



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
SCHOOL OF GLOBAL STUDIES

The Other Male Rapist

- In Swedish Printed media's news reporting about rape in 2013

Master thesis in Global Studies 30 Hec

Autumn 2014

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Word Count: 17 351 words

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Abstract

This study investigates how the Other male rapist is constructed and the attributes ascribed to him, as well as all male rapists, in Swedish printed media's (*Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet*) news reporting about rape in Sweden during 2013. This single case study is quantitative with qualitative elements, built on the methods of content analysis and idea analysis. The study shows that attributes commonly used to describe male rapists in Swedish printed media during 2013 are: violent/aggressive, unequal, dangerous/uncivilized, oppressive, familiar, his relation to the victim, age and occupation. Moreover, the study investigates if there is a difference of how Swedish printed media portray Other male rapists in contrast to all male rapists. The study found that there was such a difference, however, it was a small difference.

Keywords: Sweden, rape, masculinities, perpetrator, media, discourse

Acknowledgements

I want to thank my supervisor, Lisa Åkesson, who has always been there to answer all my questions and supervised me in a very constructive manner; helping me to evolve and develop my ideas and knowledge. I would also like to thank my examiner, Edmé Dominquez, who further helped me to develop this thesis with her constructive criticism.

Moreover, I would like to forward a special thank you to my friends and advisers; Per Taribo, Eva Lynning, Kajsa Haraldsson, Hamza Alwardi and Hanna Ludvigsson who have functioned as sounding boards and support when needed. Last but not least, I would like to give a special thank you to Mirra Rose who helped me with the language and grammar of this thesis.

I am so very grateful and thankful to all of you.

1. Introduction

The year of 2013 is the year before the Swedish parliamentary election. Increased support for xenophobic discourses, the Swedish Democrats (*Sverigedemokraterna*), have been seen in Sweden the last few years. On May 25, 2014, the Swedish Democrats received two Swedish mandates in the European Parliament; an increase of 6.6 % compared to the last election in 2009 (www.svt.se 140526). In the Swedish Parliament election on September 14, 2014, the Swedish Democrats became the third biggest political party and received 49 out of 349 mandates (www.riksdagen.se 141003). Moreover, a representative from the same party, Björn Söder, became the second deputy speaker of the Parliament (www.riksdagen.se/ 141018). One can see the same trend in the European international arena, where a rightwing/xenophobic party in France got 25% of the votes and 23.1% in Denmark in the same election (www.aftonbladet.se 140526). Globally, the world has suffered from a financial crisis, starting the autumn of 2008 in North America, with economic consequences in Europe soon thereafter (Ramsbotham et al 2011). The effects of this crisis can still be seen economically, but perhaps in other areas as well? When the economy is poor and unemployment is high, uncertainty remains and the support for xenophobic movements has a tendency to increase (Ramsbotham et al 2011). This can be even more so when migrants are portrayed as responsible for this 'unhappiness' (Said 2000; Bhabha 2004; Sernhede 2011) -- a rhetoric often used by xenophobic parties (Bhabha 2004), a rhetoric which, amongst other things, contains the construction of 'the Other'.

The concept of 'the Other' contains several different definitions but the general definition could be described as migrants and/or immigrants or somebody seen as having a different ethnic or cultural background than the majority population (Amsenius 2009; Muhigana 2008; Brune 2006). In this thesis, the Other is understood as someone who has another citizenship than Swedish. There are vast amounts of research regarding 'the Other' (Amsenius 2009; Bajric 2007; Muhigana 2008; Norocel 2013; Brune 2006), but not much research has been done about how the Other masculinity - the immigrant (Other) criminal male - is constructed when Swedish printed media reports about rape. Therefore it is interesting to see which attributes are explicitly and implicitly applied to the Other male rapist in contrast to the all male rapists.

Moreover, previous research has shown that studies about how the Other male has been constructed in Swedish printed media have not included a major part of the ideological spectrum that is represented in the main Swedish media. Brune (2004; 2006), for instance, built her research on Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter only; other researchers have only included one or two of the biggest national newspapers. Hence, there is a gap in the existing research, not only in

terms of including media that covers a major part of the Swedish ideological spectrum, but also in terms of recent research related to trends in Swedish politics regarding an increased support of xenophobic ideologies. Moreover, there is also a gap in analyzing masculinities in media. Beynon (2002) argues that masculinities can be analyzed through six modes, and the second mode is through printed media where “little work has been done” (Beynon 2002:149). He further suggests that one should use discourse analysis, analysis of semiotics, and content analysis when analyzing masculinities in this second mode.

This study tries to identify part of the discourse about masculinities and the Other male rapist existing in Sweden, through a content analysis and an idea analysis, built on collected material from three newspapers. *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter* (DN) and *Svenska Dagbladet* (SvD) are Swedish national newspapers that represent socialism, liberalism and conservatism on the Swedish ideological spectrum, thus, Swedish printed media is a place where meaning is created. By analyzing masculinities in Swedish printed media when the newspapers report about rape in Sweden during 2013 the study adds to the identified gap in existing research about the case.

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

The aim is to identify how masculinities are constructed in Swedish printed media's news reporting about rape in Sweden during 2013. It will do so by looking at which attributes all male rapists are given when *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter* (DN) and *Svenska Dagbladet* (SvD) report about rape in Sweden during the year 2013, through a content analysis. This study also tries to see how the Other - immigrant - male rapist is constructed, implicitly, through an idea analysis, and explicitly, through a content analysis in contrast to all male rapist in the newspapers' news reporting. More importantly the aim is to see if there exist such a contrast at all. Both methods are used since the thesis aims to identify the discourse about how the Other male rapist is constructed, and, a discourse consists of both a connotation aspect (identified by a content analysis) and a social aspect (identified by an idea analysis). This is a single case study of Swedish printed media which aims to identify a part of the general discourse about male rapists in three national newspapers. The research will contribute to the field of gender and Critical Men Studies (CMS), more specifically, in relation to Swedish hegemonic masculinities. The research will contribute to this field by answering the following research questions:

1. Which attributes are male rapists given in *Aftonbladet*'s, DN's and SvD's (Swedish printed media) news reporting about rape committed by males in Sweden during 2013?

2. How is the Other male rapist constructed when Swedish Printed Media reports about rape committed by males with another citizenship than Swedish, in contrast to all male rapists in Aftonbladet's, DN's and SvD's news reporting about rape committed by males in Sweden during 2013? Are cultural differences -- hence the Other -- created at all?

By strategically choosing three newspapers that ideologically differ from each other, I aim to analyze common denominators in the discourse and relate them to each other. These common denominators consist of attributes ascribed to the male rapist. These attributes underpin, and are included in, the discourse that the material entails. The analyzed material forms a common discourse about the Other male rapist, and since the media differ ideologically from each other, there might be tensions in the discourse between them which makes it even more interesting to study.

1.2 Relevance to Global Studies

The master program of Global Studies at Gothenburg University is an inter- and multi-disciplinary program - a study mode that has been intensified when studying and analyzing global issues, such as globalization (Scholte 2005:274). To study how Other masculinities are constructed (if at all) when Swedish printed media report about rape during the year of 2013 is rather significant due to several reasons. Firstly, this case relates to, and is affected by, globalization and its processes in several ways; media for instance, media functions as a global channel for transforming identities which in turn helps to shape masculinities. Identity is furthermore altered and affected by global movement of people - that is, migration. Another aspect of the case is rape. Rape is a violent crime that in xenophobic discourses often is blamed on immigrants, which can be related to both migration movements but also human insecurities. Secondly, media is an arena where discourses about masculinities are created and reproduced.

There are several definitions of globalization; Scholte argues that globalization most basically means an increased transplanetary (or supraterritorial) connection between people (Scholte 2005:59) and Hylland Eriksen argues "globalization involves an accelerated and intensified movement of people, objects, and ideas" (Hylland Eriksen 2007:114). These movements reproduce global power discrepancies (Hylland Eriksen 2007:114) and masculinities are a part of gender relations built on power hierarchies (Connell 1995:97). Scholte (2005) furthermore argues that there exist a dominance and subordination on the basis of class, country, gender and race that is strengthened by globalization processes (Scholte 2005:316). Globalization has

contributed to widen these structural gaps, where people that have migrated to the North from the South structurally have fewer possibilities due their origins (Scholte 2005:317).

The migration to Western Europe, where Sweden is located, has not been entirely gender neutral; historically it has mostly been dominated by men (Hylland Eriksen 2007:112). One aspect of an enlarged migration that comes with globalization is, according to Hylland Eriksen (2007), since migrants no longer can take their traditions for granted they started to defend them instead (Hylland Eriksen 2007:113). Moreover, along with migration long distance nationalism (or transnationalism) often follows as a natural reaction of this movement. Another aspect of globalization and migration is that along with it, several researchers argue, multiple identities have aroused, also called hyphenated identity (Hylland Eriksen 2007:111). These multiple identities have to do with origins and networks (such as ethnicity and nationalism). Meaning while immigrants are culturally assimilated, their identity can be remained attached to their origins (Hylland Eriksson 2007:113).

Identity is connected to and constructed by, amongst other things, class, gender, race, religion, sexual preference etc. Scholte (2005) argues that the sense of self-identity can be undermined against the collective identity, as could be the case for migrants if the identity stands in contrast to their country of origin. "Further uncertainty can arise when the national self coexist in a person uneasily (and perhaps in contradiction and competition) with class, religion and other identities" (Scholte 2005:303). Haywood and Mac an Ghail contend that "masculinities can be viewed as crucial points of intersection of different forms of power" (Haywood & Mac an Ghail 2003:5), and key factors that shape masculinities are nationalism, "religion and beliefs, ethnicity, culture, subculture and class" (Beynon 2002:10) - in other words, identity helps shape masculinities.

Migration movements emerging in the traces of globalization have other consequences as well. In a state of multiple identities and a sense of groundedness as well as uncertainty, people's need for categorizations increase. Constructions and perceptions of "us and them" are being redefined and transformed in the footsteps of globalization. This construction of "us and them" could be a result of increased human insecurities that, according to Scholte (2005), is another important aspect of globalization. "Contemporary globalization and growth of supraterritoriality have unsettled previously familiar terrains of identity" (Scholte 2005:281), resulting in an intensified sense of a loss of ties that have arguably contributed to a general environment of increased human insecurity. Examples of human insecurities are financial crisis, immigration job

insecurities and crime to name a few. This is because "politics...generally decides which insecurities obtain greatest attention and response" (Scholte 2005:281) and "people today associate globality with more crime rather than less" (Scholte 2005:284).

Another global channel that helps to undermine identity through cultural destruction and reproduction is mass media (Scholte 2005:303). Media is a place where meaning is constructed (Dahlgren 2000) and "meanings shape and influence what we do" (Foucault 1992:291). In this study, media is a place where masculinities and the Other male rapist are constructed; it is a place where discourse is created. "Different masculinities are constituted in relation to other masculinities and to femininities" (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill 2003:10), this study will not investigate how masculinities are created in direct relation to femininities; instead, it will analyze how masculinities are created in relation to other masculinities - for instance, masculinities that (could) have aroused through migration to Sweden.

1.3 Context and Delimitations

This is a single case study of Swedish printed media and its news reporting about rape (Bryman 2008; Creswell 2013). The study is built on the methods of a quantitative content analysis with a coding scheme and a qualitative text and idea analysis. All news articles about rape in Sweden that have been written in these three newspapers (Aftonbladet, DN and SvD) during 2013 are analyzed. The study is delimited to news articles about rape in Sweden in the year 2013, males as the perpetrator, and three Swedish national newspapers that cover social democrat (Aftonbladet), liberalism (DN) and conservatism (SvD) on the Swedish ideological spectrum.

