I created an online survey. The survey is based on one used by Leaper and Arias (2011) in their analysis of feminist identification among US college students; however, I altered some of the questions to effectively get at the variables in my hypotheses. My survey consisted of 23 questions, which often built off of those used in previous studies related to feminist identification (Burn, Aboud and Moyles 2000; Reid and Purcell 2004; Leaper and Arias 2011; Mayakovsky and Wittig 1997). The questions were utilized to get at each of the measures I am investigating - gender related cognitions (A and B), stereotyped views of feminists, exposure to feminism, feminist identification, and collective action and confrontation as coping mechanisms for sexual harassment. The nature of the questions - being closed response - allowed me to easily create a composite score for each of the factors included in my hypotheses and subsequently use quantitative analysis to find correlational relationships.

**Sample and Recruitment**

The sample pool for this study was 106 self-identified Danish women, aged 18-26 who were living in Denmark at the time of participation. I chose to focus my study on Danish women to capture the importance of “Danishness” in constructing a feminist identity and responding to sexual harassment. The choice to limit my responses to women aged 18 to 26 allowed me to capture an age group commonly studied when exploring feminism and sexual harassment in the
Danish context (Guschke et al. 2019; Melby, Ravn, and Wetterberg 2008). Since I aim to bridge a gap in existing literature and specifically update Christensen’s study, I decided to keep the age of my respondents’ consistent with existing research.

Data was collected in 2 phases. The first phase of data collection was performed using a convenient sample. An anonymous link to the online survey was distributed to contacts in Denmark, including professors at the University of Copenhagen and Aarhus University, university students in Denmark, Danish high school teachers, and young people currently employed in Denmark. These contacts then distributed the survey to people in their social and/or professional networks. This phase resulted in 26 responses.

The second phase of data collection was conducted by a third-party survey platform, Qualtrics, who sent the survey out to individuals previously registered to participate in online surveys. This phase resulted in 80 responses, which were combined with the 26 initial responses for analysis.

**Measurement of variables**

In this section, I discuss the measurements used to address the variables in my hypotheses.

*Gender-related cognition A: Social gender identity*

Social gender identity was measured using Luhtanen and Crocker’s (1992) 4-item Identity subscale – the same measure utilized by Leaper and Arias (2011). The Identity subscale assesses the importance of a respondent’s identity as a woman (e.g. “In general, being a woman is an important part of my self-image”, “Being a woman is an important reflection of who I am”). Respondents responded to each item using a 7-point Likert scale from “strongly agree” to
“strongly disagree.” Two items were reverse coded, and respondents’ answers were then averaged over the four items to create a composite social gender identity score.

*Gender-related cognition B: Gendered view of sexual harassment*

To measure gendered concept of sexual harassment, participants indicated which gender—men, women, same for both—they perceive to experience situations of sexual harassment most frequently (e.g. “Sexual remarks about their clothing, body, or sexual activities”). The three examples of sexual harassment are based on those most commonly experienced by women at a Danish university, as was found by Guschke et al. (2019). A score of 1 was assigned to the responses ‘men’ and ‘same for both,’ and a score of 2 was assigned for the response ‘women.’ The choice to combine ‘men’ and ‘same for both’ was to reflect respondents’ association of sexual harassment with the group commonly targeted – women.

*Exposure to feminism*

Exposure to feminism was measured using an adaption of Leaper and Arias’ (2011) survey items (adapted from Reid and Purcell’s (2004) survey for assessing exposure to feminism). Respondents were prompted with the following statement: “We just asked you about your impression of feminists. Feminism refers to the belief in equality for women and men. Many feminists point to ways that society and certain individuals discriminate against women in ways that hassle them or limit their opportunities. When this occurs, it is known as sexism.” Respondents were then asked if they had learned about feminism from any of the following sources: a women’s studies course, mother or family member, teacher or coach, friends or classmates, or none of the above. A composite score for exposure to feminism was calculated by adding up how many items the respondent selected.
Feminist stereotyping

