

**Table A. Excerpt of data coding**

	Stage 1 Crisis emerges	Stage 2 Scapegoat chosen	Stage 3 Scapegoat sacrificed	Stage 4 Actions of protagonists	Stage 5 New social order
	The crisis threatens the established order and sets members of the collective against each other, and the victim signs emerge	The collective spots a consensual victim who embodies the threat, then stigmatizes and finds him/her guilty	The collective persecutes the victim, who is held in a socially in-between space	The scapegoat and management react to the scapegoat's sacrifice	The collective is reconfigured
Case A	<p><b>Managerialization:</b> "The atmosphere is a bit like Big Brother and I don't like this kind of thing at all [...] Everything is controlled, recorded, the slightest click, the slightest touch on the keyboard. More freedom!" (O1a) "I don't think it's the same job at all anymore. [...] A robot ultimately does the work for us [...] All the trains are programmed and we do the monitoring. Before, we were the ones running the trains." (O1a) "This traffic agent has just joined a new automated switching station. He's critical of a management that has deprived him of initiative. This agent asks: 'Can we both stick to the routine and be ready to take charge when exceptional events occur?'" (Excerpt from an internal review of job developments at FERR)</p>	<p><b>Stigma:</b> "In management, he [M1] is completely worthless. He's very freaked out all the time. This is not what is expected of a frontline supervisor [...] It's because of his incompetence" (O1a)</p>	<p><b>Taunts, short-circuiting and professional disqualification:</b> "Sometimes we openly laugh at him when we get caught up in going way overboard." (O1a) "The other frontline supervisor who sits across from him ... He's the one I'm going to see now." (O1a) "When they need something, they go directly to the N + 2. [...] We get the feeling of being completely overlooked." (M1) <i>[Has the relationship with your frontline supervisor changed since our last interview?]</i> "I don't care anymore. Hello, goodbye. <i>[and with the rest of the team?]</i> "M1 is not at all credible. It's a general feeling." (O1a)</p>	<p><b>Scapegoat's reaction: leaves the collective</b> "I signed up for a listing of job offers. [...]" (M1) <b>Management reaction: supports the collective</b> "We don't have the feeling of management. [...] There's a hierarchy, for sure, but we don't really feel it at all." (M1) "When you're doing everything to make it work and you hear someone say, "You're hard on him! [from his superiors]" (M1) "I feel like the more I rise in this company, the less I'm told. The agents have more information than we do." (M1)</p>	<p><b>Scapegoat's expulsion</b> "Management sometimes wears you out. The little idea, that would be a job position with no management, that's for sure, but which one?" (M1)</p>

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Case B	<p><b>Managerialization:</b></p> <p>"The atmosphere is a bit like Big Brother and I don't like this kind of thing at all [...] Everything's controlled, recorded, the slightest click, the slightest touch on the keyboard. No more freedom!" (O1a)</p> <p>"I don't think it's the same job at all anymore. [...] A robot ultimately does the work for us [...] All the trains are programmed and we just do the monitoring. Before, we were the ones running the trains." (O1a)</p> <p>"This traffic agent has just joined a new automated switching station. He's critical of a management that has deprived him of initiative. This agent asks: 'Can we both stick to the routine and be ready to take charge when exceptional events occur?'" (Excerpt from an internal review of the job developments at FERR)</p>	<p><b>Stigma:</b></p> <p>"They brought in someone who had graduated from a very good engineering school, a strategist." [D1]</p> <p>"[...] That engineering school, they all leave with that kind of blind ambition. They know how to sell themselves. They know how to position themselves. But they don't give a damn about the human factor. [...] He's certainly very good at the level of strategy, but he knows nothing about the railway." (O1a)</p> <p>"A young person comes here after long studies to take charge of the old pros, it's sure that it'll be hard for him." (O1b)</p>	<p><b>Derogatory remarks, insults threats:</b></p> <p>D1 was taunted, sidelined by several members of his team. Altercations broke out with operators that he had forbidden to read on the switching tables. D1 was seen crying as a result of these clashes (informal discussions, transcribed)</p> <p>"It was building up for one day, two days and on the third, it all fell apart [<i>the manager was insulted and threatened</i>]. His face was all red with tears running down it." (O1a)</p>	<p><b>Scapegoat's reaction: leaves the collective</b></p> <p>[...] I think he's going to go up to Paris headquarters. But I don't know exactly what he's going to do. If no one gets him to understand that he's doing things wrong ..." (O1a)</p> <p><b>Management reaction: supports the collective</b></p> <p>"We had a union meeting. The head of this union is apparently close to [the FERR director]. He [the FERR director] called him [D1]. He told him he had to change really quickly because it was going to be a disaster" [...]. Three days later, he arrived with a sheet of paper, his tail between his legs as they say, saying that we had to talk and that we had to start over from zero. He had taken a real a blow." (O1a)</p>	<p><b>Scapegoat's expulsion</b></p> <p>[...] He'll go far away. I also have friends who are very well placed in the company. They can't believe it. They're a little worried about him because apparently he's not really made of strong stuff." (O1a)</p>