The study is delimited to Swedish media and there is no reason to think that the results can be generalized outside the country. However, with globalization processes, local discourses in Sweden and Swedish printed media is spread to, and affected by, global discourses. Still, even if these results can be related to global processes they cannot be generalized. Sweden is an interesting case since the country is seen to be far ahead in the gender and equality perspective, both globally and on a European arena (Norrby 2013; Sernhede 2011). Still, a tendency for increased support of xenophobic ideas has been recognized in Sweden (e.g. increased support for the Swedish Democrats).

1.4 Background

There is a lot international research on how media portrays rape (i.e. Brownmillers 1975, Field & Barnett 1977, Chapell 1974, Freud 2002). However, this study is about Swedish printed media

and its news reporting about rape and male rapists (since 90 % of all rapes are committed by males (Persson 1981, Boëthius 1990)).

The Swedish research about rape primarily consist about the representations, perspectives and reasons to why rape has occurred and can be divided into two main areas - 1) historical research within the Swedish judicial system during the early modern era, 1600-1800, as well as the Swedish judicial system's attitudes on rape between 1945-1980 (Ekström 2002; Livholts 2007; Persson 1981; Diesen 2005; Mathold 2007; Larsson 2007; Bergenheim 2005; Boëthius 1976; Jansson 2002; Bergenlöv 2009; Freud 2002; Blomstedt 2002; Berg 2002; Lövkrona 2001) and 2) contemporary research about rape in media.

Since media as well as newspapers are important tools to mediate interpretations of issues and discourses there is some contemporary research about how rape is portrayed in Swedish media. For instance, Sandberg (2003) has done a thorough study about how discourses about rape looked like in several Swedish newspapers. Mona Livholts has done a dissertation on how Swedish media reported about the male rapist called *Hagamannen* and how the fear of him appeared and how it was portrayed between 1999-2006. Livholts did no direct research about the discourse on all male rapists and rape in Swedish media (Livholts 2007). Professor Lindgren has done an extensive research about how ideal rape victims and other crime victims have been constructed in media and how they were portrayed in seven Swedish newspapers between 1998-2008 (Lindgren 2010). Lindgren focuses on victims and not on perpetrators. One media researcher who has focused on how perpetrators and in particular immigrant perpetrators, are constructed is Ylva Brune (2004; 2006). Brune built her research on two Swedish national newspapers. However, there is no research about Other male rapists and how they are created during 2013, the year before the Swedish election to the Parliament.

In summary, the research regarding how masculinities and the Other male rapist is constructed in Swedish media when reporting about rape is insufficient. It is within this area the study can add to, and compliment, the existing research about rape in Swedish printed media. This is particularly important, since media is an arena where discourses about rape, masculinities and the criminal male are negotiated. Although media is an arena among many which process the discourse about how Other criminal males are constructed, it is, nonetheless, an important arena. According to Steven Lukes (1990) mass media has a hidden exercise of power (Bergström & Boréus 2005:14) towards the social actors in society, and therefore it is extremely important to try to identify the underlying ideas portrayed in medias' material.

Masculinities are not just a part of gender relations but a part of a bigger structure -- a part of the political structure in Sweden. This study uses an analytical tool partly built on key factors that shape masculinities (Beynon 2002:10) to see which attributes the Other male rapist is given in contrast (if any) to all male rapist when Swedish printed media reports about rape. This is particularly interesting to see since the latest elections to the European Parliament and the Swedish Parliament shows that support for xenophobic discourses tends to increase (www.svt.se 140526; www.riksdagen.se 141003). Evidences of increased support for xenophobic discourses have not only been seen in Swedish and European politics but also in Swedish alternative media. Avpixlat, for instance, is an online forum, partially financed by the Swedish Democrats, which spreads national news with a xenophobic perspective and more details than well-established Swedish printed media (www.avpixlat.info 140725).

1.4.1 Avpixlat

It is interesting to see if concepts and ideas found in Avpixlat have found their way into Swedish printed media. For instance, when well-established Swedish printed media reported about rape during the whole year 2011, Davidsson (2012) found that Aftonbladet, DN and SvD were very keen to mention the male perpetrator's ethnicity. In Aftonbladet's 94 articles, the newspaper mentions the perpetrators' ethnicity as another ethnicity than Swedish in 17% of the articles. In DN's 155 news articles the perpetrators' ethnicity was mentioned as non-Swedish in 28% of all articles. Similarly, in SvD's 111 news articles, the perpetrators' ethnicity was described to be another ethnicity than Swedish in 36 % of the articles (Davidsson 2012). The perpetrators' ethnicity when reporting about rape during 2011 seems very important. Are there any concepts, ideas and/or attributes commonly found in xenophobic forums as Avpixlat which have also found their way into Aftonbladet, DN and SvD?

This is crucial to investigate since media plays an essential role in the perception social actors develop when media communicates its perspective of the 'reality' and events. The social actors in society are exposed to this perspective and 'reality' of events -- the discourse -- over and over again, which increases their truth-status (priming). Hence, media affects the norms and values that are represented in society and in Swedish politics. Politicians are, "as ordinary people are": (Wennstam 2004) affected by the norms and values existing in the societal arena, since they are a part of it. Consequently, the discourses spread through Swedish media affects the political debate about laws and rules related to immigrants.

As stated above, Avpixlat is one example of alternative Swedish media. Avpixlat describe itself as an "independent Swedish-friendly website for news and opinions" which spreads and writes detailed news articles in an "alternative journalism spirit" (www.avpixlat.info 140725). Avpixlat has its registered and editorial staff in Stockholm, Sweden. Since May 26, 2014. The website has a publication license and a responsible publisher, Mats Dagerlind. By spreading Swedish news with more detailed information about non-Swedish and Swedish perpetrators, Avpixlat creates the 'Other', portraying the news from an "us and them" perspective. Avpixlat's ambition is to provide news from a perspective and reality which they argue is hidden from the Swedish people by established Swedish media; a perspective which shows how the "multicultural society became the multi-criminal society" (www.avpixlat.info 140725). Avpixlat's name (meaning pixels of/no censoring, my translation) was chosen because it reflects their main aim; to stop anonymizing and hiding a criminal's real identity and citizenship as established Swedish printed media does (www.avpixlat.info 140725). The people Avpixlat appeals to are people who "share Avpixlat views of a real democratic world...of how dangerous immigration is to the Swedish people" (www.avpixlat.info 130304). Certain singularities on the forum have been quantified: how many articles mentioned the male perpetrator's citizenship, and, how many articles were placed in the forum's category "immigration". These results are presented in a diagram built on a percentage calculation of these singularities. At a total, 189 articles have been analyzed.

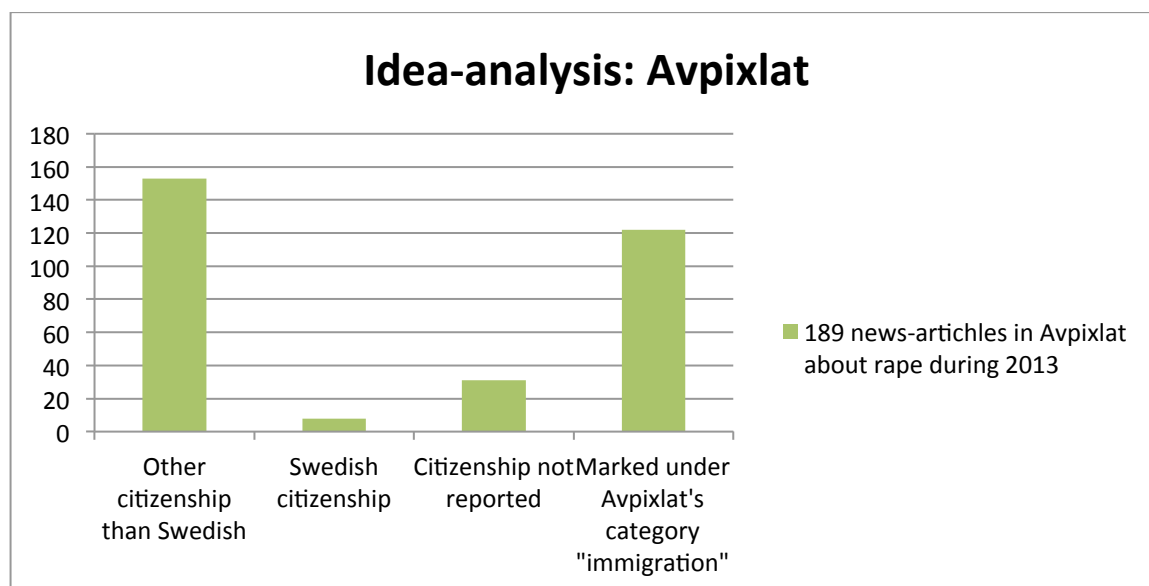


Figure 1: Overview: Idea Analysis, Avpixlat

Typical examples of news articles written on Avpixlat during the year of 2013 are;

"[The 34-year-old Somali *name* Haki will apparently be allowed to stay in Sweden after he served his prison sentence for the brutal death rape of a woman in a garage under the hotel Sheraton... Haki is being prosecuted for crimes against the peace of the grave for continuing to rape the woman after she died during the assault... Haki is also charged with another rape, in that case rape of a woman who was drugged and/or drunk. That woman survived the assault. Haki ... was also prosecuted for various offenses previously, totaling more than 40 crimes. Basically, Haki has been criminally active ever since he came to Sweden 2007... Haki has been so busy committing crimes that he did not have time to learn Swedish and must, therefore, after almost seven years in Sweden, be assisted by an interpreter during the legal process]" (Avpixlat. 2013. *Avpixlat*. 30 November. <http://www.avpixlat.info/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

"[Gypsies locked up, beat and raped a woman... The perpetrators were the woman's former husband and three of his relatives... Swedish "old media" followed their habit, and did not mention anything about the suspected criminals' ethnicity or nationality. Police have, however, admitted that one of the perpetrators, the 22-year-old sought ex-husband is a foreigner and is suspected to have fled abroad. The fact that all perpetrators are related to each other thus implies that this is an immigrant crime... The family has an extensive criminal resume consisting of benefit fraud, drug crimes, property crimes, assault, fraud and rape]" (Avpixlat. 2013. *Avpixlat*. 25 September. <http://www.avpixlat.info/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

2. Earlier Research

Several studies have come to the conclusion that media affects the norms and values in the Swedish societal arena (Brune 2004; Norocel 2013; Wersäll 2011). Masculinities are partly being constructed in Swedish printed media, especially Other masculinities (Brune 2004). Immigrant males are portrayed to be threatening to the nation (Norocel 2013:55), among other attributes. Furthermore, some masculinities “are hegemonic and are constructed in relation to weaker and subordinated forms and thereby become legitimized as being ‘normal’ or ‘natural’” (Beynon 2002:17).

Masculinities are part of the gender order, and gender relations are reproductive (Connell 1995:96). Most research that has been done in Sweden which tries to identify parts of the discourse on Others/immigrants in Swedish printed media have used an intersectional analysis, arguing that concepts of gender, class, ethnicity and sex are important features (Nilsson El-Hinidy 2011; Bernhardsson & Bogren 2012; Muhigana 2008). Researchers have identified parts of the discourse about Others in Swedish printed media from different angles since the discourse is very wide; some have investigated how ‘Swedishness’ is constructed in relation to Others (Amsenius 2009; Eriksson & Karlsson 2011; Nilsson El-Hinidy 2011), some have researched how immigrants are constructed (Bajric 2007; Muhigana 2008; Norocel 2013) and others have studied how crime (such as hate crimes and honor killing) is portrayed (Reimers 2007; Skog 2005; Muhigana 2008).

