A Critical Discourse Analysis of Sexual Violence and Power

#metoo in Swedish media

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Abstract

During the fall of 2017, a campaign named #metoo went viral on Twitter. The purpose of #metoo was to highlight how many that had experiences of sexual harassments and assaults. The campaign did also gain a lot of attention in traditional Swedish media. By looking at #metoo in Swedish printed media during the month of November in 2017, I have examined how the concept of sexual violence have been articulated, negotiated and represented. Sexual violence is a matter that has been important for both feminist scholars and activists for a long time, both from a theoretical and material perspective. Guided by a critical discourse analysis and a feminist poststructural approach, I have looked at sexual violence as a phenomenon that is discursively made and therefore, also non-stable and always up for negotiation depending on the specific time, place and context it is produced in. In my material, I have found three themes, boundaries, institutionalisation and tensions. They all, in different ways, support that by providing a picture of sexual violence as a fluid concept without clear boundaries, a tendency to turn all the issues of sexual harassments into a failure of the employer liability and the working environment. Also, by providing a picture of a colliding word view of sexual violence as both a brand new phenomenon in Sweden (especially related to immigration) and something that has always been a reality in many people’s life.

Keywords: sexual violence, rape, sexual harassment, #metoo, critical discourse analysis, poststructuralism
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Introduction

While #metoo gained more and more attention in Sweden, and a narrative of collective surprise over the magnitude established, I was following the unfolding events quietly in the background. As an active member of a non-profit organisation that works for young girls right to live a life without violence, and receiving many stories of violence through the organisation's support chat and phone, I was quite unsurprised by the content and magnitude of the problem. At the same time, I started to get questions from family members and friends that normally wouldn't go into discussions about equal rights, gendered violence, norms etc. As a feminist, gender studies student and active member in the organisation I just mentioned, I was supposed to have answers for how it could get this far, how do we solve this, why hasn't anyone said something before, and the list goes on. The mediated attention of #metoo started a lot of discussion about equality, norms, power and violence on an interpersonal level in my surroundings. Since I had noticed this increase of interest in my personal surroundings I did also notice how different the discussions about the content of #metoo was in different settings – #metoo did simultaneously both reveal an old institutional problem and a recent change in Swedish society. It was quite clear to me that in this discourse there were multiple realities, which all entailed different understandings of #metoo. Among these reflections, I did also start to ask myself where the violence was in all this. And if #metoo revealed a recent development, where was the violence before? Did the violence not exist?

Sexual violence is a global problem and affects a large number of people on an everyday basis. It is a violence that occurs in many forms and is hard to measure and to make international comparisons. Norms, ideologies and legal definitions are all a part of how sexual violence is identified and represented. Situations, context and geopolitical locations make up volatile moments where the meaning and interpretations of sexual violence do not remain fixed. This non-fixation of the meaning of sexual violence was something that caught my attention in both my personal encounters and the media reports about #metoo. While I read #metoo as testimonies of violence, I also started to wonder if that was the issue the media really presented. When I started the process of going through my material, I could not shake the feeling that we were all talking about different things. There were quotes from managers that talked about how their accused employees just had a bad sense of humour or how they are sometimes acting inappropriately. Some others blamed the whole #metoo campaigned for being the fault of a male chauvinist, a dated rest history. And then we have the stories
themselves that become visible in the printed newspaper through following campaigns such as #tystnadtagning, #tystiklassen, #imaktenkorridorer etc. What happens with the violence when it transgresses and moves from the original platform to another? These questions and reflections were my points of entry to the matters I wanted to know more about in this thesis, and have been leading in the work with formulating an aim and research question. I hope that you who read this will find that concepts of sexual violence still are a burning question for both feminists, other scholars and activists. Maybe it can inspire someone to find new ways into preventive work, theoretical thinking or how to approach the topic in everyday life.

**Problem, aim and research question**

Sexual violence is a global problem that has physical, mental, sexual and reproductive consequences (Krug et al., 2002). This is in no way new research and it is an issue that engages both scholars, activists and organisations. When Swedish media started to report about #metoo in the fall of 2017 I wanted to know more about how the events and actions, that described what I already called violence, was represented and negotiated. Did the media mention violence at all? How are stories of bullying and power abuse that been revealed through #metoo handled in the press? How are concepts such as (sexual) harassment, rape and abuse used? With those reflections as a starting point, I decided that the overall aim with this thesis would be to examine how sexual violence and power is articulated in a public discourse in this particular historical moment in a Swedish context. To reach my aim I decided that I, in particular, needed to ask the question:

- How has the phenomenon of sexual violence been negotiated, articulated and represented in Swedish media during #metoo?

**Outline of thesis**

Here I will map out how I have organised the thesis. This part could also be described as a reading instruction to facilitate the reading experience.

In the section *background*, I will present a short summary of what the Twitter campaign #metoo is today and its origin in another organisation. I will do an introduction to the Swedish context with a focus on the development of legislation and how that has played an important role in the last years' debate about sexual violence in Sweden. I will also give examples of
what the consequences of sexual violence can be. I will also give an overview of how feminist researchers have approached sexual violence from different perspectives and what tensions there have been about the phenomenon among feminist scholars.

In the section named methods, I will go through how I apply an overall social constructionist approach and a feminist poststructural perspective. In this section, I do also present how I have used a critical discourse analysis as my main analytical framework. As I will return to, it is, however, necessary to complement critical discourse analysis with other theoretical approaches, and that is how I used poststructural perspectives as a supportive foundation to interpret the findings. I will also present my more specific theoretical thinking tools, or analytical concept, of power and violence. In short, these are Amy Allen's concepts of power, Judith Bessant's concept of opaque violence and a perspective on violence and power as an already existing part of the body of critical discourse analysis, formulated by for example Michel Foucault and Norman Fairclough. I will then present how I have collected my material, how the selection and limitation process was performed and an overview of how the data analysis was done.

In results and analysis, I will go through my results and present them under three different themes; boundaries, institutionalisation and tensions. Each of the themes represents tendencies I have encountered in my material during the analysing process. I will end this section with a brief summary of all the themes together.

In the section concluding discussions, I will present my conclusions and answer my research question and continue to reflect upon my themes. I will also address the translation process and its implications since I am a native Swedish speaker in the section methodological reflections. For the reading experience, I want to highlight already now that I have worked with Swedish news articles, which all have had to go through a translation process to be included in the thesis. All quotations from the Swedish news have been translated by myself and the original quotes in Swedish are found in the footnote directly after each quote. In this section, I do also engage in reflections about critical discourse analysis and other methodological issues I have encountered during the process. Before I do my last reflection, I will present my ideas for future research. The ideas I present here are based on observations I have made during the work with this thesis and problems, issues and questions I am left with as I am finalizing this particular project. And finally, I will end the thesis with some forward-
looking reflections. What future is being articulated in material and how have I interpreted that in relation to previous research and theoretical framework?

**Background**

**#metoo**

In the year 2006, the American activist Tarana Burke was told a story of sexual abuse. While listening to the story from the young girl, Burke found herself in lack of words and instead recommended the girl to talk to someone else. This situation was the starting point for a movement that Burke named the one thing she wished she had said while listening to the story – me too. The me too movement and the organisation *Just Be Inc.* was born (Santiago and Criss, 2017). Almost ten years later the Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein is accused of multiple sexual harassments, reaching over three decades and involving numerous famous Hollywood actors (Kantor and Twohey, 2017). Shortly after that, as a response to the reveals of how many actresses that had been the victim of Weinstein, the actor Alyssa Milano tweeted that everyone who has been sexually harassed or assaulted should reply to her tweet with “me too”, at that point unaware of the existing me too movement that I just presented. The morning after, Milano had 55,000 replies and a rapid development on Twitter followed. The campaign quickly went viral globally and was soon no longer isolated to Hollywood and celebrities. At the beginning of December 2017, it had spread to 85 countries and resulted in 85 million posts on Facebook, following Milano's instructions to highlight how common it was to being exposed to sexual harassments and assaults (Sayej, 2017).

#metoo is not the first online-based campaign that advocates for highlighting and ending sexual violence and harassments. In the year 2010, another campaign about sexual violence was visible in Sweden. It was the campaign #prataomdet (#talkaboutit) which focused on sexual grey areas. This campaign started on Twitter after the author, journalist, and TV- and radio hostess, Johanna Koljonen, tweeted about sexual grey areas. Koljonen’s tweet was a response to the ongoing debate about the Julian Assange case and the surrounding discussions of what did count as a sexual offence (Koljonen, 2010). The campaign gained attention in media and resulted in an anthology, *#prataomdet* (Almestad and Beijbom 2012), based on the narratives from the campaign. Koljonen and another journalist, Sofia Mirjamsdotter did also win the Stora journalistpriset (The Big Journalist Price) in the category Innovator of the Year.
in 2011 with the motivation: “Because they made the private universal and made a whole world talk about it”¹ (Stora journalistpriset, 2018). This campaign is in many ways similar to the development of #metoo in the Swedish context and to my knowledge the two most successful campaigns in terms of attention in Swedish media. I wanted to bring up this previous campaign because it could have been of significance to understand why #metoo gained a lot of success in Sweden, and also if one tries to understand why #metoo is different from other attempts to discuss these issues. My own reflection is that the form of online activism that we have seen with #metoo now is such an integrated part of many people's lives through access to social media and technical progress, and that the recent years public discourses about consent and a new legislation for sexual offences have become a solid foundation to reach out to more people. The biggest difference that I see with these two campaigns is that #metoo resulted in a number of sub-campaigns that facilitated each group's perspective, and that #metoo in Sweden quickly got a celebrity perspective. I will come back to this development of a celebrity focus in forward-looking reflections. That progress of new sub-campaigns did not occur in #prataomdet, and the same goes for the tendency to name offenders in public. As I will present in the next section, questions of consent and sexual offences legislation have gotten mediated attention the last years in Sweden. The work with a new legislation could be seen in the perspective that previous campaigns such as #prataomdet have paved the way for upcoming discourses about sexual violence.

Swedish context

In this section, I will situate my thesis in a Swedish context. The main focus is to give a brief overview of the history of the Swedish sexual offences legislation. One main reason for giving you this overview is that as I am writing this thesis, a bill for a new legislation will go through the parliamentary process. The new legislation is proposed to enter into force July 1, 2018 (Regeringskansliet, 2018).² The work surrounding the new legislation have in my opinion been one of the reasons for the last years public discourse about consent, grey areas and norms. So, when I examine media and #metoo during one month in November the year 2017 in Sweden, it is a particular historical moment and situation that needs to be understood

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¹ “För att ha gjort det privata allmängiltigt och fått en hel värld att prata om det.”

² As I am doing the last work with this thesis the Swedish Riksdag voted in favour of a new legislation on sexual crimes on the principle of consent. The vote took place May 23, 2018 (Sveriges Riksdag, 2018).
in the background of previously mediated discourses of sexual violence and political chain of reactions. But before we get ahead of ourselves we will now rewind almost 200 years.

Between the years 1734-1864 rape, våldtäkt in Swedish, was a property crime due to the notion that the women were the father or the husband’s property. Then the legislation changed in 1864 and sexual actions towards a someone under 15 years old became a sedlighetsbrott – roughly translated to an offence against morality or an immoral crime – and rape was found amongst crimes against someone’s freedom or peace. Even if the legislation acknowledged rape as an assault on the women’s right to self-determination about her sex, the legislation did not apply on all women and not in all situations, for example a married woman could not be raped within the marriage and a prostituted woman had no legal protection from neither rape or from not being economical compensated after sex. The crime rape also demanded a clear presence of threats and violence, which can be seen in naming of the crime. The first part of the word våldtäkt is våld – which means violence. The levels of threats and violence can be compared with the offence of robbery, which at the time did not need the same amount of violence to reach the status of a crime. It was the woman’s honour that was central, but as stated above, it was a difference about which women that was perceived as having an honour to protect at all (Jansson, 1996; Leijonhufvud, 2015). This legislation then lasted for 100 years before it was a subject of changes in 1965. One of the biggest discussions caused by the work with the new legislation was the introduction of rape within marriage – a wife could now in legal terms be raped by her husband. The next big changes in the legislation came 1984. Now sedlighetsbrott changed to sexualbrott – sexual offences – in the penal code. The legislation also became gender neutral, rape within marriage was not a mitigating circumstance and the previous statute of limitation of 6 months from the deed was removed. Lack of severe injuries should now not affect the credibility of the victim, and it became possible to classify an event as rape no matter of the victim’s relationship with the offender and the victim’s behaviour before, during and after the deed. It was still necessary to have some elements of threats and violence to be classified as rape but how and to what degree slightly changed (Leijonhufvud, 2015).