Stereotyping of feminists was measured using a scale created by Reid and Purcell (2004), the same scale utilized by Leaper and Arias (2011). Respondents were prompted to “rate the average feminist on the following qualities.” There were seven qualities: attractiveness, sensuality, gender performance, sexual orientation, political views, feelings toward men, and concern with physical appearance. Each quality was measured on a 5-point scale with paired items on either end (e.g. 1= beautiful and 5= ugly for attractiveness; 1= feminine and 5= masculine for gender performance). A score of 5 represented a traditionally stereotypical perception of feminists, such as those expressed in Christensen’s study - ugly, dislikes men, masculine (Melby, Ravn and Wetterberg 2008). Two of the categories were reverse coded and combined with the other five to create a composite score for stereotyped view of feminists.

Feminist identification

Feminist identification was assessed by respondents’ levels of agreeance with two statements: “I consider myself a feminist” and “I identify myself as a feminist to other people.” Respondents answered using a 7-point Likert scale, and a composite score was found by averaging their responses to both questions. A score of 1 reflected the lowest feminist identification (“Strongly disagree” to both statements), and a score of 7 represented the strongest feminist identification (“Strongly agree” to both statements).

Coping responses to sexual harassment

Coping responses to sexual harassment were measured using participants’ cognitive appraisals of perceived benefits of two pro-active responses to sexual harassment: collective action and confrontation. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) suggest that cognitive appraisals of
stressful situations are related to how an individual actually copes with the situation. Participants rated their agreeance with four statements for both coping responses, derived from Kaiser and Miller’s (2004) study of perceived benefits of confronting sexism (e.g. “Telling someone to stop behaving in a harassing way…causes them to change some of their sexist attitudes” and “Collective efforts to call out those who engaged in sexual harassment (such as the #MeToo movement)… help reduce some of the sexism in our society”). Respondents rated their level of agreeance on a 5-point Likert scale, and a composite score for each coping response was found by averaging their four responses. A score of 5 for either coping response indicates a respondent strongly inclined to utilize that coping response to address sexual harassment.

**Descriptive Statistics and Empirical Analysis**

In this section, I present the descriptive statistics of the data I collected. I then discuss my methods for analyzing the data to test my hypotheses and walk you through the results of my empirical analysis. Lastly, I offer a discussion of my findings and their implications.

**Descriptive Statistics**

**Table 1**: Means, standard deviations, and ranges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Social gender identity</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Gender sexual harassment</td>
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<td>.34</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>104</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Feminism exposure</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>0-4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1-4.23</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Feminist</td>
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<td>1.65</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Social movement</td>
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<td>.99</td>
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<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Confrontation</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: n denotes the number of complete responses I was able to calculate a composite measure for
Once I calculated the composite measures, I explored the descriptive statistics of the measures. The means, standard deviations, and ranges of the measures are presented in Table 1.

As is represented in Table 1, respondents’ composite social gender identity scores ranged from 1 to 7, with 1 being weak social gender identity and 7 representing the strongest social gender identity. The average social gender identity score was 4.58, which is slightly above the neutral score, 4. Of the 106 respondents, 64% scored above a 4 for social gender identity, insinuating a strong overall sense of gender-ingroup importance among the women in this study.

Regarding a gendered view of sexual harassment, the mean represented in Table 1 is 1.66. This insinuates that more respondents had a gendered concept of sexual harassment than not. Scores for exposure to feminism ranged from 0 to 4, with 4 being the highest exposure to feminism. One-fifth of respondents indicated no exposure to feminism and only 8% learned about feminism from all four options.

As is presented in Table 1, the range of responses for feminist stereotyping does not reflect the range of possible responses. The highest composite score from a respondent was 4.23. This indicates that none of the 106 women in this study perceived feminists in an entirely stereotypical light for all seven categories. Additionally, the mean represented in Table 1 falls below the neutral score, 3. This suggests that respondents’ perceptions of feminists were, on average, less traditionally stereotypical and skewed in the opposite direction.