However, many studies are bachelor or master theses, and few are published articles, reports or books (Höjjer & Rasmussen 2005; Amsenius 2009; Wersäll 2011; Collier 2001; Jansson 2002; Bernhardsson & Bogren 2012; Norocel 2013; Brune 2006; Alemany Rojas 2010). What is common, though, with most of the research, is that the studies are built upon a qualitative text analysis and either a critical discourse analysis built on theories of Fairclough, a discourse analysis, or an idea analysis to identify the discourse. Most studies were built on theories of social-constructivism, Connells’ hegemonic masculinity, gender, feminism, post-colonialism and intersectionality.

2.1 Others in Swedish printed media

Sweden is a country known for its equality, but gender-researcher Diana Mulinari has shown that the Swedish equality is being used to create a difference between “Swedish-equals” and “the

others” (Mulinari et al 2013). Several other researchers have seen the same pattern (Reimers 2007; Amsenius 2009; Eriksson & Karlsson 2011; Bredström 2003; Bajric 2007; Bernhardsson & Bogren 2012) -- for instance, by concluding that immigrants (others) are portrayed as a homogeneous group in contrast to the Swedish people in Swedish printed media.

Media researcher Ylva Brune (2004; 2006) has carried out research on how immigrants are portrayed in Swedish printed media. She found that immigrants were reported in different ways (positive or negative), depending on which sections of the newspaper they appeared in. Mostly immigrants appeared in the newspapers' editorials, debate articles and news. She also found that their voices were excluded (Brune 2006:103) and immigrants were under-represented in Swedish media, except when media reported about crimes (Brune 2006:101:103). Hence, Swedish media reproduces and reflects Swedish society's power hierarchy. Brune found that the news reporting and the logic in media's reporting consisted of a colonial worldview wherein immigrants or the Others are constructed as problematic, threatening and disturbing (Brune 2004).

Furthermore, additional attributes ascribed to Other (immigrant) males in Swedish media are: poor, excluded (Wersäll 2011:56-57), aggressive, dominant, unequal, sexually and socially oppressive (Hearn 2012:591-592), violent, stranger (Jansson 2002), troublesome, 'Middle Eastern', patriarchal, traditional, (having a) 'lack of knowledge about Swedish values of gender equality', harassing, uncivilized, brutal, criminal, gang-building (Bernhardsson & Bogren 2012:1:6), unintegrated (Amsenius 2009:1), dangerous (Höijer & Rasmussen 2005:4) non-Swedish (racially and ethnically different) and threatening to the nation (Norocel 2013:55).

3. Theoretical framework

This section will present the study's ontology, social constructivism, a theoretical discussion about the concept of 'the Other' and theories used to answer the research questions. Concepts that are central to this study are discourse, hegemonic masculinity, theories of priming psychology, post colonialism, and theories describing the need to reproduce the Other to maintain the normal (hegemonic).

3.1 Social Constructivist Ontology

There exist several types of constructivism (Kukla 2000), and the basic argument for the subcategory social constructivism is that "the reality" is created through the social actors' linguistic communications and thus ideas, values and norms are not constant over time, since they are a result of this linguistic interaction (Bryman 2008). It is primarily norms and ideas that affect what is being said – and not said (Bacchi & Eveline 2010:5) --, which in turn determines how individuals behave and make decisions (Barnett & Finnemore 1999; Bryman 2008). Concisely, one can say that thoughts/ideas create and affect the contemporary.

3.2 Defining the Concept of the Other

The concept of the Other is central to this study. There are several definitions about who the Other is; it could be an immigrant or migrant (Amsenius 2009; Norocel 2013; Brune 2006) or people and groups that are seen to not belong to the majority of a nation's population's ethnicity or religion, or people with an immigrant background (Brune 2006). However, defining ethnicity is a tricky accomplishment in this thesis. Who can decide and answer what an ethnic Swede is? A blonde with two eyes? According to the National Encyclopedia in Sweden, an ethnic group is "a named group of people with myths of a common origin, a common history, one or some forms of a common culture (religion, language, traditions etc.), or a rootedness to a territorial area and a feeling of intergroup solidarity" (www.ne.se 141009, my translation) whereas ethnicity is "an identification with and a feeling of belonging to a certain ethnic group" (www.ne.se 141009, my translation). In order to avoid interpretation issues that can arise, the Other is understood as someone who is reported to have another citizenship than Swedish in this thesis.

This definition is done in order to be as objective as possible as a researcher and not affected by unconscious prejudices and portrayals of the perpetrator in the material's news articles. Consequently, only when the material explicitly state that the male perpetrator is from another

country with another citizenship than Swedish and/or will be deported from Sweden due to his crime, the author interprets him as the Other in the analysis.

3.3 Discourse, Priming psychology and Media

3.3.1 Discourse and Media

According to the theory of social constructivism, norms, ideas and values all affect the social actors' behavior and acts, and it is the linguistic communication that changes and affects these. Discourse is an important concept within social constructivism (Bacchi & Eveline 2010:5). The following general definition of discourse, by Carol Bacchi and Joan Eveline (2005) (which is influenced by Michel Foucault's conceptual explanation of discourse), is going to be applied in the study. According to Bacchi and Eveline (2005), discourse is "the contestation over meaning (...) which refers to relatively bounded, socially produced forms of knowledge that set limits upon what it is possible to think, write or speak about a 'given social object or practice'" (Bacchi & Eveline 2010:5). In other words, it is not what is said one time, but what is constructed over and over again, that decides what is *allowed* to be expressed.

According to Foucault, there are certain discourses that become more dominant than others because of different institutional mechanisms (such as media, for instance); the linguistic is a natural asset that has an effect, from below, on the composition of this dominance (Bacchi & Eveline 2010:6; Foucault 1972). Bacchi and Eveline argue that discourses create meaning and that discourses make things change, depending on their "truth-status" (Bacchi & Eveline 2010:6). This truth-status depends on how often or frequently one is exposed to the ideas and norms within a discourse. Foucault identifies that there is a hierarchical network of discourses (Foucault 1972) and Bacchi and Eveline argue that "calling something a discourse, means putting its truth status into question" (Bacchi & Eveline 2010:6).

3.3.2 Priming Psychology and Media

In order to strengthen the discourse analysis, and thereby increase its legitimacy, one can perform a quantitative analysis of Other male rapists and the representation of these within Swedish printed media by using priming psychology – how many times a phenomenon (e.g. a word or a term) in the news is repeated (McCombs 2006). This is important for several reasons, first, the more a social actor is exposed to a certain norm/value portrayed by the media, the more that norm and/or value affects how that individual will behave and think about that issue. This is determined

by how high the exposure to this word and/or term is for the social actors, resulting in that it is more used (or linked) for them in their mind. McCombs calls this “the establishment of associations” (McCombs 2006:157). Second, how many times something is repeated effects and constructs the truth-status a discourse is perceived to have.

Priming psychology is a term that shows the effect on a social actor who repeatedly is exposed to a word or a term together with another word/term. If social actors constantly read the word “immigrant” in combination with “dangerous”, the effect, according to priming theory, is that those social actors automatically connect the word “immigrant” with “dangerous -- which, according to earlier research (Brune 2004), could lead to a fear of immigrants, or xenophobia. According to priming psychology, this is not a conscious choice; the theory argues that it is simply easier in people’s association/memory to do this connection after being exposed to a word and/or a term, explicitly and implicitly, repeatedly.

It is interesting to investigate how media construct Other masculinities in contrast to all (if any) masculinities when reporting about rape. In order to be able to draw conclusions about which/what discourses are present in Swedish printed media this theory will be used. These discourses are, in their turn, affecting the social actors’ norms, values and ideas in the societal arena as well as the political one. Moreover, it is interesting to see if the newspapers are consistent with each other or if they differ from each other, when reporting about rape. Hence, a form of content analysis will be included in this study.

3.4 Theories regarding Masculinity

Several authors, such as Connell (1995), bring up the fact that racial and cultural differences create dissimilarities within masculinities. In her concept of hegemonic masculinity, the subordinated masculinities are determined by classes, ethnical and cultural groups. Another theory that discusses cultural and racial differences as well as global historical processes still affecting western society, of which Sweden is a part, is post-colonial theories.

3.4.1 Post Colonialism

Post-colonial theories are systematic problematizations of cultural, historical, linguistic and psychological boundaries that originate from western colonization. Their epistemological standpoint is that the sub and superiority orders from the colonial time are being reproduced and still influence our society today. The theory connects the power relations established with the

contemporary forms of ethnical segregation and marginalization in Europe and the Western world, especially in xenophobic ideologies where immigrants with their origins outside Europe are the ones that are positioned at the bottom in the societal hierarchy (De los Reyes et al 2006:310; Bhabha 2004). Post-colonial theoreticians argue that racism is a product of these complicated sub- and superiority relations between groups, and it is a process that is inconstant and context depending (De los Reyes et al 2006). For instance, after World War 2 movements against racism increased significantly in Western Europe, but lately, support for xenophobic discourses has tended to arise in the same area.

The differences identified and established are historical products defined as natural and inevitable, where the Other is constructed as different on the basis of a time-axel that places people, cultures and countries in different historical phases in natural separated rooms (De los Reyes et al 2006:317). Despite the fact that Sweden never was a colonial power, the theory is still relevant for Sweden since it is a part of Europe where this discourse is very much present, partly due to globalization processes. Additionally, some authors within this theory argue that racism and the 'otherness' today are not built on racial beliefs, but instead perceived as cultural differences (De los Reyes et al 2006:318).

Theories of post colonialism are relevant to this study since it aims to identify how the Other male rapist is constructed (if constructed at all) in Swedish printed media when reporting about rape. Several authors have spoken about a hierarchy within masculinities, a hierarchy that is primarily built on differences.

3.4.2 Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is built on a hierarchy of different gender roles in a certain context and it is through power relationships, gendered division of labor and emotional connection that masculinity is created. Moreover, the hegemonic masculinity is a masculinity that is valued the highest and comes with certain privileges. An example of a privilege is that a certain famous athlete's way of expressing masculinity is raised to be the hegemonic.

Connell is a professor in Sociology. She was born as Robert Connell, and wrote her earlier work under the gender-neutral name R.W. Connell but after "making a formal transition late in life" (www.raewynconnell.net 141118) she is now a transsexual woman and her name is now Raewyn Connell (www.raewynconnell.net 141118). Connell (1995) argues that gender constantly interacts with nationality and position in the world, since it intersects across and interacts with ethnicities,

cultures and classes. She also argues that masculinities are a historical changing process that includes the body but are not biologically determined, and that gender is reproductive (1995). It is from these perspectives that she developed the concept of hegemonic masculinity, in which she argues that masculinities are constantly changing and do not always look the same from country to country. She argues that masculinities maintain the hegemonic position in a specific pattern of gender relations -- a position which always can be questioned (Connell 1995:100).