It is around the year 1998 a sexual offences legislation that is constructed around consent really starts to be discussed. A sexual offences legislation constructed around consent would mean a move away from the focus on the presence of violence and threats. The 1998 Sexual Offence Committee acknowledged that the demand of violence and threats was a problem in
the current legislation with regards to frozen fright reactions from the victim and other survival mechanisms of reducing the harm in the moment of the deed. The committee commented this in their report by highlighting that these actions, where the violence was reduced by the victim’s survival mechanisms, also should be liable to punishment within the legislation. Despite this notion, the committee chose not to recommend a sexual offence legislation that included lack of consent, but to keep the demand of presence of violence, threats or that the victim was in a helpless state. Some changes were then done in the sexual offence legislation with the 2005 reform, the biggest one was probably the removal of the need for violence and threats when it came to rape against children. But, it was only applied to children under 15 years old, so for children between 15-18 years old, it was still necessary to have violent elements to be protected by the legislation. The following years, several events got a lot of attention in media, one of them was the Jordbro case in 2005. A 15-year-old girl had run away from a youth support accommodation and was picked up by three older men in Stockholm and taken to an apartment where she was sexually abused the whole night. According to the district court, the girl was not helpless because she had some fragmentary memories from the evening but agreed that she was in an especially exposed situation. The district court did state that if the legislation had been based on consent and would have included especially exposed situations, the two offenders that now was found innocent, would instead have been found guilty of rape. In the year 2013 some adjustments are done in the sexual offences legislation and ‘helpless state' changes to ‘especially exposed situation'. In the examples of especially exposed situations, we could now find sleep, intoxication, sickness, body wounds, psychiatric diseases, severe fear and unconsciousness (Leijonhufvud, 2015). In relation to what I have presented about the processes of the legal system so far, I also want to highlight again that #metoo is not the first hashtag campaign about sexual violence in Sweden. As I already mentioned, the campaign #prataomdet (#talkaboutit) was happening around the same time as these changes in the legislation were applied and should be considered as one of the voices that raised the question of consent once again.

Another case that got a lot of attention in media and among the public was the judgement of a trial in Umeå in 2013. The attention was much focused on the fact that the victim, a 15-year-old girl had been penetrated by a glass bottle and that she had tried to hold her legs together. In the judgement, it is stated that it was reasonable to believe that the girl did not want to be penetrated by a glass bottle. But it did also state that it was reasonable to believe that the boys involved did not recognize her unwillingness and that they probably thought it was only
shyness. Another case that sparked a public discussion about sexual offences legislation was about a father in a family home that was found innocent from sexual abuse of a girl that was placed in their home by social services. There was evidence of sperm in the girl, but the man explained this by that he had ejaculated in the bathroom and then left the paper he used to clean the sperm up in the bathroom and the girls should allegedly used that paper in some way. The district court found that it was not beyond doubt that this was the truth. The Umeå case was, for example, the starting point for the national organisation FATTA that work against sexual violence and for consent in both the legislation and in practice (FATTA, 2018) and together with the other case and several others, the debates increased in general (Leijonhufvud, 2015).

Before I move on, I would like to take a moment to look at the current statistics and prevalence of sexual offences in Sweden. In the year 2001, the first larger investigation about the prevalence of men’s violence against women was carried out in Sweden, Slagen dam (Lundgren, 2001). The report revealed that violence against women in general was more common than earlier research had shown, and that sexual violence in particular was the least reported category of violence. Instead of asking questions such as "have you been assaulted?" and "have you been raped?" they asked more direct and hands-on questions. For example, they asked question of the man had banged her head against something, been hit by a fist, being pushed or dragged etc. This is one reason for why the results of the study showed a higher prevalence of violence against women than other studies – 46 percent of the women had experienced violence from a man after there were 15 years, 56 percent of the women had been sexually harassed and 22 percent of the women between 18-24 years old had experienced violence during the last year. The survey was sent to 10 000 women and had an answering frequency of 70 percent (Lundgren, 2001). If we only look at the actually reported crimes more currently, there were 21 074 reported sexual crimes in 2016 (BRÅ, Statistikdatabasen över anmälda, 2018). But, Sweden does not only use the reported crimes to summarize the prevalence of sexual offences in the official statistics. Except the reported crimes, one tool to measure crimes in Sweden is Nationella trygghetsundersökningen (Swedish Crime Survey). The survey is done annually and focuses on catching the attitudes, experiences and expectations about subjects such as confidence in the justice system, fear of crime and victimization. One important note about the Swedish Crime Survey is that the method of collection is about to change, and that the 2017 Swedish Crime Survey is a transition year when both methods of collections have been used and summarized in one
common report. The former survey, now called the regular, was done among the population between the ages 16-79 years old through telephone interviews. The new survey is called the Nationella trygghetsundersökningen Lokal – (Swedish Crime Survey Local) and is done among the population between the ages 16-84 years old and is performed through written surveys (mail and web). The regular 2017 Swedish Crime Survey (Brottsförebyggande rådet, 2018) shows that in the year 2016, 2.4 percent of the approximately 11 600 persons answering the survey had been a victim of sexual offences. That is equivalent to 181 000 persons of the population. The 2017 Swedish Crime Survey Local provided the result of 4.7 percent answering the survey had been a victim of sexual offences. That is equivalent to 369 000 persons of the population. The statistics of sexual offences are notorious hard to measure and as this example of Swedish statistic shows, the results vary depending on if you look at actual crimes reported or different methods for self-report of crimes (Brottsförebyggande rådet, 2018). As I will continue to discuss through the thesis, sexual offences are surrounded by norms and interpretation of what can count as a sexual offence at all. With that in mind, it is interesting to compare the number of reported crimes with the numbers from the two different surveys I just presented. To look at statistics, in this case in Sweden, demands knowledge about both how the statistics are being produced and also knowledge about the factors behind the statistics. Why is the prevalence so different depending on which survey you look at? What needs to be done to lower the numbers of hidden figures? My take on all of these questions is that it does connect to matters of language and how certain concepts and phenomenon are perceived does affect tools like statistics and legislation. And also, the other way around, statistics and legislation are a part of how we negotiate and understand our realities and can, therefore, consider being both a result and the producer of knowledge about sexual violence in society.

In this section, I have given a brief overview of how the Swedish sexual offences legislation have shifted from being a property crime in the 19th century to have its own section in the penal code. In this development, there have been struggles surrounding major changes, such as rape within marriage. The current debates lay much focus on the matter of consent and carelessness and soon we will probably see new changes in the legislation that will affect those things. How that will affect the actual cases in court remains to be seen though. I have also made a short summary of the prevalence of sexual offences in Sweden and how to read and understand Swedish statistic. At last, I have also made some reflections on why I think it
is important to consider different aspects of both statistics and legislation when one is interested in sexual violence as a discursive matter.

**Consequences**

Despite the big variations in pure numbers, it is uncontested that each one of the offences behind the numbers has effects for people on an individual level. So, what do we know about the consequences of victimization through sexual offences? Sexual violence comes in many forms and can, therefore, cause damage and consequences in many different ways. Maybe the most common way of approaching consequences of sexual offences is to divide the consequences into physical and/or psychological. Both of these sides of consequences can look very different. Physical injuries can for example be manifested as genital-anal trauma and other bodily injuries such as bruises and pain caused by strangulation or battery (Sugar et al., 2004). With physical consequences is also the risk of unwanted pregnancies and transmittable diseases included. There is also a large number of psychological consequences that can vary depending on the relation to the abused, the levels of fear of one’s life, situations and context in general (Berglund and Witkowski, 2014). Besides that, there is also the risk of secondary victimization in contact with the police, health care and other institutions because of negative experiences in those contacts (Campbell and Raja, 1999). Not only community help, but also the response and reaction from the closest surroundings is also facts that affect the psychological consequences. In the same way that there is a lot of different reasons and explanations to why the consequences of experience sexual violence differ from person to person, so does also the actual consequences. Post-traumatic stress syndrome, depression, deprived sleep, anxiety and panic attacks are all possible consequences after a rape. Victims can also experience problems with future examinations of the genital, anal and throat area. (Berglund and Witkowski, 2014). Based on the existing research about consequences after sexual violence, I would argue that all together, the physical and psychological consequences not should be considered as isolated from each other.

When experiencing violence of any kind in a relationship, it is not uncommon with processes of normalization of the violence. That means that when violence is a part of your everyday life you step by step become adapted to that the violence is a part of your life. This process happens both for the offender and the victim. As time goes by there will also occur an adjustment so that times, when violence is not happening, gets higher valued as something
positive, only because of the absence of violence. The process includes control and isolation of the victims and a constant shift between love and violence. That the violence occurs on a regular basis and "is in the air" does also to relate to how violence could be seen as a continuum, that each event of violence is not isolated and relates to other occasions and all the time were the violence is there unexpressed but not performed in a physical way (Nordborg, 2014).

Despite the importance of always have the consequences of sexual violence in the centre while working with this issue, and never diminishing the violence, I would also like to bring up other possible ways after a rape. In the book Allt som är mitt (2015) the authors Anna Svensson and Alexander Alvina Chamberland provide a perspective on that surviving a rape does not mean that one's life is forever ruined, an otherwise dominant narrative. They do also highlight that the imagination of that a rape equals a life with anxiety, depressions etc. also means a fixation of what we perceive as a "proper" rape, offender and victim. As I will present further down in this thesis I am using a poststructural perspective, and in that include also a critique of fixed categories and imaginations of both victim and offenders of sexual offences. As Svensson and Chamberland capture in their book, it is possible for an alternative narrative about what it can mean to survive sexual offences. On aspect of a dominating narrative is also the effect it has on norms and what knowledge production that counts as valid in the discourse of sexual violence. Another aspect of thinking about consequences is that the currently dominating narrative of sexual violence victims could play a role in how the victims describe themselves and the consequences. One scholar that have examined this is Amy Chasteen (2001) and in the study, it was shown that there were many different aspects that affected how the victims described the consequences of experiencing sexual violence. I will return to this study in the next section, sexual violence in feminist research.

In this section, I have presented what the consequences of sexual violence could be on an individual level. Even if I mention rape as a specific kind of sexual violence in this section I want to pay attention to that it is not the only form of sexual violence. At last, I did also briefly present an alternative way of thinking of what it means to survive a rape, which I found highly relevant to the thesis overall question of how we negotiate, formulate and represent sexual violence.
Sexual violence in feminist research

Matters of sexual violence have a long tradition of being present in feminist research and activism – from the personal is political to the development of intersectionality and in strands of post-colonialism and queer studies and many more. In this section, I give an overview of how sexual violence has been, and still are discussed in feminist research. This should not be seen as a linear overview that claims to cover everything and to speak for one truth and one version of feminist understandings of sexual violence. I find it especially important to highlight is that this should be understood as a western feminist history of sexual violence and not a universal history in any way. I am focusing on the history from 1975 but of course, it is a part of a larger web, both timewise and contextually. Feminist scholars provide a wide range of perspectives on both violence in general and sexual violence in particular but due to limitations of the scope of this essay, it is not possible to make an extensive coverage. I have chosen to include the research that I found brought something to the topic of the thesis and that also gave insight into where the struggles have been within feminist research.

The imaginaries about offenders and victims is a matter that is a large part of feminist critique about sexual violence. Some examples are Susan Brownmiller (1975) and her book *Against Our Will* in which she is critical to the ruling image of that rape was performed by strangers. Angela Y. Davis reflect upon Brownmiller’s book as while it made an important contribution to the literature about rape at that time, it does contribute to a racist ideology. According to Davis (1983), both Brownmiller and other contemporary scholars such as Jean MacKellar and Diana Russel fall into a trap of racist perception of black male offenders even when they try to explain the existence of sexual violence as for example an environmental matter. Despite the just critique against Brownmiller, many of her ideas has continued to develop and lived on in many different forms. For example, continues Elisabeth Stanko (1995) 20 years later to elaborate on that it is a paradox situation that the fear of sexual violence is strongly connected to places and spaces and the imagination of the offender as a stranger, despite how it doesn’t correspond with research about women’s experiences of domestic violence. Stranger-danger is still a popular notion in the news, and considered in relation to statistics of crime rate, those events are over-reported. These representations of crimes are problematic for example the reinforcement of which places and spaces that are dangerous, which also could have consequences for how funding’s and resources are distributed (Greer, 2003; Jewkes, 2015). In their 1991 study of rape coverage in British news, Keith Soothill and Sylvia Walby (Soothill
and Walby in Newburn, 2017) makes the notion that while sexual crimes are common, the cases that are considered “newsworthy” is highly selected (for another example see Gilchrist, 2010 about missing/murdered aboriginal women in Canada). The idea of some bodies and events being more newsworthy than others have been explored by several scholars from different directions; in the iconic text *Mapping the margins*, Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) points out the use of an intersectional perspective to examine how both racialized and patriarchal structures have framed conceptualisations of rape. Matters of violence have been at the core of intersectional theories since Kimberlé Crenshaw introduced the concept to highlight Afro-American women’s experiences to violence in America. Similar to Crenshaw, bell hooks (2000) describe violence against women as intertwined, linked and connected to all sorts of violence. The violence happens between the dominant and the dominated, between the powerful and the powerless. hooks argue that it is a western philosophy of hierarchy and (coercive) authority that lays the foundation for a sexist ideology. According to hooks, feminist movements have focused on male violence and have therefore often overlooked how women can be a part of a dominating group. That also creates sexist stereotypes about who that can be violent – men are violent, women are not. Women are victims, men are not. hooks continue to point out that statistically speaking, women do not exercise abuse and/or battery on men. But women can still exercise power and authority in groups they are involved with, for example on children in family organisations:

“While it in no way diminishes the severity of the problem of male violence against women to emphasize that women are likely to use coercive authority when they are in power positions, recognizing this reminds us that women, like men, must work to unlearn socialization that teaches us it is acceptable to maintain power by coercion or force. By concentrating solely on ending male violence against women, feminist activist may overlook the severity of the problem. They may encourage women to resist male coercive domination without encouraging them to oppose all forms of coercive domination.” (hooks, 2000, p.119)

Another aspect of feminist interest in sexual violence, is the narrative of sexual violence, and maybe the narrative of rape in particular. Amy Chasteen’s (2001) starting point is that cultural understandings of sexual violence are constructed in narratives and can be challenged through feminist interpretations. In a study of 90 women in an US context, it was shown that it existed different understandings and interpretation of rape. The study showed differences between
how black and white women understood and interpreted rape, but also age was a large part of how the violence was interpreted. The women who had grown up with the media narrative of “rape trauma syndrome” was more likely to describe themselves as victims and to speak of “personal destruction” and older women described the violence in terms of social consequences rather than a trauma. This is one example on how historical context, discourses and norms are important to understand how narratives of rape are being constructed. One example of a scholar that have further investigated that notion is Sabine Sielke (2002) that have studied rape rhetoric in American literature between the years 1790-1990. Sielke see sexual violence as a story, and in the US the stories of rape historically are strongly connected to racial discourses, and therefor need critical counter-discourses. The narrative of rape is not only connected to racial discourses, but also closely connected to constructions of sexuality and gender. This pattern of a discourse that are focused on constructions of sexuality and gender will be visible in this thesis, while the narrative of rape as a racial discourse not are established to the same extent in a Swedish context to my knowledge. I will however show in results and analysis how part of my material does connect discourses of immigration and racialization to matters of sexual violence. Sielke continues to describe it as that the feminist anti-rape discourse still are influenced by established representations of sexuality and sexual violence. This established perception is both a product of, and also a part of the creation of the narratives. According to Sielke, the concept of ‘rape culture’ says more about rape as a figure of speech in American culture imaginary than the actual rape.

