DEPARTMENT OF APPLIED IT

Not just a *kvinnofråga*

A content analysis of Swedish press portrayals of men & #MeToo

Elissa Shaw

I wish to acknowledge and express heartfelt thanks to

Max
my family
Kerstin & Nalle
my precious friends
especialmente Tomás
and my super supervisor Alice

all of whom have been endlessly supportive and inspiring
during the ups and downs of this thesis process,
not letting me forget the value
of believing in myself.

Abstract

With its sudden outbreak in October 2017, the anti-harassment movement #MeToo quickly created a vast, worldwide impact on social media, in the traditional press as well as in everyday lives. In Sweden especially, a country with a long history in fighting for gender equality, women in their thousands shared their stories of sexual harassment and came together both as individuals and as occupational groups to raise a collective voice. Slowly the focus also turned to the role of men in relation to the movement, the problems raised and the solutions posed. Based on a framework of media framing analysis and various studies on masculinity, this paper examines the ways the male gender has been portrayed in opinionated Swedish press coverage during the first three and a half months of #MeToo. The methodology centres around a quantitative cluster analysis strategy that aids in identifying distinct media frames. The findings demonstrate how the three frames that emerge from the sample data all characterise the surfacing topics and male identity roles in thematically different ways (Power, Education and Risk Frames). Furthermore, the study discusses how female journalists take a critical stance towards the problematic structures of society more often than men, who on the contrary focus more on the educational importance of changing male norms.

Keywords: #MeToo, content analysis, media framing, masculinities, gender portrayal

Table of contents

1. Introduction

On October 15, 2017, the simple and seemingly banal saying of "me too" suddenly received an entirely new meaning. The phenomenon #MeToo began spreading on social media world-over, with the aim of exposing the magnitude of sexual harassment that women experience in today's society. What started off as a hashtag by the Hollywood actress Alyssa Milano following the allegations against producer Harvey Weinstein, quickly evolved into one of the most powerful global social movements to date. The "#MeToo era" has even been signalled by some as the start of fourth-wave feminism (e.g. Grady, 2018), as many another feminist is already using the terms "post-Metoo" and "post-Weinstein" (e.g. Cobb & Horeck, 2018). Even in Sweden, a nation defining itself as feminist with a long history in defending gender equality, #MeToo was a revolution. Not only did it encourage women in their thousands to share private stories and to come together to raise a collective voice against sexual harassment, but it also created a new arena for societal discussion surrounding topics such as the normalisation of sexual harassment, the abuse of power positions, the culture of silence at workplaces, and the predominantly masculine structures of society.

Consequently, the focus of interest turned from women to men, with more and more men drawn into the discussion and urged to examine their own behaviour both individually and collectively. What were male thoughts and feelings on the movement like? How did they position themselves as part of it, both the problem and the solution alike? And in what ways do women regard men in relation to it all? Inspired by these considerations, this study will examine how men have been portrayed and represented in the #MeToo discussion in opinionated articles published in the Swedish newspaper media during the period of mid-October 2017 to January 2018. The selected timeframe of three and a half months includes the initial outbreak of #MeToo, the rise in the number of accusations, the surge of manifestations from different professional branches, and the overarching development of opinions and attitudes around the phenomenon and its implications.

The following research questions will guide the study.

1. How has the male gender been portrayed in relation to the #MeToo phenomenon in opinionated Swedish newspaper media from mid-October 2017 to January 2018?
   a. What media frames pertaining to the male role are identified in these texts?
   b. What types of masculinity roles are identified in these texts?
   c. Is there a difference between how female versus male journalists cover the male role?
2. In what ways has the discussion around the male role changed during the three months after the outbreak?

Drawing upon the theory of media framing and on various masculinity studies, the author conducts a content analysis in order to identify the media frames pertaining to male representation in critical editorial texts of five Swedish newspapers: Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter, Expressen, Göteborgs Posten and Svenska Dagbladet.

The study emphasises how #MeToo is not only a women's movement pertaining to women's issues (*kvinnofrågor* in Sweden*)* but a cultural moment that affects society at large. A long history of global feminist movements has, however, formed a solid basis for the momentum of #MeToo. Therefore, I as

the author draw upon feminist approaches and refer to feminist scholars in the study for the value and perspective they bring to the research of an essentially feminist movement. However, as a researcher, I aim to simultaneously keep my standpoint as neutral and open as possible. With respect to this aspect, it is important to note here how I use the division of female and male throughout the study from an external, cisgendering[1] point of view. While this simplifying take can be problematic as not all subjects, e.g. male-assumed journalists, necessarily identify as cis-gender, these normative assumptions are based on solely practical reasons.

This study has academic relevance in various aspects. Not only is #MeToo such a recent event that scientific research on it is still scarce, but it is a phenomenon that unfolded and found form on social media, and thus in its very essence has to do with the modern ways people communicate, organise and take action online, also bridging the study with social movement research (see chapters 2.1. and 3.1.). This study aims to shed light onto how #MeToo as a social media phenomenon has been translated into societal discussion in traditional media: what aspects of it are highlighted and accepted as part of the debate, and what are excluded. Thus relevance also lies in the field of media criticism: the critical study of the angles, frames, biases, "structure, conduct, performance, content, role and influence" that media present (von Krogh, 2012, p. 15). How issues and actors are portrayed in media has an impact on public opinion, and it is thus of importance to fully understand the power of representational media texts (e.g. Chong & Druckman, 2007) – in this case the interrelationship of traditional news media and the portrayal of men in relation to #MeToo. In addition, the focus of the study on male representations implies relevance in the field of gender research.

The paper starts by briefly describing the origins of #MeToo, conceptualising it as a social movement in general as well as discussing the phenomenon's impact in the cultural context of Sweden specifically (Chapter 2). In order to understand the Swedish backdrop more fully, also a socio-cultural overview on Swedish masculinity as well as a take on Swedish media and journalism culture are included in Chapter 2. The state of current research is covered in Chapter 3 to give an understanding on how this study contributes to the corpus of content analytic and media framing literature on gender portrayals. The chapter also familiarises the reader with the two theoretical bases of the study: media framing and perspectives on masculinity. After reflecting on the contextual and theoretical background in the first chapters, Chapter 4 introduces the methodological aspects of the study: the operationalisation of the theories into a content analytical research instrument as well as the detailed process of using a cluster analysis strategy to extract and analyse the media frames of the material. The findings are presented in Chapter 5 according to the division present in the research questions: the identified media frames, the masculinity roles, comparison of male vs. female coverage as well as a take on how coverage changed over time. Chapter 6 is dedicated to the discussion and critical reflections of how the results of the study relate to the theory and previous literature. Finally, the paper concludes with an overview of the study while also addressing its limitations, suggesting directions for further research as well as presenting practical implications.

---

[1] The term *cisgender* refers to a person whose sense of personal identity and gender corresponds with their birth sex.

2. Background

This chapter gives a broad overview of the problem space this study relates to. It begins with briefly introducing the main facets and origins of #MeToo as a phenomenon in general, after which subchapter 2.1. aims to conceptualise it as a feminist social movement and as an example of modern hashtag activism. In line with the research interests of this study, the remaining subchapters turn the focus to the socio-cultural context of Sweden. Subchapter 2.2. examines how and why #MeToo was received so forcefully in Sweden as well as how it further evolved into a phenomenon of numerous branch-specific sub-movements, an aspect quite unique to Sweden. Subchapter 2.3. takes a closer look on Swedish men, in particular in light of the prevailing impression of Sweden as a gender equal and feminist society. Finally, subchapter 2.4. will describe the media environment and state of journalism in Sweden today. When examining #MeToo in the subchapters to come, references are mainly made to articles from various media outlets, since published scientific research on the movement has been little as of yet.

#MeToo did not appear out of the blue, but was preceded by a series of events, primarily in the United States, that paved way to the outbreak, e.g. protests against the presidential election of Donald Trump in November 2016, the large-scale Women's March demonstration advocating for women's rights in January 2017 (e.g. Grady, 2018), and most significantly the sexual abuse allegations against Hollywood produced Harvey Weinstein in October 2017 (e.g. Cobb & Horeck, 2018). From a more local perspective, the powerful momentum that #MeToo gained in Europe, and especially in Sweden, can partly be grounded in response behaviour to the global rise of populist, far-right values that collide with many a modern, democratic and feminist principle (Werner, 2018).

Though the hashtag #MeToo was first tweeted by actress Alyssa Milano in reaction to the accusations against Weinstein, the phrase "Me Too" had been established and used by social activist Tarana Burke already in 2006 as part of her campaign to support underprivileged women of colour who had suffered from sexual abuse (Pandevski et al., 2018). Especially when mirrored with the context of Burke's campaign, the movement has met criticism on how it centres on white Western cis-women and mostly on celebrities' experience of harassment, simultaneously excluding marginalised women of colour and trans or other non-binary gendered people (Cobb & Horeck, 2018). As Cobb and Horeck (2018) give a reminder in their introduction to a series of short essays on #MeToo in *Feminist Media Studies*, it is indeed important to "keep the lines of critical interrogation open" and to take history and context into consideration when examining "the complexities of this post-Weinstein moment" (p. 490).

On a larger scale, however, the movement is seen as a significant node in a global web of new feminism of the 21st century. #MeToo is a pivotal moment at the right time and in the right socio-political climate to advance the theses for which feminists for decades have laid the groundworks for: contesting systemic sexism, harassment and gender inequality as well as advancing women's rights and structural change (Grady, 2018).

2.1. Conceptualising #MeToo as a feminist social movement

As a social movement phenomenon #MeToo hardly has a contemporary precedent with an equally widespread global effect. The consideration of how #MeToo started as an unpredicted moment on social media and how it quickly expanded into a social movement without an organised net-

work of initiators behind it, differentiates it from most traditional and even digital social movements. However, #MeToo can be conceptualised in terms of modern "hashtag" activism, where the sense of collective identity is created and spread on social media, crossing national and social boundaries and bringing people together in unlimited ways, eventually also offline. The analogy will be exemplified by drawing on cases concerning gender equity and the notion of "hashtag feminism" that has grown popular in recent years (Dixon, 2014).

Social media activism has been actively studied as a new form of social movement, emphasising the importance of democratisation of online communication and breaking the boundaries between public and private (Carroll & Hackett, 2006). For hashtag feminism the notion of private and personal is of strong significance: social media offers a virtual space where "victims of inequality can coexist together in a space that acknowledges their pain, narrative, and isolation" (Dixon, 2014, p. 34). While this space is also constantly contested by online harassment, hate speech and disagreements, the collective identity strengthened online and the possibility to raise a collective voice has lead to a number of successful feminist hashtags that find political gains in the personal, e.g. *#YesAllWomen* contesting misogyny after a school shooting in the US (Ibid.) or #MeToo's German equivalent *#aufschrei* against sexual harassment (Drüeke & Zobl, 2016). Hashtags are also a highly efficient way of spreading information, being involved in an event from a distance, and bringing international media attention to it, such as the hashtag *#BringBackOurGirls* against the mass abduction of 200 Nigerian schoolgirls proved (Dixon, 2014). Hashtags and social media platforms are facilitators of social movements, but they are also understood as tools that aid and amplify existing protest movements and citizen participation (Valenzuela, 2013). This underlines how the online and offline worlds of activism are not separate at all but rather constantly intersecting, which #MeToo has also exemplified. Though #MeToo's origins are online and not in a specific existing movement, it is still grounded in decades of traditional women's movements and feminist struggle. For its part it has also proved how a simple hashtag as a modern channel of expression can pave way for the creation of a whole new feminist movement, or even a new feminist wave (Grady, 2018).