Connell uses Antonio Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony to describe the hegemonic relationships in the gender order and within masculinities. Her concept of hegemonic masculinity is also inspired from Marxism and psychoanalytical theory. Gramsci (1971) argues that capitalism is built on the foundation that a dominant "top" in society keep their position by transferring norms and values to the dominated, who in their turn accept and perceive these norms and values as common sense. Gramsci argues that it is a hegemony based on culture, rather than economy and politics, and from this dominance comes the power of creating attitudes, values and norms. Connell maintains that this power over attitudes, norms and values is significant when it comes to hegemonic masculinity, partly because masculinities not only control the gender order over femininities, but also over different masculinities within the hegemony of men. Secondly, Connell argues that one needs to explore different masculinities' inter-mutual relationships because it is within this hegemonic relationship that the Other is created. Her concept can be applied to the context of Sweden since it can be applied to different contexts. When printed media reports about rape, one can use her concept to see where the Other criminal male is placed in this hegemony.

Moreover, Connell (1995) further states that even if the normative cultural ideals that the hegemonic pattern consists of are seldom achieved in reality a majority of men are still taking advantage of this hegemony, which leads to men's superiority over women (Connell 1996:103). Connell demonstrates that while hegemonic masculinity represents dominance, other subordinated masculinities are created (Connell 1996:103). She presents four categories of masculinities that are hierarchically related to each other. The first one is the 'hegemonic or dominant masculinity' that is created collectively in relation to cultural male ideals and institutional power. It is the idealized way to "be a man" which demands that other males are to be positioned in relation to that ideal (Connell 1996:101). The second type of masculinity is 'subordinated masculinity'; males that are economically, judicially and politically dominated and excluded at the same time; in a western context, Connell argues these often consist of homosexual men. The third category is 'negotiable masculinity' or 'involved masculinity', which concerns

differences between ideal and lived masculinity. This category of masculinity is cooperative with women but at the same time involved in keeping men's superiority. In some contexts men in this type of masculinity stand for equality and women's rights but at the same time they have certain behaviors and express values that suppress women, either explicitly or implicitly. The fourth category is 'marginalized masculinity' that has to do with culture, class and ethnicity, which gives the hegemonic masculinity authority without threatening its dominance (Connell 1996:102).

All categories of masculinities "belong" to the gender order, but Connell's fourth category of 'marginalized masculinity' is also emerging from other power-relations such as class, culture and/or ethnicity. With the term Connell refers to the "relations between masculinities in dominating and subordinated classes or cultural / ethnic groups". The "game" between the dominant and marginalized masculinity always (re)creates the authorization of hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1996:104). Connell further argues that hegemonic masculinity and marginalized masculinity are not based on fixed roles, but are instead configured in the reality, for instance, in media. They are created in specific situations in a constant changing relation-structure (Connell 1996:105).

Connell argues that hegemony is maintained by cultural and material practices such as religion, media, wage structures and welfare policies but she has not theorized much about violence, henceforth, her theory has not been used so often when analyzing about masculinity and violence (Newburn & Stanko 1994).

3.4.3 The Other and the Hegemonic

The study still finds use for Connell's concept since she proposes different types of masculinities that are hierarchical to each other. Moreover, the reasons for this hierarchy (such as cultural, for instance) can also be applied with theories of post colonialism in this study, especially with regard to the fourth category of marginalized masculinities.

It is argued by Connell (1996) that the masculinities in her fourth category are related to the concept of Others, who are needed to maintain the 'normal' (the hegemonic). In the context of analyzing how Swedish printed media construct Other masculinities when reporting about rape -- a crime that is seen as an attack to the whole nation since the nation often is portrayed as a female body (not only in xenophobic discourses) (Eduards 2012; Eriksen 1993; Ahmed 2011; Norocel 2013) -- many researchers agree that one way of achieving (hegemonic) masculinity is to protect females from invaders (Hearn 2004). Other theories confirm that the Other is needed to maintain

'the normal' (the hegemonic) (Ahmed 2011; Lander 2003) -- regardless if that is a masculinity that is modern, nonviolent and equal, or a patriarchal one. The point is that it is within the differences among the masculinities that Others are created.

4. Methodology

The following chapter starts by presenting and discussing the study's research design. The chapter then moves on to explain the material and method, and lastly conclude with a section to explain the methods for analyzing the material. Last but not least, ethical considerations will be briefly discussed.

This is a case study, where a common discourse will be identified; however, one might argue that it is also a form of a comparative study. The study investigates if there is something in common between the different newspaper's portraiture of male perpetrators, or if they differ, to find trends and identify a discourse. In one way, one might also argue that the study is a form of a 'most different design' (Bryman 2008) in combination with a case study. In a 'most different design' the researcher selects cases that are most different from each other, as this study does by selecting newspapers that ideologically differ from each other. However, generally when using a 'most different design' the researcher chooses cases to find relationships among variables in the results that can be applied to other countries; in other words, using a variable-based research (Bryman 2008). Consequently, since the comparison occurring in this study takes place between these newspapers internally as well as in the context of the country Sweden only, one can call it a case study (Bryman 2008; Esaisson et al 2011:104).

Furthermore, this is a deductive quantitative study with qualitative elements (Bryman 2008; Creswell 2013), built on the methods of quantitative content analysis, with a coding scheme (presented in section 4.2.3.1), and qualitative text and idea analysis to strengthen the quantitative content analysis. A major part of earlier research has used the methods of qualitative discourse analysis, and authors such as Beynon (2002) argue that quantitative methods e.g. content analysis seldom are applied. Beynon (2002) further argues that content analysis is an important aspect in the research of masculinities in media. Therefore, the author chose to do a quantitative study with qualitative elements. Last but not least, Beynon (2002) argues one is able to capture the internal perspective of how printed media is constructing masculinities with a combination of an idea analysis and content analysis. A combination of them both makes a generalization of the discourse possible.

4.1 Material and Method

The material has been collected through an Internet search engine called www.mediarkivet.se, where the keyword “våldt” (Swedish short form including rape, rapist, raped) as well as the year 2013 are entered. This keyword is chosen to not exclude any news articles written about rape in Sweden in Aftonbladet, DN and SvD during that year.

Different opinions and degrees of opinions are presented in different parts of the media. In the investigation for the general discourse in this study, it is necessary to account for this difference. One can assume that more explicit and "rough" opinions will be shown in a debate article, rather than in a news report. Likewise, more entertaining articles can be found in chronicles. The author is conscious about the fact that chronicles for instance often differ from news articles, since different texts intend to either communicate, inform, entertain, influence or sell. Based on this argument, as well as the need for delimitation in order to make the study doable, the material will be based on the printed medias' news articles. (www.mediakompass.se 120319)

4.1.1 News Articles

The questions that primarily are aimed to be answered in a news article are: when, how, what, whom and why? Mostly, journalists are writing these and always contain a title, preamble and body text. Within the body text the reader can get more background to the news to be able to further grasp the context presented in the preamble. A journalist should always aim to be correct, factual and accurate, however it is a common knowledge that an article is often angled depending on whose perspective one is describing the situation from -- for instance, if there is a *victim* that has *suffered*. It is inevitable for a journalist not to be completely objective (www.mediakompass.se 120319).

4.1.2 The Newspaper's Ideologies

Aftonbladet is a Swedish national daily evening newspaper that was founded 1910. Aftonbladet has from start been a social democratic newspaper, and its ideological orientation is socialism (www.ne.se 141029). Dagens Nyheter (DN) is a Swedish national daily morning newspaper founded in 1864. From the beginning the newspaper was strictly liberal but has during the years developed into an independent liberal newspaper, not necessarily supporting liberal political parties, but still supporting a liberal ideology (www.ne.se 141029). Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) was originally founded in 1884 but was rebuild and officially founded in 1887. SvD is a Swedish

national daily morning newspaper and is an independent newspaper with its ideology in conservatism (www.ne.se 141029).

A comparison between the newspapers is made since it is interesting to explore how big the differences between them are. What is common and what differs? Is there any stereotype of the male rapist that all of the newspapers mediate to Swedish social actors? Are cultural differences - hence the Other male rapist - at all constructed in contrast to the Swedish male rapist? It is legitimate to assume that if one chooses ideologically different national newspapers that covers a major part of the Swedish political spectrum, the discourse this study identifies is the same for all printed media in Sweden – regardless of whether referring to a small city newspaper or a metropolitan newspaper (Bryman 2008; Easiasson et al 2011). Additionally, the general discourse this study aims to identify does not focus on the reporting of one case of rape, but instead the general discourse that exists in news reports about rape during a whole year, thus, a generalization about the discourse in these Swedish printed media can be made (Bergstrom & Boreus 2005; Bryman 2008; Easiasson et al 2011).

4.2 Method for Analyzing the Material

The methods of a quantitative content analysis and a qualitative idea analysis will be applied. In order to achieve being open to what the empirical material shows, there is an open category (an inductive element) in the analytical tool used in the content analysis and the idea analysis has been carried out before the content analysis. In this way the author can see which attributes or categories were not included in the analytical tool from the beginning; thereby, the content analysis is complemented by the idea analysis. The content analysis primarily answers the first research question; "Which attributes are male rapists given in Aftonbladet's, DN's and SvD's (Swedish printed media) news reporting about rape committed by males in Sweden during 2013?" while the idea analysis primarily helps to answer the second research question; "How is the Other male rapist constructed when Swedish Printed Media reports about rape committed by males with another citizenship than Swedish, in contrast to all male rapists in Aftonbladet's, DN's and SvD's news reporting about rape committed by males in Sweden during 2013? Are cultural differences -- hence the Other -- created at all?". However, both methods are involved to answer both research questions, for example the content analysis shows attributes the newspapers ascribe to both the Other male rapist and to all male rapists. Likewise, the idea analysis helps to further illuminate this by quotes.

A discourse analysis basically consists of two parts: a connotation aspect and a social aspect (Bergström & Boréus 2005:18:20). The social aspect is "the presence of some kind of metaphor or expression of certain ideas" that media portrays, and this aspect becomes clear when counting the attributes ascribed (Bergström & Boréus 2005:18). The connotation aspect is the text's underlying/secondary meanings (Bergström & Boréus 2005:20). It is through a content analysis that one can measure the social aspect of the discourse by identifying what the printed media portrays. With the help of this analytical method, content analysis, the study will make "quantifying comparisons of the presence of certain elements in texts" (Bergström & Boréus 2006:18). The study will do a quantifying comparison by marking any attributes that the article mentions, and then present these in percentages in a table found in appendices. To make a clear overview of these results trends will be identified in the result chapter. In other words, it is with the help of a content analysis that the study will quantify (measure/count) how many times certain phenomena (attributes) occur in the texts; for instance, if an Other rapist is described to be dangerous when reporting about rape, or, if one mentions his citizenship/nationality at all (Bergström & Boréus 2005:43). It is appropriate to use content analysis -- to "manifest aspects of texts, i.e. such things that are expressed explicitly" (Bergström & Boréus 2005:45). Since one aims to measure certain "phenomena" in the content analysis and the connotation aspect (the secondary/underlying meaning) in the idea analysis, one can argue that it is the media's underlying as well as explicit ideas that are presented and being analyzed in the material, thereby one can identify the discourse the material has. By analyzing both the connotative and social aspect of the discourse, one can see "how different texts speaks to their receivers, asking, pleading, or commanding" (Bergström & Boréus 2005:44).

In total 327 news articles about rape in Sweden have been written in the newspapers during 2013, 125 news articles in Aftonbladet, 75 news articles in SvD and 127 news articles in DN. The author has not excluded any news articles about rape in Sweden during the year of 2013, however, all articles that were not news articles or news articles reporting about rape in another country than Sweden have been excluded in the analysis.