Another perspective within feminist research about sexual violence is also a critique against the tendency to focus on discourses. One example is Carine Mardorossian (2002) that in the article Toward a New Feminist Theory of Rape is critical towards the postmodern focus on discourse about violence and instead want to see an increased focus on the body. Mardorossian does however not want to go back to radical feminist focus on solely the experiences. Monica Edgren (2011) is critical towards Mardossians view on postmodern feminism as unpolitical. Edgren instead raises the question of what stories of rape does with the understanding of violence in a societal context, more like Amy Chasteen and Sabine Sielke. Edgren does also wonder what the historical situatedness and discursive frames mean for opportunities to tell about experiences, and also what that does to researcher's representations. In the text Fighting Bodies, Fighting Words: A Theory and Politics of Rape Prevention, Sharon Marcus (1992) meets arguments that poststructural theory and feminist knowledge about sexual violence does not work together, similar to Carine Mardorossians
critique. Marcus does, however, dismiss this critique and claims that language is an important part of feminist work and argues that it is just to look at rape trials to see that it is always being a matter of who's words that are given more meaning. Therefore, feminist politics need to have a language for rape and should not ignore the importance of language. In connection to that, Marcus suggests that rape also should be considered as a language itself, and to be able to work preventively we must stop see rape as an absolute part of women's lives. When one thinks about rape as a linguistic fact instead of a fixed reality, the possibility of change rises. Marcus argues that with the focus on that rape has always already occurred there is no political efficacy achieved and that the focus instead should be on prevention. Marcus does also argue that it is necessary to recognize that sexual violence does something to structural positions – a rape is a way of feminising women and to feminise the victim.

The struggle between material and discursive perspective on sexual violence is also visible in Lena Gunnarsson's (2018) article “Excuse me, but are you raping me now?” Discourse and experience in (the Grey Areas of) Sexual Violence. Gunnarsson examines what tensions that can be found in the relation between the experiences (expressed in the narratives) and the discourse of sexual violence. The article shows a need for a language that better describes the experiences of events and actions that falls between sex and sexual violence.

I have given some examples of how feminist research has approached sexual violence from different perspectives. I have primarily focused on examples that deal with the tensions between materiality and discourse focused research since I have found it the most relevant previous research for me to relate to my own research process.

**Methods**

In this section, I will present the theories, methods and methodologies that have been used in this thesis. Especially critical discourse analysis should be read as both a theory and method, but all of my theoretical and methodological approaches should be considered non-separable in this sense. Social constructionism is my overarching theoretical framework together with discourse analysis as both a theoretical and methodological tool. To strengthen my umbrella of social constructionism I have also applied a more specific feminist poststructural approach. I have concepts of power and violence under a separate headline for the sake of reading
experience, but it should also be read and understood as a part of the social constructionist umbrella.

**Social constructionism**

I will here make a short summary of the premises for a social constructionist approach and how it set the frame for my analytical work.

Social constructionism builds upon the idea that there is no objective truth or natural given knowledge. Reality is available for us through the ways we use categorization to make sense and meaning of the world. Knowledge should not be considered as a mirror that reflects "reality", but rather as results of the way we categorise the world. The way we use these categories and how we understand and represent the world is specific to each historical and cultural moment. This means that it is not possible to reveal any truths about the human nature – because what is considered ‘natural’ in one moment of time is not fixed. In a social constructionist perspective, knowledge is maintained and constructed in social processes. Everyday conversations and languages are examples of how and where knowledge is being constructed. Each of these construction does also have implications for what is considered normal or deviant, accepted or not accepted – and what social action that is suitable for each construction of an event. Because of this, constructions and matter of power are in relation to each other, it set the boundaries for what different people can and cannot do. The social construction of knowledge does thereby become a reality with actual complications (Burr, 2015)

**Feminist Poststructuralism**

I position myself within a feminist poststructuralist approach. The feminist prefix means that I apply a critical perspective on how gendered structures and power relations become reproduced, constituted and challenged (Weedon, 1987). It does also mean that I apply an intersectional perspective on how identities and experiences interact and are expressed and manifested in multiple ways through different processes of subordination and exclusion. It does also mean that for example gender not should be seen as a dimension of power that works alone without any interference from other power dimensions. Gender, race, age and other categories do all interact in everyday life, in institutions, ideologies and social practices (Davis K, 2008). I found that all together, this way of applying a critical perspective on both
gendered structures, identities, experiences and interactions of power dimensions together with processes of subordination and exclusion resonated with my aim of the thesis. I will in this section continue to present what a feminist poststructural perspective could entail, and which parts that have had more importance for my work.

To move beyond categories is of interest for poststructural feminism. As has been visible in this thesis, the discourse of sexual violence has been closely linked to women as a category. It has not been an attempt from my side to write a thesis that only focuses on women's exposure to sexual violence, but because of the main perspective in my material. Another reason is the limitations and selections I have done, both with my research question and with my material. By not explicitly stating that I will search for something else than women as victims of sexual violence it did rather become exclusionary. I will continue to discuss this matter in methodological reflections. With that said, I do not find it constructive to ignore that in this particular time in history in the context I have chosen, there are binary and dichotomous perceptions of gender that need to be considered when one think about sexual violence. That it is mostly women that is the object of both research and public attention of sexual violence says something about the matter itself, in my opinion. To clarify my own epistemological position, I consider sexual difference in the discourse of sexual violence as rather social constructions than biological facts. That woman as a category are more present in the discourse of sexual violence is both a result of a perception of only two genders and that these two genders are having different expectations and norms to follow. As Joan Scott (1999) points out, poststructural thinking could be one way for feminists to engage in thinking about how meaning and concepts is volatile and non-stable. Following a poststructural route also means that it is not possible to claim a truth for any given phenomenon or concept (Søndergaard, 2002). For me, that means that I do not argue for finding an essential truth about sexual violence as phenomena, but rather will explore what the possibilities for meaning within the phenomenon.

I have also been inspired by Joan Wallach Scott’s notions of that poststructuralism provide a certain way of studying and examining the how of processes and hierarchies. As for Scott (1999), I do find poststructural thinking of meaning as volatile and not fixed, and that it is useful for feminist analysis of concepts and phenomenon. When Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) introduced the concept of intersectionality she used a metaphor of an intersection to highlight and visualize judicial systems. The metaphor of the intersection has been criticized by
poststructural feminists to not capture nuances and subtleties about how subjects are made discursively and the processes in which it is done (Lykke, 2010). Lykke does also argue that is important for poststructural intersectional feminists to perform intersectional analysis that grasps and capture constructions of subjectivity in discourses. The processes in which subjects are made happen both within and between different identity categories and not only in an isolated particular intersection of two categories. Even if don’t adapt a solely intersectional approach it has influenced me to engage in a perspective on sexual violence and power as multiple, intertwined and diverse.

The poststructural approach does also mean that I interpret the importance of language as something that not either can be easily categorized. Sharon Marcus (1992) argues that language is always pre-existing and therefore something that always scripts us. That should however not be read as that language is something that defined and determine us. Marcus uses the term "rape script" and argues that the term is one way of seeing how social structures addresses our lives and misogynist inequalities at its core:

“These generalized inequalities are not simply prescribed by a totalized oppressive language, nor fully inscribed before the rape occurs – rape itself is one of the specific techniques which continually script these inequalities anew”
(Marcus, 1992, p. 391)

The same way that it is of a poststructural interest to move beyond categories, I interpret a poststructural perspective as it also means to move beyond fixed ideas of that language either constitutes or are being constituted. In this aspect, Marcus explanation of how rape both is being scripted and scripts have been an interesting point of entry to think about sexual violence as a phenomenon.

In summary have a feminist poststructural perspective helped me to find a focus on how to deal with the critical discourse analysis, that I present in the next section. It has functioned as a way framing both the analysing process and my ending reflections on both methodology and the research itself. If I should say something more about why I chose poststructuralism, it would be that I believed it was a theoretical framework that functioned well together with a critical discourse analysis. I believe it does so because they both work from the premise that
linguistic and language matters and could be one way of analysing the cultural phenomenon. It does also capture my epistemological point of entry to the subject of sexual violence.

**Critical discourse analysis**

A discourse can be summarized as a particular way of perceiving and understanding some part of the world around us (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips, 2000). So, to do a discourse analysis can be described as a way to examine how we talk about a certain phenomenon. It can also be used as a way to examine which discourse that is the prevailing one in certain areas. By doing a discourse analysis of the phenomena of sexual violence in Swedish printed media I wished to get a closer understanding of how sexual violence is represented, articulated and negotiated and what the prevailing discourse of sexual violence consists of. As a help for performing my analysis, I have used the Fairclough’s analytical concepts and three-dimensional model (for a visual representation of the three-dimensional model see Fairclough, 1992, p.73.) They have worked as a framework on both a detailed textual level and in a more general and overviewing way to make sense of my material. The three dimensions are then to be applied in a discourse analysis of a communicative event and can be summarized as follows:

- **Text** – a closer analysis of texts themselves, for example, focus on transitivity and modality. Fairclough uses the detailed textual analysis to get insight in how discursive processes can be linguistically read in specific texts but is critical to linguistics that only focuses on textual analysis and not takes interest in the relations between the text and the social world. Fairclough (1992) recommend a detailed analysis and that the material should be carefully selected by looking for ‘cruses’ and ‘moments of crisis’.

- **Discursive practice** – how the text is produced and consumed. Is it possible to follow an intertextual chain of how a certain text transforms and transgress in different settings? A specific text or discursive practice most always be related to other discourses.

- **Social practice** – the last dimension is the larger social practice that the communicative event is a part of. The relation between the discursive practice and order of discourse should be examined. In this part, the researcher should also map out partly non-discursive social and cultural relations that make out the framework for the discursive practice.
The text and discursive practice are closely intertwined but nonetheless needs to be analytically separated in Fairclough's model. According to Fairclough (1992), there is a dialectic relation between discursive practice and social practice. The discursive practice will always be a part of a larger context of social and cultural structures. When it comes to analytical concepts within Fairclough’s three-dimensional model I have looked at modality – what is said explicitly and what is said as an underlying truth? Does the speaker agree with what is being expressed? I have also looked at how events and processes connect or not connects with subjects and objects – transitivity. Intertextuality is a concept I have used to look at how texts relate and bridges to each other and are part of communicative chains. Interdiscourse is an extension of intertextuality and has been used to analyse how some discursive elements from texts travel to new discourses, which means that in every text there are probably several discourses involved. This is also where the order of discourse comes in. The order of discourse has functioned as a framework for choosing which discourses I wanted to include in my analysis. Questions such as which theme the different discourses cover, how do they give meaning, what is the struggle and what are the social consequences, have been leading in this process. In Fairclough’s work, the order of discourse is closely connected to institutions, but according to Winter Jørgensen and Phillips (2000), that is not necessary and that is how I have chosen to interpret it as well. To summarize, the order of discourse helps to circle in discourses that in some way cover the same area. They do however strive in different directions and try to give meaning to the common area in different ways.

My use of Fairclough's model of a discourse analysis is inspired by his use of discourse to analyse media. For Fairclough, it was important to analyse the language in media as an important part of "contemporary processes of social and cultural change" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 2). By analysing the language of media, it is possible to get a closer insight into how media reproduce representation, identities and relations. Fairclough uses these questions as examples of how to do that:

1. “How is the world (events, relationships, etc.) represented?
2. What identities are set up for those involved in the programme or story (reporters, audiences, ‘third parties’ referred to or interviewed)?
3. What relationships are set up between those involved (e.g. reporter-audience, expert-audience or politician – audience relationships)?” (Fairclough, 1995, p.5)
Critical discourse analysis has been useful in this thesis foremost for its adaption on both looking closely at each specific text and at the same time zooming out to a wider picture of how politics, society and culture interact with the individual texts. Discourse analysis work from the presumption of being a critical perspective and is closely related to the concept of power and ideologies. All the different ways of performing a discourse analysis do also share a certain understanding of both language and subjects (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips, 2000). Therefore, the critical discourse analysis does share important conditions with my overarching social constructionist approach and my more specific feminist poststructural approach.

