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THE #METOO MOVEMENT AND WOMEN'S MOBILIZATION: WHY HAS SWEDEN OUTPERFORMED DENMARK?

A Qualitative Study of Sweden and Denmark

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Abstract

Although Sweden and Denmark are often viewed as being part of “egalitarian Scandinavia”, the recent #MeToo movement has revealed a conflicting reality of a high prevalence of sexual violence in both countries. However, as it turns out, the movement has received considerably more attention in Sweden than in Denmark. Therefore, the aim of this research is to explore why more women in Sweden were mobilized under the #MeToo movement in comparison to Denmark. The broader aim of the study is to contribute to more knowledge regarding the variation in women’s mobilization within women’s movements. The research is a comparative case study of Sweden and Denmark and has a qualitative deductive approach. The material used is online newspapers, official documents and interviews of three sets of actors from both Sweden and Denmark. The set of actors consists of two activists, two NGO representatives and two politicians focusing on women’s rights. To explore the variation within women’s movements, the #MeToo movement has been analyzed according to previous social movement research and a theoretical framework derived from the literature. The results indicate that women’s mobilization is influenced by five different factors: (1) State Support (2) Political Opportunities (3) Culture (4) Framing Processes and (5) Previous Mobilization Structures. Sweden has mobilized stronger than Denmark since all factors are more prominent in Sweden than in Denmark. Additional findings indicate that the mobilization structures in Denmark are intensifying and suggest that more women will mobilize in the future.

Key words: Women’s movements, women’s mobilization, sexual violence, feminism, #MeToo

List of Abbreviations

CEDAW The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

DR Danmarks Radio

EU European Union

FRA European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights

FI Feministiskt Initiativ

GDI Gender Development Index

HDI Human Development Index

LGBTQ+ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Other Sexualities

LOKK Landsorganisation af Kvindekrisecentre

NCK Nationellt Centrum för Kvinnofrid

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

ROKS Riksorganisationen för Kvinnojourer och Tjejjourer i Sverige

SDG Sustainable Development Goal

SVT Sveriges Television

UN United Nations

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1. Introduction

“I do not know a single woman who has not been exposed to anything; they do not exist”

- R3, NGO representative in Sweden.

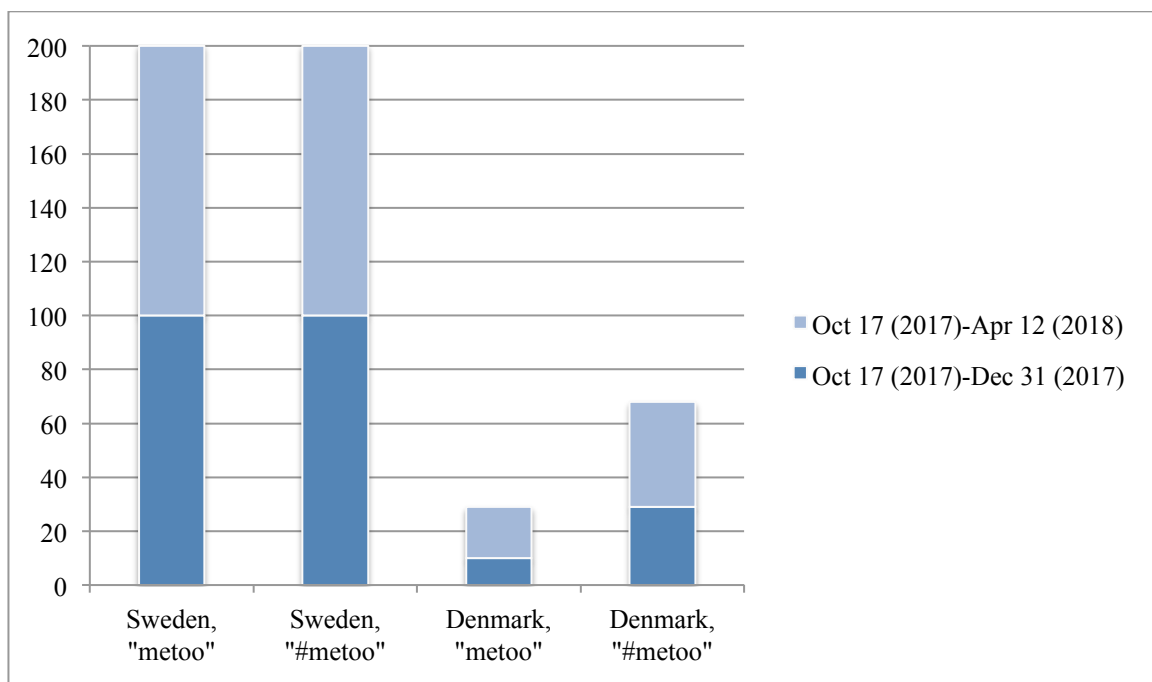
During late fall 2017, a movement against sexual violence named #MeToo became a global concern. The movement started after several high-profile actresses accused a well-known director of sexual harassment. In order to raise awareness, the actress Alyssa Milano wrote the following on Twitter: “If all the women who have been sexually harassed or assaulted wrote ‘Me too’ as a status, we might give people a sense of the magnitude of the problem.” (Twitter, 2017). The day after, the actress received approximately 55,000 replies to her message. During the following 45 days, #MeToo was mentioned 85 million times on the social network Facebook and had spread to 85 countries on Twitter (ibid).

However, initially the #MeToo movement was started on the social network MySpace in 1997 by Tarana Burke. She started the movement in order to help girls who had fallen victims of sexual violence. A young teenage girl shared her story about when she got sexually abused, which left Burke wordless. Further, Burke explained that she did not know what to say at the time and could not even tell her “me too” (New York Times, 2017). Burke decided to name it “Me Too” because it is an easier way for survivors of sexual violence to support one another, without having to tell any details. Burke wanted to create a platform, on which these girls could meet and let them know that they are not alone (SVT, 2017a). Ten years later, on October 17th 2017, the current #MeToo movement started when Milano wrote the message on Twitter as previously stated (Twitter, 2017).

Although there has been a strong transnational response, there is variation in women’s mobilization across the world. This research explores why there is variation in women’s movements against sexual violence against women in Sweden and Denmark, two countries assumed to be part of the most egalitarian corner of the world; Scandinavia. As the #MeToo movement has revealed, sexual violence exists everywhere, and neither one of these countries are exceptions. In Sweden, the #MeToo movement has created extensive reaction throughout the country, creating 65 additional hashtags from various occupations (SVT, 2018a). Meanwhile, in Denmark; the reactions have been rather subtle in comparison to Sweden. To

illustrate, search data provided by Google Trends shows that Sweden is the country with the highest share in the world of searching for the phrase “metoo” and “#metoo” and received a total score of 200 while Denmark received a total score of 58¹, see this illustrated in Graph 1 below. This shows a significant difference between the two countries (Google Trends, 2018). In Sweden, the #MeToo movement has received attention since it initially started, while in Denmark, the bigger reaction came months later (TV2, 2018a). Events have been arranged in both countries, but with variation in participation. Even though different types of violence against women are an issue in the Nordic countries as well, there is still a general idea that Scandinavia consists of high performing egalitarian countries (e.g. see Acemoglu, Robinson, & Verdier, 2017; Ekelund, 2010; Inglehart & Norris, 2003). These two Scandinavian countries have similar feminist backgrounds (Dahlerup, 2011) and there does not seem to be a higher prevalence of sexual violence in Sweden than in Denmark (FRA, 2014), which makes this an interesting puzzle.

Graph 1. Search Statistics of “metoo” and #metoo”



(Statistics retrieved from Google Trends, 2018)

¹ This is based on a scale of 0 to 100, with 100 being the highest value. "Search term popularity is relative to the total number of Google searches performed at that time, in that location" (Google Trends, 2018).

1.1 Violence Against Women – A Global Concern

Violence against women is very relevant to policy and the social science research field and has been described as a major global concern and a violation of human rights (FRA, 2014; UN Women, 2016; WHO, 2013). Social science can be defined as “the study of society and the manner in which people behave and influence the world around us” (ESRC, n.d.). In particular, sexual violence against women can result in short-term and/or long-term physical and/or psychological damage and is a serious social problem (FRA, 2014). Therefore, violence against women is an important issue to analyze within social science research. The “UN Women Annual Report 2015-2016” focusing on the sustainable development goal (SDG) 5: “achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls” includes the issue of violence against women. The goal strives for gender equality and is focused on “ending all forms of discrimination to ensure that women, in every sphere of life, have equal voices, choices, opportunities and access to resources, among other provisions” (UN Women, 2016: 4). This goal is set to be reached by the year of 2030 and 93 countries have agreed to take action (ibid).

However, until the 1990s, violence against women was not considered a public matter in the majority of the EU Member States. Violence against women in general and domestic violence, in particular, was merely regarded as a private issue. However, since the 1990s, violence against women has been prioritized within the EU and Member States are obliged to protect its victims (FRA, 2014). Women who have been victims of sexual violence can suffer physically and/or mentally after the incident(s). The most common emotional reaction to sexual violence is fear. 64 % of the women who experienced sexual violence by a partner and 62 % of the women who were sexually violated by a non-partner reacted with anger. 47 % of the women felt shame after being sexually violated by a partner, and 49 % of the women sexually violated by a non-partner. In other words, approximately 50 % of the women who were exposed to sexual violence felt shame (see Table 1). A large amount of the women also experienced long-term reactions due to the sexual violence, such as depression, anxiety, panic attacks, loss of self-confidence and a feeling of being vulnerable (see Table 2). Many of the women also suffered physical injuries. 42 % of the women sexually violated by a partner, and 35 % of the women that were sexually violated by a non-partner got bruises and/or scratches. 5 % of the women who were sexually violated by a partner miscarried. Other physical injuries were e.g. different wounds, brain injuries and internal injuries (see Table 3). Below is a more detailed summary of what kind of emotional and physical reactions women

experienced because of sexual violence. To summarize, sexual violence against women can result in serious damage, both physically and psychologically.

Table 1². Emotional Reaction After the Most Severe Case of Violence³

	Any partner	Non-partner
Type of emotional response	Sexual violence	Sexual violence
Anger	58 %	56 %
Aggressiveness	26 %	23 %
Shock	37 %	50 %
Fear	64 %	62 %
Shame	47 %	49 %
Embarrassment	34 %	37 %
Guilt	32 %	32 %
Annoyance	37 %	30 %
Other	9 %	9 %

(FRA, 2014: 56)

Table 2⁴. Long-term Reaction After the Most Severe Case of Violence

	Any partner	Non-partner
Type of emotional response	Sexual violence	Sexual violence
Depression	35 %	23 %
Anxiety	45 %	37 %
Panic attacks	21 %	19 %
Loss of self-confidence	50 %	40 %
Feeling vulnerable	48 %	47 %

(ibid: 57)

Table 3⁵. Bodily Harm After the Most Severe Case of Violence

	Any partner	Non-partner
Type of bodily harm	Sexual violence	Sexual violence
Bruises, scratches	42 %	35 %
Wounds, sprains, burns	14 %	7 %
Fractures, broken bones, broken teeth	7 %	1 %
Concussion or other brain injury	4 %	2 %
Internal injuries	5 %	5 %
Miscarriage	5 %	(2) ⁶ %
Other	5 %	5 %

(ibid: 58)

² Table 3.1 in the original report.

³ Tables 1-3 are based on reactions after violence, by kind of violence and offender.

⁴ Table 3.2 in the original report.

⁵ Table 3.3 in the original report.

⁶ Fewer than 30 participants gave answer to the question, thus, lower reliability.

1.2 Aim and Research Question

The aim of this research is to explore why women's mobilization is different in Sweden in comparison to Denmark, through looking at the recent #MeToo movement. The bigger aim of the study is to contribute to more knowledge regarding women's mobilization across Sweden and Denmark and therefore make more sense of variation within women's movements. Looking for variation within Scandinavia is relevant since the region is often viewed as a holistic group characterized by egalitarian values. Based on the aim, the following research question has been developed: Why has Sweden mobilized more strongly than Denmark in response to the #MeToo movement? The material used in this research mainly consists of online newspapers (Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter, SVT, DR, TV2 and Berlingske), official documents, and interviews of three sets of actors with representatives from both countries. The set of actors are two activists, two NGO representatives and two politicians focusing on women's rights, a total of six respondents. The results suggest that women's mobilization is influenced by five different factors: (1) State Support (2) Political Opportunities (3) Culture (4) Framing Processes and (5) Previous Mobilization Structures. Sweden has mobilized stronger than Denmark because all five factors are more prominent in Sweden. Additionally, in recent years, mobilization structures in Denmark have intensified, which indicate that more women will mobilize in the future.

The disposition is as follows; first, previous research and a theoretical framework are introduced to explain different factors that influence women's mobilization. Thereafter, the research design with a deeper explanation of the case comparison is presented. Following is the analysis of #MeToo in Sweden and Denmark which evaluates variation in the most important mobilization factors across the two countries in the context of the #MeToo movement. Lastly, the findings are summarized and concluded by suggestions for future research.