4.2.1 Analytical Tool and Framework

The analytical tool applied when analyzing the material is inspired from earlier research and the analysis made on the online xenophobic forum, Avpixlat (see chapter "Earlier Research" and "Background"). The category of citizenship derives from authors as Norocel (2013), Mulinari et al (2013), Nilsson El-Hinidy (2011), Berhardsson & Bogren (2012) and Muhigana (2008) whom

have found that ethnicity is an important feature and that Others are portrayed as non-Swedish. Moreover, as stated earlier in this study, since ethnicity is tricky to define, only when a male rapist is explicitly described to have another citizenship than Swedish the author will interpret him as the Other. The second category of criminal record derives from Brune (2004) who found that immigrant are underrepresented in Swedish media except for when the media reports about crime and from Bernhardsson & Bogren (2012) whom found that Others are portrayed as criminals. The category of religion originates from Bernhardsson & Bogren (2012) and Mulinari et al (2013) who saw that Others are portrayed as 'Middle Eastern' and 'Others' in contrast to Swedes. Historically, Sweden has been a country with Christianity as the major religion. Moreover, the analysis done on Avpixlat showed that the forum often mentioned the male perpetrator's religion and therefore this category is included in the analytical tool. The adjective of violent/aggressive derives from Hearn (2012), Jansson (2002) and Bernhardsson & Bogren (2012). The second adjective of the Other as unequal comes from Hearn (2012) and Mulinari et al (2013) research. The third adjective of the Other as traditional originates from Bernhardsson & Bogren (2012) research. The adjective of the Other as being dangerous/uncivilized derives from Norocel (2013) who found that Others are portrayed as threatening to the nation and Bernhardsson & Bogren (2012) whom found that Others are portrayed as uncivilized. Hearn (2012) found that Others often are described as oppressive. Wersäll (2011) saw that Others were portrayed as excluded and Nilsson El-Hinidy (2011), Bernhardsson & Bogren (2012) as well as Muhigana (2008) stated that class was an important feature when constructing Others. According to Sweden's national encyclopedia class means "a social scientific term used for a classification according to social and economical criteria" (www.ne.se 141121, my translation), thus, the author choose to use the term of status since status is a term for "a persons or a groups position in society" (www.ne.se 141121). Jansson (2002) discovered in her research that Others are portrayed as strangers.

In order to see how the Other male rapist is created (if at all), and which attributes Swedish printed media ascribe to male rapists when reporting about rape, one also needs to see what the masculinities not are. Therefore the attributes' contradictions are represented in the analytical tool under the column 'the Normal/Hegemonic' since the attributes derived from earlier research are represented under the column 'the Other'. Every article gets a mark and a specification for each and every one of these categories, that the article mentions. Furthermore, the categories under the column "Open for Empiric" derive from the idea analysis made on these newspapers before the content analysis. The idea analysis showed that common features included when reporting about a

male rapist in the newspapers' news reporting about rape are; his relation to the victim, his age, his name, his occupation and if there were more than one perpetrator.

For every calculation of the indicators in the analytical tool (for instance, the male rapist's status) a percentage-based summary of these results is done for every newspaper individually. The table presenting these results can be found in the appendices since the results in the analysis chapter are focusing on presenting trends and not individual percentage calculations.

4.2.2 Analytical Tool: Attributes of Masculinities

According to hermeneutics, the doctrine of reading and interpretation, there are two elements that are particularly important in the process of interpreting. "The first one is about the pre-understanding's significance, and the other is about the 'hermeneutic circle'" (Bergström & Boréus 2055:24). The study's pre-understandings are the causal assumption presented in the background. It is important to know with which lenses the researcher see in order to be able to increase the reliability a study should have. What is meant with the hermeneutics circle is that "parts of the text are interpreted from the text as a whole, and the whole from the parts" (Bergström & Boréus 2005:25), and this is what the study is doing; one interprets the discourse by the content analysis as well as the idea analysis to then compare this discourse as a whole to the other newspapers' whole.

The categorization of the articles was pretty clear for the majority of the texts; however, problems arose for texts that were difficult to interpret and position. In order to try to counteract this there is an open category in the analytical tool.

Male perpetrator	'the Normal/Hegemonic'	'the Other'
Citizenship	Swedish citizen	Other citizenship than Swedish
Criminal Record	Unpunished	Previous conviction
Religion	Christianity as religion or Atheist	Other religion than Christianity or not Atheist
Adjectives	Non-violent/non-aggressive	Violent/aggressive
	Equal	Unequal

	Modern	Traditional
	Harmless/civilized	Dangerous/uncivilized
	Non-oppressive	Oppressive
	High status in society	Low status in society
	Familiar	Stranger
Open for empiric	<i>Open</i>	<i>Open</i>

Figure 2; Analytical tool – Attributes in Masculinities

4.2.3 Quantitative content analysis

In the content analysis the author tries to identify which attributes are ascribed to the Other male rapist and all male rapists to see if there is a contrast. This is done with the above analytical tool built on earlier research, but applied on three new newspapers and within a new period of time (2013). These attributes are important since they help to determine if (and which) hegemonic or sub-masculinity is ascribed to the perpetrator, and thereby also help identify how Other masculinities are created when reporting about rape, if at all.

4.2.3.1 Coding Scheme content analysis

Often a coding of the content analysis is included with the help of numbers in a so-called coding scheme in order to be able to see a clear correlation – a pattern (Bergström & Boréus 2005:49).

The following coding scheme of the analytical tool is a developed version of the original one presented in chapter 4.2.2. The open category have been expanded from the idea analysis performed with the three newspapers, in where the author could see some attributes not included in the analytical tool for the beginning.

The coding for this study will, with the help of the developed analytical tool, *Attributes in Masculinities*, look the following way:

	If the text mentions x	If the text does not mention x
When the article reports about rape	1	2

Figure 3; Coding Scheme Content Analysis 1

In the study, "x" refers to categories in the analytical tool (the coding units); for instance, "the male perpetrator's citizenship". In order to make it easier to see a pattern in the analysis and increase the transparency of the study, the different categories are given different letters, as in the following red highlights:

Male perpetrator	'the Normal/Hegemonic'	'The Other'
Citizenship	Swedish citizen = A	Other citizenship than Swedish = A2
Criminal Record	Unpunished = B	Previous conviction = B2
Religion	Christianity as religion or Atheist = G	Other religion than Christianity or not Atheist = G2
Adjective	Non-violent/non-aggressive = D	Violent/aggressive = D2
	Equal = E	Unequal = E2
	Modern = F	Traditional = F2
	Harmless/civilized = C	Dangerous/uncivilized = C2
	Non-oppressive = H	Oppressive = H2
	High status in society = I	Low status in society = I2
	Familiar = J	Stranger = J2
Open for empiric	Relation to the victim = K2	Relation to the victim = K2
	Age = K3	Age = K3
	Several perpetrators = K4	Several perpetrators = K4
	Name = K5	Name = K5
	Occupation = K6	Occupation = K6

Figure 4: Coding Scheme Content Analysis 2

This part of the study's analysis is quantified into fixed codes and what is being coded are certain words or terms (attributes); hence, the interpretation problems will decrease dramatically. The interpretation problems can still arise in the case where the author interprets one description as indicating the Other male perpetrator's status to be high in society – e.g. when the article describes the male perpetrator to be a famous athlete, whereas, another researcher might interpret

the Other male perpetrator's status to be low. For this reason, the content analysis is complemented by an idea analysis.

4.2.3.2 Interpretation of the Categories

The interpretation of the categories in above analytical tool is somewhat of a delicate discussion, since the interpretation problems may arise depending on the researcher, hence, in order to further increase the transparency an explanation of how the author interprets these categories will follow. These different attributes/categories are inspired from what earlier research has shown as well as the idea analysis made on Avpixlat. However, to further increase the transparency the author will complement each category with an idea analysis, presenting quotes and paragraphs as examples of these.

The author interprets a news article to report about a male rapist to be Swedish only when it is explicitly stated so, likewise, only when the news article explicitly writes out that the male rapist has another citizenship than Swedish the author will interpret him to be 'the Other'. The same goes for unpunished and punished before (occurrence in the Swedish criminal record) as well as the male rapists' religion.

An adjective is consisted of an attribute, using "painting" words to describe how something or someone is (www.ne.se 141030). So the interpretations for the attributes in the adjective column are not as direct as above. However, the author interprets that a male rapist is non-violent / non-aggressive, violent / aggressive, harmless / civilized, dangerous / uncivilized and non-oppressive, oppressive only when the news article explicitly states so or very strongly implicitly described so with synonyms and/or painting/describing words. The author interprets a male rapist to have a high status in society when the news article explicitly states so, for instance, if the article mentions his job to be an official politician in Sweden. Moreover, the article can also paint him to have a high status in society. The same goes for low status in society, generally, to commit the crime rape in itself can be interpreted to be an act of a low status in society, and, if the news article as a whole increases this picture of the male rapist, the author will interpret him to have a low status in society - regardless of what job he has. It is the whole of the article that helps the author to make these decisions, according to the principles of the hermeneutic circle.

The adjectives of equal and unequal, modern and traditional as well as familiar and stranger are not as clear as above adjectives. The interpretation of unequal and equal refer to two things. Firstly, if the male perpetrator is interpreted as unequal if he has a superior power position to the victim, for instance, if he is an adult that has abused a child and has used his superior role to take

advantage of the child. Secondly, it refers to if the news article describes the male perpetrator to have unequal or equal attitudes to the female victim, for instance if he raped her because of her clothing. The interpretation of modern and traditional is connected to values. For instance, if the male perpetrator raped a woman as a punishment part of an honor culture, the author will interpret him to be traditional. The attributes of familiar and stranger refer to the Swedish society as a whole; if the news article portrays the male perpetrator to be a stranger - not belonging - to the Swedish society because of his unrecognizable behaviors. The author interprets him to be familiar in the similar sense, for instance, if the male perpetrator is known to the Swedish society as in the case of a famous football athlete etc.

Moreover the categories within the column 'Open for Empiric' are very specific, and therefore the interpretation of them is very clear; if a news article mentions or describe either the male rapist's relation to the victim, his age, his occupation, his name and/or if there was more than one perpetrator that news article will get a mark for each and every one of these category in the content analysis.

4.2.4 Qualitative idea analysis

An idea analysis is an analysis that is very broad and used in several different ways, but common for the majority of idea analyses is that they investigate "the presence of certain types of ideas or ideologies in texts, such as in investigations, organizations' policy materials, party programs or in an important public debate" (Bergström & Boréus 2005:19). The discourse of masculinities and the Other male rapist when reporting about rape is an important social debate that has been intensive since the middle of the 1990's.

There is no concrete template of how an idea analysis should look; the most important is that it follows a structure that fulfills the aim of the study. Furthermore, according to social constructivism one cannot differ the linguistic (either written or spoken) and the reality (Bergström & Boréus 2005:27), therefore an idea analysis of a written text is legitimate to make, particularly because the study has its ontology in social constructivism.

The study aims to identify ideas, norms and values in media's reports about rape. Through the whole study and in the generalization one talks about discourses, the author is aware that discourses consist of both ideas and meaningful behaviors that have an impact on the "reality" being studied. To study which meaningful behaviors exist within this type of study seems undoable, since this study is a text analysis. However, if one only focuses on the ideas of the

discourse -- as this study does -- a discourse analysis can be done anyway if one also brings in the social aspect and the connotation aspect of a discourse. The former is done with a content analysis and the latter is done with an idea analysis. By doing so, the underlying ideas of how the articles speak to the social actors -- whether they are receiving, requesting, pleading or commanding -- will come forward anyway. Idea analysis is a part of the bigger method of a discourse analysis and a generalization could still be done, together with the content analysis, even if this delimitation to study ideas, and not meaningful behaviors, is made.