The idea of silencing stands in contrast to the concept of gaining voice. The powerful symbolic notion of "breaking the silence" has been closely connected to #MeToo and the revelation of what has been routinely hushed of before; even Time Magazine chose "The Silence Breakers" as its Person of the Year in 2017 (Zacharek et al. 2017). This exemplifies both the value of #MeToo as a movement for change and the fact that women indeed have held the position of a muted group: without muted voices there would be no silence to break in the first place. The feminist communication theory of a Muted Group argues that women are a muted group in a society where male ways and means of expression dominate (Ardener, 1975; Kramarae, 1981). The theory posits that in patriarchal societies men and women have two distinct circles of experience and interpretation that overlap each other. Since the masculine circle converges with the accepted norms of the patriarchal society, it overrides the feminine one, resulting in the consideration of women as the "muted group". Their experiences are not visible nor voices heard, unless they succeed in either translating their voices into a masculine mode or developing alternative models of communication. (Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006)

While the muted group theory was developed in the 1980s in a world different to today and some of its premises hold less true than then, it can be nonetheless applied to demonstrate how the

power of "breaking the silence" surrounding the #MeToo discussion has resonated among women and become an integral narrative in the movement itself. The fourth premise of the muted group theory presents how subordinate groups also have the ability to engage in resistance to their muting (e.g. Meares et al., 2004; Kissack, 2010). Houston and Kramarae (1991) indicate how this resistance is demonstrated, for example, via support groups or by engaging in discourse about being muted. While Kissack (2010) further states how this struggle is an "uphill mission" for women trying to reclaim their voices, it can be argued how #MeToo has finally presented the momentum for women to actually do so. The theory recognises how the dynamics of power privilege some voices over others, but also how subordinate groups can create alternative communication models of their own to get their voices heard. Thus it can even be argued that women have "found their voice" and ceased to succumb to muteness by developing collectively an alternative communication model in the form of #MeToo.

2.2. A backdrop of #MeToo in Sweden

The prevailing image of Sweden as a gender-equal welfare state with progressive politics holds true in many senses. In addition to Sweden habitually ranking high on the global gender-gap report (World Economic Forum, 2017), it has the first government in the world labelling itself as feminist. The Swedish government aims to integrate feminist policies in state governance at large in order to facilitate gender equality in all of its decisions (Swedish Government, 2017) and thus in the Swedish society as a whole. This can be seen as a result of a long history of social democratic politics and also organised women right's movements that have pushed forward feminist agendas, e.g. the generous parental leave policies, the high percentage of women in the labour market (Åkerblom, 2009), or even the recently proposed legislation of consensual sex (Mannheimer, 2018).

Simultaneously, and somewhat paradoxically, Sweden also tops the statistics of domestic and intimate partner violence along with its Nordic neighbours (Gracia & Merlo, 2016) as well as having a significant discrepancy in the relation between reported cases of sexual violence and convictions of them (BRÅ, 2017). From a gender perspective the same statistics show that in 98% of the cases where a woman is the victim the suspect is a man.

These two contradicting aspects of the Swedish society combined can be used to explore why #MeToo has been embraced so widely in Sweden specifically, where the movement unfurled in an exceptionally pervasive way. By the end of March 2018, 65 groups of professional women had come together to launch branch-specific sub-movements under their own hashtags, publishing official testimonials signed by close to 100 000 women in total under their respective hashtags (DN Debatt, 2018; see *Appendix A* for full list). As #MeToo initially aimed to expose sexual harassment connected to the workplace specifically, most Swedish women could easily identify to this professional and occupational self: female employment in Sweden is nearly 80% (World Economic Forum, 2017). Also relatively small geographical and demographical size as well as widespread digitalisation have contributed to the magnitude of the Swedish wave of #MeToo: the right target groups are reached quickly, women are organised into homogenous groups, and communication happens seamlessly online, mostly on social media. This sudden, extensive and organised grass-root activism that spread so rapidly among women of all professions and backgrounds across Sweden was exceptional from a global perspective, as elsewhere the movement caught fire mostly

in the media, culture and entertainment industries (e.g. Cosar, 2017). Also from a Nordic point of view #MeToo had the strongest impact and support in Sweden. In Denmark and Finland, for example, the movement experienced a wave of so-called "backlashes" with men mocking the movement and diminishing the significance of protesting against sexual harassment (Måwe, 2018).

Karin Eriksson and Sanna Torén Björling (2017) go deeper into reflecting on the reasons behind #MeToo's reception in Sweden in their article in Dagens Nyheter. #MeToo and its national sub-movements have received large-scale national attention in Sweden not only from the media, but from the government, politicians, the national broadcast company as well as important societal actors and businesses. This receptiveness stems from the strong national feminist context, but also from the social standpoint of not putting up with intolerance or violations of human rights. The hardy tradition of politicising labour issues, societal problems and even personal matters has created a societal arena where citizens have voice, influence, and trust in that someone listens. Grass-root social movements, union affiliations, gathering together as citizen societies and associations – the tradition of acting collectively has been historically strong in Sweden and #MeToo proves how it still is so. "The personal is political" (translation by the author)[2], a typical slogan of the Swedish feminist movement of the 70s, is still applicable to the spirit of #MeToo today. (Ibid, 2017)

We see how #MeToo did not appear in a vacuum in Sweden, either. Sexual violence and harassment have been recurring public debate and political topics in recent years, with e.g. the campaign #prataomdet (#talkaboutit, translation by the author) reacting to the allegations against Wikileaks founder Julian Assange in 2010 and aiming to elevate the discussion surrounding sexual harassment and grey zones (TT, 2017). Already in 2001 researcher Eva Lundgren published a large-scale study Slagen Dam (The Punched Lady, translation by author) exposing the extent of men's violence against women in Sweden. Back then her research was, however, met with criticism of exaggerating the scope of the problem; criticism that #MeToo has in retrospect proved unreasonable. (Skagegård, 2017) This backdrop in public discussion can be considered an important factor in paving the way for #MeToo in Sweden.

The aforementioned political and social climate has seen to that the Swedish wave of #MeToo has been protested to a relatively small extent. Most of the criticism has been directed to the way media has handled allegations. A number of Swedish public figures, such as journalist Fredrik Virtanen, tv-persona Martin Timell, politician Roger Mogert, and the "Culture Profile" Jean-Claude Arnault, have been accused of various sexual offences or sexist behaviour and thus been cast in dark media spotlight. Some allegations were published hastily without sufficient evidence and investigation, thus compromising the proper press ethics that Swedish journalism otherwise diligently adheres to. The critique of media outlets condemning innocent men has also been agitated by the uncontrollable movements on social media, where discussion has been more heated and names been published with less filtering, likening what some have experienced as "lynch mobs" or "witch hunts" (e.g. Heimerson, 2017).

---

[2] "Det personliga är politiskt" (see http://www.ub.gu.se/kvinn/portaler/systerskap/personligt/)

2.3. A socio-cultural take on Swedish men

In Sweden, gender studies are culturally and historically closely linked to the women's movements of the 19th and 20th centuries, when gender equality was considered almost synonymous to *kvinnofrågor,* women's issues (Åkerblom, 2009). As a term, it is used less in the contemporary debate for gender equality, which is not only seen as a women's issue anymore but affecting everyone, from non-binary genders to men. Around the 1960s, the Swedish social democratic government and welfare state began to view the extension of male parenthood more and more essential in its drive towards gender equality. The growing industries were in need of the female workforce, while feminist movements also emphasised that it was only justified that the unpaid household work in the private domain was shared between women and men alike. (Ibid.). It has thus been argued by Swedish masculinity study scholars that the introduction of paternal leave and the new focus on fatherhood in 1974 can also be seen as the initial push towards the creation of the "egalitarian Swedish male". (Gottzén & Jonsson, 2012, p. 8)

Examining the most recent statistics on gender equality in Sweden (Statistic Sweden, 2016; World Economic Forum, 2017), Swedes live in the world's fifth most gender equal country. Gender equality policies and agendas are politically pushed forward to ensure that everyone, no matter which gender, has access to the same rights and opportunities in life. However, apparent gender disparities do still exist – also in disfavour of men. When it comes to education, Swedish boys habitually under-perform their female peers at school as well as are underrepresented later in higher education: of the students completing their higher education degree only 37% are men (Statistic Sweden, 2016). How boys and young men are falling behind education-wise is thus also a growing concern such as the gender disparities affecting women are. Then again, though the tendency of supporting gender equality and even endorsing feminism "in-principle" might be fairly common among Swedish men, the reality of it does not always stand up to the ideal: men still hold more senior positions (60%) and earn almost a fourth more than women (World Economic Forum, 2017), thus enjoying higher pensions. Men also use only about 44% of the total paternal leave they are entitled to (Statistic Sweden, 2016).

The perspective of intersectionality comes into question when viewing the "other side" of the idealised Swedish male – the side that is presented in the thousands of #MeToo testimonials of sexual violations against women in Sweden. The term *intersectionality* is an established concept in feminist discourse describing the cumulative ways different effects of discrimination (e.g. based on race, gender and class) combine and intersect. Gottzén & Jonsson (2012) discuss how this "unequal other" in Sweden is most often classified in terms of ethnicity or class, e.g. in honour-related domestic violence cases linked to patriarchal and traditional cultures, or as mere individual cases of psychopatological wrongdoings. Thus the idealised norm, or even myth, of the gender equal Swedish man is upheld through the juxtaposition with this foreign, working class, or mentally disturbed "other". #MeToo has effectively demonstrated how sexual violence does, on the contrary, permeate all classes, subcultures, professions and facets of the Swedish society, yet organised work in order to change perceptions on gender norms and masculinity has been ongoing already long before the movement. Organisations like MÄN (Män för Jämställdhet), Make Equal and FATTA strive towards opening up the discussion surrounding sexual violence and thus promoting societal change, e.g. through the campaign #killmiddagar (#guytalk), where men are encouraged to get together and discuss emotions, norms, peer pressure, and in general what it is like to be or

identify oneself as male. Similar initiatives are taken among young boys especially in order to challenge macho norms, e.g. with the campaign "Killfälla" (guy trap) by the organisation Mentor Sverige.

2.4. Swedish news media landscape

News media has the power to influence much of what people are informed about and exposed to, how they understand world events and phenomena as well as how public opinion is developed. It is thus of significance also for this study to understand the Swedish media environment where the journalists and contributors to the national #MeToo discussion operate in.

According to the recent Worlds of Journalism report and survey (Nilsson, 2016), Swedish newsrooms are highly gender equal with almost 46% of journalists female. A survey study by Strömbäck et al. (2012) mentions how the gender distribution in the Swedish Union of Journalists in 2008 was even more equal with 49% female members. On average journalists are about 51 years old (Nilsson, 2016), though the journalist corps is getting younger and also more highly educated: journalists are more likely to have a university-level education the younger they are. In 2012, a majority (78%) of the journalists held a completed university degree (Strömbäck et al., 2012). This aspect raises further questions pertaining to age representation, class, ethnicity and privilege, and whether these perspectives are taken enough into account in journalistic work in today's highly multicultural Sweden. Strömbäck & al. (2012) also reveal how 85% of all journalists are born in Sweden to Swedish parents. This perspective, however, transgresses the focus of this study.

The Swedish newsroom is characterised by a 'mixed heritage'. From a historical perspective the Swedish media system has developed as a synthesis of both liberal ideals of press freedom and strong affiliations with the political sphere and specific parties, as well as wide acceptance of state activities coupled with simultaneous state intervention. While this tradition has nowadays faded and most Swedish newspapers state they are politically independent, the emphasis on journalistic professionalism with strong unions, institutionalised self-regulation and a solid acceptance of the journalistic code of ethics has become evermore important. The modern Swedish newsroom exists in the cross-pressure of this professionalism and de-politicisation on one hand, and the challenges brought on by commercialisation, privatisation and digitalisation on the other. (Strömbäck et al., 2012).

Nilsson's (2016) report describes how Swedish journalists regard themselves as 'watchdogs' who hold a strong ideal of monitoring and scrutinising political leaders and businesses, implying that journalists are influenced very little by external actors. Instead, they hold the objective ideals of reporting "how things genuinely are", of being a "detached observer" and of "letting people express their views" as utmost important. According to Strömbäck et al. (2012), Swedish journalists enjoy extensive autonomy in selecting which stories to report and which aspects to emphasise in their work. Based on these standpoints it can be argued how Swedish journalists hold freedom of expressing a range of opinions, taking different points of view into consideration, and thus also representing the Swedish people more transparently than in countries were journalists are politically more dependent. Naturally outlet-related differences and policies as well as journalist profiles and values steer media content, yet professional ethics are adhered to and held in value in all journalistic work (Nilsson, 2016).

3. State of Research

This chapter is divided into two main sections: a literature review on related works and an explanation of the theoretical framework of this study. Since #MeToo is still such a recent phenomena, published academic literature on it is still scarce. Therefore, subchapter 3.1. will review related research on similar hashtag movements as well as in the field of media framing and masculinity studies. Subchapter 3.2. will in turn provide an understanding of the theoretical approaches used in this study: media framing as well as various theoretical perspectives on masculinity. The chapter ends with a short summary on how the theoretical approaches introduced can be applied to this study in particular.