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Case C	<p><b>Managerialization:</b>            "We had a very relaxed firstline supervisor. [...] He'd been here for fifteen years. There was no point in talking to him about productivity, regularity, rigor. He didn't care. It was the old generation." (O2a)</p> <p>"When I got here, they remembered one sentence. I did it on purpose and it shocked them a little: 'I'm not a social worker. I'm a frontline supervisor and I'm not there to socialize.'" (M2)</p> <p>"They [the management] don't give a damn about educating customers. All that is on Excel tables: regularity, agents present on the platforms, agents who answered the question correctly. All that is numbers, big money stories. There are no human relationships. Helping a little old lady, they don't give a damn." (O2a)</p> <p>"We're being asked for more and more traceability so that, if something happens, we have a way to keep track of it, who did what, when, and who's at fault." (O2b)</p>	<p><b>Stigma:</b>            "It was not the right way to teach with our team. We like dialogue. We want support, a frontline supervisor who has a grip, who'll fight for his agents. We'll fight for him, it's the same thing. We have a team culture, a pack culture. We need a boss we can count on. A boss who's with us, not a dictator." (O2a)</p>	<p><b>Derogatory remarks, professional disqualification and social isolation:</b>            "The agents like to get to him. It's like that, it's human. [...] If I were [M2], it's super clear, I would never have kept my composure. Sometimes he's like a rock, very calm. Me, I would have cracked." (O2a)</p>	<p><b>Scapegoat's reaction: fights the stigma</b>            "What's changed? Maybe my personal approach. I was criticized a little. They found me distant with the agents, or rather the agents found me distant [...] During team meetings, I reframed things a bit. I went through everybody's mission, those of a frontline supervisor and those of an assistant frontline supervisor [...] that if they wanted to talk to me, the door was open." (M2)</p> <p><b>Management reaction: gives ambivalent support</b>            "We spoke a little earlier with the director of the operational unit. We decided to reduce the sanction and to suspend him for one day. If it should happen again... Finally, when the director of the operational unit heard a little about the labor court, we can't say that he was afraid but he reduced the penalty even more, to a reprimand that was recorded." (M2)</p>	<p><b>Scapegoat's assimilation</b>            "His agents can't blame him for not doing what he was supposed to. It really wasn't easy." (M3b)</p> <p>"My assistant realized that he had really been manipulated [to act against me]; today he's taken a lot of distance from that." (M2)</p>

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Case D	<p><b>Managerialization:</b> "There's not the same friendly feeling as before. That's because of how we're being managed [...] They took it all apart. So that we'd no longer be united, with less in common, for strikes, etc. I think it's for these reasons." (O3b)</p> <p>"Today it's: 'I do my own job and as soon as I'm finished, I leave.' There's no long a good feeling like before. [...] It has to do with the way you're managed." (O3b)</p> <p>"There are also executive attachés who show up and don't necessarily know how the company works, who don't necessarily have experience." (frontline supervisor-key informant)</p> <p>"[...] The young graduates have completely upended the management that was in place." (human resources manager-key informant)</p> <p>"We're putting a lot of things in place at the moment. Besides, the agents feel a little oppressed. We're paying more attention to how they take over their post, to safety. We're always behind them. We keep adding rules." (M3a)</p> <p>"The frontline supervisor is basically for our well-being, our comfort, our safety. After a while, the frontline supervisor has become a judge and a 'cop'" [...] It's becoming like the private sector." (O3a)</p>	<p><b>Sstigma:</b> "At the start [...] they had a bad idea about me. Also, I came from the private sector. I had a way of speaking that didn't fit at all [with the job]." (M3a)</p> <p>"[Name of M3a] He had no knowledge of FERR when he arrived on the job." (M3b)</p>	<p><b>Taunts, short-circuiting and professional disqualification, derogatory