2. Previous Research and Theoretical Framework

This section includes an overview of the previous literature, largely focusing on women's movements and definitions of important concepts. The first part introduces social movements in general and women's movements focused on fighting violence against women in particular. The next part presents factors that are claimed to influence the level of women's mobilization to end violence against women. The third part explains how feminism has developed in Sweden and Denmark. Thereafter, a description of how the factors appear in Sweden and Denmark is presented. Lastly, the existing research gaps are discussed.

2.0.1 Social Movements and Women's Movements

There is an extensive amount of research regarding social movements, and around the 1970s, there were two different social movement theories mainly used: the relative deprivation theory and the resource mobilization theory. The former theory came first and referred to individuals driven by frustration gathering for collective action. This theory still exists since people are still believed to come together to solve issues based on frustration. However, most researchers believe that there may as well be other influential key components (Kerbo, 1986; McMillan, 2007; Crossley, 2002). Therefore, the mobilization theory or rather a collection of theories has criticized the relative deprivation theory due to the impact of other factors (Kerbo, 1986).

Women have mobilized to challenge gender inequalities since the beginning of the 1800s (Ferree & Mueller, 2004) and a women's movement is a kind of a social movement (e.g. see, Beckwith, 2007; Weldon, 2002). Organizations created by women and campaigns and events managed by women have influenced societies in the world to a large extent (e.g. see, Ferree & Mueller, 2004; Weldon, 2006b; Hurwitz & Taylor, 2012). There are different definitions of social movements, however, Charles Tilly offers one that is most frequently used. Tilly defines a social movement as follows: "As the name suggests, social movements are inclusive organisations comprised of various interest groups. Social movements will contain the significant strata of society such as workers, women's groups, students, youth and the intellectual component" (Tilly, 2004: 1). Tilly further explains that these different interest groups are tied together through an injustice (ibid). Women's movements have proven to be very successful and have influenced societies across the world. The legacy of previous movements continues to influence contemporary women's movements (Ferree & Mueller, 2004). In spite of this, violence against women still is a severe problem in society; women's

movements have increased the knowledge regarding the issue around the world. Issues with violence against women have been recognized for a long time, but the expression “violence against women” was not globally used until the middle of the 1970s. The problem was brought up in 1975 at the First World Conference on Women in Mexico City (Weldon, 2006b). The UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979. Since then, 189 nations have signed or ratified the treaty (United Nations Treaty Collection, 2018).

The United Nations (UN) uses the following to define violence against women: "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (UN, 2017). Sexual violence is a broad term and covers a wide scope of acts. Such acts include all forms of forced sex (e.g. in marriage or by strangers). Sexual violence also includes types of sexual harassment and sexual assault etc. (WHO, 2002). Sexual harassment is defined as: “Any unwelcome, usually repeated and unreciprocated sexual advance, unsolicited sexual attention, demand for sexual access or favours, sexual innuendo or other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature, display or pornographic material, when it interferes with work, is made a condition of employment or creates an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment.” (UNHCR, 2003: 16). Sexual assault includes “sexual contact or behavior that occurs without explicit consent of the victim” (RAINN, n.d.).

2.0.2 Women’s Movements or Feminist Movements

On the one hand, some scholars highlight the importance of separating women’s movements from feminist movements (Beckwith, 2000, 2005, 2007; Bereni, 2016). On the other hand, there are scholars who do not separate women’s movements from feminist movements and use the terms synonymously (e.g. see, Weldon, 2002; Yulia, 2010). Beckwith (2007) provides three questions to help categorize women’s movements: (1) Who are the stakeholders? (2) Who is leading the movement? (3) What gendered identity claims are being made? (Beckwith, 2007). Beckwith defines women’s movements as “...social movements where women are the major actors and leaders, who make gendered identity claims as the basis for the movement, and who organize explicitly as women” (Beckwith, 2007: 314). In women’s movements, women are the stakeholders and leaders and mobilize women. Yet,

while women are the focus in women's movements, these movements do not necessarily contain feminist elements (ibid).

To illustrate, defining feminism can be a rather complex issue (e.g. see, Beckwith, 2007; Bereni, 2016; Offen, 1988; Weldon, 2002). Karen Offen (1988) has explored the definition of feminism over time in order to create a new definition. The author highlights that the word feminism or feminist can have different meanings to different people. An encyclopedia provided by Sage defines feminism as the following: "Feminism is a doctrine, ideology, or movement that addresses and advocates for the equal rights of women. In the context of case study research, feminism is a theory and a research practice; a framework that can be used to examine, analyze, and critique the lives of women." (Mills, Durepos & Wiebe, 2010: 103). Feminist movements, on the other hand, can be identified through their explicit feminist objectives and motivations. For instance, Beckwith defines feminist movements as a kind of women's movement that questions the patriarchal society. Feminist movements also challenge power relations and gender roles in the political and social arena (Beckwith, 2007). All feminists have gender awareness, but not all women with gender awareness would call themselves feminist. Hence, a feminist movement is a branch of women's movements. "All feminist movements are women's movements, but not all women's movement actors express feminist aspirations." (McBride, Mazur & Lovenduski, 2010: 33). Thus, a feminist movement is always a kind of women's movement, but not all women's movements are feminist.

2.1 Contributing Factors to Women's Mobilization

2.1.1 The Role of the State

The role of the state has been highlighted when discussing women's movements (Beckwith, 2000, 2007; McMillan, 2007; Weldon, 2002). It has been argued that the state can either function as an abuser of women's rights or as an advantage for women (Beckwith, 2007; McMillan, 2007; Weldon, 2002). The state can be favorable for women through supporting feminist movements, changing policies or making alterations in the law. The state also has the power to punish sexual violators, hence, protecting women from sexual violence. The state has the capacity to define what is legal and what is not and use its power to protect women from sexual violence. Furthermore, the state also functions as the main sponsor of

feminist organizations such as women's crisis centers. Thus, the state has a binary role for feminism and can either work as an advantage or disadvantage (McMillan, 2007).

Beckwith (2000) explains that the role of the state has gained attention from scholars exploring women's movements. The author further argues that the state has a legal, structural and discursive arena for women's movements. Women's movements are stronger the more relaxed state control is and vice versa. Thus, the relationship between women's movements and the state can change if there is a regime change. A regime change can also influence the political opportunities for women's movements (Beckwith, 2000). Weldon (2002) argues that governments can choose to focus on various domains of policy actions regarding the issue of violence against women. The more the state gives attention to these policy actions, the more receptive the state is. Below are seven questions regarding the state's responsiveness to violence against women.

- 1) "Has there been legal reform dealing with wife battering?"
- 2) Has there been legal reform dealing with sexual assault?
- 3) Are there shelters or other forms of emergency housing provision for victims of wife battering? Are they government funded?
- 4) Are there crisis centers for victims of sexual assault? Are they government-funded?
- 5) Are there government-sponsored programs to train service providers and other professionals who deal with violence against women, such as police, judges, and social workers?
- 6) Are there government-sponsored initiatives to educate the public about violence against women?
- 7) Is there a central agency for coordinating national policies on violence against women?" (Weldon, 2002: 13)

2.1.2 Political Opportunities

Another important factor for women's movements is the political opportunity structure (Beckwith, 2000; Ferree & Mueller, 2004; Weldon, 2006b; Taylor, 1999; Yulia, 2010). Sidney Tarrow (2011) presents four factors to explain political opportunities for social movements: (1) allowed access for new groups to take part; (2) "evidence of political realignment within the polity"; (3) open to cooperation with influential actors; (4) "emerging splits within the elite" (Tarrow, 2011: 164-165). Thus, political opportunities involve events

and/or reactions from influential actors that can facilitate the movement. Beckwith (2000) uses the term *gendered political opportunities*. Political opportunities are argued to be gendered, either in an advantageous or disadvantageous way for women's movements and can promote or impede activism. The author explains that political opportunities are gendered when men are excluded from participating in the movement (Beckwith, 2000: 447). The term *gendered political opportunities* can be used to direct the attention to difficulties for the whole community or specific problems women are facing. The political opportunity for women's movements can be very beneficial or restricted by laws (Ferree & Mueller, 2004).

Furthermore, Laurel Weldon (2006b) argues that international organizations and state institutions can be very important for individuals' cooperation within movements. Those organizations and institutions may give political opportunities and tools needed for communication. Intergovernmental conferences will gather activists to a common stage where they can communicate with each other and spread their ideas. States and international organizations can offer financial support for research and other expenses that can enable mobilization. Support from the state and institutions give beneficial political opportunities. Yet, Weldon further argues that if there is a fragmentation within the movement, such political opportunities will probably not facilitate cooperation. Support from the state or institutions can promote cooperation but this is not enough to guarantee it (Weldon, 2006b). Moreover, political opportunities are important for collective action and it is important that the wronged groups⁷ have the ability to develop an organizational unity, which is essential to set off a movement. Taking the societies previous mobilization structures into account is also important. A society that already has strong links between the people is more likely to achieve collective mobilization (Taylor, 1999).

2.1.3 Culture

An additional factor that may have an impact on women's movements is culture (Beckwith, 2000; Hurwitz & Taylor, 2012; Inglehart & Norris, 2003; Weldon, 2006a; Weldon, 2006b). An often used definition of culture is the following: "Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man⁸ as a member of society" (Tylor, 1986: 1). Heather McKee Hurwitz and

⁷ Wronged groups refer to the groups that have been mistreated.

⁸ The word *man* in this definition has been replaced by the word *human* by e.g. UNESCO, n.d.

Verta Taylor (2012) argue that women's cultures, which are structured around certain expectations on women's emotions and their role as mothers and employees, have served as tools to change the patriarchal parts of society. The authors' further state that there is no global women's culture since "the structural arrangements and cultural meanings of gender vary by race, ethnicity, class, nationality, and political context" (Hurwitz & Taylor, 2012: 808). Cultural differences may be an explanation to why individuals choose to or not to take part in political matters in the public arena. Cultural explanations include attitudes, values, and political and ideological beliefs and can determine successful mobilization (Inglehart & Norris, 2003; Yulia, 2010). Furthermore, cultural aspects highlight the importance of interest and motivation to engage in public matters, which can sometimes be challenging for the individual (Inglehart & Norris; Tarrow, 2011). These attitudes can either be *affective* or *instrumental*. Attitudes are *affective* if the individuals act because they feel obliged to do so. Attitudes can be *instrumental* if individuals' actions are motivated by the expected positive outcomes from the activity. Moreover, membership in groups or unions can create group norms and make people more engaged in politics. Thus, being a member of a group or union can be an opening for individuals to participate in various political activities such as political debates or political campaigns (Inglehart & Norris, 2003).

However, there are factors that can impede movements, Weldon (2006b) highlights issues of diversity within women's movements that can hinder the movement's effectiveness. These diversities are argued to be class, ethnicity, sexuality, and race. Transnational movements manage to bring together women from different ethnicities, class, and sexuality and also bring together women from different parts of the world speaking different languages. The author further highlights that violence against women is still an issue, but that women's movements have increased the knowledge of the problem and created tools to overcome violence against women. Weldon further argues that transnational movements against gender violence have managed to cooperate through developing inclusive norms. "Such norms include a commitment to descriptive representation, the facilitation of separate organization for disadvantaged social groups, and a commitment to building consensus with institutionalized dissent." (Weldon, 2006b: 56). These norms seek to be inclusive and acknowledge that there are differences within the movement, and at the same time create cooperation among different individuals. The author further notes that the development of these types of norms is not the only way to achieve cooperation within movements. However, those types of norms have significance in the matter and are often ignored. It illustrates a way

of keeping solidarity and political influence without ignoring differences and disagreements between the participants within the movement, and participants must communicate in order to achieve successful cooperation (ibid).

2.1.4 Framing Processes

In addition, the framing perspective has been argued to be important when analyzing movements (Taylor, 1999; Weldon, 2006b; Yulia, 2010). “Collective action frames are ways of understanding and presenting the world that emphasize the injustice of social conditions that may not otherwise be recognized as unfair.” (Weldon, 2006b: 58). The framing process in regards to gender is argued to facilitate cooperation through creating a powerful link between the participants. Focusing on gender inequalities may further contribute to linking women, and thus, mobilization (Taylor, 1999). Moreover, Yulia (2010) argues that tactical framing will facilitate policy change and further argues that framing women as women will facilitate successful cooperation. In earlier women’s movements (e.g. the movement “Mothers Against Silence”), women have framed themselves as mothers, which has been successful. The author continues by arguing that women are more likely to cooperate if men do not have the same opportunity (Yulia, 2010).

On the contrary, Weldon (2006b) argues that tactical framing is not responsible for successful transnational movements on violence against women, as previous scholars have stressed. If framing is the reason for cooperation, the framing process must come prior to cooperation. However, the author argues that this is not the case and states that frames appear through cooperation and not the other way around. Framing violence against women as a violation of human rights has contributed to policy change, but not contributed to cooperation per se. Weldon rather believes that the movement on violence against women has accomplished cooperation through developing inclusive norms, as discussed earlier (Weldon, 2006b).