3.1. Related works

As was presented in the background chapter, hashtag movements have become close to a standard of expression for modern digital social movements. Consequently, these social media-borne phenomena are also an increasingly popular research subject for social movement as well as communications scholars. Occupy Wall Street, a protest movement against economic inequality from 2011, was one of the first widely recognised movements to use a hashtag in its actions. For example Kavada (2015) examines in her study how Occupy activists created a strong collective identity online and how social media and the use of the hashtag #OccupyWallStreet played an important role in this process. Recent examples of specifically feminist hashtag movements similar to #MeToo include e.g. #BringBackOurGirls. Carter Olson (2016) in her paper looks into the ways digital activists used this hashtag to bridge online and offline communities globally, bringing the issue mainstream international attention and setting it on the public agenda. Clark (2016) in turn uses the U.S. hashtag #WhyIStayed to exemplify how a successful online feminist protest borrows narrative elements of a dramatic performance to evolve personal expressions into collective action. Also #aufschrei as the German equivalent of #MeToo from 2013 has been studied by Drüeke and Zobl (2016) from the approach of communicative public spheres. Their study argues how digital activism is a process of social negotiation that at different levels of complexity contest, produce and reproduce public norms and values. Some scholars have also conducted media framing research on social movements, e.g. Moscato (2016) uses media framing to examine how traditional media represents digital activism in the case of #IdleNoMore, a movement that defends land rights of the indigenous people of Canada. He also argues how online activism has an impact on public policy debates.

Content analysis scholar Kimberly Neuendorf (2010) speculates how gender portrayal in media texts is perhaps the one research area where content analysis as a method is used the most, and when reviewing related works the corpus does indeed seem abundant. A majority of this research focuses on the visual portrayals of gender in e.g. print advertisements (e.g. Cutler, 2007; O'Toole, 2016), TV (e.g. Fowler & Thomas, 2015; Fernandez-Villaneuva et al., 2009) or films (e.g. Smith, 1999; Hammer, 2010). On the contrary, studies on textual media portrayals of gender in press coverage, such as in this paper, seem fewer. The literature that was discovered deals with media framing of gender mostly in political news coverage. Fountaine and McGregor's (2002) study examines whether the news framing of female politicians in New Zealand reflects the increase in political power that women have attained, only concluding that exclusion, trivialisation and censuring continue despite the political gains of women. Similarly, Devitt (2002) describes in his

study how female and male gubernatorial candidates are treated differently: while a male candidate's record on public policy issues was a typical topic, one was more likely to read about a female candidate's appearance or personality traits. Terkildsen and Scnhell (1997) examine the media coverage of the U.S. women's movement by identifying media frames over a period of four decades in a study that is thematically possibly closest to the current paper, though here, too, the focus is more political than gender representational.

Probably the most extensive recent research on gender representations in news media is that of Jia et al (2016). They conducted a large-scale data-driven study analysing both words and images, concluding how men were represented more often than women in both text and images, while women were consistently represented more likely in images than in text as news actors or sources. Also a recent Nordic cross-national study (Mannila, 2017) presents how women are underrepresented in the news media both as news subjects and as sources of information as well as in decision-making positions. Similar comparisons of female and male representations are, overall, a rather typical baseline for many a study (e.g. Patterson et al., 2016; Gong et al., 2015).

While recent content analytic or media framing literature with male representation in focus is scarce, related literature in masculinity studies is in general rich and varied in perspectives, especially when it comes to the theory of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995; see chapter 3.2.2.). For example, Stough-Hunter & Hart (2015) examine the renegotiation of masculine identity among anti-war veterans, while Duncanson (2015) explores military masculinities in a similar vein by attempting to theorise the possibility of identity change. Works that also contribute to the theoretical framework of this study include Oftung's (2000) depiction of men and gender equality in the Nordics and his call for an emphasis on the 'caring' male role. Also Buschmeyer (2013) has made an important addition to the cavalcade of masculinity roles. Based on her study of German male kindergarten teachers she develops the model of the 'alternative masculinity' where *alternative* refers to men who consciously distance themselves from the dominant masculinity type of hegemonic masculinity.

Based on previous research, this study lands at the intersection of the research areas of digital activism, media framing and gender portrayal. From social movement research the notion of collective identity (e.g. Kavada, 2015) is of interest in this study: while the feeling of collectivity in the case of #MeToo primarily applies to women, it can also extend to men who pursue collective male change. When it comes to previous content analytic and media framing studies on gender representations, this study is exceptional in the sense that it concentrates on a phenomenon in which women and men have very distinct, even polarised positions. From this angle the study is not comparable to related studies of gender media portrayals that often base on the proposition of women being underrepresented (e.g. Mannila, 2017; Jia et al., 2016) While the corpus of literature focusing on the male portrayal seems small, studies of gender representations in opinionated texts particularly are also very few if any. Thus, this study for its part argues for a gap in literature that it attempts to fill.

3.2. Theoretical framework

Theoretically this study draws on the media framing theory as well as aspects from gender and masculinity studies, such as the concept of multiple masculinities. While media framing relates more to the method of the study, masculinity theories will help in comprehending the characteristics of the frames that emerge in the analytical process and that more directly address the research questions of the male role in the #MeToo discussion.

3.2.1. Media framing

Media framing analysis is a broad area of communication research that essentially deals with how we interpret reality through different constructions of information called frames. Sociologist Erving Goffman (1974) as one of the very first framing scholars presented frames as "schematas of interpretation" that help us make situations and events meaningful and sensible; we experience reality differently since our frameworks of interpreting events differ from one to another (p. 24). He treated framing as a natural communicative practice involved in all social interaction. Since then the focus of framing research has rather shifted to the intentionality of framing as a media practice in promoting certain standpoints, defining issues and affecting public opinion. Media framing has been defined in several, both narrow and broad terms (see e.g. de Vreese, 2005; Matthes, 2009), yet among the most well-known framing scholars is Entman (1993). His definition of framing in its simplicity describes "the power of a communicating text" (p. 51) and how information in the media is presented to its audience: what aspects of reality are highlighted, given prominence, made salient and, on the contrary, what aspects are excluded in order to endorse a "specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or a treatment recommendation" (p. 52). Entman's definition is generally the most recognised one (Matthes, 2009, p. 355), and it is also the one this study bases on.

According to Entman's (1993) definition, framing revolves around the two concepts of *selection* and *salience*. Frames consist of deliberately selected aspects or elements of reality that fill certain functions: they 1*) define problems,* i.e. determine what a causal agent is doing, with what cost and benefit, 2) *diagnose causes,* i.e. identify the factors creating the problem, 3) *make moral judgements,* i.e. evaluate and judge the causal actors and their effects, and 4) *suggest remedies*, i.e. offer solutions to the defined problems. (p. 52) Selection pertains also to the "location" of frames. Entman (1993) argues how frames can have at least four locations in communication processes: the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. *Communicators* make both conscious and unconscious judgements when deciding what to communicate, guided by the frames or frameworks that construct their belief systems, while the *receiver's* frame thinking plays a similar role: it might reflect the frames in the text or the intentions of the communicator, or it might differ. This aspect is similar to Goffman's (1974) definition of frames as social constructions. The *text* contains frames that are presented as the presence or absence of certain aspects: keywords, typical slogans or phrases, stereotyped images or sources of information. These elements reinforce the clusters of facts, definitions, judgements or remedies that form the frames. Lastly, *culture* is the "stock of commonly invoked frames": it is the set of most common frames exhibited in the discourse and thinking of people in a certain culture or social grouping. (Entman, 1993, p. 52-53)

Salience in turn refers to making information more noticeable, meaningful and memorable; this improves the probability of people perceiving the information, understanding its meaning correctly, and remembering it later. Information elements are made salient through placement in the text, repetition, or by associating the elements with symbols familiar to the culture. (Entman, 1993, p. 53)

Reviewing more recent framing literature, framing has also been approached from the perspective of the audience. For example, Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) examine the way audiences interpret media frames as both macro-level and micro-level constructs. As a macro-construct, framing refers to the modes of presentation that "resonate with existing underlying schemas among their audience" (p. 12), for example in presenting a complex issue in simple terms that use existing cognitive frames. Micro-constructs, on the other hand, describe how individuals use the information and presentation features in forming impressions about the issue. (Ibid.) Both play a role in contributing to the public opinion of certain issues. Then again Chong and Druckman's study (2007) on public opinion suggests that while some people are more vulnerable to getting manipulated by media frames and political processes, many also have articulate and firm opinions that framing effects and media manipulation are less likely to sway or have an effect on.

De Vreese (2005), on the other hand, views framing as a dynamic and integrated process involving both frame content and framing effects, namely frame-building and frame-setting. While frame-building refers mainly to the structural qualities and journalistic elements that influence media frames internally, external factors to journalism are equally as important, e.g. the interaction with societal elites and social movements. The outcome of this building process is the frame presented in the text. (Ibid, p. 51-52) He further describes frame-setting as the link between the media frame and the audience's prior knowledge and predispositions, similar to Scheufele and Tewksbury's (2007) macro-constructs. De Vreese (2005) also states how frames have consequences both on an individual and on a societal level. Individuals may alter attitudes about an issues based on exposure to certain frames, while frames may also "contribute to shaping social level processes such as political socialisation, decision-making, and collective actions" (p. 52). De Vreese's perspective is of interest also for this study. The way news media covers #MeToo can serve individuals as a channel of opinion-building, raising awareness and even suggesting ways of behavioural change, but it also influences the broader societal context of taking collective and political responsibility in fighting the structural problems that the #MeToo discourse predominantly has focused on.

3.2.2.   Perspectives on masculinity

This subchapter presents gender research theories as well as feminist approaches and perspectives that the second part of the theoretical framework draw upon. The typical biological constructions of sex and gender have been challenged by feminist scholars throughout the past century from different perspectives. The central figure of second-wave feminism, existentialist Simone de Beauvoir, was one of the first to question this construction already in the 1940s. She argued how gender is distinguished from the anatomical construction of sex and how gender is of cultural meaning, an aspect of identity that is gradually acquired (De Beauvoir, 1995). De Beauvoir also challenged the established patriarchal structures in a society with 'male' as the central norm. Judith Butler (2006), a significant modern feminist philosophers, further posits

how sex nor gender is essentially something biological, but that we rather are assigned a category of boy or girl at birth. She highlights how both are socially and culturally constructed understandings.

When it comes to masculinity studies specifically, Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell (1995 & 2005) is widely recognised for her extensive research in attempting to understand the social organisation around the male gender. She follows the understanding of gender as a structure defined by social relations, but does not dismiss the complexities related to its relationship with biology. To explore the problematics related to the male gender, she developed the theory of multiple masculinities that seeks to explain the hierarchy between different types of masculinity with the dominating type of *hegemonic masculinity* on top (1995).

The notion of *hegemony* derives from the writings of Antonio Gramsci (1971) who defined hegemony essentially as a position of dominance that is established through relative cultural acceptance and consensus rather than physical force. In terms of multiple masculinities, hegemonic masculinity describes "those attitudes and practices among men that perpetuate gender inequality, involving both men's domination over women and the power of some men over other, often minority groups of, men" (Jewkes et al, 2015, p. 113). Hegemonic is seen as the ideal type of masculinity that only a minority of men are able to enact: it is "the current most honoured way of being a man, it requires all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimates the global subordination of women to men" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). In a Western context, this ideal would refer to a white, heterosexual, physically strong, around middle-aged man with an orientation to power and leadership in working life. Hegemonic masculinity resides at the top of the hierarchy of masculinities and thus is in relation to all other types of masculinity. Simultaneously it also holds a hegemonic and dominant position towards women and femininity. (Connell, 1995) It is, however, important to note how hegemonic is as much an ideal of manhood for the majority of women as it is for men (Jewkes et al, 2015). Thus, a hegemonic ideal is maintained only if the surrounding society accepts its dominance. Hegemony can therefore also be seen as a societal process in change: new groups can challenge old models and create new hegemonies (Connell, 1995).