remarks</b> "When I would be monitoring safety issues, the guys would break safety rules in front of me. They didn't care that I was there. [...] Once I went to see one to have him sign a paper. He scratched out my paper which I had been worked on all day. I told him that I didn't understand, that he had to explain to me what was going on. He said, 'It's no big deal. It's physical. I just don't like you.' [...] Some of the old-timers are automatically against the managers, on principle." (M3a)</p> <p>"He told me that I was a young jerk, good for nothing." (M3a)</p>	<p><b>Scapegoat's reaction: fights the stigma</b> "He had the great intelligence to figure out how to get out of the situation pretty well. [...] On the whole, he managed to get across some very straight talk, with agents who are not necessarily easy. He hasn't lost too much credibility. He knew how to stay within in the regulations. His agents cannot blame him for not having done the work. It really was not easy." (M3b)</p> <p>"I think that's why they respect me more than before. [...] They see that I am not a puppet, that when I speak about safety, I really know what I am talking about. Even though I don't have the experience they have, they know very well that I know the regulations." (M3a)</p> <p>"I stuck to my position. It's easier than before for the organization. As I go on, I'm learning from my mistakes." (M3a)</p> <p><b>Management reaction: gives ambivalent support</b> "I think there's too much laxity, that too much is tolerated. We should be more severe, that's all. But you need the support of management [...] The director of the operational unit is there, but he is blocked from above, by the unions." (M3a)</p> <p>"He told me that I was a young jerk, a good-for-nothing. Following this three-way discussion, my manager from the operational unit asked if I wanted to use sanctions. I decided to close my eyes this time, but only this time." (M3a)</p>	<p><b>Scapegoat's assimilation</b> "I think that's why they respect me more than before. [...] They see that I am not a puppet, that when I speak about safety, I really know what I'm talking about. Even though I don't have the experience they have, they know very well that I know the regulations." (M3a)</p> <p>"It's better than when I started. I'm more accepted. [How do you see this?] The way they are. [...] Today when I show up, even though I know very well that behind my back they might get hurt, they make the effort to do things the right way in front of me." (M3a)</p> <p>"At first, they didn't know me at all. They were judging me. They had a bad idea about me." (M3a)</p>

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Case E	<p><b>Feminization of the driving profession:</b></p> <p>"The arrival of women has upset the work climate: 'we didn't necessarily prepare the women's arrival on our site very well' [...] Like for the posters of naked women, as soon as they get put up, there's the right to make comments." (key informant)</p> <p>"FERR is an institution whose cultural standard is very much present and remains quite pervasive. To fall within the norms - "normal" - is to be a male individual, to do a job that is both technical and "physical", and to invest in it full time without being interrupted by parental obligations and family life, which are more feminine. The arrival of women has upset this cultural norm" (excerpt from the meeting on background and diversity)</p> <p>"Someday I'll be in charge of the trains!" Like daddy? No, like mom--6,300 women work in technical jobs at FERR. Will you be next? (Excerpt from the FERR advertising campaign to attract women to technical jobs)</p> <p>"You have to have a good sense of humor, accept the jokes from the good ole boys ... Groups of men talk a lot about sex." (O4b)</p> <p>"Is doing a driver's job incompatible with differences in physical strength? With different ways of handling authority? [...] The organization can provide—and does provide—support that allows each of our differences to be reconciled so that everyone can continue to make the job my job." (excerpt from the meeting on background and diversity)</p> <p>"It seems surprising to me that women are drivers, it's still kind of a masculine profession." (driver, key informant)</p>	<p><b>Stigma:</b></p> <p>"I was told that you don't take women to school, just normal people. Definition of normal people: 'men without children.'"