Of the 106 women in this study, 62 (58% of the respondents) had a feminist score over 4. Thus, a majority of the women in this study positively self-identified as feminist. The distribution of self-identified feminists in this study does not reflect that of the national population of women in Denmark (25%). This could be a result of sampling bias, since women
who identify as feminist may be more inclined to take a survey on feminism than those who do not identify as feminist.

65% of respondents scored above a 3 for social movements as a coping response. Thus, a majority of respondents’ in this study are more inclined to engage in collective action against sexual harassment than not. Additionally, 63% of respondents scored above a 3 for confrontation. This suggests that a majority of the women in this study are inclined to confront someone who is engaging in harassing behavior.

*Personal Characteristics – Correlations*

As a preliminary analysis, I calculated the Spearman bivariate correlation coefficient between each of the four personal characteristics. The results of my preliminary analysis are presented in Table 2.

**Table 2: Bivariate correlations between personal characteristics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Social gender identity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Gender sexual harassment</td>
<td>.28**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>3. Feminism exposure</td>
<td>.22*</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>4. Feminist stereotyping</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p<.05  **p<.01  ***p<.001

Table 2 summarizes the bivariate Spearman correlations between the four personal characteristics. Social gender identity and gendered view of sexual harassment are considered gender-related cognitions – meaning the way gender is thought about by the participants. The results presented in Table 2 suggest a positive correlation between these two variables, insinuating that they get at a similar sentiment. Additionally, Table 2 shows a positive correlation
between social gender identity and exposure to feminism; however, this relationship is slightly less strong and significant.

**Analysis Methods**

To test my hypotheses, I used the Spearman correlation test. I utilized the Spearman correlation coefficient because it reflects the strength and significance of a monotonic relationship between two variables, especially those which do not have a linear relationship. The Spearman correlation test generates either a positive or negative correlation between two variables, or no correlation. To calculate the Spearman correlation coefficient, respondents were individually assigned a ranking within each measure out of the total number of observations (n in Table 1). This utilization of a ranking system accounts for outliers in the data and allowed me to identify correlational relationships between each of the measures in my hypotheses.

I first calculated the Spearman bivariate correlation coefficients between the four personal characteristic variables and feminist identification. These results are presented in Table 3. I then compared the correlational relationships generated by the Spearman test to my hypothesized relationships between the personal characteristics and feminist identification.

Following this step, I performed a second round of analyses, comparing the individual-level variables and feminist identification to the two coping responses to sexual harassment – confrontation and social movements - represented in Table 4. To do this, I again utilized the Spearman bivariate correlation test to generate correlation coefficients. I then compared the relationships represented by the bivariate correlation coefficients to the hypothesized relationships.
Table 3 summarizes the bivariate Spearman correlations for the personal characteristic measures and feminist identification. As indicated by Table 3, social gender identity, exposure to feminism, and non-stereotyped views of feminists were related to feminist identification.

**Testing Gender-related cognitions (H1)**

Social gender identity was found to be positively and significantly correlated to feminist identification, supporting one dimension of H1. This result suggests that a young Danish woman who self-identifies as feminist is more likely to have a strong connection with her identity as a woman than her non-feminist counterparts. A gendered view of sexual harassment, however, did not have a strong nor significant correlation to feminist identification. This result casts doubt on a dimension of H1, in that both gender-related cognitions are not positively correlated with feminist identification.
Testing Exposure to feminism (H1)

Exposure to feminism was found to be positively and significantly correlated to feminist identification. This relationship was the strongest relationship found between any of the personal characteristics and feminist identification. This finding suggests that young women who identify as feminist are more likely to be exposed to feminism through an academic course or people in their social network. It is important to remember that this relationship is not causal, meaning that increased exposure to feminism does not necessarily cause an individual to identify as feminist, or vice versa.