Analytical concepts of power and violence

I have adapted a number of conceptual tools of power and violence. If social constructionism, feminist poststructuralism and critical discourse analysis are to be understood as my overall framework and epistemological approach, this part should be understood as a more hands-on complement of more specific concepts that have helped me to go deeper in the analysis. I have used the concepts in an open-ended, fluid and sometimes intertwined way. In this section, I will present the concept I have used and give a summary of the key elements of each of them. The boundaries between violence, sexual violence and abuse and power are not distinct, either in theory or in a material reality. Therefore, I have included concepts of power to better understand how the sexual violence are visible, or not visible, in my material.

First, I have notions of violence and power that are an intricate part of both a poststructural approach in general and critical discourse analysis in particular. With other words do I find it important to consider language while examining matters of power. Following Fairclough, language is discourse and a form of social practice. Language is historically and socially situated modes of actions and are socially shaped and socially constitutive – it is in a dialectical relation with different aspects of the social (Fairclough, 1995). Fairclough does also focus on ideologies and hegemonies in his critical discourse analysis and therefore also something that has been present in my work. Hegemony could be described as economic, political, cultural and ideological domination in society. It struggles around building alliances with the subordinated and make them align with the given order rather than domination but is not the only form of power in contemporary societies (Fairclough 1992). When it comes to media in particular, Fairclough highlights that mass media’s relation and power to the
surrounding world often is discussed in terms of ideology. Representations, identities and relations are of the essence to see how “ideological work of media language includes particular ways of representing the world” (Fairclough, 1995). No matter which perspective you have on discourse analysis, much inspiration comes from Foucault according to Winther Jørgensen and Phillips (2000). According to Foucault power is divided among a number of social practices and should not be understood as simply interpersonal or between state and subjects. Power and knowledge are closely intertwined and need each other to make sense of the social world and determine how we talk about certain things in the world. The concept of ‘truth’ is in Foucault’s genealogical phase closely connected to his view on power systems and dimensions – truth is always embedded in systems of power (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips, 2000). Despite the closely connection between Fairclough’s model of discourse analysis and hegemony and ideology I aim to adapt a broader understanding of power, which I will continue to present here. In the same spirit I have also an extended understanding of violence as not only interpersonal and physical because it could help to broaden up the stereotypes about who that can exercise violence and power. For if we see violence as only an abusive state of power over someone through actual physical encounters, the stereotypes of victims and offenders will probably remain.

“Accordingly, practices in the state, religion, media and other institutions, nationally and transnationally, are powerful in setting agendas of systems of differentiation and recognition of violence. Gender domination persists in violent institutions and state control of violence, in constructions, identification, naming and defining violence. The very construction of what counts as violence is related to historical relations of gender power, social divisions, ideology and hegemony.” (Hearn et al., 2016, p. 553)

Secondly, I align myself with Amy Allen’s thoughts of that there is a need for a wider and more critical approach to the concept of power within feminist research. Amy Allen (1998) argues for an understanding of violence that includes more than just men’s power over women and women’s power to act. She argues that these two strands of domination-theorists and empowerment theorists fail to engage with the complexity of power and that such a limited feminist understanding of violence neglect the multiple layers of violence and how also women have power over other women. A feminist understanding of power need to include intersections of racism, class, sexism, have a structural perspective and not engage in
essentialist thinking. Further Allen argues that power is complex, and one person can be involved in a number of power relations at the same time. According to Allen, there are three concepts of power that are in particular interest for feminists;

1. Men’s domination of women and how women dominate others because of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, class and age. In this understanding of power as domination, Allen does also place racism, sexism, heterosexism and class oppression.

2. Feminine empowerment – the power that women do have. In this strand of theorist’s that focus on empowerment, there is a difference between seeing the power women has a response to male domination or seeing the power women has as something that happens regardless of the power men have.

3. Feminist solidarity and collective power. While mainstream feminist movements mostly have been a movement for white, heterosexual, middle-class women, Allen argues for finding a way to articulate a collective power among a diversity of women. Solidarity and building alliances between different social movements are crucial for feminist thinking about power.

The concepts themselves are not articulated as intersectional in the texts that I have encountered during this process. But I do find that they align with an intersectional approach to power and that is because of that interpretation I have chosen to include them in my work. Allen is critical to the one-sidedness of conceptions of power. By looking at one aspect of power at the time other aspects of power that forms people’s lives are being neglected. Especially by focusing on either male domination or women’s empowerment different ways of exercising power is being hidden.

Third, I do also use Judith Bessant’s concept of opaque violence (Bessant, 1998). According to Bessant there have been an increased focus on gendered aspects on different forms of violence because of the rising presence of feminism in social sciences. That sexual harassments and discrimination are harmful, and an inappropriate behaviour is almost to consider as consensus within social sciences. Bessant makes the observation that the consensus is built upon notions of that the violence is visible and that the violence is easy to identify. That means that more subtle violence, that is not included in physical violence such as rape, homicide and some sorts of assaults, not is recognized. Bessant argues for the need of a concept of ‘opaque violence’ which would better capture normalized, subtle and systematic
violence. Violence is connected to power and inequalities, and when an unequal power relation exists over a longer period of time that inequality can turn into violence without that being an active choice. Here Bessant claims that this often is the case in organisations and institutions. The opaque violence is often normalized and invisible for those within the organisation. In opaque violence Bessant explicitly include harassments, surveillance, bullying, interrogation, persecution, victimisation, intimidation and subjugation. Hearn and Parkin adapt a similar conception of violence and calls for a:

“… broad, socially contextualised understanding of violence as violation. Accordingly, we define violence as those structures, actions, events and experiences that violate or cause violation or are considered as violating. They are usually, but not necessarily, performed by a violator or violators upon the violated. Violence can thus be seen as much more than physical violence, harassment and bullying. It can also include intimidation, interrogation, surveillance, persecution, subjugation, discrimination and exclusion that lead to the experiences of violation” (Hearn and Parkin, 2001, pp. 16-17)

Choice of method

I have chosen to examine material from Swedish media to do a discourse analysis to get closer to matters of violence. This could have been done in other ways, but I wanted to know more about how language and media representation are interconnected with social questions. My point of departure has been a clear position that sexual violence exists and that it is a problem. Un a further notice, I have aligned myself with poststructuralist feminist researchers and perspectives of the importance of language and how it constitutes and are being constituted with and by the social world around us. Drawing from that position, a textual analysis in form of a critical discourse analysis was a good starting point.

Selection, Limitations and Collection of Material

My selection and limitations can be divided into several different aspects. First, I did choose to only look at the printed newspaper in Sweden. Second, I did choose to limit it down to the month of November 2017 when most articles where published. I then limited it down further by choosing only four national wide papers: Aftonbladet, Expressen, Svenska Dagbladet and Dagens Nyheter. Early on I did also decide not to include shorter notices, press releases and
news flashes. After a first overview of the total material that was produced within the chosen limitations, I decided it was necessary to narrow it down further to make the scope comprehensible. I then chose to focus on debate articles and leading articles and did not include material that was categorised as Culture, Sport, News etc. It was necessary to go through the whole scope manually in order to do that limitation and in that process, I did also remove material that I didn't find relevant at all. That could for example be that #metoo is only mentioned in the last sentence and that the rest of the article did not relate to #metoo at all. After these first structural process of selection and limiting the material there has also been a more fluid process of going back and forward between the focused selection, the wider scope and other texts or communicative events that was being a part of the intertextual and interdiscursive chain. When a debate article has referred to a specific article I have also read that original article.

I collected the material from the database Mediearkivet. The collection was done with help of the limitations that I stated above and by using the search phrases #metoo and metoo. The search for the month of November resulted in 600 hits in total. When I applied my limitations and manually gone through them as stated above I ended up with 44 articles.

Data analysis

After my collection of material, I tried out different way of processing and analysing the material. At that stage it was much of a going backwards and forward process, trying out different angles. Guided by my research questions and aim, I did first a brief overview reading of the chosen articles. Some articles where at this point new to me, and others had I encountered earlier in the process when tried other search phrases and time frames. Since I now felt I had a more comprehensible scope of article I tried to read them with fresh eyes and not be to influence by the material that I had now removed. That have been easier said than done, especially since I also had read the newspapers in November when they first were published and before I even started this project. After this phase I then continued to a more structural reading, looking in particular at modality and transitivity as my chosen theory and method of critical discourse analysis suggested. In this part of the process I did also focus on who the messenger was, and what point they were trying to make. After a first preliminary idea about how to categorize and analyse the material, I did a new reading with those ideas with me from the start, to see if they still made sense. In this step of the process, I started to
look more into intertextuality and interdiscourse and wrote down everything that the material referred to. This step has been repeated several times, both because I discovered new things and therefore changed the way I had categorized the material. To actually go through everything that the material referred to turned out to be one of the keys to find my final themes. By uncover what was behind each of the texts, and contextualise them, was in the end crucial to understand the point they were trying to make.

**Results and analysis**

In this part of the thesis, I will present my results and my analysis. I will present them together as there has been no distinction between the two, but rather an ongoing process of structuring the material, finding results and analysing them simultaneously. Sometimes the analysing has provided new findings and the other way around.

I will start with a short description of the material which consists of 44 written texts. Of these 44 written texts, there are 15 debate articles and 27 editorials/leaders. In the table below, I present the division of actors. Actors, in this case, is the authors of each text. If there were multiple authors to one text, each of the authors is represented in my table and it is the authors own signature that has been used to place them on the table. As the table below shows, journalists are the most visible group of actors, and they are to be found foremost in the leaders/editorials. The purpose of this table is to give a summary of who the speaker is in my material since I will not go into detail about each of the texts. I will work with quotes from the texts to bring forward the points of analysis I am making. That means that I will not go further into detail about each of these texts and that not quotes from each text is included in the final analysis.
Table 1. List of actors in the written material.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-profit organisations</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Academia</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport (football player)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalists/authors</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychologist/doctor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police/criminologist</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsigned leaders</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imam</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-corruption adviser</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Presentation of themes**

I will now leave the specifics about my material behind and move into the main part of my results and analysis. One thing that has been with me all the way through this process is how violence and power operate in entangled and multifaceted ways. I have asked myself questions along the way of what is power and what is violence, and is there a distinction between them? When #metoo started to gain attention in Swedish media a number of complex and diverse understandings of violence and power was represented. In those representations I have seen how the concept of power and violence often work together, but maybe not in outspoken and direct ways. Since I acknowledge power and violence as operating in a mutual and inseparable way, this was something that I found crucial for understanding my material. In my material, I have identified different discourses that deal with the #metoo narrative in slightly different ways. It would, for example, have been possible to do this analysis in a context of employer's liability, working environment and employment condition. I do also see it is as a part of a larger discourse about imaginations about "Swedish equality". It is also possible to see tendencies of how severe sexual violence are spoken about in relation to discourses of immigration. The imaginations of Sweden as equality project and discourses of immigration does also exist together in my material. I have brought these tendencies together under three different themes; **boundaries, institutionalisation** and **tensions**.
In the first theme, *boundaries*, I focus on boundaries between what is perceived as violence, and what is perceived as only bad behaviour or 'something else'. In this theme I have laid much focus on which words that are used to describe actions and events, and if there are any reoccurring patterns. In the second theme, *institutionalisation*, I instead focused on how organisations, institutions and workplaces have been a part of the Swedish mediated discourse of #metoo. I have here got closer into matters such as: who is responsible for sexual harassments, and is it always a matter of leadership? And can #metoo really come as a surprise for so many leaders? The third theme focus on the *tensions* in the material. Where lies the disagreement? And how is it possible that the scope of #metoo can be both something that have always existed and now forcefully being brought to light, and at the same time is something that are new uprising problem to others? This last reflection I found particular interesting, what does it mean that the experiences of a common reality are so far separated from each other? Without a doubt, #metoo seems to have functioned as a gathering point for discussion for a wide range of societal matters. These themes, or discourses, have I identified by first reading articles and looking for what kind of actions and events that are being described, in what context did the actions and events occur, and who was appointed the responsibility. I did also find it necessary to contextualise where and how the representations of violence operate. Within each of these themes, I see that matters of sexual violence have had slightly different meanings, and that the meaning of violence is negotiated in different ways. Still, though, there are in no doubt overlaps between the discourses and the discourses themselves are intertwined, despite my own division and use of themes as a part of my analytical process. This overlap and entangled way of perceiving discourses is in my opinion an example of how the discursive meaning of sexual violence transgress and move depending to each context, and how necessary it is to consider sexual violence as the complex phenomena it is. Before I continue with presenting my analysis I want to hang on to the matter of complexity for a moment and give a preview of what I have found in material. I understand complexity as it means it takes time and effort to think about different aspects of a phenomena. I had a preconception about that this not was the case in my material from mass-distributed media. In general, that preconception could be argued to be correct. I will not get further into journalists working conditions and the process of writing a debate article, but it is of course a limited space each article has in the newspaper and therefore also limited space to get into complex arguments. One way I believe this is visible is by how the matter of employer's liability to prevent and stop sexual harassments have been very highlighted in material and that the Swedish newspapers have been very case oriented. On top of that it is
not even obvious that a tabloid paper should get engaged in more complex debates about what violence could be or not be. It has most revealed to be true when it comes to pinpointing what the "problem" actually is. There are though some examples of expressing quite clearly what they think the general problem are and provide some kind of brief structural analysis, and other expresses it more indirectly or in more vague ways. In the following quote we can see an example of how the problem is addressed more direct:

“So, let us use this moment to reflect on the problem. This is exactly what #metoo has been all about. Not about some TV stars and their abuse, but about a structure where women are less valued than men and are diminished to their gender. A referee, opponent or a support from another team are being called “whore”, “cunt”, or “girl” to mark that not only are they bad men, but rather worse: women.”³ (Karlsten, 2018).