2.2 The Development of Feminism in Sweden and Denmark

2.2.1 Feminism in Scandinavia

Liberal feminists, also known as equality feminists, strive for the state to give women the same rights as men. This approach has been adopted in the Scandinavian countries. Liberal feminists argue that when women gain more power in the political sphere, gender inequalities will decrease. Furthermore, liberal feminists are prepared to cooperate with the state in order

to accomplish change in policies that are favorable for women. From this perspective, the state is viewed upon as a possible tool to work with rather than the opposite (McMillan, 2007: 40).

Drude Dahlerup (2011) has done comparative research on Sweden and Denmark, including gender equality and feminism. Dahlerup argues that women in Sweden are not more oppressed than women in Denmark. According to statistics concerning women in parliament, welfare programs and level of education, Sweden and Denmark are very similar with minor variation. The “gender inequality index” (GII) shows that all Scandinavian countries are rated high on the GII, meaning these countries are more equal (UNDP, 2016). Furthermore, Dahlerup argues that these facts indicate that the gender equality debate is independent of socioeconomic conditions. The author explains that the gender equality progress during the 20th century has been alike in both Sweden and Denmark and in the remaining countries in Scandinavia. Between the 1960s and 1970s, Scandinavian countries started to use the term gender equality. Gender equality has officially been included in politics since the 1980s in all Scandinavian countries. However, since the 1990s, Sweden and Denmark have taken different paths. During the 1990s in Sweden, government officials and political parties initiated the use of the word feminism while in Denmark, the word feminism disappeared (Dahlerup, 2011).

2.2.2 The Feminist Movements in Sweden

In the early 1900s, women in Sweden started mobilizing to fight for women’s suffrage, which was finally gained in 1919, making Sweden the last country in Scandinavia to give women suffrage (SR, 2011a). Elgán (2015) has conducted a comprehensive research on feminist movements in Sweden since the 1970s. During the 1960s and 1970s, several new feminist groups were created. In 1968, eight women created “Group 8”, which became the most known group in Sweden. The group focused on questions such as the right to abortion, equal employment opportunity and day nurseries for children. In addition to these issues, sexual politics was another strong driving force. The group focused on issues such as prostitution, pornography, and rape. One of the most vital campaigns for Group 8 was regarding a new law reform proposal made by the Sexual Offences Committee. The proposal suggested lowering the punishment for rape depending on how the victim acted prior to the rape. The proposal resulted in a counter-reaction and Group 8 demanded another law reform; that

sexual intercourse without consent would in all cases be classified as rape. The group further demanded that victims of rape should get the opportunity to meet with a psychiatrist. The Sexual Offences Committee consisted of male lawyers and Group 8 demanded the committee to allow for 50 % women. The law reform proposal by the Sexual Offences Committee was rejected and thus, the campaign against it was considered a success (Elgán, 2015).

Moreover, during the 1970s, a women's shelter movement started in Sweden and the two first women's shelters were established in Stockholm and Gothenburg by 1978. The women's shelter movement focused on intimate partner violence and the lack of effort to support women and children suffering from men's violence. The shelters were created in order to give female victims of men's violence a platform where they could support one another (NCK, n.d.a).

2.2.3 The Feminist Movements in Denmark

The research by Dahlerup (2002) is the most prominent work within the literature on feminist movements in Denmark, which is used in this section. The first wave of feminism in Denmark started during the early 1870s with the liberal women's rights feminism and the working-class women as a driving force. The main focus was women's right to education, to work without being married and married women's right to legal maturity. Women were fighting for gender equality and women's suffrage. However, the fight for women's suffrage intensified during the early 1900s and has been argued to represent the second wave. The fight for women's suffrage has also been described as perhaps the greatest women's mobilization of all times in Denmark and women's suffrage was achieved in 1915. The third wave developed during the 1970s and was driven by the Women's Liberation Movement. The movement questioned the traditional gender roles and the patriarchal society. During the third wave, the radical and leftist Danish Redstocking Movement was also formed, but the movement was not only questioning the gender roles and patriarchal society. The Redstocking Movement questioned feminist organizations (such as the Danish Women's Society) and accused these of not being feminist enough. The movement became widely known and expanded across the country. Women's counterculture emerged and resulted in women's movies, women's literature etc. and women's research was brought into universities. These continuing events kept the movement going, however, slowly but surely the movement moved further away from being a grassroots movement. By the late 1980s, the Redstocking movement and a majority of the feminist organizations started to disappear.

Dahlerup (2002) calls this period “the amazing silence of the 1990s”, when the feminist perspective became less prominent. Dahlerup argues that different components contributed to the downward trend. The decline of the Redstocking movement and feminist organizations resulted in neoliberalism. The Danes became more individualistic and were divided because of conflicting opinions on EU matters during the 1990s. Dahlerup further argues that these divisions have driven feminists apart and has continued to do so. However, at the beginning of the 21st century, Norwegian and Swedish feminists influenced young women in Denmark and a new feminist debate took off (Dahlerup, 2002).

2.3 Contributing Factors in Sweden and Denmark

The following part explores how the different factors from the theoretical framework influence women’s movements in Sweden and Denmark.

2.3.1 The Role of the State and Political opportunities

Prostitution Law

There is a difference between the prostitution law in Sweden and Denmark. In Denmark, prostitution is legal and in Sweden, purchasing sex is illegal while selling sex is not. Dag Balkmar, LeeAnn Iovanni and Keith Pringle (2009) argue that the difference between the prostitution laws is an indicator of how the view of violence against women differs. The authors further argue that the different prostitution laws indicate that there are cultural differences between Sweden and Denmark. The Swedish law was enforced in 1999 and purchasing sex can result in fines or up to one year in prison. The law prohibits individuals from purchasing temporary sexual relations. The law further prohibits individuals from enabling prostitution through e.g. running a brothel or profiting from the income of prostitutes. Individuals engaging in these kinds of activities may be prosecuted for procurement. Since the law enforcement, street prostitution in Sweden has decreased by 50 % (Socialdepartementet, 2018). The Swedish government is currently attempting to criminalize paying for sex abroad. The law means that Swedish residents that pay for sex abroad can be prosecuted for the act in Sweden. If the law reform proposal is accepted, the law will come to effect July 1st 2018 (Regeringskansliet, 2017a). Moreover, in Denmark where prostitution is legal, it is still considered a severe problem in society. However, taking after the Swedish legislation has been described as a final course of action (Balkmar, Iovanni & Pringle, 2009).

In 2014, the Danish government published a document with the aim to achieve a more secure Denmark. Prostitution was stated as a problem with a lack of statistical information. The Danish government's ambition is to collect more statistics of how widespread prostitution is in order to get an overview and improve the living conditions for prostitutes (Regeringen, 2014a). Previous suggestions to ban prostitution were dismissed since such a law may reduce the number of street prostitutes, but may also increase the number of prostitutes and expand the issue when prostitutes get forced to work in "the dark" under even worse circumstances (Balkmar, Iovanni & Pringle, 2009). In Swedish policy and legislation, prostitution is connected to men's violence against women, gender inequality, and power structures, while in Denmark it is only described as a social problem. It is further argued that research on violence against women is substantially wider in Sweden, where the issue is connected to other issues such as e.g. prostitution and gender inequality. In Denmark, there are noticeably fewer critical studies on violence against women (ibid).

Towards a Sexual Consent Law in Sweden?

There is an ongoing debate regarding a law proposal concerning sexual consent and on March 20th 2018, the Swedish government submitted a bill regarding the issue. In a press release, the government expresses its concern regarding the rise in sex crimes and stresses that sex should always be voluntary. This means that the perpetrator can be prosecuted based on consent. The existing law requires that the victim was in a vulnerable situation (such as intoxication e.g.), was threatened or subjected to violence. The bill includes two new crimes; "careless rape" and "careless sexual abuse" (Regeringskansliet, 2018). "When assessing whether a participant is voluntary or not, it will be taken into account in particular if volunteering has been expressed by word, act or otherwise" (Dagens Nyheter, 2018). The aim of the proposal is to convict more sex offenders. The Sexual Offences Committee will be incorporated in the project, and the committee has been assigned to inform and educate young people (especially males) regarding responsibility and sexual consent. In order to work preventively, the Sexual Offences Committee will receive five million SEK in yearly funding to educate youth (Regeringskansliet, 2018). There is currently no consent law in Denmark either, but the Swedish law proposal has been discussed in Denmark as well (Berlingske, 2017a; DR, 2017a; TV2, 2017a). However, such a law has been criticized and a law reform does not seem to be an option (TV2, 2017a).

Gender Equality Focus

Denmark is since 2015 led by the “Lars Løkke Rasmussen III government”, which consists of Venstre (center-right), Liberal Alliance and the Conservative People’s Party. Both Sweden and Denmark have a gender equality minister. In Denmark, the minister is responsible for Fisheries, Nordic Cooperation, and Gender Equality. Previously, the minister responsible for gender equality has had other combinations such as (1) Minister for Gender Equality and Church and for Nordic Cooperation (2) Minister for Children, Equal Opportunities, Integration and Social Affairs (3) Minister for Children, Teaching and Gender Equality (Digitaliseringsstyrelsen, 2017). Published documents and information regarding gender equality is mainly found on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark’s website. The official government website contains one document regarding gender equality but further refers to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The government aims at including gender equality throughout the system, which means that all ministers are responsible for incorporating gender equality. E.g., the minister of health and the minister of culture and church must take gender equality into account (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Denmark, 2018). In 2011, the first female prime minister was appointed, Helle Thorning-Schmidt from the Social Democrats. Thorning-Schmidt ran the office until 2015 when the “Lars Løkke Rasmussen III government” won majority (Digitaliseringsstyrelsen, 2017).

The Swedish government is led by the Social Democrats since 2014 and there is a minister for children, elderly and gender equality. The Swedish government promotes itself as “the first feminist government in the world”. However, even though there are and have been several female leaders of political parties, Sweden has never had a female prime minister. Moreover, the government further explains how gender equality, therefore, is central in all decision-making (Regeringskansliet, 2018). This has resulted in six gender equality goals (1) equal power relations between women and men (2) equal economic opportunities (3) equal educational opportunities (4) equal division of the housework (5) equal right to health (6) ending men’s violence against women (Regeringskansliet, 2016). In 2018, the Gender Equality Agency was established in Sweden. Approximately 50 people are currently employed by the agency. The aim of the newly established agency is to promote gender equality, provide national support for gender equality throughout the country, and distribute state grants for women’s organization and advise the government in the issue (Jämställdhetsmyndigheten, 2018a).

The state's responsiveness to violence against women provided by Weldon (2002)

Sweden

Q1 and Q2: Legal reform dealing with wife battering and sexual assault

The Swedish legal term *kvinnofrid* translates to leave women in peace and the term *kvinnofridskränkning* means a violation of a woman's integrity. The law is customized for women and aims at protecting women from men's abuse and violence. The law was specially designed to target violence in close relationships, such as spouses and daughters e.g. exposed to violent and/or abusive men (SOU, 1995). There have been several law reforms in Sweden during the last decades. Prior to 2005, it was not considered being rape if the victim was intoxicated by alcohol, but the law was reformed in April in 2005 and nowadays it does not matter if the victim is intoxicated or not (NCK, n.d.b).

Q3 and Q4: Women's shelters and funding

There are several women's shelters and young women's shelters across Sweden, these are coordinated by Riksorganisationen för kvinnojourer och tjejjourer i Sverige (ROKS). The government sponsors women's shelters and young women's shelters with approximately 100 million SEK (1,2 million USD) each year⁹. The women's shelters are open for women exposed to men's violence, which includes both wife battering and sexual assault (ROKS, n.d.).

Q5 and Q6: Government sponsored programs and initiatives to combat violence against women

Nationellt Centrum för Kvinnofrid (NCK) is a national center for *kvinnofrid* and provides information regarding violence against women at the request by the Swedish government. The information aims at targeting the public, municipals, medical staff, lawyers and social workers to mention some. Since violence against women is regarded as a societal problem, officials that may be handling such cases should be prepared. Therefore, information about violence against women is often part of university programs; e.g. law school, police academy and social worker programs include information about violence against women according to a report by NCK (2010).

⁹ Government funding 2018-2019 amounts to 98,500,000 SEK (Socialstyrelsen, 2018).

Q7: National coordination of policies on violence against women

Part of the Gender Equality Agency mission is to work on prevention and try to combat violence against women on a national level. For this reason, a project plan was designed in 2017. The aim of the project is to improve preventive action, help more victims, improve the law enforcement, increase knowledge and evaluate and improve the routines (Jämställdhetsmyndigheten, 2018b).

Denmark

Q1 and Q2: Legal reform dealing with wife battering and sexual assault

In 2013, there was a rape law reform that increased the maximum penalty from four years to eight years. Also, prior to 2013, a mitigating factor was if a husband or an acquaintance raped a woman. Thus, for a man who raped his wife or any other woman he knew, the penalty could be reduced. The law reform also means that sexual intercourse with someone who is in a defenseless state should always be considered rape. Amnesty International continuously worked for this outcome (SR, 2013) and continues to criticize Denmark for its legislation. Amnesty International strives for a consent law in Denmark because they believe that more women would choose to report and that a law would help the country to act in accordance to the human rights as well as protect women (Amnesty International, 2018).