Testing Stereotyping of feminists (H1)

As was expected, stereotyping of feminists was found to be negatively and significantly correlated to feminist identification. This relationship suggests that young Danish women who hold stereotyped views of feminists are less likely to identify as feminist themselves. This can also be thought of as the relationship between non-stereotypical views of feminists and feminist identification. Holding views that fell opposite of traditional feminist stereotypes – applicable to a majority of respondents – were found to be positively related to feminist identification.

Overall, the findings from this study confirm H1, except in regard to the relationship produced between gendered view of sexual harassment and feminist identification. I explore the implications for this discrepancy in the discussion.
Bivariate Correlations – Coping Responses to Sexual Harassment

Table 4: Bivariate Spearman correlations for coping response

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Social movement</th>
<th>Confrontation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Social gender identity</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Gender sexual harassment</td>
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<td>-.04</td>
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<td>3. Feminism exposure</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Feminist stereotyping</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Feminist</td>
<td>0.25**</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p<.05  **p<.01  ***p<.001

Table 4 summarizes the bivariate Spearman correlations between the four personal characteristics and the two coping responses to sexual harassment. Table 4 also includes the bivariate Spearman correlation for feminist identification and coping responses.

Testing Feminist identity (H2a, H2b)

As is represented in Table 4, feminist identification as a composite measure was found to be positively and significantly correlated to the use of collective action as a coping response to sexual harassment. This suggests that young Danish women with strong feminist identification are more likely to engage in collective action as a coping response to sexual harassment. This finding supports H2a.

Additionally, feminist identification was found to be weakly correlated to confrontation as a coping mechanism for sexual harassment, as is represented by Table 4. The correlation is also statistically insignificant, insinuating that there exists little, if any, relationship between feminist identification and confrontation. This finding thus supports H2b.
Testing Personal Characteristics (H3a, H3b)

None of the personal characteristics were significantly related to the use of social movements as a coping response to sexual harassment. While social gender identity was found to be positively correlated to collective action as a response to sexual harassment, this relationship was not strong nor significant. Additionally, gendered view of sexual harassment was found to be insignificantly related to the social movement coping response, with such a small correlation coefficient that it suggests virtually no relationship.

Exposure to feminism was found to be positively correlated to collective action as a coping response to sexual harassment; however, this relationship was also not statistically significant. The directionality of the relationship suggests a positive relationship could exist. Additionally, feminist stereotyping was negatively correlated to collective action as a coping response. Yet, this correlation is weak and statistically insignificant. Thus, the findings do not support H3a.

In regard to confrontation as a coping response, all of the relationships revealed between the personal characteristics are weak and statistically insignificant. This confirms H3b, in that no correlational relationship was revealed between the personal characteristics and confrontation.

Discussion

While the findings from this study are suggestive in nature, they point to important relationships between the attitudes and experiences of young Danish women and their feminist identification. While social gender identity, exposure to feminism, and non-stereotypical views of feminists were found to be positively correlated to feminist identification, a gendered view of sexual harassment was not. The implications for these findings are discussed below.
As was expected, respondents whose sense of self were closely linked to their identity as a woman (i.e. exhibited strong social gender identity) were more willing to self-identify themselves with the feminist movement. This could indicate that one reason for low feminist identification throughout Denmark is the ideology of Janteloven, in that women should not think they are any better than men and therefore should not promote feminism. The relationship between social gender identity and feminist identification is not causal; however, it could suggest a causal relationship. Thus, a potential barrier to feminism in Denmark and the creation of new gender equal policies could be the construction of a national Danish identity under the values of Janteloven, as was hypothesized in previous literature.