Connell describes various masculinities that are all more or less subordinate to the hegemonic ideal. Men identified as *complicit* consist of the majority of men, according to Connell (1995). Though they do not meet the characteristics of the hegemonic type, they support the dominant position by viewing hegemonic masculinity as the only 'legitimate' form of masculinity, thus becoming complicit to the system. Complicit characteristics are evident also in the Swedish stereotype of the "in-principle" male, theorised originally by Swedish masculinity scholar Lars Jalmert (1984). This "in-principle" man suits the Nordic context especially well: he is positive towards gender equality and might even call himself a feminist, yet in practice he is content with how things are and does not participate in supporting gender equality when it comes to personal choices and actions (Ibid.). Without actively contesting the ideal of hegemonic masculinity, the "in-principle" man continues to support the dominating ideal, often even unconsciously. This notion can be exemplified in e.g. decision-makers that claim they support feminism but do not actively push agendas of gender equality forward, thus upholding the dominant, overpowering male structures (Gottzén & Jonsson, 2012).

Subordinate masculinity is a masculinity type seen as feminine in nature. This can refer to men working in professions dominated by women, such as teachers or nurses, or most commonly to homosexuals. Though there naturally are cultural and geographical differences in what is considered dominating and what subordinate, these stereotypically subordinate forms of masculinity are typically less accepted as 'real masculinities' and are thus also "rarely understood as role models for younger men" (Buschmeyer, 2013, p. 295). Oftung (2000) recognises a masculinity role similar to the subordinate man in his consideration of Nordic gender equality: the caring male. While subordinate masculinity is seen as feminine, *caring masculinity* refers to men being involved as care-givers in their families and taking responsibility of the domestic sphere while carrying out their otherwise typically masculine role. In the current study the caring masculinity type is used specifically to illustrate fatherhood.

The final type in Connell's (1995) hierarchy, the *marginalised* masculinity exemplifies how class and ethnicity also create connections between the different masculinities, forming a group of marginalised men. Race is an element that can be combined with other masculinity types, such as a coloured athlete can also symbolise and authorise hegemonic values of toughness and arrogance, yet without challenging the status of the white hegemonic ideal (Connell, 1995).

Swedish masculinity scholar Lucas Gottzén (2014) illustrates how Connell's theory can be conceptualised and visualised in his model of the hierarchy of multiple masculinities (*Figure 1*). Gottzén describes how the different masculinity types are all in a dependent relationship with each other as well as to different types of femininity. At times certain femininity types are emphasised and can thus have a higher position in the hierarchy than men, for example because of class or ethnic relations.

While Connell did theorise various masculinity types, there are some modern masculinity roles that need to be brought up in addition to her theory. The concept of *toxic masculinity* has become popular in modern feminist discussion in describing the aggressive male traits that foster domination, competition, the devaluation of women, homophobia, and violence (Kupers, 2005). Toxic masculinity is generally seen as the negative aspects of hegemonic masculinity. The discourse surrounding these social expectations imposed on men has further sparked discussion on how these aspects relate to raising and educating young boys (e.g. White, 2017).

Buschmeyer (2013) argues that Connell's theory lacks the type of man "who consciously and reflectively tries to avoid being classified as hegemonic" (p. 296). While Connell identifies two masculinities that come close, the 'protest masculinity' and 'pro-feminist masculinity', Buschmeyer claims how "neither acknowledges that some men may consciously and willingly distance themselves from what is the recent hegemonic ideal of masculinity" (Ibid. p. 296). Thus, in her study on the masculinity types of male kindergarten teachers, Buschmeyer (2013) invents the model of an alternative masculinity that incorporates these characteristics and that can be applied especially to men who seek to contest hegemonic values by showing an alternative role model to younger boys.

Though Connell (1995 & 2005) addresses the culturally and historically changing nature of the hegemonic ideal, the theory of multiple masculinities has been critiqued for its stereotyping nature (e.g. Nordberg, 2000), its blindness towards 'other masculinities' (e.g. Buschmeyer,

2013) as well as its ambiguities and overlaps in practice (e.g. Martin, 1998). Especially in a gender equal Swedish context Connell's characterisation of the hegemonic male is not fully applicable, as the dominating male ideal is more soft and even feminist in nature (Nordberg, 2000). While Connell's theory (1995) does have its limitations, the "stereotyped" masculinities lend themselves well for this study, where the analysis of the male role is based solely on textual interpretation. Connell's categorisations might seem out-of-date or tight in e.g. a qualitative interview study such as Buschmeyer's (2013) where the researcher needs to be more open also to alternative masculinity models, yet for this exploratory content analysis Connell's theory does provide adequate depth and variety as a framework.

Figure 1. The pyramid of multiple masculinities in relation to each other and femininities
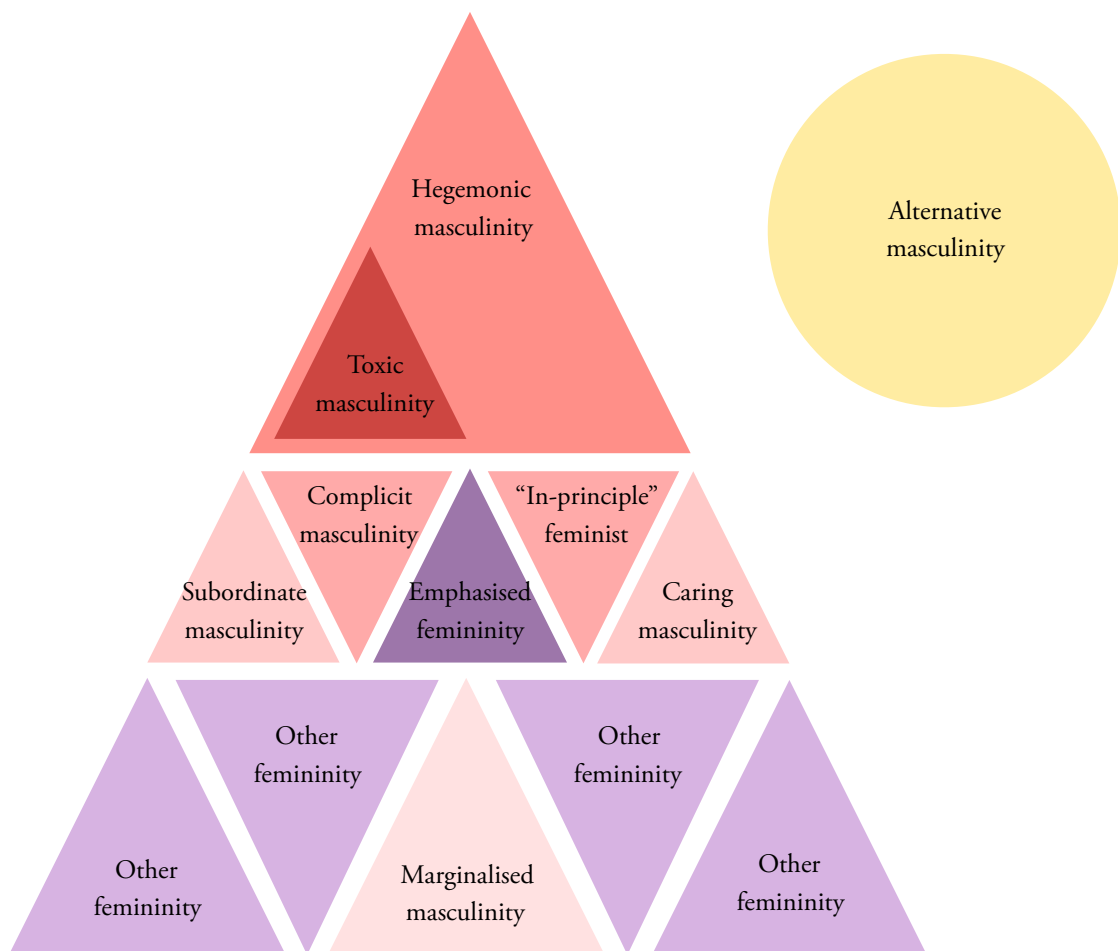
The author's depiction of the multiple masculinities based on Gottzén (2014)

In this pyramid graph (*Figure 1*), masculinities are portrayed in red and femininities in purple. The different tones as well as the placement in the pyramid refer to the proximity and relation the masculinity/femininity has towards hegemonic masculinity in the hierarchical structure. Toxic masculinity is generally seen as the negative aspects of hegemonic masculinity, which is why it is situated inside the hegemonic block. Femininities are mostly subordinate to the different masculinities and thus are situated in the lowest section of the hierarchy. However, some femininity types are emphasised and equal to certain subordinate masculinity types. Alternative masculinity in yellow is not part of the hierarchical structure at all as it involves consciously distancing oneself from the ideal of hegemonic masculinity as well as challenging the concept.

3.3. Summary of theoretical approaches

The theoretical approaches that have been discussed in this chapter contribute to this study in essential ways. Entman's (1993) definition of media framing provides a methodological basis for the content analysis of the study, as will be presented in chapter 4. Drawing on other media framing theorists has also helped to grow a broader understanding of the premises of media framing and how framing can affect e.g. opinion-building and raising awareness (De Vreese, 2015). These considerations can be applied to this study e.g. how the Swedish press coverage on #MeToo can have an affect on the male public. Various gender studies have in turn given an overview on how the complex concepts of gender and masculinity can be theorised. A glance into gender research provided a basis to understand the core masculinity theory (Connell, 1995) that is also applied to the methodological structure of this study. In addition, the related literature on social movements (e.g. Dixon, 2014; Kavada, 2015; Clark, 2016) is helpful in identifying the aspects of collective action among men portrayed in the press coverage of #MeToo.

4. Methods

This chapter presents the methodological aspects of the study. The first subchapter (4.1.) gives an explanation of the study's research design: the nature of the research as an exploratory content analysis study as well as the methodological and analytical approaches applied to it. Subchapter 4.2. describes how the research instrument, the coding scheme (*Appendix E*), was operationalised based on the study's theoretical framework into the subsections *Media frame elements* and *Male role elements*. The subsequent subchapter 4.3. outlines the sampling of the study's data set: how many and what type of articles were chosen for the sample set, from which publications and why. The codebook, explained in the subchapter on operationalisation, was tested in two pretests before commencing the final coding. Subchapter 4.4. gives an account on how the pretests were done and what measures were taken as a result to improve the codebook's reliability. Finally, subchapter 4.5. reviews the main coding procedure in addition to giving an in-depth explanation of the cluster analysis strategy used in the data analysis process.

4.1. Research design

This study investigates how the male role in relation to the #MeToo movement has been portrayed and framed in Swedish press coverage. Methodological approaches to media framing analysis are many and diverse, ranging from interpretative and qualitative hermeneutic approaches to purely automated computer-assisted ones (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 259-261). Though various paradigms have their specific advantages, issues of either poor validity or reliability, or both, are common in most[3]. Neuendorf (2002, p. 112) defines these key concepts of scientific measurement as follows: *validity* refers to the extent to which a procedure measures only concepts that are intended for measurement. *Reliability*, on the other hand, is the extent to which a procedure gives the same results if repeated by different researchers or in different studies.

As #MeToo is such a recent phenomenon with little prior research, this study is exploratory in nature. While a qualitative approach would allow more discourse-level depth and linguistic detail in examining the male portrayal, a quantitative approach is chosen based on three factors. First, a quantitative research design allows for a broader study, facilitating data collection from several sources and over a longer time period, providing a more strong and valid representative sample. Second, quantitative content analysis supports generalisations that can be made more reliably of the entire phenomenon under study. Lastly, a quantitative approach reduces personal bias and thus improves the validity and reliability of the study.

This study uses a methodological strategy by Matthes and Kohring (2008) that combines statistical cluster analysis with Entman's (1993) four frame elements: 1) problem definition, 2) moral evaluation, 3) causal attribution and 4) treatment recommendation. Their method does not identify frames beforehand, nor are they directly coded with a single variable. Instead, the analysis is conducted on frame components rather than pre-determined full frames. Then, they are further

---

[3] Drawbacks in reliability of other approaches, such as the hermeneutic, holistic, deductive or linguistic approaches, include the ambiguity of extracting frames from the material, the possibility of researcher bias, as well as the difficulty of discovering frames that are not pre-defined in the coder schemata. While computer-assisted approaches tend to avoid the subjectivity in extracting frames, the issue of validity emerges: frames are reduced to computed clusters of words instead of distinguishing the meanings behind the words, while a human coder would be naturally apt in this. (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 259-261)

explored in a cluster analysis to reveal the emerging groupings of the frames. Here the assumption is that separate frame elements are grouped together according to certain patterns and characteristics into clusters, which are further interpreted as frames. Thus, a frame is literally a "sum of its parts" (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 274).