(O4a)</p> <p>"In training, you don't take a woman 'with a baby.' (So) following the advice of a social worker, I 'omitted' to mention that I was pregnant so I would be hired." (O4a)</p> <p>"The examiner said to me, 'You know your washing machine better. [...] A woman can't raise her children properly if she drives, and mine is at home to raise them.'" (O4a)</p> <p>"Learning the job and know-how are acquired by talking with colleagues and I can't chat normally with them. [...] we always come back to the fact that I am a woman." (O4a)</p> <p>"O4a intervened in [Industrial Health and Safety Committees] on the subject of [Personal Protective Equipment], among other things on safety shoes and jackets so we could have equipment in our size, which was not provided for in the catalog— all the same it went up to the labor department on this point." (excerpt from a meeting on background and diversity)</p>	<p><b>Derogatory remarks, provocation, disqualification and social isolation:</b></p> <p>"In this job, they call the newcomers 'asshole students' and they have to prove themselves with the worst trains and crazy working hours for about two years before they're accepted. But fifteen years later, I still have to prove myself, I'm always proving that I can do the job." (O4a)</p> <p>"In the past, a woman had been 'shameless' in seducing her instructor during training. They got married. The decision was therefore made that I do not have a single monitor but several and most of them old-timers. But the old-timers aren't on the same schedule and don't ride the lines that I would be tested on for my examination. I had to really insist on proper training for the final tests." (O4a)</p> <p>"Being a better driver than a man is not normal, so I had to suck it all up in order to get the grade." (O4a)</p>	<p><b>Scapegoat's reaction: Avoids the collective</b></p> <p>"I no longer really want to sacrifice my family life, especially given the recognition that I have professionally [...] I can no longer stand the driving agents. Fortunately, being alone in the cabin limits the impact of their remarks." (O4a)</p> <p><b>Management reaction: supports the collective</b></p> <p>"I have a clearly misogynistic boss." (O4a)</p> <p>"When I came back from maternity leave, he said to me: a woman shouldn't drive trains, she can't raise her children properly if she's a driver, and my wife is at home to raise my kids; you're one of the most worthless drivers in France." (O4a)</p>	<p><b>Scapegoat's isolation</b></p> <p>"I no longer expect anything from this job [...] I just like to drive. Being alone in the cabin limits the impact of their remarks: I'm only entitled to this on training days." (O4a)</p>

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Case F	<p>Rejuvenation of the job collective: "There are the oldest ones, the agents who are jaded, jaded at being here, jaded at work. Then there are the clans of newcomers, who arrived recently or after me, who are most interested in their work." (O5a)</p> <p>"On Wednesday, there were two who could barely stand. The newcomers thought this wasn't normal and they were right. They were shocked. When they came back down, you could smell it. The guy was still leaning against a post." (M5)</p> <p>"On Sunday morning, when I attack the job at 7 am, those who did the night shift stink of wine. They have safety responsibilities; they have people's lives in their hands. Even if only one or two trains pass ... It's as if the cops were all drunk in the street when they were supposed to protect people. Maybe they're jaded because they've seen so much." (O5a)</p> <p>"It's like everything from management is bad. The slightest gesture, the smallest gift certificate, is an insult. It's a bit excessive and I blame the unions for that. They threaten first, they argue, they strike, before any discussion." (O5a)</p> <p>"They [young people] have a different way of looking at work. They really come here to work. When they have to work hard, they do. They apply the regulations. They don't argue." (M5)</p> <p>"In terms of schedules, the smallest gesture from management is immediately misinterpreted." (O5a)</p> <p>"They see it as a threat. What they have learned all their lives has become obsolete. Young people see opportunities" (Frontline supervisor-key informant)</p> <p>"The 'collective' is sometimes a protective support, a place to exchange good practices, a 'positive' collective. Sometimes it's a 'negative' collective that can be a source of danger. So when a team gets caught up in the logic of 'finish up and go home,' the team puts pressure on everyone so that the job is done quickly and everyone leaves sooner." (excerpt from a review on the development of jobs at FERR)</p>	<p><b>Stigma:</b> "My goal is to protect my youngest ones, those who are there to work and who do the job properly. Even if nothing happens, we don't know why but it's those who work the hardest who get picked on." (M5)</p> <p>"The new ones, as soon as they arrive and have their grade, they're labeled." (O5a)</p> <p>"It's because of guys like him [O5b *] that we're going to set up the work program." (O5c)</p>	<p><b>Taunts, professional disqualification and social isolation:</b> "As we're laughing, we just ourselves that it's dark humor, that one day he [O5b *] will show up with a flamethrower and turn on all of us or just go crazy." (O5c)</p> <p>"They don't care about him [...]