As stated above, there is no concrete template of how an idea analysis should look; it should, however, follow a structure that helps fulfill the study's aim. This study will do an idea analysis that is inspired from the analytical tool in order to complement the content analysis with clear and explicit quotations that show the way the article mentions different attributes (categories); i.e. how the Other male rapist is constructed - if there exist such a contrast. It will also complement the content analysis by making it clear for the author what the empiric shows; since the idea analysis was done before the content analysis, it is the results in this part of the analysis which makes up for the attributes in the open category of the analytical tool. Moreover, the idea analysis is used to answer the study's research questions, in particular-- how the Other is created. Since this question can be hard to answer with the content analysis alone wherein one simply measures attributes used in the material, an idea analysis can better answer this by presenting and analyzing specific quotes and paragraphs (which also include attributes) which explicitly and implicitly show how the Other is created -- if cultural differences at all are created. The idea analysis will be performed on all three newspapers, which will be compared with each other, all of which can negotiate how cultural differences and the Other male rapist is constructed.

4.2.4.1 Process of Implementation: idea analysis

One could say that the idea analysis will serve as a deeper illustration to illuminate the quantitative content analysis and to fulfill the aim of the study. Quotes and paragraphs where it explicitly appears that one or more of these categories are mentioned will be highlighted in the results together with which newspaper wrote them. A numerical accession will not be done, since it is an explicit text example through quotes that will be presented in the idea analysis alone (Bergström & Boréus 2005). Moreover, possible quotes and paragraphs that show how cultural differences are created -- hence, the Other -- in the material will be used in order to fulfill the study's aim.

In order to increase the reliability for this study it is important to avoid interpretation problems that can arise. The author is aware that the risks for interpretation issues are somewhat bigger in an idea analysis than in a content analysis, but since she has chosen to categorize exactly what is being coded in the texts, one can decrease this problem of what is being related into one category or another in the material's news articles. There is, however, a risk that the author relates a text/quote to one category while another researcher would have related it to another category. It is therefore a strategic and concrete selection of quotes and paragraphs - where the categories are mentioned explicitly and implicitly through constructions of meanings – which are presented.

4.3 Ethical Considerations

Since this study analyzes already published texts, ethical considerations and questions are not an immense issue. However, it is important to think of the perpetrator's integrity when writing the thesis' analysis, and if the author finds empiric that threatens this she should try to protect it due to ethical considerations. Also, the authors' own experience in the field as well as standpoint with regard to the question of rape needs to be clear to the reader, because one can never be totally objective and it is important to know the authors subjectivity. On the other hand, since the thesis uses content analysis in addition to the idea analysis, it is easy for the reader to judge if the correlations drawn are legitimate.

5. Results and Analysis

The results and analysis presented in this section serves to answer the following questions:

1. Which attributes are male rapists given in Aftonbladet's, DN's and SvD's (Swedish printed media) news reporting about rape committed by males in Sweden during 2013?
2. How is the Other male rapist constructed when Swedish Printed Media reports about rape committed by males with another citizenship than Swedish, in contrast to all male rapists in Aftonbladet's, DN's and SvD's news reporting about rape committed by males in Sweden during 2013? Are cultural differences -- hence the Other -- created at all?

The results are presented according to each of the above stated research questions. Both methods of quantitative content analysis and qualitative idea analysis are involved in answering the two questions, however, the first research questions is mainly built on the content analysis and is complemented with quotas and paragraphs from the idea analysis. Moreover, the results are furthermore structured according to the first column in the analytical tool; the male perpetrator's citizenship and the male perpetrator's criminal record, religion, adjectives and the category open for empiric, which will be called 'Open Category: The Male Rapist in Swedish Printed Media' in this chapter. Lastly, the results are focusing on presenting trends for each category and not individual percentage calculations (except for when this is particularly interesting and important to write out) and, the results will not present obvious trends that did not exists (for instance the analysis showed that it was not a trend in neither of the newspapers to report that the male rapist was non-violent). To take part of all percentage calculations which the trends are derived from please see Appendix A. The second research question is primarily built on, and answered by, the idea analysis where the results from the content analysis serves as an understanding of the background to the context.

5.1 Attributes to All Male Rapists

5.1.1 The Male Rapist's Citizenship

The newspapers all had the same trend (in below a tenth of the articles) when reporting about a male rapist with Swedish citizenship in all the news articles written about rape in Sweden during 2013. However, in all of DN's news articles the newspaper reported the male rapist to have another citizenship than Swedish in about 5,5 %. SvD reported about a male rapist with another citizenship than Swedish in near a tenth of all the newspaper's news articles. When Aftonbladet reported about a male rapist with another citizenship than Swedish the trend was almost the double

(in almost a fifth of the newspaper's news articles). Consequently, one cannot say that it was a common trend to report about the male rapist's citizenship (regardless Swedish or another citizenship than Swedish) in Swedish printed media.

When Swedish printed media did report about the male perpetrator's citizenship it mostly looked like this:

"[Today we see the prosecution of the 45-year-old western-Swedish whose internet contact with the girl is suspected to have driven her to take her own life.]" (SvD. 2013. *Svenska Dagbladet*. 17 September. <http://www.svd.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

"[A 37 year old man is sentenced to two years prison incarceration for rape against a child... the crime is so serious that the 37-year-old is also deported from Sweden for just over five years]" (SvD. 2013. *Svenska Dagbladet*. 9 August. <http://www.svd.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

"[When she woke up, two strange men had taken her to an apartment where she was by turns raped by these men... they were judged to have committed aggravated rape... and will be deported]" (DN. 2013. *Dagens Nyheter*. 22 October. <http://www.dn.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

5.1.2 The Male Rapist's Appearance in the Swedish Criminal Record

The content analysis showed that an insignificant attribute when Swedish printed media reported about rape was if the male rapist was unpunished before. However, a more common tendency for all the newspapers was to report whether the male rapist occurred in the Swedish criminal record, hence, been punished before, especially in *Dagens Nyheter's* news reporting.

Below follows typical news articles of how the newspapers reported about the male rapist's previous appearance in the Swedish criminal record:

"[After suspecting that the children had been abused in their home they were taken into custody and reshuffled to a foster home - where they were raped... by a previously convicted foster father]" (DN. 2013. *Dagens Nyheter*. 28 November. <http://www.dn.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

"[He is being tried for sexual assault on a five-year-old girl and is suspected of raping another child... The 60-year-old man from Helsingborg is convicted of 90 crimes and was paroled in the spring. An investigation in 2007 showed that the man is in danger of relapsing into sexual crimes]" (Tina Remius-Strömberg. 2013. *Aftonbladet*. 30 November. <http://www.aftonbladet.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

5.1.3 The Male Rapist's Religion

In contradiction to what earlier research have shown (Amsenius 2009; Jansson 2002; Bernhardsson & Bogren 2012) the content analysis in this case showed that neither of the newspapers reported about the male rapist's religion, in other words, this was an irrelevant attribute.

5.1.4 Adjectives of the Male Rapist

The Male Rapist as Violent/Aggressive

When Swedish printed media reported about rape in Sweden during 2013 it was almost the norm to describe him to be violent/aggressive; it occurred in more than half of the news articles in all newspapers.

In the majority of the articles it was described in a similar way as following examples:

"[... They attacked her and held her down while they pulled of her clothes, The teenagers then took turn to brutally rape the victim]" (Oscar Forsberg. 2013. *Aftonbladet*. 29 November. <http://www.aftonbladet.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

"[... It is about humiliating sex, and a lot of violent sex. He performed very rough sexual acts... and put a blindfold on her, tied her arms and legs and forced himself on her]" (TT. 2013. *Svenska Dagbladet*. 10 October. <http://www.svd.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

The Male Rapist as non-Equal

In all three newspapers it was more common to implicitly describe the male rapist as being unequal, rather than explicitly stating it. It happened in about a third of all articles in Aftonbladet and SvD and in almost a fifth of all DN's news articles;

"[A 50 year-old man is sentenced to six years in prison for aggravated rape against a child... He was also convicted of attempt to aggravated rape and aggravated sexual abuse of children... The assaults were committed against a child in Värmland during 2008 and the man was a close friend of her family]" (Svd. 2013. *Svenska Dagbladet*. 31 December. <http://www.svd.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

Above quote is interpreted to be unequal because he is a trusted adult friend of the girl's family who raped and sexually abused her several times, thereby using his authority as an adult and trusted friend to exploit this child.

The Male Rapist as Modern and Traditional

Contrary to what earlier research have showed (Jansson 2002; Norocel 2013) the content analysis showed that it was not a common tendency to describe the male rapist as being neither modern nor traditional in this particular case study. It was not an aspect, or perhaps value, that the newspaper thought was important when reporting about rape.

The Male Rapist as Harmless/Civilized and Dangerous/Uncivilized

In less than five percent of the news articles the Swedish printed media portrayed the male rapist to be harmless and/or civilized. Aftonbladet and SvD did however in approximately nine out of ten articles described him to be dangerous and/or uncivilized. The newspaper DN did also have this trend, but in a somewhat lower occurrence.

Below is an example of how the newspaper DN described young men and rapists as uncivilized, or having an attitude that is not coherent with common sense:

"[In a fourth case a teenage boy... thought that it was okay to "share" his girlfriend with his buddies. Under the threat of posting videos of her in sexual situations she was, according to the girl, repeatedly forced to "put up with" group sex. In a fifth case, four men between 17 and 19 years old have been in custody for several weeks now, all suspected of aggravated rape of a 17-year-old woman. They deny the offenses... One of the most basic excuses is that guys -- with the help of degrading questions, allegations and threats -- "nag" the women into different types of sex...about twenty young offenders who have been tried during the fall have several things in common: They do not believe that they have done something wrong, they think they know that their often younger "girlfriends" want to have sex with several simultaneously. The fact that some of the teenage girls still report them is explained as the girls were "just looking for the indemnity." Their attitude is that if a girl hangs out with a gang of eight boys in a park -- then that in itself means that she wants to have sex. Most of the guys questioned did not believe that it is rape to force someone to give oral sex. In all cases where the police seized perpetrators' computers and mobile phones they have found much porn. It is also common that in their mobile phone books they named young women that they had "nag-sex" with, with the name "orre" - that is "willing girl"]" (Ulrika By. 2013. *Dagens Nyheter*. 27 November. <http://www.dn.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

The Male Rapist as Oppressive

The content analysis showed a trend that Swedish printed media described the male rapist to be oppressive in about half of their articles written about rape. There was however some difference between the newspapers; Aftonbladet reported this in a little more than half of its news articles,

DN reported this in a little less than half of its news articles and SvD reported this in 65 % of its news articles.

Below are typical examples of how the newspapers did this:

"[The man had his penis in the woman's face while she was gang-raped by eight men... The gang-rape occurred in Mariannelund with a 29-year-old woman and lasted for twelve hours... and is one of the most brutal and abusive in Swedish legal history]" (Joachim Kerpner. 2013. *Aftonbladet*. 30 August. <http://www.aftonbladet.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

"[... In an extremely manipulating way he had during a long time managed to get young women to go from pretty ordinary... to pure merchandises in a sadomasochistic sex trade... This is about Swedish girls who ended up in a reckless Swedish man's hands]" (DN. 2013. *Dagens Nyheter*. 10 October. <http://www.dn.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

This first article is interpreted to be oppressive in the sense that a woman was not only gang-raped and outnumbered by eight men, she was also humiliated and sexually oppressed by this perpetrator who had his penis in her face during the twelve hours the gang rape occurred. The latter article is interpreted to be oppressive by ascribing him attributes of "extremely manipulating" and "reckless". Implicitly one can also read that he is oppressive towards these young women he abused sexually.