Q3 and Q4: Women's shelters and funding

Landsorganisation af kvindekrisecentre (LOKK) coordinates all women's and young women's shelters throughout Denmark and get most of the funding from the government, however, the exact amount is not mentioned (LOKK, n.d.a). Both women and children exposed to domestic violence are welcome to the shelters, which include wife battering and sexual assault by a current or previous partner (LOKK, n.d.b).

Q5 and Q6: Government sponsored programs and initiatives to combat violence against women

The Danish government has created a national action plan for dealing with domestic violence and violence in close relationships. The action plan aims at protecting women from physical and psychological abuse and to reduce the occurrence of it. Information sheets including information about violence against women have been developed for the police force and judiciary. The action plan highlights the importance of knowledge of violence against women within all professions. Professionals working with victims of violence on a daily basis (such

as the police, social workers etc.) are included in the action plan and should work with assisting the victims. Further actions include increasing the citizens' knowledge regarding violence and thus contribute to gender equality (Regeringen, 2014b).

Q7: National coordination of policies on violence against women

Denmark does not have a specific agency such as the Swedish Gender Equality Agency, however, there is a minister responsible for (fisheries, Nordic cooperation and) gender equality, which includes the issue of violence against women. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark also deals with the issue of violence against women, mainly domestic violence and violence against women in close relationships (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Denmark, 2018).

2.3.2 Culture in Sweden and Denmark

Cultural Differences

Some scholars assume that there is a general Scandinavian egalitarian culture (e.g. see Acemoglu, Robinson, & Verdier, 2017; Ekelund, 2010; Inglehart & Norris, 2003). Scandinavia, as a holistic group, is often seen as both peaceful and egalitarian (Acemoglu, Robinson, & Verdier, 2017). Since Scandinavia has been treated as a holistic group, differences have been overlooked, which has been pointed out by some scholars (e.g. see Balkmar, Iovanni & Pringle, 2009; Pringle, Balkmar & Iovanni, 2010; Wängnerud & Teigen, 2009). The Scandinavian countries have been subjects for research for many years, and are known for “overperforming” when it comes to welfare systems and gender equality structures. Balkmar, Iovanni & Pringle (2009) remark: “They have thereby come to hold an almost symbolic value as models of progressive social politics for many social analysts based in countries where neoliberalism has become the dominant economic, political, and social discourse.” (Balkmar, Iovanni & Pringle, 2009: 156). The authors further argue that this presumption of the Nordic countries makes it important to be critical when analyzing the region since there are dissimilarities. For instance, many presume that Sweden and Denmark have the same social characteristics when in fact there are differences. For example, in Denmark, there is less critical research than in Sweden (Balkmar, Iovanni & Pringle, 2009). Another study of Scandinavia in general and a comparison of Sweden and Norway, in particular, indicate that gender equality is defined and discussed in different ways within the region (Wängnerud & Teigen, 2009).

2.3.3 Framing Processes in Sweden and Denmark

Both Sweden and Denmark have a history of framing movements; yet, there is no work on framing processes in particular in the countries. However, slogans used by the movements show how the women framed themselves. E.g., in Sweden, Group 8 framed themselves as women during a campaign for women's rights in the workplace. The group campaigned with the phrase "Vi kvinnor", which translates to "We women". Another example occurred in 1969 when Group 8 created posters saying "Du kvinna! Kan Du leva på din lön?", which translates to "You woman! Can You survive on your salary?". This campaign was launched one year after group formation and aimed at mobilizing more women (Elgán, 2015: 206). The framing process was also present in the Danish Redstocking movement. The Redstockings initial slogans said e.g. "Jeg er glad fordi jeg er kvinde" and "Rejs jer kvinder!!!!", which means "I am happy because I am a woman" and "Rise women!!!!" (Dahlerup, 1998: 170). All of these examples show how Swedish and Danish women have framed themselves in order to mobilize more women.

2.4 Research Gaps

As discussed, there is a prevailing assumption that Scandinavia is a rather homogeneous region when it comes to egalitarian values and policies. However, there is increasing evidence that there are differences when it comes to women's movements, as shown through the #MeToo movement. The #MeToo movement has created an opportunity to look deeper into this puzzle. This research provides a more nuanced focus on differences in women's movements in response to sexual violence. Several previous studies have overlooked the differences within Scandinavia and instead treated the region homogeneously. We cannot presume that all aspects of gender equality are the same, only because some are. Additionally, the #MeToo movement is very recent and unique, which implies that scholars have published little work on the subject and this is a new interesting area to explore. Furthermore, there is some previous comparative research on gender equality and policy response in Scandinavia, but not specifically regarding women's movements in response to sexual violence.

3. Research design

This chapter presents the methods used to conduct this research, including an explanation of the choice of cases.

The research has a qualitative deductive approach and compares Sweden and Denmark in order to answer the research question of why Sweden has mobilized more strongly than Denmark in response to the #MeToo movement, and thus, contributed to the existing knowledge regarding women's movements. The analysis is mainly centered from October 17 in 2017 and onwards, in order to cover the period during and after which the #MeToo movement started. Since the movement is rather unexplored, three sets of actors have been interviewed to complement the research.

3.1 Comparative Case Study

The research design is a comparative case study of Sweden and Denmark. Since the objective of this research is to provide a description of different breakthroughs of the #MeToo movement in Sweden and Denmark, a comparative case study of the two countries was essential. Comparative case studies are often used within political science in order to give explanations to complex phenomena (King, Keohane & Verba, 1994: 44). Case studies are dependent upon using different sources and are guided by previous literature on the subject. Therefore, case studies make a comprehensive research design (Yin, 2014: 13). The choice to compare the cases Sweden and Denmark is loosely based on a *most similar systems design*, which means that the chosen cases are alike on several features, but the dependent variable differs. A *most similar systems design* is beneficial since it rules out "extraneous" variables that are similar between the cases. The opposite, a *most different systems design* would mean that the cases are not alike on most features, but the dependent variable is similar (Levy, 2008: 10). In the case of this research, Sweden and Denmark are similar in regards to the prevalence of sexual violence and sexual harassment, but the approach towards the #MeToo movement and the extent of mobilization seem to differ to a large extent. In comparison to other methods, such as a single case study, a comparative case study is more beneficial since there are more factors to look into and compare the cases. Comparing women's movements in Sweden and Denmark could also have been achieved through using quantitative methods. However, quantitative research usually departs from questions such as "How much?" or "How often?" (Tracy, 2012: 24) and the question in this thesis is neither one of those. Rather,

it aims at exploring *Why* Sweden mobilized more strongly than Denmark in response to the recent #MeToo movement.

The cases of Sweden and Denmark have been chosen because of the significant different reactions to the #MeToo movement in the countries. In Sweden, the #MeToo movement has created an extensive amount of reactions while in Denmark; the reactions have been more subtle. To illustrate; (1) within a month, almost 30 additional hashtags across different professions had been created in Sweden (SVT, 2017b). (2) Events were arranged in 13 cities and torchlight processions in around 20 cities (Aftonbladet, 2017a; Dagens Nyheter, 2017a). In Sweden, the #MeToo movement has received lots of attention since it first started, in Denmark, the big reaction came several months later and was smaller. (1) In Denmark, it was not until January when 1,223 Danish celebrities signed a petition to stop sexism within the movie industry (Ekstrabladet, 2018). (2) There were a total of two events in Denmark and approximately 2,450 showed interest¹⁰ (Format, 2017; Reel ligestilling, 2017).

Another reason for choosing Sweden and Denmark is because of data provided by Google Trends and also a survey from the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), which showed that Sweden and Denmark were the two countries of the member states with the highest prevalence of sexual harassment¹¹. Additionally, 52 % of the Danish women and 46 % of the Swedish women have experienced violence (sexual and/or physical¹²). This was a comprehensive survey on the subject with 42,000 women participating from all 28 members of the EU. The survey called “Violence against women: an EU-wide survey” is from 2014 and presents results of the prevalence of sexual violence against women in the member states, both Sweden and Denmark included. The survey showed that Sweden and Denmark were the two countries (of all member states) with the highest percentage of sexual harassment. The participants that had been victims of sexual violence were asked to elaborate

¹⁰ ”Showing interest”, refers to how many people that showed interest by pressing the button ”attending” or ”interested” on the social network Facebook, where the events were mainly promoted.

¹¹ ”Physical forms of harassment: unwelcome touching, hugging or kissing; Verbal forms of harassment: sexually suggestive, offensive, comments or jokes; inappropriate invitations to go out on dates; intrusive, offensive questions about private life; intrusive, offensive comments about a woman’s physical appearance; non-verbal forms of harassment: inappropriate, intimidating staring or leering; receiving or being shown offensive, sexually explicit pictures, photos or gifts; somebody indecently exposing themselves; being made to watch or look at pornographic material against one’s wishes; cyberharassment: receiving unwanted, offensive, sexually explicit emails or SMS messages; inappropriate, offensive advances on social networking websites or in internet chat rooms” (FRA, 2014: 97).

¹² Physical violence includes e.g. pushing, beating, slapping, pulling hair, burning and stabbing (FRA, 2014: 38).

on the most severe incident and how it affected them. The participants were also asked to elaborate on incidents occurring from the age of 15. Even though the high prevalence of violence against women is widespread, many cases of violence are not reported and many important areas are in need of more research. The survey, along with other sources, shows that men mainly commit violence against women. Men may be victims and women may be perpetrators, however, evidence shows that, mostly, men are perpetrators and women are victims, especially in cases of sexual violence and sexual harassment. Even though this research only focuses on violence against women, it is very important to acknowledge that sexual violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and people with other sexualities (LGBTQ+) is a big issue¹³. Statistics show that both Sweden and Denmark were the countries with the highest percentage of sexual harassment within the EU. Yet, all Scandinavian countries are often portrayed quite positively in regards to egalitarian values. Even though, there is evidence that the issue of sexual violence is a problem in these societies too (Pringle, Balkmar & Iovanni, 2010).

Furthermore, the significant differences in e.g. the prostitution law show how different the Swedish and Danish debates are (ibid). Another interesting aspect of this comparison is the development of feminism and women's rights issues in the countries. For instance, Sweden and Denmark signed and ratified CEDAW around the same time (CEDAW, 2018). Women's suffrage was achieved in 1915 in Denmark, four years before Sweden (SR, 2011a). The countries are also closely ranked on the "Gender development index" (GDI) and the "Gender inequality index" (GII). Sweden and Denmark are also assigned a "very high" rank on the "Human development index" (HDI); Sweden ranked 14 and Denmark ranked 5: see Table 4 below for an overview (UNDP, 2016). In other words, Sweden and Denmark are similar in most aspects. Denmark is even stronger than Sweden in several aspects, which further adds to the puzzle.

¹³ The FRA survey only mentions LGBT, but since there are other sexualities, these were included as well.

Table 4. Case Comparison Overview

	Sweden	Denmark
CEDAW	Signed: 7 Mar 1980 Ratified: 2 Jul 1980	Signed: 17 Jul 1980 Ratified: 21 Apr 1983
Gender development index (GDI)	0,997	0,970
Gender inequality index (GII)	0,048 (rank 4)	0,041 (rank 2)
Human development index (HDI)	0,913 (rank 14)	0,925 (rank 5)
Women's suffrage	1919 (first election 1921)	1915

(Sources retrieved from: CEDAW, 2018; SR, 2011a; UNDP, 2016)

3.2 Other Possible Explanations

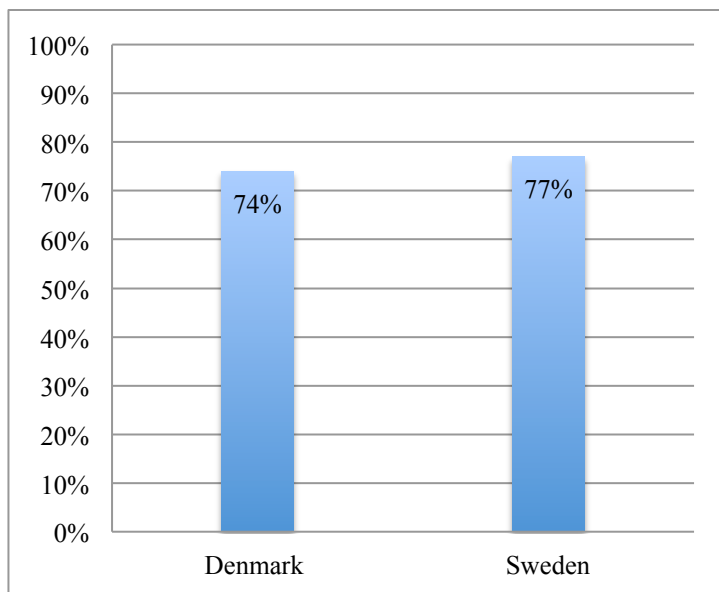
There could be other explanations to why Sweden has mobilized stronger than Denmark. One possible explanation for why #MeToo has received less attention in Denmark than in Sweden could simply be because sexual violence or sexual harassment is not an issue in the Danish society. If sexual violence or sexual harassment were not an issue, mobilization to end such actions would not be necessary. To rule this explanation out, it is important to control that this is not the case. The 2014 survey from FRA (as previously discussed) showed that Sweden and Denmark were the two countries with the highest percentage (81 % in Sweden and 80 % in Denmark) of sexual harassment. Some statistics indicate that sexual harassment has a higher prevalence in Denmark than in Sweden. 32 % of the Swedish women and 37 % of the Danish women had experienced any kind of sexual harassment within the twelve months before the survey was conducted (FRA, 2014). This indicates that the prevalence of sexual harassment is at least about the same rate in both countries.