In this quote, we can see a clear position and formulation of what the author considered to be the underlying problem and the whole reason for the success of #metoo – that by having a fixation of celebrities and single cases we miss the whole point of being critical towards sexist structures. My interpretation of this quote is that we have to zoom out from the famous media and culture profiles and look at how practices and language are intertwined and create power structures – foremost a notion that women are less valued than men. As I gave a brief summary of in the background section, this is a matter that has engaged feminist researchers for a long time. As Sharon Marcus (1992) says, sexual violence does something to structural positions, so the violence is not only a result of structures, it does also continue to do something to positions and structures. I see this way of expressing a connection between structure and sexual violence as that the violence itself actually continue to cement binary imaginations of two unequal genders. That leads me to how Teresa de Lauretis (1986) wrote that when one challenge patriarchal discourses, it means one has to challenge the imagination about the differences between men and women. My purpose with this thesis has not been to examine gender in relation to sexual violence, but nonetheless does the concept of sexual violence inevitably end up in that corner. I will return to this matter in my methodological

³ “Så låt oss använda tillfället för att reflektera över problemet. Det är ju exakt detta #metoo har handlat om. Inte om några tv-stjärnor och deras övergrepp, utan om en struktur där kvinnor värderas lägre än män och förminskas till sitt kön. En domare, motspelare eller motsupporter kallas ”hora”,”fitta”, eller ”flicka” för att markera att de inte bara är dåliga män, utan ännu värre: kvinnor.”
reflections, but I want to highlight already now that how imaginations of differences between men and women have been present or not is something that I have considered while reviewing my material.

The examples of how the problem is more vaguely formulated will be further discussed in the theme tension, but I have noticed that this way of discussing the problem is more present in the material that in somehow wants to incorporate an immigration discourse or "other" cultures. This is done by referring to for example reports and then slide over to if, and how, immigrants are mentioned in the selected report:

"The report does confirm that it is a spread of descent among the suspected offenders. All immigrants do not commit crimes, but not all crimes are committed by ethnic Swedes"4 (Wager, 2017).

This is something that I definitely believe could be examined further and more detailed than I have to the possibility to do in this thesis, so there will a bit of elaboration of how to proceed with this issue in the section of future research. Overall, I believe that the themes themselves are a clue to how sexual violence have been represented and negotiated in Swedish media during the month of November 2017 in the light of #metoo – meaning that there are co-existing discourses about institutions and organisation, that there are tensions in how to understand the problem and who to blame and last not but not least what violence even is. I will now go into each of the three themes and present how I perceive that this has been done.

**Boundaries**

One thing that struck me early in the process of this work was how words and concept of molestation, harassments, violations and lesion was used in quite a mixed way and did not necessarily seemed to describe the same things. This made to some extent sense – everyone has a subjective understanding and their own meaning-making processes of events and actions. At the same time, it also gave an idea of the complexity of violence as a phenomenon.

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4 “Rapporten bekräftar också att det finns en spridning av härkomst bland de misstänkta gärningsmännen. Alla invandrade begär inte brott, men alla brott begärs inte enbart av etniska svenskar.”
Those reflections and thoughts lead me further into thinking about boundaries. Where are the boundaries between violence and bad behaviour, and what can we know about the consequences of such a divide? In this section, I will look closer at some examples from my material that I believe says something about how concepts of various forms of violence are used, and how the concept of violence is being present or absent in the Swedish media discourse about #metoo. I will also get closer to how the boundaries between violence and ‘something else’ is both represented and negotiated. One thing that I have looked at is if the narrative of #metoo is placed in a continuum of violence or not. In the latter, there is also a division between what I describe as seeing violence as differed and contextual but rejecting the notion of the coherence between sexist jokes and rape, and those who simply do not see any connections, relation or resemblance between sexist jokes and rape. Let’s start by looking at one example of critique against the causality between unpleasant jokes and rape:

“Do unpleasant jokes about rape contribute to that more men actually commit rape? Maybe, but it could as well be other factors that explain abuse and violence”  
5 (Schreiber, 2017a).

The context of this quote is that the author is questioning a picture of a pyramid of violence that is being circulated as ‘evidence’ of how sexist jokes build up to an escalating scale of violence with rape and murder at the top. In this example, I do not necessarily see a denial of that violence can be seen as a continuum which includes a lot of different actions and events, but I rather see a critique of that sexist jokes and banter not is the only explanation to why we have crimes such as rape. Drawing from an intersectional poststructural perspective, I believe it is possible and maybe even necessary to have discussions about both language and multiple axes of power simultaneously.

That leads me to my next example, in which we can see how the presence of naming events and actions is the core of how the boundaries have been imagined. As this quote articulate the problem, we have known the whole time how common it is sexual abuses and harassments but not used the right language for it:

5 ”Bidrar osmakliga skämt om våldtäkt till att fler män faktiskt våldtar? Kanske, men det kan lika gärna finnas andra faktorer som förklaring till övergrepp och våld.”
"We have all known that women are being constantly exposed to abuse and harassments. We have just not called it sexual abuse and harassments. We know that it was the right word before as well, but we chose not to call it that because words like that demand action" (Swedin, 2017).

This quote is interesting, cause it highlights both the meaning and important of language and what responsibility that comes with it and how that affects the perception of what violence even is. The matter of how language affects the boundaries between violence and non-violence can be closely related to that violence as a term itself does state that there is a problem, and by using violence to describe the problem there is also some recognition of that the problem itself exists (Hearn and Parkin, 2001), which could be said to be the case with the meaning of this last quote. The matter of recognising a problem and then take proper actions to end it is one thing that I will further highlight in the theme institutionalisation. But it can already now be said that surprise of that sexual violence has happened in the nearby surroundings, and not just “somewhere else” is reoccurring:

"The offender does, of course, carry the responsibility for their action, but the wave of exposures does also arise questions about lack of leadership among the employers. Seldom have so many managers been so completely unaware and startled about the working environment of which they are responsible for" (Hildebrandt, 2017).

This way of placing a problem outside one's own surroundings is also relevant to discuss in relation to a tendency of trying to move the discourse into matters of immigration and cultures which I will discuss under the section tensions. To think about how that process happens and take place, I find it useful to consider that violence is also related to moral referents (Hearn and Parkin, 2001). Judith Bessant (1998) describes the problem of defining violence as a result of that definition of violence always relates to norms, moral and legal systems. How

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6 "Vi har alla vetat att kvinnor ständigt utsätts för övergrepp och trakasserier. Vi har bara inte kallat det sexuella övergrepp och trakasserier. Vi visste att det var rätt ord förut också, men vi valde att inte kalla det så, för sådana ord kräver handling."

7 "Förövarna bär själklart ansvaret för sina handlingar, men vågen av avslöjanden väcker också frågor om bristande ledarskap hos arbetsgivarna. För sällan har så många chefer varit så fullständigt ovetande om och häpna över den arbetsmiljö de enligt lag är ansvariga för.”
violence is being named, recognized, problematized and managed are situational and contextual, and the same goes for the everyday understanding of violence. It can also be considered as a constant matter of change, the doing of violence have effects and consequences for how violence is constructed. For example, when levels of violence are increasing, so does also the view of what amount of violence that counts as normal (Hearn and Parkin, 2001) and for example, the subtler form of violence as everyday sexism remain an uncontested part of everyday life (Nichols, 2018). So, if violence is not fixed or neutral, what does that negotiating with boundaries between violence and ‘something else’ look like? As I already have introduced I see a shattered understanding and use of concepts related to violence in the mediated discourse of #metoo that I have examined.

Let’s look at another example of one prominent case that has had high visibility in Swedish media – "Kulturprofilen" and the Swedish Academy. "Kulturprofilen" is literally translated to "The Culture Profile" and he had a close connection to The Swedish Academy, a cultural institution that goes back to 1786 and that selects the winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature. After an article in Dagens Nyheter (Gustavsson, 2017) it was revealed that the “The Culture Profile” was accused of multiple sexual harassments, violations and threats over a long-time period. In a debate article it is described in this way:

“Sara Danius have confirmed that the Culture Profile’s sexual harassment and abuse have been known within the Swedish Academy. The profile has even exposed ‘members, members daughters and members to unwanted intimacy’”

(Sandgren, 2017).

In this quote, there is a clear emphasis on that the accusations against the Culture profile are about sexual harassments and abuse. We can also see a glimpse of how the Swedish Academy themselves described it in the quote-in-quote. Here is a larger extract from the press release that the quote above is referring to:

8 “Sara Danius har bekräftat att Kulturprofilens sexuella trakasserier och övergrepp varit kända inom Akademien. Profilen har till och med utsatt ”ledamöter, ledamöters döttrar och ledamöters hustru för oönskad intimitet.”
"… on the other hand, it has come to light during the meeting that members, members daughters, members wife's and personnel at the Academies secretariat have been exposed to unwanted intimacy or inappropriate treatment by whom it concerns. These experiences would not have come to light without the recent attention regarding these problems”⁹ (Svenska Akademin, 2017).

In this quote, we can see a little bit more of how the language focus on unwanted and inappropriate actions. Words of sexual harassments and abuse are not mentioned at all in the press release from the Swedish Academy. Referring to same action and event’s, they do however use different words to describe it. One consequence of different words are used to describe the same thing is then whose words that counts and given credibility. Sharon Marcus (1992) gives an example of how rape trials fortify the subjective account from men (the accused) as an objective truth, while women’s (the victims) subjective account not are considered as objective truths. I found that notion interesting in relation to this theme of boundaries. If I follow Marcus argument of how some voices are considered objective, and others don't, it can be one way of understanding the how the linguistic of sexual violence are being shaped. One issue with discussions about boundaries and what counts as violence is that it also constitutes knowledge that affects those who were victimized. I presented a brief overview of such a discussion of the struggle between discourse and materialism in the section feminist research about sexual violence, but before I return to that matter I will look closer at one quote about insecurities about boundaries:

“Many girls that contact Bris is also insecure about the boundaries for what counts as violence and abuse. They describe a feeling of being exposed to violence but have at the same time doubts and insecurities of whose fault it is”¹⁰ (Jägerskog, 2017).

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⁹ “…å andra sidan då det under sammanträdet framkommit att ledamöter, ledamöters döttrar, ledamöters hustrur och personal vid Akademiens kansli utsatts för önskad intimitet eller opassande behandling av vederbörande. Dessa erfarenheter hade ej kommit upp i ljuset utan den senaste tidens uppmärksamhet rörande dessa problem.”

¹⁰ ”Många tjejer som kontaktar Bris bär även på en osäkerhet kring var gränsen för våld och övergrepp går. De beskriver en känsla av att ha blivit utsatta för våld men har samtidigt tvivel och osäkerhet kring vem som gjort fel.”
"Where goes the line between what that could be considered okay and what that could be considered harassment or pure abuse? The question is a highly topical, but there is no simple answer than: it differs between different individuals and situations"\(^{11}\) (Schreiber, 2017b).

But if it is as the last quote highlighted, how do we inform and teach the girls from the quote above about where that line goes? I believe it is important as a feminist researcher to also look at preventive work and to consider implications of not using clear definitions and articulation of what boundaries should look like. The theoretical problem with that is the risk with fixation of categories and structures, which often carries with it problems such as a binary understanding of victims and offenders that ignore the complexity of each structural position (Edgren, 2011). On the other hand, I do find Sharon Marcus (1992) notion of that the main advantage to consider sexual violence as a linguistic fact is the possibilities of change and as one way around the problem that sexual violence is something that always has already occurred, or evidently will occur in women's lives. But to return to the girls that had contact with Bris, the quote shows that boundaries are not only important from an offender perspective but also from a possible victim perspective.