Cluster analysis is a statistical data analysis tool that groups similar cases into one cluster, while making sure that cases dissimilar to each other are not present in the same cluster. Here, both the number of the frames as well as the content of the frames are empirically determined by the analytical tool instead of subjectively predefined by the researcher. Thus both the validity of the frame type is increased as well as the probability that the frames actually exist in the material, both of which might otherwise be affected by expectations of the researcher or coder (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 264-265).

Matthes and Kohring (2008) describe how frames can be challenging to identify and code in a reliable way when doing content analysis since they can be very abstract and ambiguous as variables (p. 258). Their method attempts not to compromise either reliability or validity and indeed, the method has been recognised for exactly this in other studies (e.g. David et al, 2011; Donk et al, 2012). However, the problem of reliability is not completely solved even with this method, since the difficulty of identifying entire frames is shifted to the difficulty of identifying and assessing separate frame elements.

Nonetheless, single frame elements are usually more manifest than abstract holistic frames, increasing the reliability of identifying the frame element variable and coding correctly (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 264). Also making a mistake in coding a single frame element variable has less of an impact on the whole, in comparison to coding an entire frame wrong. That being said, researcher bias and subjectivity can never be fully excluded from the process. For example, the selection of frame element variables, that later determine the type of frames that can be constructed, is done in the first place by the researcher (Van Baalen, 2013).

Critics (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010) have also pointed out how cluster analysis is "merely an exploratory tool" (p. 122), as it is unlikely that the identified clusters match the media frames in their "pure forms". As clusters are based on manifest frame elements instead of underlying latent[4] content, they can potentially miss the theoretically meaningful aspects that lie beneath the surface of an article (Ibid.). While this point of view is important to consider in more in-depth studies where the aim is to identify media frames at high accuracy, for the approach of this study a cluster analysis based on manifest content is suffice. Also, it can be argued how in the coding process the human coder does interpret latent meanings and references before deciding what to code, implying how the cluster analysis does not solely base on manifest content.

4.2. Operationalisation

The codebook devised for the content analysis of this study (see *Appendix D*) is divided into three general sections, each with different functions: 1) descriptive variables, 2) frame element variables

---

[4] *Latent* refers to the implied and less obvious meanings and connotations that underlie a physical text. Latent content often needs human interpretation to understand it. On the contrary, *manifest* content is what lies on the surface structure of a text. (Neuendorf, 2002)

and 3) male role variables. The first section, the descriptive variables, relates to the formal aspects of the articles. These features are used to distinguish the cases from one another, and they are closely connected to the medium through which the message is sent, in this case the media outlet or publication (Neuendorf, 2002). The formal categories of this study are: *Article ID, Coder ID, Date of publication, Gender of author, Publication, Type of Article,* and *Section.*

The other two sections of the code book are content categories that can exist or appear in any medium (Neuendorf, 2002). Theoretically this study draws on media framing as defined by Entman (1993) and various masculinity studies (e.g. Connell, 1995). The following subchapters explain the operationalisation of these frameworks into the two content sections of the coding scheme.

4.2.1.   Media frame elements

As described in chapter 4.1., Matthes and Kohring (2008) developed Entman's (1993) four frame elements further into a cluster analysis strategy. For this study these components were operationalised regarding the research focus as follows:

- *Problem definition:* the central issue/s discussed and the most important actor/s addressed or related to the issue (variables: *topic, subtopic, actor & subactor*)

- *Moral evaluation:* the benefits i.e. positive effects and the risks i.e. negative effects of the #MeToo phenomenon with regard to men or the male role (variables: *benefit & risk*)

- *Causal attribution:* identifying which actor/s are considered responsible for the benefits and risks of the moral evaluation variables (variables: *responsible for benefit & responsible for risk*)

- *Treatment recommendation:* the possible solution offered to the problem/s presented in the article that relate to #MeToo (variable: *solution*)

The categories for these variables were derived partly from Matthes and Kohring's study (2008) but mostly from an inductive qualitative reading process of 10% (n=37) of the entire population of articles. The various emerging categories were then simplified and grouped into a selection of main categories under the variables of topics, actors, benefits, risks, responsible for benefits and risks and solutions, all of which pertain to Entman's (1993) four frame elements. Attention was paid to creating variables that are as mutually exclusive and as exhaustive as possible. Though in general only the most common attributes were listed as variables, the possibility of specifying an 'other' variable was possible in most cases.[5]

Table 1 lists the frame elements as defined by Entman (1993) as well as the corresponding variables and categories created for the content analysis of this study. A detailed description of each variable and category can be found in the codebook (*Appendix E*).

---

[5] The topics 'Feminism, gender equality' and 'Sexual violence, shame' were added as categories afterwards. These topics were coded in the main coding process as 'Other topics' repeatedly: 15 respective 11 times. Also the benefit 'Exposing injustice' (9 times) and solution 'Political responsibility' (3 times) were added in the same vein.

Table 1. Frame elements, variables and categories for the cluster analysis

Frame element	Variables and categories
Problem definition	Topic: Collective male responsibility
	Topic: Importance of education
	Topic: Media's responsibility
	Topic: Problematic #MeToo
	Topic: Structural problems
	Topic: Workplace culture
	Topic: Feminism, gender equality*
	Topic: Sexual violence, shame*
	Subtopic: *Same as topic variables*
	Actor: Society (female/male)
	Actor: Media (female/male)
	Actor: Politics (female/male)
	Actor: Workplace (female/male)
	Actor: Education (female/male)
	Actor: Culture (female/male)
	Actor: Social movements
	Subactor: *Same as actor variables*
Moral evaluation	Benefit: Changing behaviour
	Benefit: Improving norm-critical thinking
	Benefit: Shifting power positions
	Benefit: Exposing injustice*
	Risk: False accusations
	Risk: Failed revolution
	Risk: Men "lose"
Causal attribution	Responsible for benefit/risk:
	Same as actor variables
Treatment recommendation	Solution: Advancing societal change
	Solution: Changing the male norm
	Solution: Education
	Solution: More media caution
	Solution: Political responsibility*

* *These categories were added to the coding scheme after the main coding procedure as they appeared repeatedly in the coding results as 'other' variables.*

4.2.2. Male role elements

The second section of the coding scheme deals with identifying different male roles. This is to complement the cluster analysis framework with perspectives from masculinity studies, making the coding process more holistic in nature. It also develops the aspect of male identity portrayal, which is not covered much per se within the frame element variables. Based on work by Connell (1995), Kupers (2005), Oftung (2012) and Buschmeyer (2013), the following variables aim to identify specific masculinity roles in the articles:

- *Hegemonic masculinity:* Refers to the socially constructed norm of seeing masculinity as dominating over femininity or other subordinate expressions of masculinity; also some essentially positive traits can be considered hegemonic, e.g. pride, solidarity or success (Connell, 1995 & Kupers, 2005)

- *Toxic masculinity*: Refers to socially regressive male traits that foster violent domination, competition, and the devaluation of women and other gender subordinates; generally refers to the most negative aspects of hegemonic masculinity (Kupers, 2005)

- *Complicit masculinity:* Refers to men who do not fit into the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity but do not challenge the facets of gender structure either, thus benefitting from being male and becoming complicit to the system (Connell, 1995)

- *Marginalised masculinity:* Refers to men who do not have access to hegemonic masculinity (in most cultural contexts) due to certain characteristics such as race, social class or disability, yet they subscribe to hegemonic norms (Connell, 1995)

- *Subordinate masculinity:* Refers to men lacking in characteristics of hegemonic masculinity and expressing opposite qualities, e.g. feminine, emotional or homosexual such (Connell, 1995)

- *Caring masculinity:* Refers to men being involved as a care-giver in their family and taking more responsibility of the domestic sphere (Oftung, 2012)

- *Alternative masculinity:* Refers to men who deliberately oppose ideals of hegemonic masculinity, seek to perform alternative models of behaviour, and strive to be a role model for this type of masculinity (Buschmeyer, 2013)

- *Men as victims:* Refers more specifically to the victimisation of men surrounding the #MeToo phenomenon, e.g. getting falsely accused as a perpetrator or the generalising proposition that 'all men' as guilty of sexual misconduct. This variable is not based on any masculinity theory or research but rather derived inductively from qualitative reading of the population of articles.

4.3. Sampling

Five major Swedish newspapers were selected to form the population of this study: Aftonbladet (AF), Dagens Nyheter (DN), Expressen (EX), Göteborgs Posten (GP) and Svenska Dagbladet (SvD). These newspapers were selected since they are all well-known, established and widely read in Sweden, in addition to having easy online accessibility. Both local and national as well as quality (DN, GP and SvD) and tabloid (AF and EX), also commonly known as 'morning' and 'evening', papers were included in the selection. All differ slightly either in political profile tendencies or in content-focus, and therefore arguably attract different readership. See *Table 2* for a summary of the outlets and the articles selected for the study. Only online articles were taken into account for this research, though some of the selected articles have also been published in print. Choosing online instead of printed articles was not only due to practical reasons, but also supported by the fact that up to 81% of Swedes read digital online versions of newspapers now and then, while 40% read them daily (SoI, 2017). This rising trend shows how a majority of the Swedish population are nowadays informed, at least in part, by journalistic content online, which also gives the sample population of this study more influential value regarding public opinion on the matter. The unit of analysis in this study is the article, since frames are most often coded on

Table 2. Summary of newspaper outlets and articles in the sample period

	Aftonbladet	Dagens Nyheter	Expressen	Göteborgs Posten	Svenska Dagbladet
Genre	tabloid	quality	tabloid	quality	quality
Publication type	evening daily	morning daily	evening daily	morning daily	morning daily
Distribution	national	national	national/local	local	national
Political profile	independent social-democrat	independent liberal	liberal	liberal	independent moderate/ liberal conservative
Total reach 2017 (per day, incl. print and digital)[2]	3 479 000	1 131 000	2 306 000	558 000	837 000
Total online articles on #MeToo (n)	548	1440	n/a[1]	494	609
Articles selected for this study (n)	89	108	63	31	80
Percentage of total number of selected articles (%)	24	30	17	8	21

[1] *Expressen's search function limits searches to only a maximum of 500 articles. Thus an extensive search for the total number of articles was not possible.*

[2] *Source: Orvesto Konsument: 2017:1 (https://www.kantarsifo.se/sites/default/files/reports/documents/rackviddsrapport_orvesto_konsument_2017_1.pdf)*

Other sources: Respective outlet websites and sv.wikipedia.org

article-level, and also it is an easy unit to define (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 266). Articles were gathered from the period of October 16, 2017 to January 31,2018, which includes the outbreak of #MeToo as well as three and a half months of subsequent press coverage. This time period was selected as it captures both the initial reactions immediately after the hashtag started spreading as well as more developed considerations, established opinions and consequences after the movement and its effects were better understood. Also by the end of January 2018 most of the branch-specific sub-movements were launched, more specifically 49 out of a total of 65 groups (Schwartz, 2018; DN Debatt 2018).

Only opinionated articles, such as editorials or columns, are included in the study in order to capture the subjective views on how journalists and other contributors as representatives of the Swedish society perceive the male subject in relation to #MeToo. The keyword used in the search was '#MeToo' or 'metoo'. AF and SvD offer the option of limiting the search to specific sections or types of articles. This simplified the process in that the search engine only gave results that were labeled as opinionated texts by the outlet itself. With other outlets, the search needed defining with additional keywords such as 'kolumn' (column) or 'debatt' (debate article) in order to filter out non-opinion articles from the results. If this did not yield the desired result, a manual hand-picking of articles was done based on the type of headline or the thumbnail picture of the journalist. In general an article was included if it discussed the #MeToo movement or its effects in any way that also pertained to men, even if in just a subtopic. In order to determine this, the article's headline, sub-headline and first paragraph were read. If unsure about whether to include or not, the article was skimmed through. Articles were excluded if they focused solely on e.g. the Swedish law on mutual consent (samtyckeslag), #MeToo in other countries, politicians or political parties, individual celebrities, specific institutional crises, or journalism ethics. If, however, these topics gave way to a broader discussion, the article was included in the sample.

This procedure of gathering material resulted in a total of 375 articles. Due to time constraints, a sub-sample of 50% of the total population was randomly sampled for the main coding procedure according to *Table 3* below. The sampling was done in proportion to the percentage of the total amount of articles per outlet per month.