Another possible explanation to rule out is the Internet use in both countries¹⁴. Data on Internet usage shows that social media usage may differ to a small extent. 77 % of the

¹⁴ Social media has become a platform for women to express themselves and mobilize (De Moraes, Boldrin & Silva, 2017; Williams, 2015; Wyatt, 2008) and has been used to combat sexual violence and harassment before #MeToo (De Moraes, Boldrin & Silva, 2017; Linder, Myers, Riggle, & Lacy, 2016). For example, activists from campuses in the US used the hashtag #survivorprivilege to raise awareness about sexual violence on campus (Linder, Myers, Riggle, & Lacy, 2016: 231). In Brazil, women used the hashtag #meuamigosecreto which translates to #mysecretsanta and #meuprimeiroassédio which translates to #myfirstharassment. Through

Swedes use social media in comparison to 74 % of the Danes. However, it is worth mentioning that the Danish statistics are limited to Internet users between the ages 16-89 whereas the Swedish statistics of Internet users covers age twelve and above. Most social media users are young (IIS, 2016), and excluding those younger than sixteen could give lower results. Thus, the difference in social media usage between Sweden and Denmark is most likely not the explanation of less activity in response to #MeToo in Denmark compared to Sweden.

Graph 2. Social Media Usage



(Sources retrieved from: Danmarks Statistik, 2016; IIS, 2016)

3.3 Material and Sampling

Online newspapers, official documents, and interviews have been used in order to answer the research question. The selection of online newspapers was based on media statistics in the countries. The three most used online newspapers in Sweden are Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter and SVT (IIS, 2016). In Denmark are DR, TV2, and Berlingske the most read ones (Slots- og Kulturstyrelsen, 2017). Due to the extensive amount of articles on #MeToo and the time limit, the most relevant articles and a survey conducted by SVT and DR have been selected. The most relevant news articles include (1) Any kind of comparison between

these hashtags, women raised awareness regarding their experiences of sexual harassment (De Moraes, Boldrin & Silva, 2017: 219). However, this thesis will not focus on the use of social media. Social media is the platform where the #MeToo movement has spread and should therefore not be the central focus of this research.

Sweden and Denmark regarding #MeToo (2) Swedish articles discussing #MeToo in Denmark and vice versa (3) Politicians' statements on #MeToo (4) High profile statements on #MeToo (5) Legal reforms that address the issue of sexual violence (6) Framing structures of #MeToo (7) Lists and summaries of events related to #MeToo. The most relevant articles were selected in order to answer why Sweden has mobilized more strongly than Denmark in response to the #MeToo movement and thus, also to explore why women's mobilization is different in Sweden in comparison to Denmark. The first assortment resulted in over 200 articles from the online newspapers, which was narrowed down to approximately 65 articles.

Furthermore, documents available on the governments' web pages, statements from government officials and from politicians regarding #MeToo are also included in the analysis. Since the #MeToo movement occurred recently, there is a limited amount of information. Therefore, interviews have been conducted in order to complement the study. The set of respondents were selected in order to cover different perspectives. As discussed earlier, both the state and the individuals in civil society play an important part in women's mobilization. On these grounds, six respondents were selected: two women's rights experts from an NGO, and another two that have been a driving force in the #MeToo movement in Sweden and Denmark through organizing a #MeToo event. Finally, the last two are politicians engaged in women's rights in Sweden and Denmark. Through interviewing this set of actors, the study covers both the civil society and the state-level. See Table 5 below for an overview of all respondents.

Table 5. List of Interviewees

Respondent	Actor	Country
1	Activist	Sweden
2	Activist	Denmark
3	NGO representative	Sweden
4	NGO representative ¹⁵	Denmark
5	Politician	Sweden
6	Politician	Denmark

Furthermore, interviews as a method are very often used within the field of social science research. The reason for this is that interviews can offer in-depth descriptions of certain

¹⁵ R4 was a board member of the NGO at the time when the interview was carried out. However, the respondent has previously been employed by the NGO, working with women's rights and is still a representative.

issues and give the interviewees opinions on the matter. It is also beneficial when looking into events in the past and recent events, which has come in hand in this thesis. Further, interviewing may uncover information regarding a complicated phenomenon that otherwise would not have been discovered (Tracy, 2012). Conducting structured interviews usually means that all questions are set prior to the interviews and do not give the opportunity for the interviewee to give further explanations. Structured interviews are advantageous when comparing large data sets or when interviewing a large number of people, which was not the aim of this research. Conducting unstructured interviews means that the interviewer solely has a key point of discussion that gives the interview an open path. In this case, the interviewer must be extremely skilled and well trained (Kvale, 2007: 65). On these grounds, semi-structured interviews are most beneficial in this case. The interviews were semi-structured and conducted face to face, via Skype or phone individually, depending on the interviewee's preference. The reason for choosing semi-structured interviews is because it gives the opportunity to explore areas that otherwise might be left out. The interviews with the Swedish representatives were conducted in Swedish and the interviews with the Danish representatives were conducted in English. The reason for speaking English with the Danish representatives was to avoid any misunderstandings. The participants were asked to further elaborate on some questions or got their answer repeated to make sure it was interpreted correctly.

Some of the participants were more difficult to access, and a convenient way of getting in contact with individuals who are challenging to access is to use snowball sampling. This method means that the researcher initiates the research by considering easy-to-access individuals who are suitable for the study. These individuals are then asked to recommend their contacts that are suitable for the study, and this can proceed further. A possible issue with this method is that snowballing may rapidly limit the participants to one kind of group of people (Tracy, 2012). However, this study does not aim at presenting a wide variety of different participants, thus, this is not an issue. A few of the interviewees were contacted by using the snowballing method to easier access the individuals.

The respondents were contacted through e-mail, social media or in person. All interviews were recorded, with consent from the participants, and then transcribed. The semi-structured interview guidelines (see the Appendix) were used as a guiding script during each interview and the average interview lasted 33 minutes. The interviews were analyzed in accordance

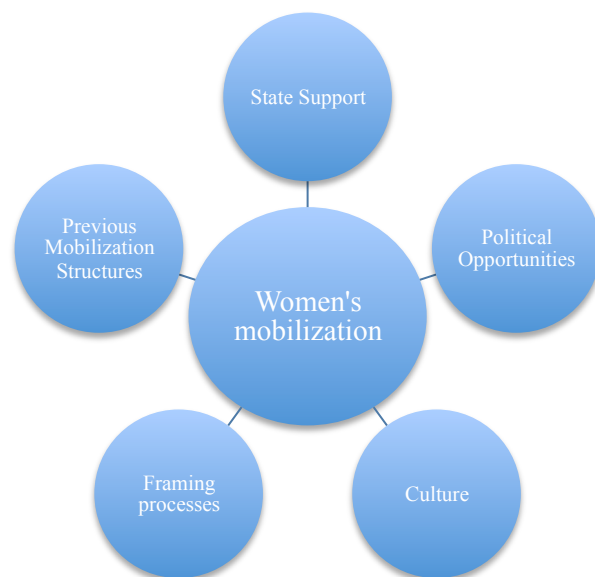
with Kvale's (2007) five steps on how to analyze interviews. The first step was to look through the interviews to get an idea of the result and if something was not clear, the respondent was contacted for follow-up questions. The next step was to look for "meaning units" in the text, see the Appendix for examples of these "meaning units". The third step was to find themes in the transcriptions and simplify these to make more sense. Following, the "meaning units" were explored in coherence with the aim of the study, which is to explore why women's mobilization is different in Sweden in comparison to Denmark. The fifth and last step was to connect everything essential to the study and formulate an illustrative statement (Kvale, 2007).

4. Analysis

This chapter provides an analysis of #MeToo in Sweden and Denmark and explores how the movement has been received in the respective country and thus, explores the research question “Why has Sweden mobilized more strongly than Denmark in response to the #MeToo movement? “. In order to answer the research question, an analytical framework has been developed. The analysis is divided into two major parts, the first part explores how #MeToo has been received in Sweden, the following part looks into how #MeToo was received in Denmark. Lastly is a discussion of the differences between the countries with concluding remarks to the research question presented.

4.1 Analytical Framework

Figure 1. Analytical Framework



As suggested in chapter 2, there are five factors affecting the level of women’s mobilization in Sweden and Denmark, and these guide the analysis. Above is an illustration of the analytical framework (see Figure 1), drawing from the theories presented earlier. The contributing factors are (1) State Support (2) Political Opportunities (3) Culture (4) Framing Processes and (5) Previous Mobilization Structures. Below (see Table 6) is an overview of how these factors are applied to the #MeToo movement, a women’s movement with feminist elements. Throughout the analysis, it is important to think about the validity and credibility. By taking certain measures into account when conducting the research, the validity and

credibility of this study increased. These measures are a thick description, triangulation and asking participants to reflect upon the findings during the process. A thick description has been attained by looking at the bigger picture to understand how to connect and understand the phenomenon (see previous research). Triangulation is achieved through using different materials (Tracy, 2012); interviews with three sets of actors, newspapers from Sweden and Denmark and official documents (such as press releases, statements and reports) from both countries.

Table 6. Factors and #MeToo

State Support	Questioning of existing laws, law reforms, policy suggestions, what has been the state's response?
Political Opportunities	Politicians showing a united front, what political parties are showing support for #MeToo? Who is voicing #MeToo? Have there been organized events because of #MeToo?
Culture	Different perception of feminism, attitudes towards #MeToo.
Framing Processes	Additional hashtags, how have women been framed in #MeToo?
Previous Mobilization Structures	What importance have previous mobilization structures for mobilizing for #MeToo?

4.2 #MeToo in Sweden

State support

The discussions in Sweden regarding the consent law, as previously explored in chapter 2, have intensified since #MeToo, which has been reported by all three online newspapers in Sweden (Aftonbladet, 2017b; Dagens Nyheter; 2017b; SVT, 2017d). It has been argued that sex should always be voluntary and anything else should be illegal. The law proposal has received criticism by lawyers and other experts within the field who argue that such a law would not increase the number of convictions. Yet, the government and Prime Minister Stefan Löfven argues the contrary, that such a law will in fact increase convictions. Löfven further expressed that the law is also a statement of how severe sexual violence is (Aftonbladet 2017b). Löfven made a statement on October 18, when he expressed his concern about the issue of sexual violence and that a law reform aiming at increasing the number of convictions (Aftonbladet, 2017c) could come into force by July 1st (SVT, 2017d).

Representatives from all political parties are also in favor of increasing the penalty for sexual harassment and have collectively expressed that this is an issue in the Swedish society, which should be dealt with (Dagens Nyheter, 2017b). Even though there have been suggestions for law reform, the politician representing Sweden (R5) believes that there have not yet been any clear-cut law or policy suggestions from the government. The respondent further states that it could be “much talk about nothing” within the political sphere.

Political opportunities

Official statements have been made from the Royal Family (e.g. see Aftonbladet, 2017d; Dagens Nyheter, 2017c, e), the government¹⁶, ministers and politicians (e.g. see Aftonbladet, 2017c; Dagens Nyheter, 2017d; SVT, 2017d, e) and other high-profile actors (e.g. see Aftonbladet, 2017e; Dagens Nyheter, 2017e; SVT, 2017f). Several Swedish celebrities have been accused of sexual violence, which has resulted in consequences such as dismissal or criminal investigations (e.g. see Aftonbladet, 2017f; SVT, 2017g). Many discussions have surrounded the Swedish Academy, which has received attention from outside Sweden. The crisis within the Swedish Academy is characterized by power structures and sexual abuse and is heavily criticized because women ended up taking the fall (SVT, 2018b). Moreover, media reported that the one-thing politicians could agree upon during a debate, was that sexual harassment must be dealt with (Aftonbladet, 2017g). This debate included both left wing and right wing political leaders and the debate occurred after approximately 1,700 female politicians signed a petition against sexual harassment within the political sphere through using the hashtag #imaktenskorridorer, which translates to “in the corridors of power”. Female politicians from all political parties except the Swedish Democrats signed the petition (Aftonbladet, 2017h). Additionally, events and torchlight processions with thousands of people have been arranged throughout the country. As stated earlier, events were arranged in thirteen cities and torchlight processions in approximately twenty cities (e.g. see Aftonbladet, 2017a; Dagens Nyheter, 2017a; SVT, 2017h).

In addition to Löfven, Sweden’s previous Gender Equality Minister Åsa Regnér¹⁷ has also made several statements regarding the movement, the first statement was made within 24

¹⁶ A search for ”metoo” on the Swedish Government’s website resulted in 59 hits, and 5 hits on the Gender Equality Agency’s website (18-04-23).