**Institutionalisation**

In this section I will discuss how my material have described an institutionalisation of violence. In my material I have seen a substantially focus on working environments and the issue of employer's liability. Schools, theatres, hospitals, restaurants, media and many other branches have been highlighted for not taking enough responsibility. Weak leadership, lack of routines, hierarchies, silence culture and diminishing of the problem. And what is the problem? It is a wide span of bullying, inappropriate behaviour, unwanted touching, flirting, power abuse, sexism, harassments and rape that are being brought up in this discourse. But the most common issue that is addressed is harassments in different forms. In this organization discourse, I do include Swedish schools since I consider a school environment to be equivalent to the students working place and because a school is an institution itself. In my material, I see that sexual harassment is the preferred concept to describe the experiences and

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\(^{11}\) "Var går egentligen gränsen mellan vad som anses okej och vad som kan uppfattas som trakasserier eller rena övergrepp? Frågan är högaktuell, men det finns inga enkla svar mer än: Det skiljer sig mellan olika individer och situationer."
narratives that have been brought forward in the light of #metoo in working situations. The exception of this is when it comes to school environments. In my material it was only one text that focused on schools but with help from reading that text in an intertextual chain it is possible to see a tendency of that schools have not described events and actions as sexual harassments but rather as bullying or unlucky circumstances. I will return to this matter later in this section. But with the concept of sexual harassment, there is often a wide range of understandings of what it can entail. Here are two examples of two opposing positions:

"The hashtag #deadline became the name of 4 084 journalists manifesto against sexual harassment at work. It reinforces the common image of people in power positions that put their surroundings in discomfort – among the whole scale of badly placed jokes, unprecedented boundlessness and sustention of bad cultures to pure abuse and illegal actions”12 (Lifvendahl, 2018).

“If we can’t accept what is a part of ordinary office parties where wasted lads want to bang the telephonist, we are not tough enough as a nation. Office parties have never existed to be ethical role models”13 (Nilsson, 2017).

In this first quote, I see a description of violence on a continuum that also emphasizes that this is how the common people see it. The latter one takes a position of rejecting the whole idea of sexism as a part of a larger problem, in fact, it is not a problem at any level. The two quotes describe two drastically different realities. The fact that there are different lived realities when it comes to sexual harassment is manifested in several ways in my material. It is made visible that sexual harassment has not been a problem at all for some, and a problem that some have had to live with and have strategies for every day. Here I find Bessant’s (1998) concept of opaque violence helpful to think of how it comes that both which words that are used, as presented under the headline boundaries above, and how the severity is described varies.

12 "Hashtaggen #deadline, blev namnet på de 4 084 journalisternas upprop mot sexuella trakasserier på jobbet. Det förstärker den gemensamma bilden av människor i maktpositioner som försätter sin omgivning för obehag - längs hela skalan från illa placerade skämt, exempellös gränslöshet och upprätthållande av sunkiga kulturer till rena övergrepp och lagvidrigheter.”

13 "Om vi inte kan acceptera vad som ingår i normala personalfester där dyngraka grabbar vill sätta på växeltelefonisten är vi inte en tillräckligt hårdhudad nation. Personalfester har aldrig funnits till för att vara några etiska föredömen.”
Even if Bessant places her concept foremost in academia, I find it useful to describe normalization of violence in other organisations and institutions as well. For example, does Bessant raise the question of how do we know and recognize opaque violence and other forms of actions that violate other persons bodily agency? Bessant’s first note is that to be recognized it needs to be visible. If we look at the example with Culture Profile, also presented above under boundaries, the Swedish Academy themselves expresses that the problem hasn't been known until it was presented in the media. To say that it was not known is also interesting when you consider that it obviously was known to members daughters, members wives and personnel. As Bessant expresses it, the violence has only been "opaque for those who have not been a subject to it, or those who have not observed critically those processes in operation” (Bessant, 1998, p. 64).

Following the original #metoo campaign, several new campaigns aroused in Sweden, focusing on more specific groups. One of the first one was #tystnadtagning (the common cue in the beginning of a take; lights, camera, action) that brought up harassments and violence in the theatre and film sector. Hundreds of actresses got together and gave testimony about their experiences, which included rape, threats and power abuse. But from what was presented in my material, and also in other articles outside my original scope, this phenomenon was new information to for example the head manager of The Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm (Sundkvist, 2017). Here was the dimension of power abuse both explicitly a part of #tystnadtagning and at the same time a surprise to the head manager. The notion of surprise within an organisation is visible in the case with the theatres, the Swedish Academy and probably several other cases that are outside my scope. Here I find it useful to look at how Hearn and Parkin (2001) describes the existence of any organisational problem of bullying, violence or harassments as things that simply does not ‘just happen'. That raises questions about why the violent experiences of rape, threats and power abuse etc. came as such a surprise for some managers. Was it because of power dimensions that put the manager far away from his employee, and is unawareness a state of power? And also, is the unawareness to be consider as intentional or unintentional? Allen (1998) argues for the need for feminists to have a definition of power-over that doesn’t exclude actions that are performed without an agenda since a feminist approach to power should aim to capture the exercise of power that are done on routine and unintentionally. That #metoo has resulted in a number of surprised organisations (at least towards the public) could possibly be interpreted as how common it is for opaque violence and routinely exercised power to remain hidden for those who are not the
subject of violence or being the subordinated. An examination and close analysis of particular organisations and institutions could get more detailed insights in how these matters have been dealt with before, during and after #metoo.

When it comes to schools, or the students working environment, two problems, in particular, occur in my material. First, we have the notion of sexual molestations and harassment against girls and second, teachers and principals that don't set clear boundaries and doesn't execute reprimands. On a more hands-on level, the discourse circulates around that employers or principals have a legal obligation to deal with sexual harassments, and that #metoo shows that they do not take enough responsibility.

“This week we came also, the most important campaign within #metoo, #quietinclass. 1700 children from elementary school up to high school give testimony about abuse and harassments, both from peers, teachers and other adults in the school. In short, it is about girls stories about betrayal from adults”\(^{14}\) (Jägerskog, 2017).

In the quote I also see the issue of responsibility for adults to be good role models. When they do not live up to their legal responsibility for dealing with sexual harassment it is an example of how the operating power can hide from violence and others can't. Of course, can also the leader of an organisation be harassed but here I am thinking more about the neglect of employees and students. Here come matters of age into play – what power does a teenage student has compared to an adult teacher or principal? The adults in a school environment have power over the students by setting the rules and also by not addressing or ignoring complaints. A school environment is not isolated from norms that constitute what's considered normal or deviant behaviour. When a school expresses that sexual harassment is just a matter of immature boys, I see it in a larger image of what violence ‘really is'. It does also ignore that sexual harassment can be anything else than a heterosexual action and that no others than girls can be the victim.

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\(^{14}\) ”Denna vecka kom också, det viktigaste uppropet inom #metoo, #tystiklassen. 1700 barn från grundskolan upp till gymnasiet vittnar om övergrepp och trakasserier, både från jämnåriga och från lärare och andra vuxna i skolan. Det handlar kort sagt om tjejer berättelser om svek från vuxenvärlden.”
This next example is once again about the case with the "Culture Profile", but no matter the specific case I thought this quote showed how a critical understanding of power has been an important part of trying to make sense of the material in relation to working environment and employer's liability. In this quote there is a perception that there must have been people in power positions in the surroundings that should have intervened:

"It was obviously a clever move. Many have been afraid of reporting him. He has, after all, had the power to affect their professional future. But not everyone that have had knowledge about his abuse is quite likely to have been in a position of dependency to him. Those who themselves are in power, why haven't they tried to stop him?" 15 (Abramowicz, 2017).

The author address that not everyone around the person in question could have been in a position of dependency, and therefore should have had the possibility to take action. I interpret this as a fixed view and understanding of power as something stable and hierarchical and that some people have better possibilities to take action. This goes hand in hand with how it has been pointed out in several parts of the material that the problem really is bad leadership. I think that it is crucial to consider privileges as something that often implicates possibilities of having agency, but I would also like to do a critical reflection about the difficulties to point out privilege in a fixed hierarchical way. In this quote above is not said explicitly that is a matter of the person in questions manager, instead, it focuses more on the fact that people with some sort of power should have done something. But, how do we identify power in a more informal setting? And, if we imagine power as something that changes depending on each moment and context, what does the power look like when it is a matter of events and testimonies of abuse that goes back in time, that also seems to have been widely known within the particular sphere? I believe that one reason for why working environments and employer's liability have been such a popular angle on #metoo lies in that it is easy to point out who has been in power, and who to blame. As Allen (1998) point out, that is characteristic for domination theorists view on power. To have power over someone is to be the dominating part. Following that logic, one could argue that the person in the quote was the

15 "Det var uppenbarligen ett smart drag. Många har varit rädda för att anmäla honom. Han har trots allt haft makten att påverka deras professionella framtid. Fast alla som har känt till hans övergrepp har rimligtvis inte stått i beroendeställning till honom. De som själva är makhavare, varför har de inte försökt hindra honom?"
most dominating agent since the other people with some kind of undefined power was not able to do something.

To return once again to the situations in schools and connect it to the previous section of *boundaries*, there is also representations of an absence of information and help from teachers to learn about boundaries and to intervene in situations:

"Not once during the years in school did someone talk to us about boundaries and consent. On the contrary were we girls told that 'he beats/touches/pull your hair because he is love with you' already in the sandbox"\(^{16}\) (Wistfors, 2017).

That girls have been told systematically that harmful actions not only are acceptable but also a sign of love and affection, I would argue could be an example of how children from a young age adapt and get used to ‘opaque violence'. The violence becomes invisible at a young age and then need to be unlearned to discover it.

**Tensions**

In this section, I will focus on where I have found tensions, disagreements and a sense of discourses going in opposite directions. To consider the possible tensions in my material is directly related to my poststructural framework. Joan Scott (1999) argues that to study a concept means to pay attention to those conflicts in which meaning gets established. I will therefore here examine that mediated tension more to get a closer understanding of how it comes that a problem can be so drastically different formulated. The main tension that I have found and that I will focus on in this section is how the content of #metoo in my material is both articulated as something brand new in Sweden:

“Responsible parents thus wise to enlighten their daughters about the verity of reality. The new Sweden require greater caution”\(^{17}\) (Kärrholm, 2017).

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\(^{16}\) "Inte en enda gång under skolgången pratade någon med oss om gränser och samtycke. Däremot fick vi flickor höra att ”han slår/tar på/drar dig i håret för att han är kär i dig” redan i sandlådan.”

\(^{17}\) ”Ansvarsfulla föräldrar gör således klokt i att upplysa sina döttrar om verklighetens realiteter. Det nya Sverige fordrar större försiktighet.”
… and at the same time articulated as something that has been known and taken for granted by others:

“While most women reacted with a sense of ease over that the problems finally got attention, many men overwhelmed”18 (Dagens Nyheter, 2017).

Among those who articulate #metoo and matters of sexual violence as something new and uprising, one tendency is to incorporate immigrants and notions of Swedishness. This is a thing that is not the most visible in pure numbers, but still there. This pattern becomes more visible if I expand my scope and especially if I follow what each article referring to. In those examples it is visible that there is a tendency to focus on registered crimes, especially those who fall into the category of being more severe. That means that it is a focus on reports, statistics etc. instead of being an experience-driven narrative. This tendency to connect certain bodies that are being categorised as refugees, black, immigrants or "the Others" is seen both in Europe and in a global perspective according to Anna Bredström (2006). There is also a tendency to speak about these events and actions as something new and as that there has been quite a recent negative development. The fault of this development is variously explicit, but in no doubt connected to ideas about the last year's immigration to Sweden. When I did the limitations of my material it gave the consequence that I had a more limited entry point to this issue. Despite that, I do find it necessary to include matters of othering into my discussion about sexual violence and power in Swedish media during #metoo. I do especially draw that conclusion from Stuart Hall’s notion of how ‘Others’ become a spectacle of representation. Hall argues that representation signify a racial ‘Other’ and racialized differences become established in western culture (Hall, 2013). I will argue that it is relevant because even if it is not the most visible discourse within my limitation of material from November 2017, I do see that is there in bits and pieces, and also was there both before and after my choice of limitations. One example of how immigrants are perceived in the discourse of sexual violence can be seen in this quote:

18 "Medan de flesta kvinnor reagerade med en känsla av lättethet över att problemen äntligen uppmärksammas, överrumplades många män."
"To what extent we can secure girls freedom by providing more and clearer information to newly arrived immigrants is hard to calculate, but due to obvious reasons it is a thing that can not be overlooked"19 (Wager, 2017).

Here I interpret the quote as that the problem is pinpointed to an issue about newly arrived immigrants lack of education of how things are done here in “equal Sweden”. As the earlier quote above about “the new Sweden” (Kärrholm, 2017), both authors are referring to the increasing numbers of exposure of sexual offences among the population of women age 16-24 years old. One of the authors is paraphrasing statistics from the Swedish Crime Survey (see more information about Swedish statistic in the section Swedish Context) and concludes that despite the hidden figures in statistics about sexual offences, the actual numbers are increasing. It is also concluded that the most common offenders are an unknown man and that the offences take place in public areas. Having read the report of the last Swedish Crime Survey I find it strange that the author, criminologist and police, do not highlight that within the statistics of sexual offences is included a variety of crimes that makes it hard to draw any general conclusions of either offender, place and increased numbers. The text continues:

“The question is what the increase comes from? Brå has not presented any hypothesis, but the reasons are probably multiple. Possible explanations are weaker societal control, less functioning schools, increasing consumption of violent pornography and dissolution of norms in general. Another explanation could be that Sweden have gotten an unnatural gender imbalance, as a consequence by that a majority of asylum seekers is young men. In the year 2016 it was 116 teenage boys by 100 teenage girls, according to numbers from the Swedish Migration Agency. In the year 2011 the relation was 106 to 100”20 (Kärrholm, 2017).

Similar to the previous quote, both authors apply a rhetoric of that first saying that we can't know for sure what the reason is – but just so you know, we should still consider

19 "I vilken mån flickors frihet går att tillförsäkra genom tydligare information till nyanlända går därför inte att säga, men är av lätt insedda skäl inget som bör uteslutas.”