Table 3. Original population size (199%) and sample size (50%) by month and publication

	Oct (100%)	**Oct (50%)**	Nov (100%)	**Nov (50%)**	Dec (100%)	**Dec (50%)**	Jan (100%)	**Jan (50%)**	**Total per media**
Aftonbladet	23	**11**	38	**19**	19	**10**	9	**4**	**44**
Dagens Nyheter	22	**11**	51	**25**	27	**13**	8	**4**	**53**
Expressen	15	**8**	23	**12**	15	**7**	10	**5**	**32**
Göteborgs Posten	7	**4**	14	**7**	8	**4**	2	**1**	**16**
Svenska Dagbladet	15	**7**	34	**17**	22	**11**	9	**5**	**40**
Total per month	82	**41**	160	**80**	91	**45**	38	**19**	**185**

Limitations of the sampling procedure include the challenge of not being able to clearly filter out only editorial pieces of DN, EX and GP. Also the search function of EX limited each search to a maximum 500 articles, implying that a number of opinionated articles relevant to this study might have mistakenly been excluded.

4.4. Pretest

The testing of the codebook was in the end done in two stages. For the first pretest a subsample of 10% (n = 18) was randomly sampled with an online research randomiser (www.randomizer.org), and was then coded by two coders. While one of the coders was the researcher herself, the other coder was a peer student not related to the study. A coder training was organised where the codebook devised for this study in particular (see *Appendix E*) was described and one article was coded together as an example. Then the coders continued to code the same set of pretest articles separately. The pretest process is done in order to validate inter-coder reliability: the amount of agreement two or more coders have using the same research instrument on the same material. Neuendorf (2002, 141) explains how the establishment of inter-coder reliability is paramount to any study. Otherwise content analytic measures are done in vain, as they cannot be considered valid or credible. A successful pretest also confirms that the coding scheme can be replicated and used by other scholars.

Krippendorff's alpha (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007) was used to estimate the inter-coder reliability of the pretest[6], and these alpha (α) values reported a total agreement mean value of α = .4026. This is an alarmingly low value, as $\alpha \geq .800$ is generally considered the norm for a good reliability test and $\alpha \geq .600$ the lowest conceivable limit (De Swert, 2012). Thus, this reliability result urged the researcher to specify the coding instructions in the codebook as well as revise some categories. Particularly categories under the topic variables were a challenge to code, suggesting that they were not mutually exclusive or that instructions were poor. Following recommendations made by the peer coder, categories and instructions were further clarified as well as collapsed into each other; e.g. the 9 'main topic' categories were combined and reduced to 6. However, even this procedure can not solve the possibility of confusing 'main topic' with 'subtopic' or similarly 'main actor' with 'subactor'. The pretest indicated how one coder coded a certain topic as the main topic and the other the same topic as a subtopic; thus both identified the same topic in the article but gave it differing values. The line between this distinction is fine and very sensitive to subjective interpretations.

The revised codebook was tested in a second pretest. While the second coder of pretest #1 helped only in the reliability testing, pretest #2 was conducted with another external coder who assisted also in the main coding procedure. For this pretest a new subsample of 11 articles (6% of sample size) was selected. The codebook was explained to the coder and one of the articles from the subsample was practice-coded together. The second pretest resulted in a total reliability mean measure of α = .5233, with detailed variable-specific results listed in *Appendix B*.

---

[6] Krippendorff's alpha is a reliability coefficient that accommodates multiple coders and accounts for different sample sizes as well as missing data. It can also be applied to different levels of variables. The formula is $\alpha = 1 - D_o/D_e$ where D_o is the observed disagreement and D_e is the expected disagreement. (Krippendorff, 2007).

The mean agreement measure of only the descriptive and frame elements variables is $\alpha = .6251$, which indicates a low yet reasonable agreement considering the explanations provided for the low reliability results in *Appendix B*. This suggests that the measures for the masculinity role variables drag down the overall mean reliability. Each role's presence was coded as a binary dichotomous variable (0 for 'no' and 1 for 'yes'), and Krippendorff's alpha easily interprets variation within binary variables as rare. Thus also small disagreements are rendered crucial; even one case of disagreement can result in a total absence of agreement according to Kalpha (see e.g. 'marginalised' and 'caring' in *Appendix B*). Based on this, the variables of hegemonic and toxic masculinity in the pretest even returned negative. This can rather be considered a limitation of the reliability measure itself instead of purely the fault of the coder, though the cases in question were also reviewed afterwards by both coders. The low reliability results prompted some written clarifications in the codebook as well as verbal agreements and explanations between the two coders.

4.5. Main coding and data analysis

The main coding was done independently by two coders between April 13 and April 18, 2018. Coder 1 coded 117 articles and Coder 2 coded 67 articles. Though the original subsample consisted of 185 articles, one article was mistakenly coded twice and was thus excluded from the analysis stage, resulting in a total number of 184 units for the analysis. After the coding procedure, the variables were first analysed for patterns with hierarchical cluster analysis, aiming to identify frames that emerge from co-occurrences of frame elements in the articles. This procedure bases on the protocol Matthes and Kohring use in their study (2008) to identify media frames. In this study the cluster analysis strategy aims to primarily answer research question 1a. Also more simple frequency and cross-tabulation analyses are conducted to answer research questions 1b-c and 2.

Cluster analysis performs more accurately with the binary variables of 0 and 1. Therefore for every original variable that has several categories, "dummy" binary variables were created to represent each category. A variable that was identified in the article was coded as 1, where as its absence was coded 0. Matthes and Kohring (2008, p. 268) also advise on excluding variables with frequencies lower than 5% from the cluster analysis, since they are less likely to contribute to the forming of clusters. In a similar vein, some sub-variables were combined with the main variable or with each other yielding in a frequency of over 5%, and the new combined variable was thus also included in the cluster analysis. See *Appendix C* for a summary of all the variables that were either excluded or combined with one another.

This study uses an agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis with the Ward's method to extract frames, or clusters, from the sample data. For this study, the analysis was done with the statistical analysis software SPSS. The aim of a hierarchical cluster analysis is to identify relatively homogenous groups of cases based on certain characteristics that are of interest to the study. In this study these characteristics are the variables derived from Entman's (1993) four media frame elements. Thus, the main function of a cluster analysis is to group together similar cases into clusters that have low differences within their cluster, yet are highly dissimilar with other clusters (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 264).

There are several different linkage methods to create clusters with. Linkage refers to the criteria that cases are merged into clusters by, e.g. similarity or dissimilarity to each other. Ward's linkage is generally considered a good method for identifying suitable clusters for media frame analysis (Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Field, 2000). It is mathematically a highly complex yet effective way of coming up with compact clusters that should also be roughly equal in size. The method first views each case as a cluster of its own. The clusters are then merged with one another so that the variance within a cluster is reduced to a minimum. While other linkage methods use distance between the cases to form clusters, Ward's clustering method looks at the variance error between cases: "a case is selected to enter the cluster if its inclusion in the cluster produces the least increase in the error" (Field, 2000, p. 5). In other words, Ward's principle is based on minimising information loss when merging cases into clusters.

An advantage of hierarchical cluster analysis and Ward's method is that they provide criteria to determine the optimal number of clusters that should be extracted from the material; the so-called elbow criterion (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 269). A distinct "elbow" or jump in the heterogeneity measures signifies that merging the two clusters on both sides of the elbow would result in a cluster that is too heterogeneous. For the cluster analysis of this study the heterogeneity measures are: 857 (six clusters), 890 (five clusters), 927 (four clusters), 976 (three clusters), 1028 (two clusters) and 1125 (one cluster). Merging the solution for three and four clusters (976 - 927 = 49) would result in a cluster that is too heterogeneous; hence the four cluster solution would seemingly be best. However, since this cluster solution did not differ significantly from competing cluster solutions (2, 3, 5 or 6 clusters), the others were also looked into and tested. While the four-cluster solution had an optimal amount of clusters in terms of size, a cursory look through the cases in the clusters showed how one of these clusters was not relevant to the study content-wise: it included miscellaneous topics and actors coded as 'other' or 'unknown', and was also lowest in frequency at only 21 cases. (See the 'Miscellaneous frame' displayed in light red in *Figure 2,* p. 33) Thus the three-cluster solution was found best in terms of applicability, relevance, interpretability and clarity.

Table 5 shows the mean values of all the variables for the three identified clusters, which aids in interpreting the cluster solutions and their content. A high mean value indicates that the variable is important in that particular cluster, where as low values can also be significant for two reasons. First of all, they indicate which variables have no importance in the cluster. Second, a low mean value in one cluster might still be relatively high compared to other clusters, suggesting a level of importance in the cluster solution. (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 269). Van Baalen (2013, p. 29) points out that while there is no point of reference to what can be considered a high or low mean value, the values can be interpreted in relation to each other within each cluster or to values of the same variable in other clusters. In *Table 5*, two variables with the highest mean values are bolded per cluster and per frame element; however, only in cases where the mean value is ≥ 0.10. For the sake of clarity, the clusters in *Table 5* are already named as the frames that are further discussed in detail in the results chapter 5. These frames/cluster formations are also visually presented in the cluster analysis' dendrogram (*Figure 2,* p. 33*).*

Table 5. Mean values and standard deviations for the three identified frames

Variables	Power frame (*n* = 101) M (*SD*)	Education frame (*n* = 45) M (*SD*)	Risk frame (*n* = 38) M (*SD*)
Main topic: Collective male responsibility	0.01 (0.100)	**0.40 (0.495)**	0.16 (0.370)
Main topic: Importance of education	0.05 (0.218)	**0.27 (0.447)**	0.00 (0.000)
Main topic: Media's responsibility	0.04 (0.196)	0.00 (0.000)	**0.21 (0.413)**
Main topic: Problematic #MeToo	0.11 (0.313)	0.00 (0.000)	**0.37 (0.489)**
Main topic: Structural problems	**0.24 (0.428)**	0.20 (0.405)	0.11 (0.311)
Main topic: Workplace culture	**0.25 (0.434)**	0.00 (0.000)	0.05 (0.226)
Main topic: Sexual violence and shame	0.09 (0.286)	0.04 (0.208)	0.00 (0.000)
Main topic: Other	0.18 (0.385)	0.07 (0.252)	0.11 (0.311)
Subtopic: Collective male responsibility	0.04 (0.196)	**0.29 (0.458)**	0.08 (0.273)
Subtopic: Problematic #MeToo	0.07 (0.255)	0.04 (0.208)	**0.18 (0.393)**
Subtopic: Structural problems	**0.34 (0.475)**	**0.20 (0.405)**	**0.21 (0.413)**
Subtopic: Workplace culture	**0.12 (0.325)**	0.13 (0.344)	0.11 (0.311)
Subtopic: Feminism/Gender equality	0.06 (0.238)	0.04 (0.208)	0.03 (0.162)
Subtopic: Sexual violence and shame	0.00 (0.000)	0.00 (0.000)	0.00 (0.000)
Subtopic: Other	0.06 (0.238)	0.02 (0.149)	0.08 (0.273)
Main actor: Society	**0.18 (0.385)**	**0.29 (0.458)**	0.13 (0.343)
Main actor: Society/female	0.11 (0.313)	0.02 (0.149)	0.08 (0.273)
Main actor: Society/male	0.10 (0.300)	**0.51 (0.506)**	**0.16 (0.370)**
Main actor: Media	0.06 (0.238)	0.02 (0.149)	**0.34 (0.481)**
Main actor: Politics	0.08 (0.271)	0.07 (0.252)	0.08 (0.273)
Main actor: Workplace	**0.18 (0.385)**	0.00 (0.000)	0.00 (0.000)
Main actor: Culture	0.10 (0.300)	0.04 (0.208)	0.00 (0.000)
Main actor: Culture/male	0.08 (0.271)	0.00 (0.000)	0.03 (0.162)
Main actor: Social movements	0.04 (0.196)	0.00 (0.000)	0.13 (0.343)
Subactor: Society/+ male + children	**0.24 (0.428)**	**0.22 (0.420)**	**0.37 (0.489)**
Subactor: Society/female	0.04 (0.196)	0.11 (0.318)	0.05 (0.226)
Subactor: Media	0.02 (0.140)	0.02 (0.149)	0.08 (0.273)
Subactor: Politics	0.08 (0.271)	0.00 (0.000)	0.00 (0.000)
Subactor: Workplace	0.08 (0.271)	0.00 (0.000)	0.03 (0.162)
Subactor: Education	0.02 (0.140)	**0.20 (0.405)**	0.00 (0.000)
Subactor: Culture	**0.14 (0.347)**	0.02 (0.149)	0.03 (0.162)
Subactor: Social movements	0.07 (0.255)	0.07 (0.252)	**0.24 (0.431)**
Benefit: Changing behaviour	**0.20 (0.400)**	**0.56 (0.503)**	**0.37 (0.489)**
Benefit: Norm-critical thinking	0.13 (0.337)	**0.36 (0.484)**	0.08 (0.273)
Benefit: Shifting power positions	**0.34 (0.475)**	0.09 (0.288)	0.08 (0.273)
Benefit: Exposing injustice	0.09 (0.286)	0.00 (0.000)	0.00 (0.000)