The Male Rapist's Status in Society

It was a fairly common trend that the male rapist was described to have a low and a high status at the same time; a high status because of his profession but a low status because of committing rape:

"[Emma, then 25, suffered from depression. The 65-year-old physician and the psychologist would to be her support. Instead, he raped her during a therapy hour. The doctor was sentenced to two years in prison... The doctor tore off her clothes and raped her on the couch. Afterward, he demanded that Emma would take him home, which she did to get rid of him... Afterwards, the doctor showed up outside her work twice. - He threatened me. He said no one would believe me. "You're a psycho. You have no credibility"]" (Mary Mårtensson. 2013. *Aftonbladet*. 18 Mars. <http://www.aftonbladet.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

"[The politician for the Swedish conservative part held down the 37-yearold younger colleague and raped her... in his hotel room in Stockholm]" (Josefine Hökerberg. 2013. *Dagens Nyheter*. 13 August. <http://www.dn.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

The Male Rapists as Familiar and Stranger

To ascribe the male rapist to be familiar was a fairly common trend in both DN and SvD, but in Aftonbladet this trend was almost the double. Moreover, to ascribe him to be a stranger happened in about a fifth of all the news articles in all newspapers.

When the material described the male rapist as being a stranger or familiar this often occurred by describing the perpetrator's circumstances, for instance, the male perpetrator could be the victim's immigrant husband in which he was familiar to the victim but a "stranger" to Sweden as a society (Jansson 2002).

"[Manidja was 'married off' during a travel to Afghanistan. In Sweden the husband Safiullah *name*, 22, abused her – and in the end he killed her. He is now sentenced to imprisonment for life and deportment... He is also sentenced for rape ... The district court writes in the ruling that the motive for the murder was honor-related in that he wanted to stop her from shaming the family, since he suspected that she was cheating -- suspicions that, according to the district court, were 'obviously groundless]' (Ida Gustafsson. 2013. *Aftonbladet*. 4 January. <http://www.aftonbladet.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

It could also be that one or several strange men in a so-called 'assault rape' raped a woman and were departed from Sweden due to their crime;

"[The couple had celebrated the husband's birthday and was on their way home from the city. The husband got into the door just before the wife and went inside the apartment complex. When the woman arrived she noticed that her cell phone was dead and that she did not have any keys... When she woke up two strange men had taken her to an apartment where she was raped by the two men in turn... When she was released she realized that the perpetrator's apartment was situated next door to her apartment... they were judged for aggravated rape... and will be deported]" (Anton Säll. 2013. *Dagens Nyheter*. 22 October. <http://www.dn.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

5.1.5 Open Category: The Male Rapist in Swedish Printed Media

In approximately a fifth of all the news articles the newspapers described the male rapist's relation to the victim. In more than half of the news articles the content analysis showed a trend of reporting the male rapist's age. Moreover, in about a fifth of the articles Swedish printed media reported about more than one perpetrator. Likewise, in Aftonbladet and SvD it was fairly common to write out the male rapist's name, even though Aftonbladet did it more than SvD. DN only wrote out the name of the perpetrator in less than a tenth of the news articles. Additionally, DN and SvD

wrote out the male rapist' occupation in about fifteen percent of their news articles, and Aftonbladet did this twice as much.

5.1.6 Summary of the Content Analysis

In summary, the content analysis showed that attributes ascribed to all male rapists in Swedish printed media's news reporting about rape in Sweden during 2013 are; violent/aggressive, unequal, dangerous/uncivilized, oppressive, familiar, relation to the victim, his age and his occupation. The newspapers also tended to report if there were several perpetrators in their news reporting.

Moreover, attributes and descriptions ascribed to the male rapist differed from newspaper to newspaper. For instance, the content analysis showed that in Aftonbladet's 125 news articles the newspapers tended to report the male rapist's name in approximately a fourth of all their articles, and his occupation, if the male rapist had another citizenship than Swedish as well as describing him to be familiar, unequal, and having a high status in society to a higher degree than the other two newspapers. Additionally, in DN's 127 news articles the newspaper tend to report the male rapist's previous conviction more than Aftonbladet and SvD, and, DN was the newspaper which least reported the male rapist's name. In SvD's 75 news articles the newspaper reported there were several perpetrators, the male rapist's age, his relation to the victim, him to be oppressive, violent/aggressive and dangerous/uncivilized (reported this in 98,4 % of its articles) to a higher degree than the other two newspapers.

5.2 The Construction of the Other Male Rapist

In this section the author will present the results from the idea analysis that help to answer the second research question where above content analysis serves as a background to understand the context in which this question was answered. Since this second research question is focusing on the Other, quotes and paragraphs will only be derived from news articles that reports about a male rapist with another citizenship than Swedish. Bear in mind that this only happened (in rough measures) in approximately a tenth of the Swedish printed media's news articles, even if there was a difference internally between the newspapers.

When the newspapers reported about an Other male rapist it was common that the material added a lot more information about him, portraying him in a negative way:

"[The man that is prosecuted for rape and violations of the peace of the grave... was sentenced this Thursday to five years prison and deportment from Sweden. The district court's ruling is also a report from the absolute bottom of society. Since the 35-year-old man came to Sweden in the

year 2006, he appears in 25 sections of the criminal record... despite the fact that the police told him to stop, he did not stop his 'activities' on the woman... they began resuscitation attempts, but in vain.]" (Ola Rothenborg. 2013. *Dagens Nyheter*. 20 December. <http://www.dn.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

"[Manidja was 'married off' during a travel to Afghanistan. In Sweden the husband Safiullah *name*, 22, abused her – and in the end he killed her. He is now sentenced to imprisonment for life and deportment... He is also sentenced for rape ... The district court writes in the ruling that the motive for the murder was honor-related in that he wanted to stop her from shaming the family, since he suspected that she was cheating -- suspicions that, according to the district court, were 'obviously groundless... according to the ruling she was exposed to torturous abuse before she was murdered... during the almost two years when she lived with a man who controlled, abused and raped her... Safiullah argued that Manidja not was a virgin when they got married and confronted her with his suspicions. He tied her up and raped her. She ran home to her mother. But a few days later, the husband forced his way into the apartment. There, he cut the throat of Manidja]" (Ida Gustafsson. 2013. *Aftonbladet*. 4 January. <http://www.aftonbladet.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

These results are consistent with what previous research have already found; here, immigrants with their origins outside Europe are the ones that are positioned at the bottom of the societal hierarchy (De los Reyes et al 2006:310; Bhabha 2004) by using attributes of a negative character (Hearn 2012; Brune 2004; Norocel 2013; Amsenius 2009). Moreover, Connell's fourth category of 'marginalized masculinity' emerges from power-relations such as class, culture and/or ethnicity. One can see class, culture and/or ethnicity in the above articles as important parts of Swedish printed media reports about rape, and the Other male rapist can thus be placed in Connell's fourth category of masculinity, a marginalized masculinity in her concept of hegemonic masculinity. Whereas the masculinity presented under the category "The Male Rapist's Citizenship" in the content analysis does not subscribe to this information, one might interpret them as not hegemonic masculinity because of their crime, even though higher in the hierarchy than the masculinities presented in above two paragraphs.

As the content analysis showed, it was not so important to report about the Other male perpetrator's criminal record (except in DN) but in the cases when the newspapers did, it often looked like this:

"[...The district court's ruling is also a report from the absolute bottom of society. The 35-year-old man came to Sweden in 2006. He never integrated into Swedish society but instead had his contacts in abuse circuits. He is present in 25 different sections of the Swedish criminal record.]"

(Ole Rothenborg. 2013. *Dagens Nyheter*. 30 November. <http://www.dn.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

The Other criminal male presented above can thus be interpreted as being dangerous to Swedish society because of their personal history, or even threatening to the nation, as Norocel (2013) found in his research. The article warns about a man is called "a report from the absolute bottom of society... never integrated himself", which appears both pleading and commanding to the receivers (readers) (Bergström & Boréus 2005:44).

It was very common for the material to portray and describe the male rapist as violent and/or aggressive. What was interesting though is when the newspapers described an Other male rapist to be violent and/or aggressive, it was done more explicitly and with more attributes ascribed to him (especially his name):

"[Donta *name*, a 21-year-old notorious thief and violent criminal, is taken by surprise during a burglary by 24-year-old Peyton *name* whom he brutally rapes and kills with a knife]" (Svd. 2013. *Svenska Dagbladet*. 4 May. <http://www.svd.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

"[Svea Court for Appeal's convicted the notoriously jealous man who, with threats and violence, stabbed his fingers into a woman's abdomen to determine if she had had sex with someone else... of rape. The man had at several times been aggressive towards her.]" (Stefan Lisinski. 2013. *Dagens Nyheter*. 14 June. <http://www.dn.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

"[Saifullah *name*, performed aggregated rape and murdered his wife brutally with a knife]" (Aftonbladet. 2013. *Aftonbladet*. 29 Mars. <http://www.aftonbladet.se/> (Collected 2014-01-04, my translation)

These quotes of articles shows how Swedish printed media portrays the Other male perpetrator to be violent and/or aggressive with several attributes such as "notorious thief and violent criminal", "brutally rapes and kills", "aggressive" and "murdered his wife brutally with a knife". Here, Others are constructed as threatening and problematic as Brune (2004) found in her research as well as violent and dangerous (Hearn 2012; Jansson 2002; Bernhardsson & Bogren 2012; Höijer & Rasmussen 2005; Norocel 2013).

5.2.1 Summary of the Idea Analysis

The idea analysis showed that when Swedish printed media reported about an Other male rapist there is a difference in contrast to when Swedish printed media reported about all male rapists. The differences consisted of ascribing the Other male rapist more attributes and descriptions about

him when the newspapers reported about rape in Sweden in their news articles. It was not neither uncommon that when the newspaper did report about an Other male rapist they portrayed him in a negative way in comparison to all male rapists in the material.

6. A Critical Discussion

The hermeneutics circle means that "parts of the text are interpreted from the text as a whole, and the whole from the parts" (Bergström & Boréus 2005:25) and the discourse is interpreted through the content analysis' and the idea analysis' results presented in previous chapter. In this chapter a critical discussion of these results and answers to the research questions will follow along with connecting these to earlier research and theories.

As an answer to the first research question - which attributes male rapists are given in the three newspapers' news reporting about rape in Sweden during 2013 - the content analysis showed that they are; violent/aggressive, unequal, dangerous/uncivilized, oppressive, familiar, relation to the victim, his age and his occupation. The newspapers also tended to report if there were several perpetrators in their news reporting. Many researchers have found that it is common to describe the perpetrator as being violent or uncivilized (Brune 2004; Hearn 2012; Bernhardsson & Bogren 2012; Höijer & Rasmussen 2005, Norocel 2013), as in the case of Swedish printed media and rape, where this was a very common attribute of the male rapist during 2013. These results may not be very surprising since rape is a violent crime in itself. However, in combination with describing him as violent/aggressive to a very high extent and as being dangerous/uncivilized to an even higher extent, this study indicates that Swedish printed media suggest that social actors in society should be afraid of these dangerous/violent/uncivilized/aggressive rapists. Which, once again, is not very surprising results.