The link between exposure to feminism and feminist self-identification was the strongest found in this study. On the one hand, women who align with the feminist movement may likely take courses in feminism or surround themselves with other like-minded individuals, which would increase their score for exposure to feminism. This stresses the significance of one’s social network on their engagement in social movements, such as the feminist movement. On the other hand, this result could suggest that low feminist identification in Denmark can, in part, be attributed to a lack of knowledge about the goals of the feminist movement. This theory is supported in the literature by Christensen’s research with young Danish women.

The negative relationship between stereotypical views of feminists and feminist identification supports findings from the previous studies on feminism in Denmark. My findings suggest that a woman who holds stereotypical views of feminists is less likely to identify as a feminist herself. One possible explanation for this relationship is that self-identifying feminists do not want to be thought of negatively by their peers. Additionally, the findings suggest that women in this study who identified as feminist were more likely to hold non-stereotypical views
of feminists – they were not neutral on the scale, but rather leaning in the direction opposite of stereotypes traditionally attributed to feminists. This could stem from young Danish feminists’ rejection of feminist stereotypes and desire to change the dominant narrative of feminists in Denmark today.

The absence of statistically significant and strong relationships involving gendered views of sexual harassment could indicate a disconnect in the design of the questions. The lack of directionality between gendered views of sexual harassment with feminist identification implies that the view of sexual harassment as a gendered phenomenon goes beyond the split between feminists and non-feminists in Denmark. This finding suggests that young women in Denmark are divided on whether they consider sexual harassment a form of gender harassment. A majority of respondents had a more gendered view of sexual harassment; however, nearly 30% did not view sexual harassment as a gendered problem. This could offer an explanation for why sexual harassment and sexual violence is a pervasive problem in Denmark today – because the country is divided on whether it is a problem associated with gender. While prior research indicates that young Danish people view sexual harassment as a problem, one factor contributing to the less-than-ideal policies on sexual violence could stem from the country’s ignorance of the often-gendered nature of sexual harassment. In a country that prides itself on gender-equal policies, when an issue such as sexual harassment is viewed outside the scope of gendered experiences it can be overlooked in policy initiatives.

**Implications for Sexual Harassment**

The insignificant and weak relationships held between personal characteristics, feminist identification, and confrontation as a coping mechanism shed light on the importance of Danish culture in this study. Traditionally, confrontation is thought of as a proactive coping response
that is “more direct” than other responses, such as seeking support, and thus is to be more expected from self-identifying feminists. In the Danish context, however, confronting someone who engages in harassing behavior is expected. This supports Christensen’s finding that non-feminists believed persistent everyday gender inequalities should be addressed individually rather than collectively. This finding also exhibits the inclusion of Janteloven in the construction of a Danish identity. The act of individually correcting someone’s harassing behavior can be interpreted as the reinforcement that no individual should be treated better or worse than any other individual. What is interesting in my findings is that respondents did not view sexual harassment as a gendered phenomenon, weakening the theoretical link between Christensen’s investigation of everyday gender inequalities and my study on sexual harassment.

None of the personal characteristics produced significant relationships with collective action as a coping response to sexual harassment; however, feminist identification was found to be positively and significantly correlated to this measure. The insignificant relationships of the personal characteristics could be due to the size of the sample pool being too small to produce statistical significance. Another explanation for the observed relationships could be that each of the personal characteristics, while important for feminist identification (except for gendered view of sexual harassment), are not strong enough on their own to reflect a young Danish woman’s choice to engage in collective action against sexual harassment. This implies that individual-level attitudes and experiences explored in this study may indirectly impact Danish women’s collective action against sexual harassment through their aggregation in a feminist identity. Thus, a feminist identity can be considered a mechanism for engagement in collective action. This relationship is expected, since engagement in one social movement might lead to engagement in another with similar goals.
The implications for these findings suggest that individual participation in social movements, such as the #MeToo movement, may be influenced more by social forces than individual attitudes and experiences. For instance, social networks among feminists may allow for a more unbiased dialogue about the #MeToo movement than one would find in the Danish media. Thus, the strong connection between feminist identification and collective action as a coping response offers one explanation for Danes’ hesitation in accepting and supporting the #MeToo movement. This draws on Johansson’s (2018) study, in which she identified low feminist alignment as a factor contributing to Denmark’s slow uptake of the #MeToo movement. Identifying feminist identification as a mechanism for collective action against sexual harassment raises important questions regarding how and why social, rather than individual, forces might shape young Danish women’s involvement in collective action.