Risk: False accusations	0.03 (0.171)	0.00 (0.000)	**0.39 (0.495)**
Risk: Failed revolution	0.01 (0.100)	0.00 (0.000)	**0.29 (0.460)**
Risk: Men "lose"	0.01 (0.100)	0.00 (0.000)	0.26 (0.446)
Resp. for benefit: Society/+ female + kids	0.07 (0.255)	**0.31 (0.468)**	0.08 (0.273)
Resp. for benefit: Society/male	0.02 (0.140)	**0.44 (0.503)**	0.05 (0.226)
Resp. for benefit: Media	0.03 (0.171)	0.02 (0.149)	0.08 (0.273)
Resp. for benefit: Workplace	**0.15 (0.357)**	0.00 (0.000)	0.03 (0.162)
Resp. for benefit: Culture	0.09 (0.286)	0.02 (0.149)	**0.11 (0.311)**
Resp. for benefit: Social movements	**0.30 (0.459)**	0.04 (0.208)	**0.21 (0.413)**
Resp. for risk: Media	0.00 (0.000)	0.00 (0.000)	**0.29 (0.460)**
Resp. for risk: Social movements	0.00 (0.000)	0.00 (0.000)	**0.37 (0.489)**
Solution: Advancing societal change	**0.55 (0.500)**	0.27 (0.447)	**0.16 (0.370)**
Solution: Changing the male norm	**0.15 (0.357)**	**0.38 (0.490)**	0.13 (0.343)
Solution: Education	0.03 (0.171)	**0.31 (0.468)**	0.05 (0.226)
Solution: Media caution	0.01 (0.100)	0.02 (0.149)	**0.47 (0.506)**

Figure 2. Dendrogram showing the cluster combinations
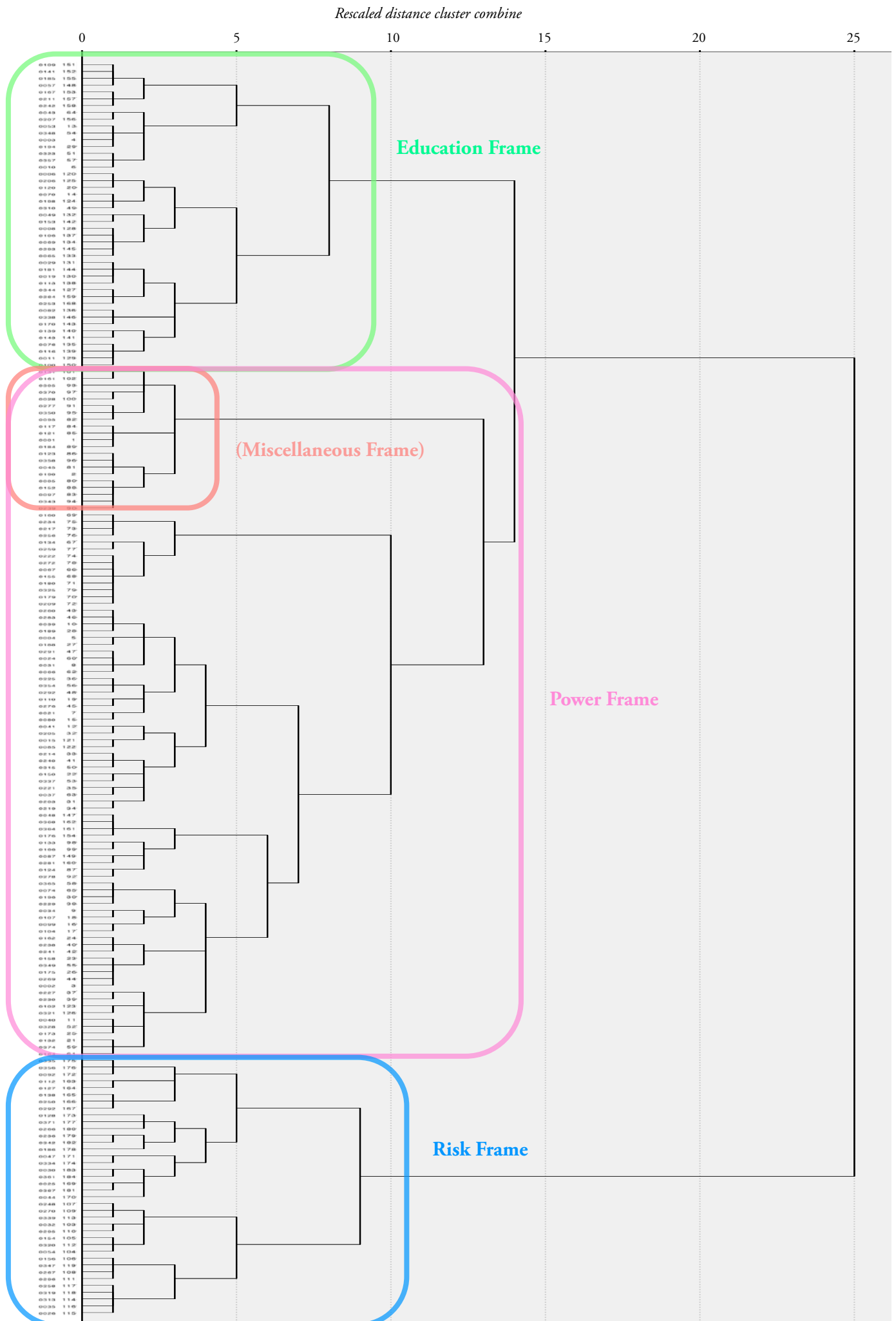
5. Results

This chapter presents the findings of the analysis. After a brief look into the general aspects of the data, the two subchapters will discuss results pertaining to the research questions. First, subchapter 5.1. examines the press portrayal of men through the identified media frames emerged from the cluster analysis (RQ 1a), based on the masculinity roles framework (RQ 1b), and by comparing the differences and similarities of coverage of the male role by female and male journalists (RQ 1c). Lastly, findings related to the changes in press coverage over time (RQ 2) are discussed.

The data analysed for this study consists of 184 articles from five Swedish newspaper medias. The gender distribution of journalists contributing to the sample size was 62% females and 36% males, with 1.5% mixed and 0.5% unknown authors (*Figure 3*). 'Mixed' refers to articles with several authors, both female and male, where as 'unknown' suggests an anonymous author. *Figure 4* on the other hand illustrates the division of the number of articles per outlet and also the proportion of female and male journalists per outlet.

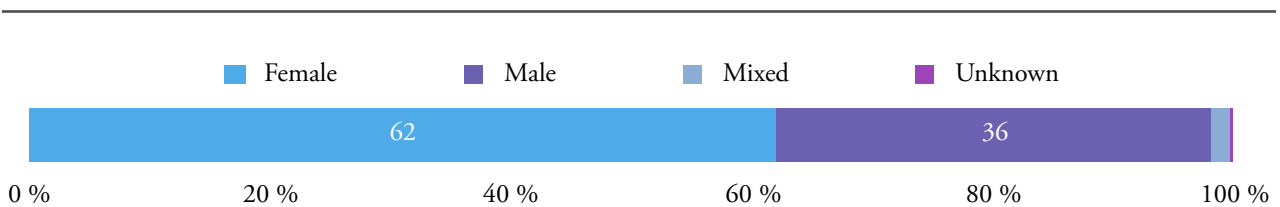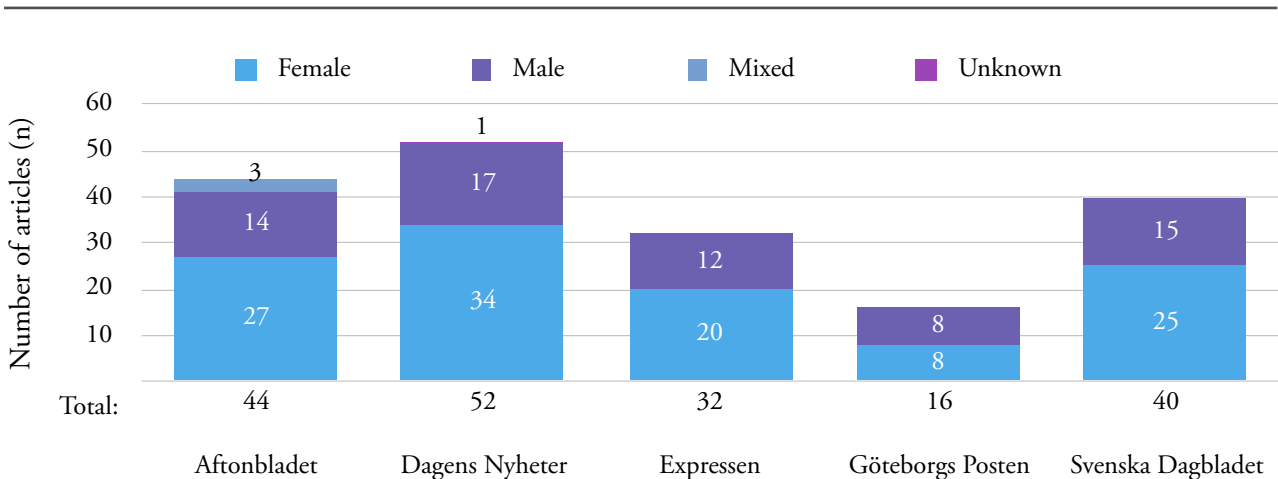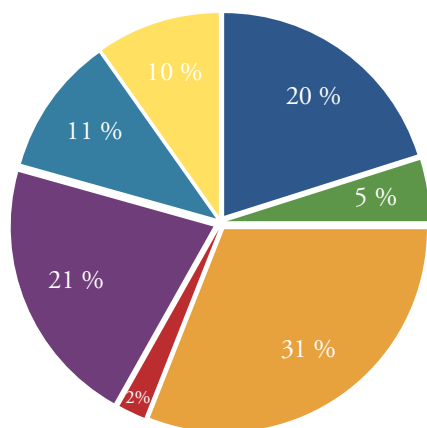**Figure 3.** Gender distribution of journalists of total sample size (n=184)

Figure 4. Gender distribution of journalists and total number of articles according to publication (n=184)
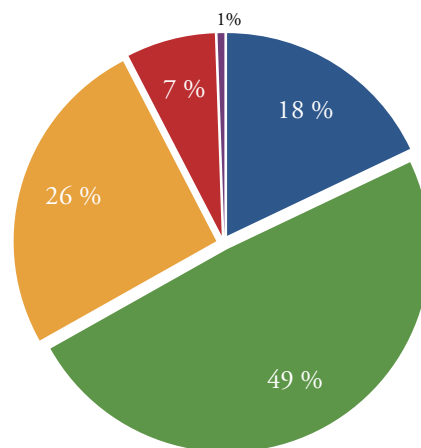

The female/male division (*Figure 3*) illustrates clearly how women have written more articles than men. It is worth noting that this ratio only applies to the sample data: it is not in proportion with the total population of the opinion articles on #MeToo, unlike the frequency of articles per publication is (as illustrated in *Table 3,* p. 27). Viewing *Figure 4*, we see that DN accounts for most of the sample articles, followed by the rest of the national newspapers. The local newspaper GP accounts for the least with only 9%. This division can be explained by the profiles of the outlets. DN and SvD seem to value opinion-based journalism to a greater extent than the strongly tabloid EX or local GP, which both seem to rely a lot on news agency reporting. AF is also classified as a tabloid or "evening paper", yet with a powerful social democratic profile and opinionated drift, justifying its second place with 24% of all sample articles.

Figure 5. Distribution of articles / Section (n=184)

Figure 6. Distribution of articles / Type of article (n=184)

Figure 5 legend:
- Lead/editorial page (20%)
- News (5%)
- Culture (31%)
- Politics (2%)
- Guest page (21%)
- Columns (11%)
- Other (10%)

Figure 6 legend:
- Lead/editorial column (18%)
- Personal column (49%)
- Guest column (26%)
- Commentary/opinion (7%)
- Other (1%)

There is also variation in which section of the publication the articles are published in, and what type of article is in question. *Figures 5 and 6* illustrate the proportional division of these two categories. We can see how most of the articles are written as personal columns of journalists (49%) and most often in the cultural section (31%) or on the editorial page (20%). It is notable, however, how active the discussion by guest columnists is: slightly over a fourth (26%) of all the articles are written by guest authors.