Moreover, the content analysis showed that there were some differences between the newspapers internally. For instance, the newspaper DN reported about an Other male rapist in about 5,5 % of its news articles, SvD did this in nearly a tenth of its news articles while Aftonbladet reported this in almost a fifth of its news articles. To report that the male rapist was unequal happened in a third of all Aftonbladet's and SvD's articles while it happened in about a fifth of DN's articles. Similarly, Aftonbladet and SvD reported the male rapist to be dangerous and/or uncivilized in nine out of ten articles while this happened to a somewhat lower occurrence in DN. To ascribe the male rapist to be oppressive happened most times in SvD, in a little bit more than half of Aftonbladet's articles and in a little less than half of DN's news articles. To write out the name of the male rapist happened most in Aftonbladet, close to these results was SvD once again, while it happened fewer times in DN (in less than a tenth of the newspapers' news articles). SvD and DN reported the male rapist's occupation in about fifteen percent of their articles while Aftonbladet did this twice as much. As a summary the content analysis showed that Aftonbladet was the

newspaper that generally gave the most information about the perpetrator even though SvD and Aftonbladet usually had similar trends. SvD did sometimes have a higher trend of reporting attributes than Aftonbladet and DN, for instance in the case of describing him as dangerous and/or uncivilized and to report his age. The only attribute that DN tended to report more than the other two newspapers was the male rapist's previous conviction. Does these differences have something to do with the newspapers' ideologies? DN is a liberal newspaper, and Jonathan Wolff who discusses positive and negative liberty in his book, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy*, argues that one of the main principle in liberalism is 'as long as you do no harm, you are free to act according to your own will' (Wolff 2006:39-48). Although it might be a bit far fetched, the ideology of the newspaper could be a reason why it is important for DN to report the Other male rapist's occurrence in the Swedish criminal record. Nonetheless, what one can state from these results is that the Other male perpetrator's occurrence in the Swedish criminal record, especially if convicted before, is an important factor in DN's news reporting about rape during 2013. Moreover, SvD is an independent conservative newspaper, but a recent report shows that SvD is the newspaper which reported more positive about the socialist political party *Socialdemokraterna* than the conservative party *Moderaterna* during the Swedish Election to the Parliament (www.tns-sifo.se 141119). Nevertheless, SvD is the newspaper which most times ascribed that the male rapist were dangerous and/or uncivilized and to report his age while Aftonbladet was the newspaper who generally tended to report a majority of the attributes to a higher degree than the other newspapers, for instance to report if it was a male rapist with another citizenship than Swedish. I don't think this originates from the newspaper's ideology since overall all three newspapers tended to have somewhat similar trends, but rather from the fact that Aftonbladet is an evening paper and not a morning paper like SvD and DN. Having that said, I don't think that the newspaper's ideologies do not matter and not contribute to the difference between them. In order to fully answer this question a more extensive research of the newspapers, including articles in leader sections and editorials especially, needs to be included.

However, adding to these results, the idea analysis showed that there was a contrast when Swedish printed media reported about an Other male rapist and when Swedish printed media reported about all male rapists. When Swedish printed media reported about an Other male rapist the newspapers tended to ascribe him more attributes, write out more information about him and portraying him in a negative way. A fear of Other men might be a result of this, as researchers such as Eriksson (2002), Collier (2008), Mahmood (2005) and Massad (2002) conclude and have seen a process of.

When Swedish printed media did report about an Other male rapist, concepts of class, citizenship and/or culture were included implicitly and sometimes explicitly in these articles. This, together with a negative portrayal, might lead one to interpret that these masculinities are placed in the bottom of the hierarchy in Connell's (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity -- in marginalized masculinity, which is emerging from these power relations (Connell 1995:104). Also, according to the theory of post colonialism, immigrants with their origins outside Europe are the ones that are positioned at the bottom in the societal hierarchy (De los Reyes et al 2006:310; Bhabha 2004), which is also shown in this material. However, this could be a result of their crime, but on the other hand, this combination of including above power relations and a negative portrayal seems to confirm what earlier research has shown. Moreover, according to Connell, the "game" between the dominant and marginalized masculinity always (re)-creates the authorization of hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1996:104). Others are needed to maintain the 'normal' (the hegemonic) (Ahmed 2011). It is within the differences among the masculinities that Others are created.

According to the theory of priming psychology, if social actors often read the word "immigrant" in combination with "dangerous" the effect could be that it is easier for those social actors to connect the word "immigrant" with "dangerous"; which, according to the author's causal assumption based on earlier research (Brune 2004), leads to a fear of the Other (immigrants) – xenophobia. Moreover, if a social actor often, and repeatedly, reads the word "immigrant rapist" with "unequal", where the text at the same time portrays him as not integrated into Swedish society, and exploiting Swedish society, this could also lead to anger and hate, resulting in racism.

What is interesting and important to remember though when interpreting these results is that the content analysis showed that this did *not* happen very often and thus not repeatedly: the newspaper DN did only explicitly report about an Other male rapist in approximately five percent of its' news articles, SvD in a tenth of its' news articles and Aftonbladet in almost a fifth of its' news articles. In rough measures, one can say that this happened in a tenth of Swedish printed media's news articles. The fact that the newspapers did not report this often and repeatedly could be because only a tenth of all the rapes that happened during 2013 was committed by a male with another citizenship than Swedish and that Swedish printed media always write that out then. However, this is hard to determine but could be a possible explanation. Regardless, the content analysis showed that Swedish printed media did not often, and not repeatedly, report about a male rapist with another citizenship than Swedish. Moreover, as part of answering the latter part of the

second research question - are cultural differences -- hence the Other -- created at all - these results show that when Swedish printed media reported about rape and an Other male rapist they did tend to ascribe more attributes and give more information about him in their news reporting. Here, cultural differences are constructed and created by writing from an "us and them" perspective, or as "the others" being not on the same equality level as "Swedish equals" (Mulinari 2013), where the Others are both socially and sexually oppressive and violent towards women (Hearn 2012). However on the other hand, the fact still remains; Swedish printed media did not tend, thus having a discourse, to explicitly report about a male rapist with another citizenship than Swedish. And even though one could see a difference when media did so one need to interpret the results from the hermeneutic circle, showing that these three newspapers had a different discourse than what have been seen in recent discourses in Swedish politics i.e. the Swedish Democrats: Swedish printed media did not have a xenophobic discourse in their news reporting about rape during 2013.

Still, these results are completely new to existing research in the sense that no research has been carried out on these forums in this case during 2013. Besides, these results are rather interesting too. In the beginning of this thesis I thought that I would see the same trends in Swedish printed media as we have seen in Swedish as well as European politics. This trend has been seen in other areas as well, e.g. in an increased number of alternative media with a xenophobic line of thought, such as the online forum Avpixlat discussed in the background to this thesis. We have a proverb in Sweden saying that media is "the third state authority" and I have long thought that media might have even more power than that since, as Steven Lukes (1990) claims, mass media has a hidden exercise of power (Bergström & Boréus 2005:14) towards social actors in society. It was rather surprising, but also uplifting to realize with this study that the identified underlying ideas in this material do not show a tendency to support xenophobic discourses. I would rather say it is positive to see this movement (or perhaps even statement against) in these three newspapers, as a response towards this increasing xenophobia that we can see in other arenas of the Swedish society.

7. Conclusions

The main findings in this thesis are; attributes male rapists are given in the three newspapers' news reporting about rape in Sweden during 2013 are; violent/aggressive, unequal, dangerous/uncivilized, oppressive, familiar, relation to the victim, his age and his occupation. Moreover, even if it did not happen to a large extent or frequently, there was a difference when the newspapers reported about an Other male rapist in contrast to all male rapists in the material. The difference consisted of ascribing the perpetrator more attributes; give more information about him and portraying him in a negative way. However, since the newspapers did not explicitly report about an Other male rapist in more than a tenth of all the analyzed news articles the study concludes that this difference is not very significant. The overall discourse found when the newspapers Aftonbladet, DN and SvD reported about rape in Sweden committed by a male rapist during 2013 in their news articles, is that they did not have a xenophobic line of thought.

As stated in the introduction: a tendency for increased support of xenophobic discourses has been seen in Swedish and European politics. Earlier research has seen that rape is often perceived as an attack on the whole nation, since the nation is often portrayed as a female body - not only in xenophobic discourses (Eduards 2012; Eriksen 1993; Ahmed 2011; Norocel 2013). Since this study did identify a difference - although small - it is, nevertheless, a difference. This has raised other questions that might be interesting to study in future research. For instance, is there a difference when Swedish printed media report about rape in Sweden compared to when media report about rape abroad? Is there a correlation between Swedish printed media and xenophobic online forums, such as Avpixlat, in all articles (debate articles, editorials, news articles, chronicles etc.) represented in Swedish printed media?

Brune (2004:2006) did in her research find that Swedish printed media portrayed Others differently depending on which sections they were represented in. It would have been interesting to perform a more thorough and in-depth analysis of how xenophobic oriented forums report about rape committed by perpetrators with a different citizenship than Swedish in comparison with established Swedish media. Are there any differences and/or similarities? It would furthermore be interesting to see the social actor's "reactions" to these articles, and one way to achieve this could be to include the comments to these articles, in order to see which discourses

are present among them. To complement this with interviews and observations might be even more stimulating, and produce answers to these questions:

Is fear of Other men a present discourse among social actors of Sweden who read these articles published on alternative xenophobic forums and established Swedish media?

If so, to what extent? Can one identify the fear explicitly or is it more implicitly shown?

Have discourses of xenophobia and cultural racism found their way into the societal arena in terms of social actor's response to these articles?

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Appendices

Appendix A – Content Analysis: Attributes to all male rapists in Swedish Printed Media during 2013

		Aftonbladet, 125 articles	DN, 127 articles	SvD, 75 articles
Male perpetrator	Swedish citizenship = A	8 %	8,7 %	9,3 %
	Other citizenship than Swedish = A2	16 %	5,5 %	9,3 %
	Unpunished = B	0 %	0.8 %	0 %
	Previous conviction = B2	12 %	18 %	13,3 %
	Christianity as religion or Atheist = G	0 %	0 %	1,3 %
	Other religion than Christianity or not Atheist = G2	0 %	0 %	1,3 %
	Non-violent/non-aggressive = D	0 %	3,2 %	0.7 %
	Violent/aggressive = D2	63,2 %	58,5 %	65,2 %
	Equal = E	2,4 %	1,6 %	0%
	Unequal = E2	32 %	17,4 %	26,6 %
	Modern = F	4 %	4 %	0 %
	Traditional = F2	1,6 %	1.6 %	1,3 %
	Harmless/civilized = C	4.8 %	2.4%	0 %
	Dangerous/uncivilized = C2	86,4 %	66,4 %	98,4 %
	Non-oppressive = H	1.6 %	0,8 %	0 %
	Oppressive = H2	55,2 %	41,1 %	65,2 %
	High status in society = I	24,8 %	12.6 %	10,6 %

	Low status in society = I2	20 %	18 %	16 %
	Familiar = J	37,5 %	22,1 %	18,6 %
	Stranger = J2	17,6 %	15 %	17,3 %
Open for empiric	Relation to the victim = K2	15,2 %	19,8 %	23,9 %
	Age = K3	50,4 %	56,1 %	59,9 %
	Several perpetrators = K5	21,6 %	22,1 %	26,6 %
	Name = K6	24 %	6,3 %	16 %
	Occupation = K7	32,8 %	15,8 %	14,6 %