¹⁷ Regnér resigned on March 8, 2018 when she was appointed Deputy Director of UN Women and was replaced by Lena Hallengren (Regeringen, 2018c).

hours after Milano's Tweet. In her first statement, Regnér stated that "This shows that these are not private issues for the individual woman, but this is a social problem" (Aftonbladet, 2017i, SVT, 2017i). Regnér also participated in a meeting with #MeToo representatives from various professions, where women have spoken up about sexual harassment in the workplace (Dagens Nyheter, 2017f). A total of 21 representatives from different professions participated in the two-hour long meeting. During the meeting, the representatives were given the opportunity to give suggestions on how to handle sexual harassment in the workplace (Regeringskansliet, 2017b). Even male politicians have shown their support through stating that men are responsible for their actions and must take action if witnessing any sexual harassment (Aftonbladet, 2017j). Yet, when a meeting in the Swedish Riksdag was held, only three male politicians showed up and only eighteen out of 349 politicians in total (SVT, 2017j). This confirms the concern of R5, that this could be all talk and no action. However, the government did come up with a proposal to invest 120 million SEK in educating youths regarding e.g. responsibility and sexual consent (SVT, 2017k).

As a matter of fact, all three participants from Sweden that were interviewed believed that most women in Sweden have the full opportunity to mobilize and that this is actively supported by the state. To illustrate, R1, the activist in Sweden applied for a permit for the event, which was given to them within 24 hours. They started planning on a Wednesday or Thursday, and the event was on Sunday the same week. The event was marketed through Facebook, where more than 4.000 people showed their interest¹⁸. The respondent explained: "We got the permit within 24 hours, they just said that they would solve it. Normally, it takes a lot longer." (R1). The respondent was in contact with the police, the municipality and the Swedish Transport Administration and received a positive response from all agencies and found all of them very helpful. However, even though women, in general, have the full opportunity to mobilize, there are exceptions. Exposed women in society, such as women suffering from drug abuse e.g. do not have the same opportunity to mobilize as other women (R5). Another obstacle could be the fact that women often have a double burden, even though gender equality has moved forward, the woman often has more responsibility for taking care of the house and children, and the NGO representative in Sweden (R3) believes this causes women to feel like they are unable to mobilize. Thus, there are no formal obstacles keeping

¹⁸ More than 700 people pressed the "attending button" and approximately 3,700 pressed the "interested button".

women from mobilizing, yet not all women have the same opportunity and tools to mobilize due to various reasons.

Culture

The overall response to #MeToo in Sweden was rather quick and positive. What started out in Hollywood was rapidly transferred to the Swedish society. #MeToo has been discussed by the majority of the Swedes, and R3 believes that #MeToo has been more successful than anything else. The respondent further states that sexual violence is not something new, but that the issue is discussed on a whole new level since the movement started and says: “What I became most interested in was that now there was no return. Now women have decided to raise their voice and move the shame away from themselves and place it where it belongs; on the perpetrators, on employers that ignore the problem. So there is something invigorating, something revolutionary about it.” (R3). R1 and R5 agree and also believe it is a very strong movement that has been very well received in the Swedish society. Yet, they also expressed a concern of a backlash or a change of focus to the so-called “witch hunt”¹⁹ and less focus on what is important: the issue of sexual violence against women.

However, not all responses have been positive or serious. For example, #MeToo has been used as a joke by some celebrities, which received a lot of critique by the public and media (e.g. see Aftonbladet, 2017k, 1; Dagens Nyheter, 2017g). Also, according to a survey conducted by Novus, 45 % of the Swedish men, believe that #MeToo is excessive (SVT, 2017l). However, most Swedes seem to be rather positive towards the aftermath of #MeToo. According to the same survey, 70 % of the Swedes are hopeful for some kind of change due to the #MeToo movement (Dagens Nyheter, 2017h; SVT, 2017m).

Moreover, in general, being a feminist is socially acceptable in Sweden. However, there are contexts where this is not the case. All Swedish representatives believed that the word feminist is not controversial to them, but stated that they are aware of the fact that it can be controversial to some people, in some contexts in Sweden. R1 explains that being a feminist is so natural to some, while others use the word as something negative. Also, all participants would call themselves a feminist without any doubt. But, according to R3, calling yourself a feminist means responsibility and everyone who claims to be feminist should act accordingly.

¹⁹ The expression “witch hunt” has been criticized by several of the participants since it is a paradox and has nothing to do with the situation.

Being a feminist affects both opinions and actions. R3 further expressed a worry about the word feminism becoming insignificant if it is being used excessively or in the wrong way.

Framing Processes

As discussed in chapter 2, the framing process is argued to enable cooperation through creating a powerful link between the participants. Therefore, I argue that the additional hashtags are a kind of tactical framing within the #MeToo movement. Thus, I argue that these additional hashtags created a strong link between the participants and facilitated cooperation. By November 19²⁰, SVT published a list of 30 additional hashtags since #MeToo started (SVT, 2017b). By the beginning of March, there were a total of 65 hashtags and petitions representing various occupations (SVT, 2018a). As an illustration, a few of the additional hashtags are #tystnadtagnig (#silenceaction; 576 actresses), #ickegodkänt (#fail; 3,853 teachers), #medvilkenrätt (#withwhatright; 12,000 female legal practitioners, and #närmusikentystnar (#whenthemusicissilent; 1,993 female musicians) (SVT, 2017b). The case of #MeToo in Sweden is outstanding with a large number of different occupations and industries creating additional hashtags and speaking up against sexual violence and has received international attention (Dagens Nyheter, 2017i).

Previous Mobilization Structures

Several of the respondents from both Sweden and Denmark brought up Sweden's significant work with gender equality for the past centuries. To demonstrate, the work by the feminist political party Feministiskt Initiativ (FI) has enabled feminism and #MeToo to prosper in Sweden (R6). R3 thinks that centuries of working with gender equality in Sweden has paved the way for the #MeToo movement. This work makes it possible for not only strong mobilization but also for actual consequences. The government and NGOs seem to be quite determined that we have to follow up on this and not only see it as something temporary. The respondent said: "When we look back, I think we will see this as a turning point." (R3).

4.3 #MeToo in Denmark

State Support

In Denmark, there have also been discussions regarding law reforms since the #MeToo movement started. However, these have mainly been regarding the Swedish consent law

²⁰ The article was updated December 20.

(Berlingske, 2017a; DR, 2017a; TV2, 2017a). The Danish political parties have different opinions on the subject, but an actual law reform does not seem to be on the table. Representatives from both Socialdemokratiet (Social Democrats) and Venstre (center-right) stated that such a law reform would not be coherent with the Danish legal system and that there are other, better ways to tackle the issue²¹. One spokesman from Socialdemokratiet stated that she is worried that such a law would sentence innocent men. Venstre agrees and says that being “innocent until proven guilty” is important in Denmark and that the person who accuses someone of a crime carries the burden of proof. Thus, they do not see how a consent law would work coherently with the Danish legal system. However, the spokesperson for the party Socialistisk Folkeparti (Socialist People’s Party) says they believe that Danish women need more legal protection and a law that leads to more convictions (TV2, 2017a). The party has also been positive towards the Swedish consent law and would support such a law in Denmark (Berlingske, 2017b). TV2 conducted a survey with approximately 19,000 participants, asking about their thoughts on the consent law (see Table 7). The majority of the TV2’s readers are against such a law (70 %).

Table 7. Danes’ Thoughts on the Consent Law

Do you think Denmark should establish a consent law?	
Yes	21 %
No	70 %
Do not know	9 %

(TV2, 2017a)

Political Opportunity

Crown Princess Mary, politicians and celebrities in Denmark, have made official statements regarding #MeToo (e.g. see Berlingske, 2018a, b; DR, 2018a; TV2, 2017b, 2018b). Princess Mary spoke about #MeToo at the European Council, when she stressed that politicians should put more effort into gender equality issues (TV2, 2018b). The Gender Equality Minister Karen Ellemann has made several statements regarding the movement, the first one on November 29 (TV2, 2017b). As an example, Ellemann showed support when 100 Danish actresses took action against sexual harassment within the movie industry (DR, 2018a). Another example is when Ellemann addressed the taboo around sexual violence and urged Danish workers to put an end to it (Regeringen, 2018a; TV2, 2017b). Ellemann further stated

²¹ However, there are no suggestions on how to tackle the issue.

that she would arrange a meeting during 2018 regarding sexual harassment in the workplace (DR, 2017b). In addition, in early 2018, a gender equality report by Ellemann was published on the Danish Government's webpage²². The report mentions that #MeToo has shown that sexual harassment is a problem in the Danish society and a taboo that needs to be tackled and gives suggestions on how this should be achieved (Regeringen, 2018b). Yet, there is no statement made by the Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen to be found in the newspapers. #MeToo was however mentioned by Løkke Rasmussen when discussing President Donald Trump when he stated that he sees potential in the #MeToo movement (DR, 2018b).

The Danish representatives said that most women in Denmark have the full opportunity to mobilize and that this is supported by the state. R2, who mobilized an event, was in contact with the police prior to the event. The respondent has a good relationship with the police from before through work and believes that the police department and municipality are helpful and supportive. The NGO representative in Denmark (R4) explains that it is a free right as a Danish citizen to mobilize, the state is not working against it and that women have the power to mobilize. There is also a significant difference from 2013 in Denmark. At that time, there were fewer debates regarding women's issues in comparison to now. Even though #MeToo has not mobilized as many women as R4 was hoping for, it still mobilized some. Many people talk about #MeToo and have an opinion about it, which is the first step. #MeToo has created more awareness and it is obvious that something is happening. The respondent can see the difference from five years ago and believes that even more women will mobilize in the future.

However, the late response to #MeToo was according to R4 and R6 because of white powerful men who expressed their opinion about it and made men the victims, which prevented the movement from reaching out. The politician representing Denmark (R6) explains that right-wing politicians made statements after #MeToo, telling women to "get over it". Additionally, many have treated the movement as a joke. These powerful men questioned how they are supposed to approach women without abusing them, which according to R4 is a pathetic attempt to derail the movement. In fact, an additional hashtag

²² A search for "metoo" on the Danish Government's website resulted in three hits and no hits on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs website (18-04-23).

called #HeToo was created by three Danish male comedians who spoke up about their experience of sexual harassment (TV2, 2017c).

Culture

The #MeToo movement was received with mixed feelings by the Danes according to the Danish representatives and this is supported by a survey conducted by TV2 (see Table 8). According to this survey, approximately 43 % believe that #MeToo has neither had a positive or a negative effect on how Danes treat one another (TV2, 2017d). Yet, all Danish respondents were positive and see potential in the movement. R2 believes that #MeToo was “well received compared to how bad it could have been”. R4 thinks that people in Denmark are starting to realize that most women have experienced sexual harassment and that #MeToo made people discuss these issues. R6 says that the movement has been received well by feminists and the academia, but explains that the immediate media response was rather small and overthrown by powerful white men. They did not have musicians speaking up about sexual harassment until several weeks after Sweden. Therefore, the respondent does not feel like Denmark was “good enough” to pick up the movement, but has hopes for the movement to be utilized in the future. The first call for action in Denmark came approximately one month after #MeToo started when 132 singers signed a petition against sexual abuse and harassment (DR, 2017c). Another call for action came in January when more than 1,000 women within the movie theatre industry spoke up about sexual abuse and sexism (TV2, 2018a). The general discussions regarding #MeToo have surrounded a well-known Danish director, who admitted to and justified allegations of sexual harassment, which was heavily criticized by a Swedish film company who ended all cooperation with the director (DR, 2017d; SVT, 2017m).

Table 8. Danes’ Thoughts on #MeToo

Do you think that the # MeToo movement has had a positive or negative effect on the way we treat one another in Denmark? ²³	
Neither	43.36 %
Positive effect	20.45 %
Negative effect	19 %
Do not know	17.19 %

(TV2, 2017d)

²³ The result is based on a total of 1,100 respondents.

Another cultural component in Denmark is *Janteloven*, which two out of the three respondents representing Denmark (R2 & R6), mentioned. *Janteloven* can be translated to “The law of Jante”, see the Appendix for a translation of the law. *Janteloven* is not a law per se, but a set of old Scandinavian rules on how to behave, such as “You are not to think you are anything special” (SR, 2011b). The law basically means that you should not think you are above anyone else, and Danes often talk about the law, which is a part of the Danish culture. Many believe that Danish women already are privileged and that women already have so much, but still want more (R2). Along similar lines, R6 states: ”We don't see how we everyday support, encouraged and actually work the structures into our everyday lives. Our kids are pink and blue; everything is gendered. Throwing like a girl, sissy boy and such and it's so dangerous not to question this. A big part of our culture is that we have self-irony. But you should not get into anyone else's business and you should not think that you're above anyone else”. It is further explained that there is a strong power structure in the Danish society, and trying to change the structure will result in an aggressive response. R2 even says that they are “very scared of changing things (in society)”.

Regarding feminism, according to all three Danish respondents, being a feminist in Denmark is often controversial. “So saying you're a feminist in Denmark is still like saying that you're a red flag in a bullring” (R6). R2 explained that becoming a feminist resulted in several friendships ending. The friends could not accept that R2 became a politically active feminist. Most people in Denmark do express that gender equality is important, but that they would not call themselves a feminist. There is a presumption that feminists hate men and believe that women should be in power, which is not the case. Therefore, R2 does not think Danes know what feminism really means. To the participants, feminism is gender equality and equal rights, something not only for women but also for men. R4 explains that Danish feminists think of Sweden as a successful case; “I think it's funny because being a feminist (in Denmark), we long for it to be like in Sweden. People here are talking about that they don't want it to be like Sweden. But in Sweden it's socially acceptable, also for men, to be a feminist. They can do it so proudly; even their politicians do it. In Denmark you have to be like, okay I'm a feminist but it doesn't mean that I hate men. (Being a feminist,) it's still controversial in Denmark” (R4).