*Exploring Cultural Differences Between the U.S. and Denmark*

My research design draws on Leaper and Arias’ (2011) work in the United States. Consequently, I will discuss some of the similarities and differences between my findings in Denmark and those found by Leaper and Arias (2011).

The key similarity between both studies was the relationship found between personal characteristics and feminist identification. Leaper and Arias (2011) found exposure to feminism, non-stereotyping of feminists, and social gender identity to be positively correlated to feminist identification among the university students in their study. Despite cultural differences, young women’s feminist identities in the U.S. produced the same relationships with personal characteristics as were found in Denmark. These findings reinforce the importance of individual-level experiences and attitudes in constructing a feminist identity across different cultural landscapes.
The most striking difference between the two studies is young women’s use of confrontation. Leaper and Arias (2011) found that confrontation as a coping mechanism to sexism was positively correlated with feminist identification among respondents. This finding differs from the present study, in which I found no significant relationship between feminist identification and confrontation. The contrasting findings suggest a cultural difference between the U.S. and Denmark in how women react to gender harassment and sexual harassment. In Denmark, young women will confront someone engaging in sexually harassing behavior because Danish cultural values emphasize equality – no person should treat others as if they are below him. However, in the U.S., a woman who calls someone out for sexually harassing behavior will likely be viewed as a feminist for taking a stance against a form of gender harassment. The implications for these findings suggest that cultural values and social expectations shape how young women react to instances of sexual harassment.

Conclusion

I undertook this research to evaluate discrepancies in the Danish narrative of gender equality, feminism, and sexual harassment. I have explored the relationships between young Danish women’s attitudes and experiences, feminist identities, and responses to sexual harassment. This study is motivated by literature on feminism and sexual harassment in an international and Danish context. Specifically, the theoretical framework for this project was motivated by Leaper and Arias’ (2011) investigation of feminist identities and coping responses to sexism among young American women. By examining feminist identities at the individual level, I sought to develop a better understanding of feminist collective action and social movements against sexual harassment, such as the #MeToo movement, in the Danish context.
I expected young Danish women’s personal characteristics - social gender identity, gendered view of sexual harassment, exposure to feminism, and non-stereotyping of feminists - to impact their feminist identification. I further hypothesized that feminist identification and personal characteristics would be positively related to young Danish women’s engagement in collective action as a coping response to sexual harassment. Additionally, I expected no distinct relationships to emerge involving confrontation as a coping mechanism. To test my hypotheses, I created a closed-response survey and collected responses from 106 young Danish women. I consequently analyzed the data by calculating the correlation coefficients between each of the measures included in my hypotheses.

Through quantitative analysis, this study has identified significant distinctions between the attitudes and experiences of young Danish feminists and their non-feminist counterparts. Young Danish women in this study were more likely to self-identify as feminist if they indicated a strong sense of solidarity with other women, had been exposed to feminism, and held non-stereotypical views of feminists. This finding was expected based on the existing literature and reinforces the importance of individual-level factors in constructing a feminist identity. An unexpected outcome emerged regarding participants’ gendered views of sexual harassment. While a majority of women in this study believed sexual harassment to be a gendered problem, opinions on this matter were not related to participants’ feminist identifications. This outcome suggests uncertainty surrounding the gendered nature of sexual harassment and could offer one explanation for the disconnect between Denmark’s promotion of gender equality and reluctance to combat sexual harassment.