. When he calls, no one answers. It's psychological pressure. It's terrible! I find this pressure to be worse than saying straight out "I'm fed up with you!" At least he'd know where he stands." (M5)</p> <p>"He [O5b *] is getting hit hard! [...] When he's not there, I hear them and it's really mean. [...] They have no respect at all. [...] He asks for help and no one answers him. There's a group of old-timers who've been there for several year and, they own the place." (O5a)</p>	<p><b>Scapegoat's reaction: avoids the collective</b> "The problem is that he's withdrawn into himself [O5b *]. It's a vicious circle." (O5c)</p> <p><b>Management reaction: Supports the collective</b> "Today another agent is not really doing well. I'll have to call the psychologist. I've already had her come in twice. He has a somewhat difficult personality. He gets a little carried away sometimes. He can be very brusque. He's too invested. I tell him he's doing too much." (M5)</p>	<p><b>Scapegoat's isolation</b> "At one point he left and came back an hour later. He had come back with some bread for us, but the others had finished in the meantime. He said: 'You didn't wait for me!' [...] He blew up. 'We're supposed to eat together!'" (O5c)</p>

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Case G	<p><b>Rejuvenation of the work collective:</b></p> <p>"There are the oldest, the agents who are jaded, jaded at being there, jaded at work. Then there are the clans of newcomers, who arrived recently or after me, who are more interested in their work." (O5a)</p> <p>"On Wednesday, there were two who could barely stand. The newcomers thought this wasn't normal and they were right. They were shocked. When they came back down, you could smell it. The guy was still leaning against a post." (M5)</p> <p>"On Sunday morning, when I attack the job at 7 am, those who did the night shift stink of wine. They have safety responsibilities; they have people's lives in their hands. Even if only one or two trains pass ... It's as if the cops were all drunk in the street when they were supposed to protect people. Maybe they're jaded because they've seen so much." (O5a)</p> <p>"It's kind of 'everything that comes from the hierarchy is bad.' The slightest gesture, the slightest gift certificate, is an insult. It's a bit excessive, that's what I blame the unions for. They threaten first, they refute, they strike, before any discussion." (O5a)</p> <p>"They [young people] have a different way of looking at work. They really come here to work. When they have to work hard, they do. They apply the regulations. They don't argue." (M5)</p> <p>"In terms of schedules, the smallest gesture from management is immediately misinterpreted." (O5a)</p> <p>" They see it as a threat. What they have learned all their lives has become obsolete. Young people see opportunities." (firstline supervisor-key informant)</p> <p>" The 'collective' is sometimes a protective support, a place to exchange good practices, a 'positive' collective. Sometimes it's a 'negative' collective that can be a source of danger. So when a team gets caught up in the logic of 'finish up and go home,' the team puts pressure on everyone so that the job is done quickly and everyone leaves sooner." (excerpt from a review on job developments at FERR)</p>	<p><b>Stigma:</b></p> <p>"My goal is to protect my youngest ones, those who are there to work and who do the job properly. Even if nothing happens, we don't know why but it's those who work well who pick up." (M5)</p> <p>"The new ones, as soon as they arrive and have the rank, they have a label." (O5a)</p>	<p><b>Insults, social isolation, taunts:</b></p> <p>"It was a radio error that had been misunderstood. I re-explained it out loud to make sure it clear and I was literally told off down in public [...] it deeply affected me. [...] I tried to figure out what I had done wrong to be yelled at like that if the mistake wasn't mine." (O5a)</p> <p>"Some of them become violent." (O5a)</p>	<p><b>Scapegoat's reaction: fight the persecution</b></p> <p>"She [O5a] wrote a two-page letter." (M5)</p> <p><b>Management reaction: supports the scapegoat</b></p> <p>"There's pressure [from the collective]. I often tell them [the new recruits], if they've have experienced anything in the private sector, that they're going to be confronted with some who will try to stuff their heads with lies. That if they are having a hard time, they shouldn't hesitate to talk to me about it." (M5)</p> <p>"She [O5a] wrote a two-page letter. When I found out, I called her. She was crying." (M5)</p> <p>"It's motivating when management supports you. Even if it seems a little trivial or idyllic, it's motivating." (O5a)</p>	<p><b>Cohabitation of two collectives</b></p> <p>"It's okay. I can't say that I have fit in perfectly since I try to remain neutral, not to take sides about the union and the clans. As long as I'm doing my job well, I don't feel bad that I'm not in the know about certain things. [...] But I stayed pretty reserved. I don't talk too much about my private life. I don't need to share everything with my colleagues. Let's just say that things are cordial my colleagues." (O5a)</p> <p>"Three newcomers showed up after me, and I get along with them very well [...] They sort of have the same motivation. We want to represent our company, do things well, be above reproach." (O5a).</p>