Framing Processes

There has been one²⁴ additional hashtag regarding sexual harassment in Denmark since #MeToo started. The hashtag #notonthemenu was created by a restaurant worker's union that wanted to increase the knowledge of how waitresses are being harassed by costumers, especially during the holidays when there are more alcoholic beverages involved (DR, 2017e). Also, female doctors created a campaign to raise awareness of sexism within the healthcare called "Uden Tavshedspligt", which translates to "Without Confidentiality". However, no additional hashtag was created (DR, 2018c), which could have been beneficial to mobilize more women. A second hashtag created after #MeToo is #HeToo, as mentioned earlier. However, the hashtag #HeToo focuses on men and not women (TV2, 2017c). Therefore, I argue that this hashtag was not part of a tactical framing for #MeToo since the focus was removed from women to men.

Previous Mobilization Structures

Denmark does have a long history of women mobilizing, until the period Dahlerup (2002) refers to as "the amazing silence of the 1990s", when the feminist perspective diminished. Yet, in 2014, a hashtag similar to #MeToo circulated in Denmark. The hashtag was called #jegharoplevet and translates to "I have experienced" and initially started in Norway, but was picked up by Danish women. #jegharoplevet aimed at raising awareness about sexism and sexual assault and women used it on Twitter to tell others about their own experiences. The hashtag got attention in media (DR, 2015; TV2, 2015). However, this hashtag lasted for a couple of weeks and #MeToo is still being talked about in Denmark. R4 is impressed by the fact that #MeToo has lasted for several months and sees a big difference from #jegharoplevet. A few years ago, there were fewer discussions and fewer people were engaged in these issues.

4.4 Comparison

Since this study aims at exploring the differences between women's mobilization in Sweden and Denmark, through looking at the #MeToo movement, all participants were asked to elaborate on why they believe there is a difference. A general idea among the participants is that Sweden is more progressive than Denmark in regards to feminist values due to centuries of feminist work and that Swedes are more politically active than Danes. "First off I don't

²⁴ Berlingske, DR and TV2 were contacted and asked if there have been other hashtags besides #notonthemenu since #MeToo, in order to increase the reliability. TV2 and DR replied that they did not know, Berlingske did not respond.

think we've done the legwork that the Feminist Initiative has done in Sweden... Compared to Sweden we are just so far behind" (R6). In addition, Dagens Nyheter published an article regarding why #MeToo received a large amount of attention. In the article, Dahlerup argues that the difference between Sweden and Denmark is the strong feminism in Sweden, which is the reason why so many Swedish women spoke up about sexual violence (Dagens Nyheter, 2017j).

There is further support for a cultural difference between Sweden and Denmark. R4 states: "Culturally, people in Sweden are more aware and maybe have a generally accepted notion of feminism. In Denmark, we believe we have gender equality so we don't really talk about it. But #MeToo made a lot of people more aware, especially young people. There have been a lot of reactions and debates, especially for Denmark". The difference between the importance of *Janteloven* in the Swedish and Danish society could have further contributed to the variation. Accordingly, Danes do not like changes and the society is characterized by hidden power structures according to respondents. R3 thinks it might be about the level of maturity regarding the view of gender equality. Scandinavia is often referred to as the most egalitarian corner in the world, but the respondent believes that in Denmark, gender equality is often regarded as being politically correct. There is a lot to do in Sweden as well, but the idea of gender equality has probably sunk in more in the Swedish society (R3). In accordance with this, R2 states that Danes believe they are very liberal, but in fact, they are not.

In relation to this, R1 and R5 believe that Swedes thought that they have come further, and #MeToo made people realize that they had not, which made them surprised and/or sad, which in turn caused the strong reactions. R5 also believes that Swedes think that they have come far when it comes to egalitarian values and says: "I think it was because we fall from grace. So this was something we thought we were very good at and these revelations were such a painful insight, that we were not." (R5).

Furthermore, an unpublished report²⁵ from 2015 provided by Sveriges Television (SVT) and Danmarks Radio (DR) also suggests that there are cultural differences between the countries. Approximately 4,000 Swedish and Danish adult individuals were interviewed. Table 9

²⁵ SVT and DR were contacted in order to access the full version of the report.

summarizes a selection of relevant questions for this research²⁶. The overall impression of the report indicates that people in Sweden, in general, are more critical towards society. The report indicates that there are large differences between how people experience sexism in the two countries. 22 % of the Swedish respondents fully agree or partly agree with the statement that politicians have enough gender equality focus (Q1), in comparison to 38 % of the Danish respondents. 46 % of the Swedish respondents and 59 % of the Danish respondents fully agree or partly agree that women and men have the same opportunities (Q2). Similarly, Q3 shows great variation; 26 % of the Swedes believe that women are oppressed, in contrast to 10 % of the Danes. Q4 shows that 49 % of the Swedes find that commercials with scantily clad women contribute to gender inequality, in comparison to 31 % of the Danes. 82 % of the Swedes and 67 % of the Danes believe that it is problematic that traditional female jobs are paid less than men's jobs (Q5).

In contrast, 34 % of the Swedes and 21 % of the Danes think that feminism contributes to the oppression of men (Q6). Moreover, the perception of the term feminism also seems to differ. The following question was given: "To what extent do you perceive yourself as a feminist?" (Q7), to this question, 5 % of the Danes answered "to a high degree" in comparison to 18 % of the Swedes²⁷. Raising girls and boys the same way (Q8) is important to 68 % of the Swedes and to 40 % of the Danes. The following question: "To what extent do you mean that sexism is a problem in women's everyday life?", 4 % of the Danes answered "to a high degree" in comparison to 22 % of the Swedes²⁸ (Epinion for DR, 2015). Dahlerup (2015) has commented on the research by SVT and DR and emphasizes that Sweden and Denmark are two similar countries; yet, the feminist and gender equality debates are widely apart (SVT, 2015a, b). The overarching result of the report reveals that Swedes and Danes seem to have somewhat different views on gender equality, feminism, and sexism.

²⁶ See the Appendix for a more detailed version.

²⁷ See the Appendix for detailed numbers.

²⁸ See the Appendix for detailed numbers.

Table 9. Summary of the SVT and DR Reportⁱ

Question/ Statement	DK. Fully agree/Partly agree	DK. Partly disagree/Fully disagree	DK. Neither agree nor disagree/Do not know/Wish not to answer	SE. Fully agree/Partly agree	SE. Partly disagree/Fully disagree	SE. Neither agree nor disagree/Do not know/Wish not to answer
1. Politicians focus enough on gender equality	38 %	25 %	37 %	22 %	37 %	31 %
2. Women and men have the same opportunities	59 %	24 %	16 %	46 %	44 %	9 %
3. Women are oppressed	10 %	67 %	23 %	26 %	53 %	21 %
4. Commercial with scantily clad women contribute to gender inequality	31 %	35 %	34 %	49 %	27 %	24 %
5. It is a problem that traditional female jobs are paid less than men's jobs	67 %	10 %	23 %	82 %	7 %	10 %
6. Feminism contributes to oppression of men	21 %	33 %	45 %	34 %	33 %	33 %
Question/ Statement	DK. To a large extent/To some extent	DK. To a low extent/Not at all	DK. Do not know/Wish not to answer	SE. To a large extent/To some extent	SE. To a low extent/Not at all	SE. Do not know/Wish not to answer
7. To what degree do you perceive yourself as a feminist?	27 %	60 %	14 %	52 %	40 %	8 %
Question/ Statement	DK. Very important/Important	DK. Not important/Not important at all	DK. Do not know/Wish not to answer	SE. Very important/Important	SE. Not important/Not important at all	SE. Do not know/Wish not to answer
8. According to you, how important is it to raise girls and boys equally?	40 %	50 %	9 %	68 %	27 %	5 %
Question/ Statement	DK. To a high degree/To some degree	DK. To a low degree/Not at all	DK. Do not know/Wish not to answer	SE. To a high degree/To some degree	SE. To a low degree/Not at all	SE. Do not know/Wish not to answer
9. To what degree do you think sexism is a problem in women's daily life?	33 %	46 %	21 %	65 %	23 %	13 %

(Retrieved from Epinion for DR, 2015)

4.5 Discussion

This part explores the research question “Why has Sweden mobilized more strongly than Denmark in response to the #MeToo movement?” through comparing #MeToo in Sweden and Denmark and discussing the main differences between the countries in regards to the factors explored in the analysis. Firstly, there is a difference in state support between Sweden and Denmark. In Sweden, the discussions regarding the consent law have intensified and resulted in an actual proposal by the government. In contrast, most political leaders in Denmark and the people seem to be against such a law and have questioned the Swedish law proposal without giving alternative suggestions. The Swedish support was also both quicker and greater than the response in Denmark. Secondly, there is seemingly stronger and more political unity in Sweden in regards to sexual violence, where all political parties except the Swedish Democrats have actively shown support for the #MeToo movement. To illustrate, Löfven and Regnér expressed their concern and support within days after October 17 while Ellemann made her first statement approximately one month later and Løkke Rasmussen has made no clear statement²⁹ about #MeToo. The number of hits when searching for “metoo” on the governments’ websites further support their different focus on #MeToo; 59 hits in Sweden, in comparison to three hits in Denmark. Yet, the Gender Equality Ministers in both countries have arranged meetings with #MeToo representatives to discuss the issue. Also, both Sweden and Denmark have had arranged events, however, there has been a larger number of events and participants in Sweden.

Thirdly, the cultural differences between Sweden and Denmark appear to have influenced women’s mobilization around #MeToo. The strong general notion of feminism in Sweden is argued to have made more women say “me too” along with the high expectations of the Swedish society that were shattered. Calling yourself a feminist in Denmark is controversial and a feminist is often mistaken for a person who hates men according to the Danish representatives. The participants’ general idea of feminism as being gender equality differs from the Danish society’s opinion to a large extent and to some extent in Sweden. In addition, political activism is more widespread in Sweden, where social criticism is common. In contrast, questioning the Danish power structures will meet resistance and the people go by *Janteloven* and one should not get into another person’s business according to the Danish representatives. Fourthly, there is a substantial difference in regards to the framing processes

²⁹ Løkke Rasmussen did however mention #MeToo when discussing Trump, as explained earlier.

in Sweden and Denmark. As presented in the analysis, 65 additional hashtags were created in Sweden in comparison to two in Denmark with one of the two created by and for men. Even though the additional hashtags did not start the movement per se, I argue that the hashtags from different occupations in Sweden made more women mobilize. Lastly, previous mobilization structures show that Swedes have during the last centuries mobilized stronger than Danes. To conclude, the reason that Sweden mobilized stronger than Denmark in regards to #MeToo is most likely a combination of the five factors (1) State Support (2) Political Opportunities (3) Culture (4) Framing Processes and (5) Previous Mobilization Structures, see Table 10 below for a summarized overview.

Table 10. Summary of Factors and #MeToo

State Support	The Swedish government’s response came quickly and was greater. In addition discussions regarding the consent law intensified, which was mostly criticized by Denmark.
Political Opportunities	All political parties except the Swedish Democrats showed support for #MeToo in Sweden, which further facilitated mobilization. Meanwhile, politicians in Denmark have been rather silent and some have expressed non-support to the movement.
Culture	The general attitude has been more positive towards #MeToo in Sweden, Swedes are more politically engaged, <i>Janteloven</i> is more prominent in the Danish society and feminism is stronger in Sweden, which caused more women to speak up about sexual violence
Framing Processes	In Sweden, additional hashtags spread to different occupations and mobilized thousands of women while one additional hashtag in Denmark was created.
Previous Mobilization Structures	Swedes have mobilized stronger than Danes during the past centuries and have therefore stronger links that facilitated mobilization around #MeToo.

5. Limitations and Ethical Considerations

Firstly, one limitation of this study is the amount of time given to conduct the study. Due to the time limit and the large number of news articles regarding #MeToo, all online newspapers could not be included. Instead, the most used newspapers were selected. For this reason, including other sources could possibly change the course of the analysis. Secondly, since the number of participants is small, the individuals who were interviewed cannot represent all activists, all NGOs, all politicians or the whole society, even though their expertise gives important insights. Thirdly, I am born and raised in Sweden and this thesis could, therefore, be biased. However, that possibility has been considered during the whole process in order to avoid letting my background influence the result. Lastly, another limitation is regarding the ability to generalize the findings from case studies to other contexts. However, case studies can give the opportunity to make theoretical generalizations. Flick (2007) argues that the aim of qualitative research is seldom to make generalizations and separates internal from external generalization. Internal generalization is common within qualitative research and means that the result of the study can be generalized within the context. External generalizability, on the other hand, means that the result can be generalized outside the context and is thus, difficult within qualitative research (Flick, 2007: 9). Consequently, this research does not aim at generalizing beyond the context. For example, the findings from this study are probably not applicable to developing countries. Instead, this study aims at making theoretical generalizations in similar contexts. For example, findings may be applicable to the remaining Scandinavian countries and other advanced, post-industrial democracies.