One of the significant findings from this study was that individual attitudes and experiences of young Danish women did not directly impact their coping responses to sexual
harassment. Instead, the findings indicate that the aggregation of participants’ personal characteristics into a feminist identity significantly relate to the use of collective action to combat sexually harassing behavior. An implication of this finding is the possibility that the feminist label functions as a mechanism through which young Danish women’s attitudes and experiences influence them to engage in collective action against sexual harassment. This study raises the question of how social factors surrounding feminist identification may shape collective action against sexual harassment in Denmark. This question should be addressed through future research.

Another major finding of this study was that none of the personal characteristics nor feminist identification had a significant relationship with confrontation as a response to sexual harassment. This finding is contrasted by that found in Leaper and Arias’ (2011) study of young American women’s feminist identities, in which they identified a positive relationship between feminist identities and confrontation as a coping response. This contrasting finding was expected and elucidates the significance of Danish cultural values on Danes’ responses to sexual harassment. It further suggests the significant role culture may play in shaping how women react to instances of sexual harassment.

By considering the cultural values of Danish society, I offer explanations for how feminist identities are shaped among young Danish women and their implications for dealing with sexual harassment. Specifically, the findings of this study indicate how young women’s feminist identifications are interwoven with their stance on social movements against sexual harassment in Denmark. My findings help disentangle the confusing relationship between feminism and sexual harassment in Denmark, where gender equality is a fundamental facet of
the national culture. The limitations of this study and directions for future research are discussed below.

**Limitations and Directions for Future Research**

The specific aim of this research was to investigate young Danish women’s experiences, attitudes and identities. In many instances throughout this study, the gender binary was used when describing gender (i.e. gendered view of sexual harassment). I did not explore the experiences of gender-nonbinary individuals, nor explicitly investigate the experiences of transwomen. These individuals’ experiences likely differ from the women I have included in my study, and are important to develop a comprehensive, intersectional understanding of feminism in Denmark. Thus, future research should seek to explore the experiences of transwomen and non-binary folk in relation to their feminist identities and the #MeToo movement.

Additionally, women living in Denmark who do not consider themselves Danish were not included in this study. Other studies exist which investigate the experiences of racial minorities in Denmark and their exclusion from the feminist movement. I intentionally focused my research on individuals considered to be the ethnic majority in Denmark to understand the differences in their feminist identities, seeing as they are most likely not racially motivated.

The use of a convenient sample limits the generalizability of my findings. My sample pool had a majority of feminist respondents, which does not reflect the reported distribution of feminists in Denmark. This in itself leads me to believe that my sample is not representative of all young Danish women and my findings should not be generalized. Before a respondent could proceed to my survey, they were informed of the nature of this study - that it revolved around feminism and sexual harassment. This could have deterred women who are uninterested in the
feminist and #MeToo movements. Future studies should seek a more representative sample through random sampling.

I utilized a closed-response survey to identify empirical relationships between my variables. I found meaning in these relationships based on previous literature and Danish cultural values. By limiting the response options available to respondents, I might have missed potential explanations for young women’s construction of a feminist identity and use of coping responses to sexual harassment. Specifically, my findings raised the question of why does a feminist identity closely relate to social movement involvement when the individual experiences and attitudes do not? Future studies should seek to supplement my findings by conducting qualitative interviews or surveys with young Danish women to build on the explanations provided in this paper.

Further research on this topic should explore other personal characteristics which might influence engagement in a social movement against sexual harassment, such as individuals’ experiences with sexual harassment and engagement with media coverage of the #MeToo movement. These personal experiences could have significant implications for young Danish women’s coping responses to sexual harassment, specifically in regard to collective action. Furthermore, future research should consider additional coping responses to sexual harassment. While social movements have the ability to shape policy regarding sexual harassment, future studies should investigate the link between feminist identification and support for progressive policies against sexual harassment to more directly identify barriers to new policy initiatives in Denmark.
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Appendix 1: Survey

*Demographic – eligibility questions*

1) What is your age?
   a) Under 18 years
   b) 18-26 years
   c) Over 26 years

2) What gender do you identify as?
   a) Man
   b) Woman
   c) Non-binary
   d) Other
   e) Prefer not to say

3) What is your current country of residence?
   * Dropdown menu listing all countries *

4) Please specify your nationality:
   a) Danish
   b) Other: ______

*Social Gender Identity*

The following statements address your identity as a woman. How much do you agree/disagree with the following statements?