20 "Frågan är vad ökningen beror på? Brå har inte presenterat några hypoteser, men orsakerna är med säkerhet flera. Tänkbara förklaringar är svagare social kontroll, sämre fungerande skolor, ökad konsumtion av våldsam pornografi och allmän normupplösning. En annan förklaring kan vara att Sverige fått en onormal könsbalans, till följd av att majoriteten asylsökande är unga män. 2016 gick det 116 tonårspojkar på 100 tonårsflickor, enligt siffror från Migrationsverket och Statistiska Centralbyrån. 2011 var förhållandet 106 och 100.”
immigrants parts in this. This way of articulating and represent the problem is problematic from several perspectives. One reason is of course that I would argue that it is almost impossible to speak of sexual violence as a new problem in Sweden. As several feminist scholars have pointed out, especially since the 1970's, sexual violence exists and is both a material and discursive facts in many people's life, both on a global and local level. As I have also shown in the section institutionalisation, sexual violence is intertwined with matters of power and have on the contrary been such an intricate part of organisation and institutions that it becomes invisible in many occasions. Another reason for why the perception of immigrants as the reason for sexual violence in Sweden is that it imprints an essentialist image of (non-western) immigrants as one homogenous group that needs to be educated and that (western) non-immigrants on the opposite do not need to be educated about equality and human rights. To connect immigration, and especially immigrated boys and men, to a rape discourse is however not a new phenomenon. In the year 2000, a girl was abused by a group of young men in what was named the Rissne-rape in Swedish media. This started a public debate both about immigrated men and their view on women and criminality. In one TV debate, the reporter ends the session with the question if there is something with the Swedish culture that could function as a vaccine towards rape? As Anna Bredström (2006) points out in her text, Maskulinitet och kamp om nationella arenor – reflektioner kring bilden av “invandrarkillar” i svensk media, this example of a TV debate both relies on imaginations of "us" and "them" and summarize what could be described as banal nationalism and cultural racism. Bredström continues to argue that this is how Swedishness become a synonym for gender equality while "the Others" instead becomes constructed by sexualised practices and ideas of a patriarchal culture that is the opposite of equality.

While some articulate #metoo to reveal a whole new problem, as I just discussed, others instead focus on how this has been a part of their life for as long as they can remember, and others shows a middle way of admitting that it is not something new but that the magnitude has come as a surprise:
"These stories are horrible and probably leave no one unaffected. That is have been going on during such a long time without that women have dared to testify does also show that it is a serious shortage in our society"\textsuperscript{21} (Virk, 2017).

A fourth scenario, that I think is in the direct opposite of the last quote above, is the concern of #metoo bringing unwanted change to an area that should not be problematic at all. As one journalist describes another columnists statements about his concerns with #metoo:

"The future will judge us hard for making such a big thing of abuse, he believes, we deprive thereby future generations of youths 'a chance of the delight of sexuality'. Ergo, the delight of sexuality for 'drullputtar'"\textsuperscript{22} (Magnusson, 2017).

In this quote, there is a resistance against the view of that #metoo destroys the youths sexuality. But as the journalists point out, the quoted columnist self speaks about a sexual freedom, that is not a sexual freedom for everyone he argues for. Once again, the concept of opaque violence can be used to understand how it simultaneously can be a matter of sexual violence for one person and a matter of sexual freedom for someone else. The action and event that one-person experience as violence is so embedded in a sexist ideology that it remains a part of “normal” sexuality for another.

Summary

I have now gone through the three themes and will make a brief summary before I move on to my concluding discussions. In \textit{boundaries}, I have shown how sexual violence is constantly negotiated and given different meaning depending on norms, moral and legal systems. When violence occurs, it does also do something for how violence continues to be constructed in each given context. In \textit{institutionalisation}, I have shown how the Swedish discourse of #metoo gave a lot of focus on employer's liability and workplace environments. How leaders and managers have not noticed any sexual harassment can be seen both in the light of that the

\textsuperscript{21} "Dessa berättelser är fruktansvärda och lämnar nog ingen oberörd. Att det pågått under så lång tid utan att kvinnor vågat vittna om det visar också på en allvarlig brist i vårt samhälle."

\textsuperscript{22} "Framtiden kommer att döma oss hårt för att vi gör en så stor sak av övergrepp, tror han, ty vi berövar därmed generationer av unga "chansen till sexualitetens glädje". Eller ja. Sexualitetens glädje för "drullputtar", alltså."
harassments were so “in the walls” that it remains hidden and that it is a need to blame someone, in this case, to blame it on weak leadership instead of a specific offender. In tensions, I have brought up how sexual violence is being related to a discourse of immigration in Sweden and therefore is perceived as a new problem. Finally, I did also show how some voices articulate #metoo as unnecessary and neglect that sexual violence is a part of the #metoo narrative.

Concluding discussions

Conclusions

Now I will return to my research question and present the conclusions I have drawn from that. My research question has been: How has the phenomenon of sexual violence been negotiated, formulated and represented in Swedish media during #metoo? I have come to some answers, but most of all I have raised a lot of new questions.

First of all, when I try to summarize my conclusion of performing a critical discourse analysis of sexual violence through the lens of #metoo in Swedish printed media, my very first thought is how much harder it seems to be to speak about violence on a structural level, compared to pinpoint an offender. Structures are more complex than just blaming one “bad” offender, and I believe that is the case when mediated discourses in particular. Media operates in their own particular ways to satisfy readers and owners. Without getting into the whole topic of the conditions of producing news and printed media today, there is of course limits in both time, economy and resources that affects those things. That media has a tendency to focus on specific offenders and simplify complex matters is maybe not such a surprise with that in mind. When Mona Livholts (2007) did research of how Swedish media reported about Hagamannen, a serial rapist in Umeå during the time period of 1998-2005, she summarized it as what it all came down to, was the normal and ordinary’s relation to deviancy. That tendency has been visible in material as well. In my opinion, it is possible to see that in the beginning of November when #metoo just has started to get attention, it was more focus on celebrities and individuals that was pointed out as the bad apples, demanding their retirement and step away from the public. If I then go chronologically, there started to slightly move towards a more general discussion. I believe that progress is visible much thanks to the fact that during this time several local sub-campaigns to #metoo got together and gained a lot of
attention in Swedish media. That leads me to my second thought of how important it have been that a large number of people have organised themselves among this matter. Without the sheer numbers, I am not sure #metoo would have been so successful in terms of attention in Sweden. That leads me to my third thought, who has been represented in material and can I draw any conclusion from that? The way I see it, sexual violence is always related to several power dimensions (gender, class, age, sexuality, race, etc.). But other dimensions than gender is seldom highlighted in my material, except from immigrants as ‘problems’. Since I have had some material that relates to school environments, age have indirectly been present.

Nonetheless, the sexual violence that is represented in my material does reinforce a heteronormative script of the problem – with a few exceptions. So, what do I mean with a heteronormative script of sexual violence? It means that while women are the only represented group of victims, it is simultaneously a narrative of men as the only offenders, and men are the offenders because of heterosexual desires. This have implications for how it is possible to discuss matters of sexual violence on both a structural and intrapersonal levels. I would argue that #metoo have had an impact for highlighting women’s experiences of sexual violence, but that doesn’t mean that it is simple matter of men always exercising power over women. If I go back to the part where I discuss how sexual violence is a part of larger organisational structures when it comes to working environments etc. it is hard to ignore that also women can have been part of those structures, enabling a sexist work environment. Besides that, it cannot be ignored that the LGBTQ perspective not have been adapted in my material, with one exception.

So, how has the phenomenon of sexual violence been negotiated, formulated and represented in Swedish media during #metoo? I would conclude that sexual violence has been negotiated and formulated as something that still happens somewhere else, by someone else and the boundaries between violence and "something else" has a direct connection to that. The further away the violence has occurred, the more likely it is to be called violence at all. Sexual violence has been represented as something that now is common, and a part of our society, but not necessarily a part of a Swedish culture. Sexual violence is also represented as a matter that happens within the context of heterosexual desire, but once again, someone else's desire.
**Methodological reflections**

Before I move on to my conclusions I would like to reflect upon my methodological choices and the process of conducting my analysis. I will bring up my own use of language, address the issue of translation and reflect upon the consequences of my selection and limitation of material.

I have used violence as the overall term to not let some actions and events slip away as non-violent. The words I use to describe events and action is not innocent and should not be considered to be neutral. When, and if, I make a difference between violence and for example harassments, I would as a researcher imply that harassment is something other than violence. I make no claim to know anything about any event that been highlighted in the #metoo campaign, but as I wished to further bring into the light with this thesis, does discourses about sexual violence matter for how we make meaning and interpret what constitutes as ordinary and deviant and boundaries between violence and non-violence. I am not separated from that discourse and have occasionally had struggles with choosing which words to use when. The issue of translation is also an important factor in that process. I am native Swedish speaker and have read and analysed Swedish newspaper. There is evidently a risk of subtle meanings getting lost in translation, especially when it comes to expressions that do not have an obvious English translation. In those cases, I have tried to look at both more formal translations such as dictionaries, but also to look broader into non-formal, everyday expressions. To give some examples; in my material, I have often stumbled upon expressions and words such as *svin, skitstövlar* and *tölpar*. All together I would describe these characteristics as for example being a bastard, male chauvinist, a pig. But if I would go into detail and translate each of these words, the demands on me as translator rise, how do I translate those small, subtle differences between the words so that the meaning remains when it comes out on the other side of the translation process and what meaning will the receiver add? Another important aspect is wording to describe both legal and material aspects of events and actions. *Sexuella trakasserier, sexuella övergrepp, sexuella ofredanden* and *våldtäkt* can all quite simply be directly translated by looking into English translations of the Swedish law. I would rather say that it is in the next step that translation issues can arise. The Swedish legal meaning of sexual harassments does not necessarily have the same meaning as some other juridical system.

Since the purpose of this thesis is not to compare juridical systems, I have used the legal terms
of sexual offences as they are being used in the juridical system in Sweden when I discuss legal aspects.

Even if I have chosen the month when most articles were published in Sweden, I had to make limitations to a certain kind of material to make it comprehensible to deal with within my scope of both time and pages. To include more months, and other sorts of articles could have laid the foundation for an even more solid analysis, and maybe could have opened up for new perspectives on the phenomenon of sexual violence which I did not cover in this thesis. Despite that, I feel comfortable that I had enough material to make the analysis and conclusions that I have done, and that more material could even have been an obstacle within my time frame. That I have used only printed media as my material have the consequence that I can't make any general conclusions about how the phenomenon of sexual violence have been articulated and negotiated out among the public in general. I can only know how those representations are being articulated and negotiated in my particular chosen part of media. With that said, I think it is important to examine media as it is a part of society (Fairclough, 1995) and therefore a part of how sexual violence as a phenomenon is articulated among the people in the society.

My aim with this thesis was to examine how sexual violence and power is articulated in a public discourse in this particular historical moment in a Swedish context. It was a conscious choice to not make any limitations to how sexual violence was articulated depending on the gender of either the victim or the offender in specific cases. I wanted to have a broader opening to my topic and examine the phenomenon itself, not to focus on either a victim or offender perspective. Despite that, gender has been an inevitable part of the whole process of working with this thesis. Even if I did not choose to examine women's experience of sexual violence, in particular, it has been the major part of both my material and the most addressed perspective on sexual violence in both theory and previous research. One important reason for why most research has been focused on women and sexual violence is, of course, the existing numbers and statistics that show that women are the most common victims of sexual violence. I have three reflections about the consequences of this dominating perspective, that I am also a part of reproducing with this thesis. First, that my material almost solely focuses on women as victims and men as an offender, does itself say something about how the discourse of sexual violence is being done in Sweden right now and should therefore not be ignored. Second, it does also hide sexual violence that happens to or within other constellations than
men offending women and third, it affects what we know about the consequences of being exposed to sexual violence. In *Orsak: våldtäkt – Om våldtagna män i medicinsk praktik* (Lindberg, 2015) the author Jens Lindgren points out that there is no coherent research about the health care for raped men, neither on an international or national level. One way I could have tried to expand beyond the dominating perspective of women and sexual violence was by applying Matsudas (1991) “Ask the other question” methodology. But, that would also have meant that I would have needed to find other material, or maybe go outside the mediated space of #metoo in Swedish media to find something at all. So, despite that I see the use of having an approach that more actively searched for material that could have said something about sexual violence and men, I do believe it would have been a totally other thesis.

I have applied Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of a critical discourse analysis to my material. Winter Jørgensen and Phillips (2000) give critique to how it is possible to separate discursive practices with non-discursive practices when they are in a dialectic relation to one another. I agree on Jørgensen and Phillips that the intertwined character of critical discourse analysis is a problem that any researcher need to deal with one way or another if critical discourse analysis is the chosen theory and method. On a personal note it has been a struggle to figure out how to apply it, but at the same time, I believe that the point with seeing discursive and non-discursive practices as dialectical is because outside a text they often are. Another critique is that Fairclough only analyses separate texts. According to Winter Jørgensen and Phillips, there is a better chance of bringing change if you look at the interlocking patterns of how texts reproduce and transform discourses. In this case, I would argue that with the use of both intertextuality and interdiscourse it is possible to go outside of analysing just one text. That is how I have interpreted the possibilities of a critical discourse analysis and also how I have applied it during the work with this thesis. Another critique against both Fairclough and discourse analysis, in general, is that there is a lack of understanding of subjectivity, group processes and agency (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips, 2000). At least the matter of agency I do think I have managed to incorporate in my critical discourse analysis by incorporating more fluid perspectives on power, and it shows the importance of bringing in other theories and concepts to build a foundation for the critical discourse analysis. Otherwise, it becomes empty of meaning.
**Future research**

In this section, I elaborate on the topic and subjects that I have found during the process and that has left me curious and that I want to know more about.