Ethical consideration throughout the whole research process is extremely important, especially when conducting interviews. There are two important types of ethical considerations: procedural ethics and situational ethics. The former one refers to being mindful of the situation, stay away from deceiving anyone, create and stick to a mutual agreement. The latter, situational ethics means to be mindful of the different situations you may find yourself in and be considerate of the ethics (Tracy, 2012). These ethical considerations have been taken into account throughout the whole process.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has explored why there is variation within women's movements by looking at Sweden and Denmark: two countries in "egalitarian Scandinavia". These countries are well known for their egalitarian values, yet as it turns out, both Sweden and Denmark suffer from a high prevalence of sexual violence against women. Sexual violence is an important matter since it can have serious negative impacts on women, both long-term and short-term, and both physical and psychological. The aim of this research was to explore why women's mobilization is different in Sweden in comparison to Denmark, through looking at the recent #MeToo movement. The broader aim was to contribute to the research on variation within women's movements by exploring the cases of Sweden and Denmark. The material used was online newspapers, official documents, and interviews.

In order to explore the variation within women's movements, the recent #MeToo movement has been analyzed in accordance with previous research and a derived theoretical framework. Additionally, the research question "Why has Sweden mobilized more strongly than Denmark in response to the #MeToo movement?" has been addressed and come to the conclusion that five different factors influence women's mobilization: (1) State Support: the Swedish government addressed the issue faster than the Danish government and supported a new consent law. (2) Political Opportunities: Swedish politicians showed a more united front and were more engaged in the issue (3) Culture: cultural differences such as political activism and the different view upon feminism and *Janteloven* have played a role in women's mobilization (4) Framing Processes: Sweden used tactical framing to a greater extent than Denmark through additional hashtags (5) Previous Mobilization Structures: the past centuries show that Swedes have mobilized stronger than Danes. Consequently, I argue that these factors combined made more women in Sweden than in Denmark mobilize to end sexual violence against women in the context of #MeToo.

Furthermore, another important finding is that something is happening within the Danish society; there are more discussions regarding women's rights and more women mobilize today in comparison to only five years earlier. These findings indicate that more women in Denmark have mobilized due to #MeToo than to #jegharoplevet, which has created stronger links and therefore, even more women will mobilize in the future. Moreover, since the #MeToo movement is still ongoing and rather recent, it is too early to evaluate policy responses after the movement. Therefore, looking into policy responses should be a subject

for future research in order to see the actual impact of #MeToo. Another suggestion for future research is to further explore differences within Scandinavia, as evidence indicates, there may be more differences to uncover. This research has contributed to more knowledge of what factors influence women's mobilization to combat sexual violence. This research has also contributed through analyzing a rather unexplored movement and further questioned the presumption of egalitarian Scandinavia.

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Appendix

Interview Questions Activists

- What made you engage in the issue of sexual violence against women?
 - For how long have you been engaged in the issue?
 - According to you, why is it important to highlight the issue of sexual violence?
- Why did you decide to mobilize people?
- What has been the response from people around you while trying to coordinate an event?
- Can you estimate how many people that participated during the event?
- Were you in contact with any agency official?
 - If so, what was your impression (were they helpful etc.)?
- How has the #MeToo campaign been received in Sweden/Denmark?
 - Why do you think this has been the response?
- In Sweden, the #MeToo movement has created lots of reactions (such as additional hashtags, events, petitions signed by thousands of women etc.), while the reactions have been more subtle in Denmark. Why do you think this is the case?
- Would you call yourself a feminist?
 - Do you find the word feminist controversial?

Final Reflections

- What is your overall impression of #MeToo?
- Is there anything you would like to add?

Interview Questions NGO Representatives

- When did you start engaging in women's rights?
 - Why is this important to you?
 - According to you, why is it important to highlight the issue of sexual violence?
- In what way (if any) has your organization paid attention to the #MeToo movement in Sweden/Denmark?
- How has the #MeToo campaign been received in Sweden/Denmark?
 - Why do you think this has been the response?
- In Sweden, the #MeToo movement has created lots of reactions (such as additional hashtags, events, petitions signed by thousands of women etc.), while the reactions have been more subtle in Denmark. Why do you think this is the case?
- Do women in Sweden/Denmark have the full opportunity to mobilize?
 - Is this supported by the state?

- Do you think there is any difference in political support in Sweden and Denmark?
- Can you think of any help or political support that you have received?
- Hypothetical question: If there was no support from the government, do you think we would get the same result?
- Would you call yourself a feminist?
- Do you find the word feminist controversial?

Final Reflections

- What is your overall impression of #MeToo?
- Is there anything you would like to add?

Interview Questions Politicians

- When did you start engaging in women's rights?
- Why is this important to you?
- According to you, why is it important to highlight the issue of sexual violence?
- Have you noticed any change in focus since the #MeToo movement started?
- How has the #MeToo movement been received in Sweden/Denmark?
- Why do you think this has been the response?
- In Sweden, the #MeToo movement has created lots of reactions (such as additional hashtags, events, petitions signed by thousands of women etc.), while the reactions have been more subtle in Denmark. Why do you think this is the case?
- Do women in Sweden/Denmark have the full opportunity to mobilize?
- Is this supported by the state?
- Hypothetical question: if there was no support from government, do you think we would get the same result?
- Would you call yourself a feminist?
- Do you find the word feminist controversial?

Final Reflections

- What is your overall impression of #MeToo?
- Is there anything you would like to add?

Table 11. Examples of Meaning Units

State Support	"But there have not been any solid law proposals or that kind of policy suggestions". (R5)
Political Opportunities	"A lot of old white powerful men have an opinion about it. They are making men into victims. How can they approach women without abusing them? It's so silly and pathetic. It's a way to derail the movement". (R4)
Culture	"A big part of our culture is that we have self-irony. But you should not get into anyone else's business and you should not think that you're above anyone else". (R6)
Framing Processes	"Then you could not deny it either, because it really showed that it was everywhere, across all occupations. By the end, I think there were more than fifty industries included". (R3)
Previous Mobilization Structures	"I believe that centuries of working with gender equality in Sweden has paved the way for #MeToo". (R3)

Janteloven (Law of Jante)

1. "You are not to think you are anything special.
2. You are not to think you are as good as we are.
3. You are not to think you are smarter than we are.
4. You are not to imagine yourself better than we are.
5. You are not to think you know more than we do.
6. You are not to think you are more important than we are.
7. You are not to think you are good at anything.
8. You are not to laugh at us.
9. You are not to think anyone cares about you.
10. You are not to think you can teach us anything" (SR, 2011b).

Table 12³⁰. “The politicians have enough focus on gender equality. Denmark/Sweden” (Q1)

	Denmark	Sweden
Fully agree	15 %	12 %
Partly agree	23 %	20 %
Neither agree nor disagree	25 %	22 %
Partly disagree	17 %	24 %
Fully disagree	8 %	13 %
Do not know	9 %	8 %
Wish not to answer	3 %	1 %
Total	100 %	100 %
Uncertainty	+/-2,2 %	+/-2,2 %

(Retrieved from Epinion for DR, 2015: 3)

Table 13³¹. “Women have the same opportunities as men in contemporary Denmark/Sweden” (Q2)

	Denmark	Sweden
Fully agree	23%	17%
Partly agree	36 %	29 %
Neither agree nor disagree	10 %	8 %
Partly disagree	19 %	31 %
Fully disagree	5 %	13 %
Do not know	3 %	1 %
Wish not to answer	3 %	0 %
Total	100 %	100 %
Uncertainty	+/-2,2 %	+/-2,2 %

(Retrieved from Epinion for DR, 2015: 6)

Table 14³². “Women are oppressed in contemporary Denmark/Sweden” (Q3)

	Denmark	Sweden
Fully agree	1 %	3 %
Partly agree	9 %	23 %
Neither agree nor disagree	16 %	18 %
Partly disagree	19 %	19 %
Fully disagree	48 %	34 %
Do not know	4 %	2 %
Wish not to answer	3 %	1 %
Total	100 %	100 %
Uncertainty	+/-2,2 %	+/-2,2 %

(Retrieved from Epinion for DR, 2015: 10)

³⁰ Table 1 in the original report.

³¹ Table 4 in the original report.

³² Table 8 in the original report.

Table 15³³. “Commercials with scantily clad women contribute to gender inequality. Denmark/Sweden” (Q4)

	Denmark	Sweden
Fully agree	8 %	19 %
Partly agree	23 %	30 %
Neither agree nor disagree	24 %	18 %
Partly disagree	13 %	9 %
Fully disagree	22 %	18 %
Do not know	7 %	6 %
Wish not to answer	3 %	0 %
Total	100 %	100 %
Uncertainty	+/-2,2 %	+/-2,2 %

(Retrieved from Epinion for DR, 2015: 14)

Table 16³⁴. “It is a problem that traditional female jobs are paid less than men’s jobs. Denmark/Sweden” (Q5)

	Denmark	Sweden
Fully agree	40 %	63 %
Partly agree	27 %	19 %
Neither agree nor disagree	14 %	7 %
Partly disagree	5 %	3 %
Fully disagree	5 %	4 %
Do not know	6 %	3 %
Wish not to answer	3 %	0 %
Total	100 %	100 %
Uncertainty	+/-2,2 %	+/-2,2 %

(Retrieved from Epinion for DR, 2015: 15)

Table 17³⁵. “Feminism contributes to oppression of men. Denmark/Sweden” (Q6)

	Denmark	Sweden
Fully agree	6 %	12 %
Partly agree	15 %	22 %
Neither agree nor disagree	26 %	17 %
Partly disagree	11 %	7 %
Fully disagree	22 %	26 %
Do not know	16 %	15 %
Wish not to answer	3 %	1 %
Total	100 %	100 %
Uncertainty	+/-2,2 %	+/-2,2 %

(Retrieved from Epinion for DR, 2015: 17)

³³ Table 12 in the original report.

³⁴ Table 13 in the original report.

³⁵ Table 15 in the original report.

Table 18³⁶. “To what degree do you perceive yourself as a feminist? Denmark/Sweden” (Q7)

	Denmark	Sweden
To a large extent	5 %	18 %
To some extent	22 %	34 %
To a low extent	22 %	19 %
Not at all	38 %	21 %
Do not know	9 %	6 %
Wish not to answer	5 %	2 %
Total	100 %	100 %
Uncertainty	+/-2,2 %	+/-2,2 %

(Retrieved from Epinion for DR, 2015: 4)

Table 19³⁷. “According to you, how important is it to raise boys and girls equally? Denmark/Sweden” (Q8)

	Denmark	Sweden
Very important	12 %	30 %
Important	28 %	38 %
Not important	29 %	16 %
Not important at all	21 %	11 %
Do not know	6 %	4 %
Wish not to answer	3 %	1 %
Total	100 %	100 %
Uncertainty	+/-2,2 %	+/-2,2 %

(Retrieved from Epinion for DR, 2015: 12)

Table 20³⁸. “To what degree do you think sexism is a problem in women’s daily life? Denmark/Sweden” (Q9)

	Denmark	Sweden
To a high degree	4 %	22 %
To some degree	29 %	43 %
To a low degree	36 %	18 %
Not at all	10 %	5 %
Do not know	18 %	12 %
Wish not to answer	3 %	1 %
Total	100 %	100 %
Uncertainty	+/-2,2 %	+/-2,2 %

(Retrieved from Epinion for DR, 2015: 13)

³⁶ Table 2 in the original report.

³⁷ Table 10 in the original report.

³⁸ Table 11 in the original report.

ⁱ “This study is based on a total of 4,012 interviews with Danes and Swedes aged 18 and above. The interviews have been conducted online at Epinions panels in Denmark and Sweden during the period December 3-14 in 2015. The sample is composed to ensure representativeness of the following variables in each country: Gender, Age, and Region. After the data collection, a so-called weighing (post-stratification) of the aggregate data material takes place so that the weight of respondents' composition in the sample reflects the composition of the Danish / Swedish population according to gender, age, and region. The tables show the results in %, e.g. proportions of the population (18 years +) or the respective subgroups of the population. In some cases, the tables may amount to more than 100%, due to the respondent's ability to submit more answers to the question. The maximum sampling uncertainty for the overall results in Denmark and Sweden (Section 1) is +/- 2.2 percentage points. When the results are calculated on subgroups in each country (gender and age, see section 2-5), the maximum sample uncertainty is increased. The fewer the number of respondents, the greater is the statistical sampling uncertainty. For example, the results are calculated for men (sections 2 and 4) with a maximum sampling uncertainty of +/- 3.1 percentage points (DK: n = 984; SV: n = 995) and for the 18-34 year olds (sections 3 and 5) are the +/- 4.4 / 4.3 percentage point (DK: n = 494; SV: n = 520). It should be noted that this study is merely a quantitative (statistical) snapshot of the population's position, which gives a firm impression of its immediate opinion/attitude” (Epinion for DR, 2015: 78).