5) Overall, being a woman has very little to do with how I feel about myself
   a) Strongly agree/strongly disagree (7-point Likert)
6) Being a woman is an important reflection of who I am
   a) Strongly agree/strongly disagree (7-point Likert)

7) Being a woman is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am
   a) Strongly agree/strongly disagree (7-point Likert)

8) In general, being a woman is an important part of my self-image
   a) Strongly agree/strongly disagree (7-point Likert)

Gender Egalitarian Attitudes

The following statements address women’s role in society. How much do you agree/disagree with the following statements?

9) When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.
   a) Strongly agree/strongly disagree (7-point Likert)

10) A university education is more important for a boy than a girl.
    a) Strongly agree/strongly disagree (7-point Likert)

11) On the whole, men make better political leaders than women.
    a) Strongly agree/strongly disagree (7-point Likert)

12) A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled.
    a) Strongly agree/strongly disagree (7-point Likert)

13) A husband and wife should both contribute to the family income.
    a) Strongly agree/strongly disagree (7-point Likert)

14) A working mother can establish as warm a relationship with her child as a woman who does not.
    a) Strongly agree/strongly disagree (7-point Likert)
Stereotypes of Feminists

People have different views about what it means to be feminist. The following statements address what you think it means to be feminist.

15) Rate the average feminist on the following qualities:

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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Ugly</th>
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<table>
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Exposure to Feminism

We just asked you about your impression of feminists. Feminism refers to the belief in equality for women and men. Many feminists point to ways that society and certain individuals discriminate against women in ways that hassle them or limit their opportunities. When this occurs, it is known as sexism.
16) Have you learned about feminism from any of the following (can select more than one):
   a) A women’s studies course
   b) Your mother or anyone else in your family
   c) Teachers or coaches
   d) Friends or classmates
   e) None of the above

*Feminist Identification*

Please indicate whether you agree/disagree with the following statements:

17) I consider myself a feminist
   a) Completely agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, completely disagree

18) I identify myself as a feminist to other people
   a) Completely agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, completely disagree

*Gendered View of Sexual Harassment*

Who do you think experiences the following situations more frequently.

19) Negative remarks about their gender
   a) Men
   b) Women
   c) Same for men and women
   d) Don’t know
20) Sexual remarks about their clothing, body, or sexual activities
   a) Men
   b) Women
   c) Same for men and women
   d) Don’t know

21) Unwanted physical contact
   a) Men
   b) Women
   c) Same for men and women
   d) Don’t know

_Coping Responses to Sexual Harassment_

There are many different ways of responding to sexual harassment. The following questions will ask you about the effectiveness of two different responses.

Rate the effectiveness of the following responses to sexual harassment:

22) “Telling someone to stop behaving in a harassing way...”
   • helps reduce some of the sexism in our society
     ○ Agree/disagree (5-point Likert)
   • causes them to change some of their sexist attitudes
     ○ Agree/disagree (5-point Likert)
   • makes things better for women as a whole
     ○ Agree/disagree (5-point Likert)
   • makes them behave less sexist in the future
     ○ Agree/disagree (5-point Likert)
23) “Collective efforts to call out those who engaged in sexual harassment (such as the #MeToo movement) ...”

- helps reduce some of the sexism in our society
  - Agree/disagree (5-point Likert)
- makes things better for women as a whole
  - Agree/disagree (5-point Likert)
- makes them behave less sexist in the future
  - Agree/disagree (5-point Likert)
- causes them to change some of their sexist attitudes
  - Agree/disagree (5-point Likert)