When it comes to future research, I would definitely suggest looking closer at how "Swedishness" is articulated in Swedish media during #metoo. I see the possibility of examining both how othering happens and how Swedish culture is articulated as something that automatically means equality. From an intersectional perspective, there are also other possibilities to discover tensions within the visible narrative itself. One thing that I think would be possible to examine closer is whose narrative that is being picked up in media and if there are differences about how the discourse of violence are being negotiated. As Campbell and Raja (1999) points out in their study about secondary victimization, women of colour and women of lower socioeconomic status have a higher probability of negative experiences of community services. That is a question I would like to see more problematized in a Swedish context. It would not only be of interest to know more about how the experiences of help differ but also visibility in media and what those two facts does to women of colour, in Sweden, own understanding and meaning-making processes of what counts as violence.

I have from time to time during the process of writing this essay thought about applying a Foucauldian genealogy perspective. Even if I would argue that I have been influenced by a going from the present to the past thinking, it has not been my methodology for this thesis. Therefore I would like to bring forward that option for future research about the concept of sexual violence in Sweden. To do a genealogy of such a phenomenon in a certain geopolitical context would give an overview I would be interested in reading because of its potential of avoiding constructs of chronologies. With the many stories that #metoo have brought forward, it would also be interesting to deepen the knowledge about how the narrative of sexual violence looks like in this particular historical moment and situation. In a similar way that the uprising notion of victimization in the 1970's affected that moments cultural understanding of sexual violence (Edgren, 2011), I would want to know more about what the biggest influence for contemporary narratives is.

As I started to discuss in my *methodological reflections*, gender is an inevitable part of research about sexual violence. Especially within feminist research it continues to be crucial
to acknowledge both the global problem of sexual violence against girls and women, to have a critical approach to which bodies we include in research about sexual violence, and to be careful to not establish an essential and binary perspective on that sexual violence is only something that happens to women by the hands of men. In this way, I am on an agreement with bell hooks that feminist research needs to have a wider understanding of how power is being exercised and manifested to not get stuck in the sexist ideology we are trying to break free from.

Forward-looking reflections

So, what about the future? What kind of tendencies can I see in Swedish media when it comes to looking forward? I have now gone through my three different themes; boundaries, institutionalisation and tensions and will here bring them all together and end my analysis with a closer look at how the future has been articulated. I will also make a more overarching general forward-looking reflection, drawing from the work of this thesis in general.

Maybe the most obvious articulation in my material is the “we have had enough” approach. It comes together with a view on the future as that finally there will be some real changes, manifested with headlines such as När kvinnorna fick nog – When women had enough. Except the headlines the future is also addressed in several occasions in my material. Here I will present a few examples:

“On a mere intrapersonal level I am convinced that #metoo with all its branches, now create a before and after”23 (Lifvendahl, 2017a)

“Will this fall change anything, is many that now wonders. Is it a before and a after Metoo? The direct consequences we are already seeing. More women dare to step forward and report about abuse and harassments. More offenders are being reported, more are being publicly named and that have in turn forced many employers to answer vigorously: with internal investigation, crisis summits and

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23 ”På ett rent mellanmänskligt plan är jag övertygad om att #metoo med alla sina olika grenar, nu skapar ett före och ett efter.”
even police reports. New patterns are now being carved out in workplace cultures, where the risks are getting higher for men that abuses their power”\textsuperscript{24} (DN, 2017)

“There are those that worries that when MeToo cools off everything will go back to how it used to be. But they haven’t understood that the most important change already has occurred: women have had enough. When they now say, ‘never again’, the society have already changed”\textsuperscript{25} (DN, 2017).

As indicated in these quotes #metoo is being named a revolution, an unstoppable force etc. My interpretation is that it therefore also implicates change. So, how will this change happen? Or has it already taken place? When speaking about change, or the “new time”, I noticed that it often was combined with the demand and call to put the guilt and responsibility where it belongs:

”It is now 2017 and it’s about time that the responsibility is being placed where it belongs: at the judicial system, health care, social services and self-evidently at the perpetrators”\textsuperscript{26} (Wistfors, 2017).

As a following note to the encouragement for different parts of society to take responsibility, I also want to bring up how politicians have engaged in the matter. The Swedish Minister for Children, the Elderly and Gender Equality, Åsa Regnér writes in debate article:

“I will make sure that all the brave and painful testimonies about violence and misogyny not have been in vain but can contribute to an equal change of society, an end to diminishing practices and silence culture […] Swedish history of equality show that big steps take through political decisions. Equality means a dislocation of power and doesn’t happen automatically, by itself, or with the next generation […] I will take care of women’s anger during Metoo and

\textsuperscript{24}”Kommer den här hösten att förändra något, är det många som undrar nu. Finns det ett före och ett efter Metoo? De direkta följderna ser vi redan. Allt fler kvinnor vågar träda fram och berätta om övergrepp och trakasserier. Fler förövare anmäls, fler hängs ut offentligt och det har i sin tur tvingat många arbetsgivare att svara kraftfullt: med internutredningar, kriminalen och till och med polisamnalningar. Nya mönster mejlas nu ut i arbetsplatskulturen, där riskerna blir högre för män som missbrukar sin makt.”

\textsuperscript{25}”Det finns de som oroar sig för att när Metoo svalnar kommer allt gå tillbaka till hur det var förut. Men de har inte förstått att det viktigaste skiftet redan har skett: Kvinnor har fått nog. När de nu säger ‘aldrig mer’, har samhället redan förändrats.”

\textsuperscript{26}”Det är nu 2017 och hög tid att ansvaret läggs där det hör hemma; hos rättsväsendet, vården, socialtjänsten och självklart hos förövarna.”
systematically go through the manifestos for a continuously strategic work to upgrade women’s labour, knowledge and value.” (Regnér, 2017).

That a minister talks about how equality means a change of power is meaningful in terms of state and governmental power. That a problem is acknowledged by people with political power could be argued to be one step towards change. According to Chris Weedon (1987) institutions defines the language of justice and should be considered to do so with certain values and interests in mind. For legal institutions this means that they become a discursive site of struggle. Depending on by who, and from which position, the interpretation of the particular is made the struggle will vary and come in different forms. My interpretation is that if we look at legislation, for example, new legislation does also set definitions and names for crimes and could have normative effects on the public negotiations of what a “real rape” is? Drawing from Weedon’s notions of language as discourse, and from a feminist poststructural perspective on institutions it is of interest to consider how politicians articulate and give credibility or not to a matter. The Swedish Minister for Children, the Elderly and Gender Equality speaks about a Swedish history of equality, but what kind of future of equality does she see? That leads me to one of my most crucial question, when have changed occurred in the matter of sexual violence? And who decides when that have happened? Legislation and politics can be one way, but that does not stop the sexual violence from happening. Sharon Marcus (1992) makes an effort in her essay Fighting Bodies, Fighting Words to focus on how feminist researchers, activist and policy workers, especially in the United States, almost always see sexual violence as something that have already occurred. Even if they fight for better legislation, better police procedures and increased penalties, that will not stop the sexual violence from happening in the first place. By this taken for granted approach, sexual violence continues to be an inevitable part of women's life according to Marcus. Marcus way around this problem is to consider rape, or sexual violence in more general terms, as a linguistic fact. By considering sexual violence as linguistic fact it opens up more possibilities

27 ”Jag kommer att se till att alla modiga och smärtsamma vittnesmål om våld och kvinnohat inte har varit förgäves utan kan bidra till jämställd samhällsförändring, slut på förminsande och tystnadskultur… Svensk jämställdhets historia visar att stora steg tas genom politiska beslut. Jämställdhet innebär förskjutning av makt och sker inte per automatik, av sig självt, eller med nästa generation… Jag kommer att ta vara på kvinnors ilska under Metoo och systematiskt gå igenom uppropen för ett fortsatt strategiskt arbete för uppvärdering av kvinnors arbete, kunskap, erfarenheter och värde.”
to something that actually can change. Instead of being a fixed, unchangeable subject sexual violence then become a subject open to change.

That leads me into thinking about how sexual violence at a first glance often is consider as a simple matter of condemning unwanted actions. But as I have tried to show in this thesis, it is anything but a simple matter. So how can something so simple become so complex? Do theoretical approaches to lived, embodied experiences actually stand in the way for ending sexual violence? I do not believe so. Because when a phenomenon’s complexity is ignored, so is also other embodied and material realities. And if scholars, activist and professionals do not pay attention to what is missing in the dominating discourse about phenomenon’s such as sexual violence, there cannot either be a way forward. With a public debate climate, that at least in Sweden, have a tendency to become polarizing, I believe that it most definitely is a need to not fall for simple solutions and to instead have constructive and vital discussions about different perspectives on issues that matters. As was pointed out in the 2001 study Slagen dam (Lundgren, 2001), there is a need for a coherent understanding of violence, that not fragmentize the violence. In the study they argue for their use of violence as the overall term to describe threats, physical or sexual violence. The study showed how the violence not always was separated and fragmented into defined categories in the lived realities amongst the respondents. Earlier experiences of violence played a role in how the respondent perceived the next event of violence in their life, and one previous kind of violence could be used by the offender as a threat to enable other forms of violence. Based on my work with the thesis I would say that it remains a crucial issue for feminist scholar's activist do consider sexual violence from a wide range of perspectives, and at the same time adapt a coherent understanding of sexual violence that not become fragmentized and therefore also hidden. One example of how a fragmented understanding of violence can become problematic is in the expectancy of physical damage. It is maybe most evident with the sexual violence that get in contact with health care and later police and legal institutions. Without a doubt, it is crucial with an organisation and employees with good knowledge about how to meet victims and how to perform examinations that collect evidence in case of future police reports, when it comes to the health care's role in meeting victims of sexual violence. But, with that comes also the perception of sexual violence as something that always leaves physical marks on the body. If no evidence of physical injuries is to be find on the body, it is a much harder case to get to the court at all. I do also wonder if it is possible that this system has effects on the
health care employees and how they perceive and understand violence. If the violence can't be seen on the body, was it even violence?

I will now return to the future one last time before it is time to finish this thesis. In this last quote there is not only a forceful call for action but also a worriedness of the consequences:

“Let me also remind of the force in the call for change itself also make up a very strong power. So much damned anger, pain, frustration and fear that now get space and become a force. That force can be used in many clever ways and lead to real development and substantial progress – but that power can, like any other power, also be misused. It figures examples of “trolling” even in these contexts; e-mails from fake accounts and people that want character murders on innocent people, as old vendettas that not is about evil men but about individuals that are one a disagreement. Vigilance and caution is necessary” (Lifvendahl, 2017b).

One thing that strikes me with this quote is how the care for the #metoo narratives also include imaginations of which narratives that are believable. I can't know what information the author had, but I find reasons for being critical about that the author should have had so good and well-informed knowledge the author could know what was an old vendetta or a character murders on innocent people. As I started to reflect upon in the section #metoo, I believe that the campaign in Sweden, especially in the media, focused a lot of which celebrities that were accused on sexual harassments. So even if I am not on a total agreement with this last quote because how it implies that some narratives are not valid I am sceptical to some parts of the mediation of #metoo and its construct of sexual violence. Despite that, I think it is a necessary and a good thing that these celebrity individuals get held responsible, it does leave me with an uneasy feeling. For while celebrities and media personalities get their life and career destroyed in public, I can't help but wonder about all the offences that take place outside the interest of media. I am worried that a debate climate where we "only" punish

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those who can sell an extra newspaper rather will hide other offenders outside the spotlight even more. And by doing so, stereotypes about offenders, victims, narratives and the phenomenon of sexual violence can continue uncontested.
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A Critical Discourse Analysis of Sexual Violence and Power – #metoo in Swedish media

During the fall of 2017, a campaign named #metoo went viral on Twitter. The purpose of #metoo was to highlight how many that had experiences of sexual harassments and assaults. The campaign did also gain a lot of attention in traditional Swedish media. By looking at #metoo in Swedish printed media during the month of November in 2017, I have examined how the concept of sexual violence have been articulated, negotiating and represented. Sexual violence is a matter that have been important for both feminist scholars and activist for a long time, both from a theoretical and material perspective. Guided by a critical discourse analysis and feminist poststructural approach I have looked at sexual violence as a phenomenon that is discursively made, and therefore also non-stable and always up for negotiation depending on the specific time, place and context it is produced in. In my material I have found three themes, boundaries, institutionalisation and tensions. They all, in different ways, supports that by providing a picture of sexual violence as a fluid concept without clear boundaries, a tendency to turn all the issues of sexual harassments to a matter of employers liability and particular managers lack of competence. Also, by providing a picture of a colliding word view of sexual violence as both a brand new phenomenon in Sweden (especially related to immigration), and something that has always been a reality in many peoples life.

Keywords
sexual violence, rape, sexual harassment, #metoo, critical discourse analysis, poststructuralism