The last general observation is the frequency of articles per week (*Figure 7*). Quite naturally, there is a peak to begin with in mid-October, right after the outbreak of #MeToo. Most articles (n = 83) were written in November, as the movement began to have more and more effect in various facets of the Swedish society. The peak between weeks 45 and 49 correlates with the start of the "Swedish wave" of #MeToo. Papers spoke out about the accelerating speed of the branch-specific manifestations that started rolling in almost on a daily basis after the first group, actresses, broke the silence with #tystnadtagning (*#silenceaction*) on November 8. It was also during these weeks when the initial accusations directed at Swedish male public figures, such as politicians, journalists and cultural profiles, were made, which further intensified the public discussion and media debate. The discussion died down towards Christmas and New Year, only to rise again slightly in the beginning of 2018 with articles published in the spirit of "post-MeToo", commenting unfolding events or contesting statements, e.g. by French actress Catherine Deneuve on how #MeToo has likened a witch hunt and how it diminishes the female sex (see e.g. *Appendix D:* Ivar Arpi, 0347 & Johanna Frändén, 0359).

Figure 7. Number of sample articles published per week (n=184)

Number of articles (n) per week:
- Week 41 (OCT): 1
- Week 42: 28
- Week 43: 14
- Week 44 (NOV): 4
- Week 45: 15
- Week 46: 20
- Week 47: 28
- Week 48 (DEC): 23
- Week 49: 15
- Week 50: 5
- Week 51: 6
- Week 52: 4
- Week 01: 2
- Week 02 (JAN): 9
- Week 03: 6
- Week 04: 4
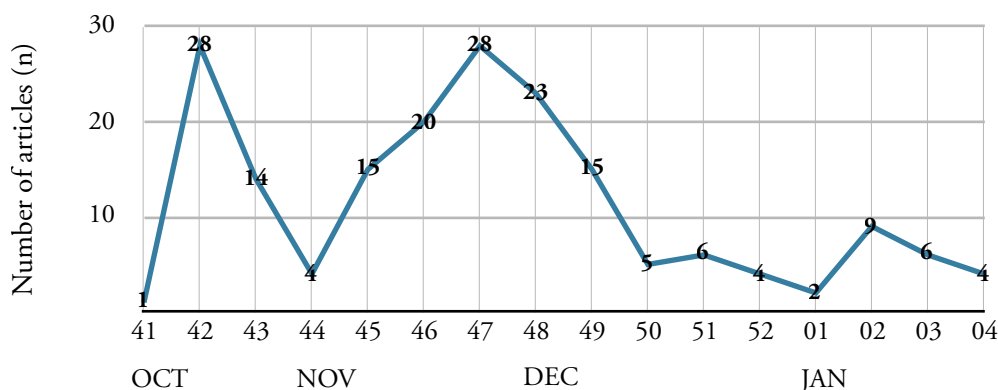
5.1. Media frames and male portrayal

In this section, subchapters 5.1.1. to 5.1.3. present the three identified media frames in greater detail, also focusing on how men have been portrayed in each frame. Subchapter 5.1.4. discusses the male representation in relation to the typology of masculinity roles. A summary of the differences and similarities in how men vs. women have contributed to the discussion surrounding men and #MeToo will follow in 5.1.5. All the quotes are translated from Swedish to English by the author.

5.1.1. The Power Frame

The first and by far largest frame is the 'Power Frame' with 101 articles, that is 55 % of the total sample. The frame gets its name from the high frequency of themes that essentially relate to the overarching issue of power: who holds power, how do societal structures obstruct the gender equal distribution of power, and especially relevant in the #MeToo discussion, how are power positions used or misused. It is worth noting that though this frame contains the articles that are most dissimilar to each other of all the three frames[7], they all do share several common aspects, as will now be discussed.

Table 6. The Power Frame

| Variable	Category
Main topic	Workplace culture, structural problems
Subtopic	Structural problems
Main actor	Society, workplace
Subactor	Society
Benefit	Shifting power positions, changing behaviour
Risk	-
Responsible for benefit	Social movements
Responsible for risk	-
Solution	Advancing societal change

Articles in the Power Frame delve into various topics, though issues and standpoints pertaining to the overarching themes of workplace culture, power positions and structural problems are most common. *Structural problem* here is seen as something inherent to the overall socio-political and economic system, as opposed to specific, problematic individual behaviour. *Table 6* summarises one to two most common values per frame element variable, derived from the mean values listed in chapter 4.5. (*Table 5*, p. 31-32) Though all three media frames refer to structural problems to a fairly high degree, the Power Frame does so most of all (24% of main topics, 34% of subtopics). The articles examine this structural power from various perspectives. They discuss e.g. how the culture of silence and double standards thrive at workplaces ("We are

---

[7] The dissimilarity of the frame is evident in the height of the cluster fork (~13 in the distance coefficient, see *Figure 2*, page 33) that groups all the cases in the cluster. For example, the discarded fourth frame (Miscellaneous frame) is highly similar within its small cluster (short fork, distant coefficient ~3) yet also comparably dissimilar with the rest of the cases on the other side of the Power Frame fork.

all obliged to object a professional culture where crime is masked as a joke"[8]), how sexual harassment and violence are related to sexist popular culture and the porn industry ("We accept pornography, but are surprised when it leaves its mark in reality."[9]), or how #MeToo is at large a political issue ("#Metoo has to become political if its liberating force is to survive"[10]).

Especially prominent in this frame is the coverage of the branch movements that published testimonials and "role calls" (*upprop*) signed by thousands of women from different occupational groups (see *Appendix A* for full list). The branch-specific problems, such as macho culture in the building industry, sexism in the tech world, or power imbalances in academia, are addressed in particular, yet they are also used as examples in broadening and linking the discussion from work-related themes to society at large. While 65 Swedish branch movements were published in total, it was the actresses' testimonial *#tystnadtagning* that became the centre of media attention. Following their colleagues in Hollywood, *#tystnadtagning* was the first published branch movement in Sweden and thus likened a start shot for the national wave of #MeToo. Media discussion followed on the harsh reality women face in the industry, as well as on challenging the ideal of a "male genius" in the world of arts and culture. Of the few male individuals whom are mentioned by name in the Power Frame, most are cultural actors accused of sexual harassment, e.g. the "Culture profile" (*Kulturprofilen*) connected to the Swedish Academy, tv-persona Martin Timell, American comedian Louis CK or actor Kevin Spacey. The focus on the cultural field and its celebrities can partly account for why most of the articles (29%) in the Power Frame are published under the cultural section (see *Figure 8*). Also the lead and editorial page ranks high with 23% of the articles, reflecting the editors' engagement in the issue and will to sustain the discussion around the movement.

Figure 8. Distribution of section of publication according to media frame (n=184)
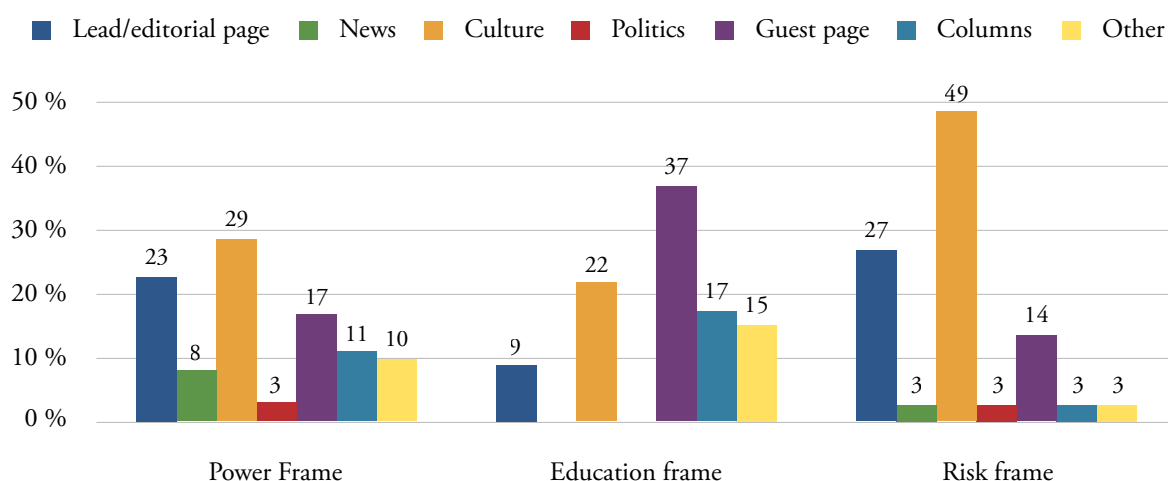
Of all the three frames, the Power Frame holds the most negative and at times even hostile attitude towards men. The world of men in power is challenged. While the articles often view men as the perpetrators and exploiters of power, the responsibility of making changes is also

---

[8] "Vi är alla skyldiga att motverka en tystnadskultur där brott viftas bort som skämt." (see *Appendix D,* Kajsa Hessel & Johan Lindholm, 0217)

[9] "Vi accepterar pornografin, men blir förvånade när den sätter spår i verkligheten." (see *Appendix D,* John Sjögren, 0048)

[10] "#Metoo behöver helt enkelt göra politik om den befriande kraften ska överleva." (see *Appendix D,* Per Wirtén, 0292)

laid on their shoulders ("It's time for self-criticism and to start making changes from above."[11]). While the articles in this frame are not directly instructive towards men in general, they encourage bosses, leaders and decision makers to take action: to put anti-harassment policies into practice, to listen to and include women more, to foster an organisational culture that encourages to speak up, and to emphasise the importance of mutual respect. In the words of gender equality activist Linnéa Claesson: "It's time for men in suits to listen. And act."[12].

In general, the articles have a positive attitude towards #MeToo. The movement is viewed as beneficial in the sense of exposing wrongdoings, furthering revolutionary and structural changes in society, and shifting focus to skewed power relations at workplaces. Risks are mentioned very seldom: only 6% of the articles name a negative effect that #MeToo might inflict on men (*Figure 9*). The detailed distribution of various benefits and risks within their categories is listed in the mean value table in chapter 4.5. (*Table 5,* p. 31-32).

Figure 9. Frequencies of benefits and risks according to media frame (n=184)
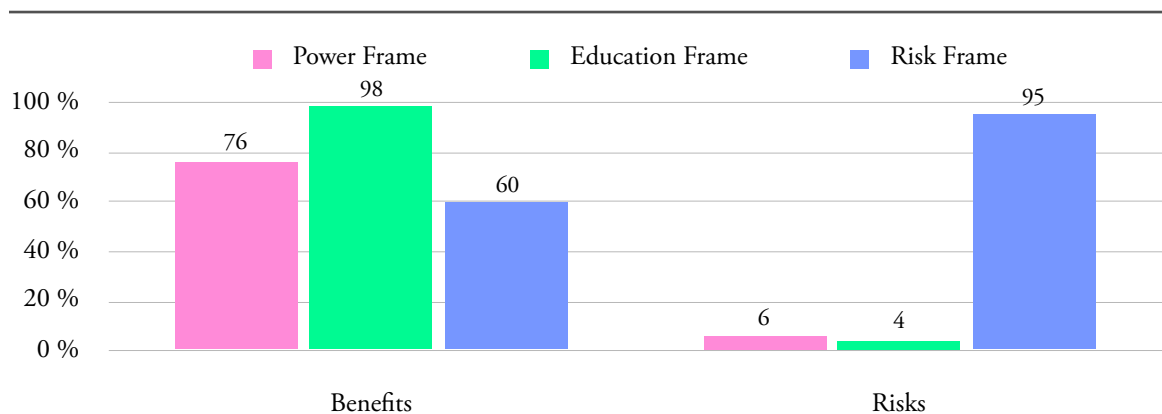
Lastly, *Figure 10* demonstrates how each publication included in the sample was more or less equally active (between 50-60%) in publishing articles belonging to the Power Frame. The other two frames in relation have more variation in the distribution per publication. E.g. GP is highly active in contributing to the Education Frame yet less so in the Risk Frame, where as the tendency is the opposite with SvD.

Figure 10. Distribution of articles per publication according to media frame (n=184)

---
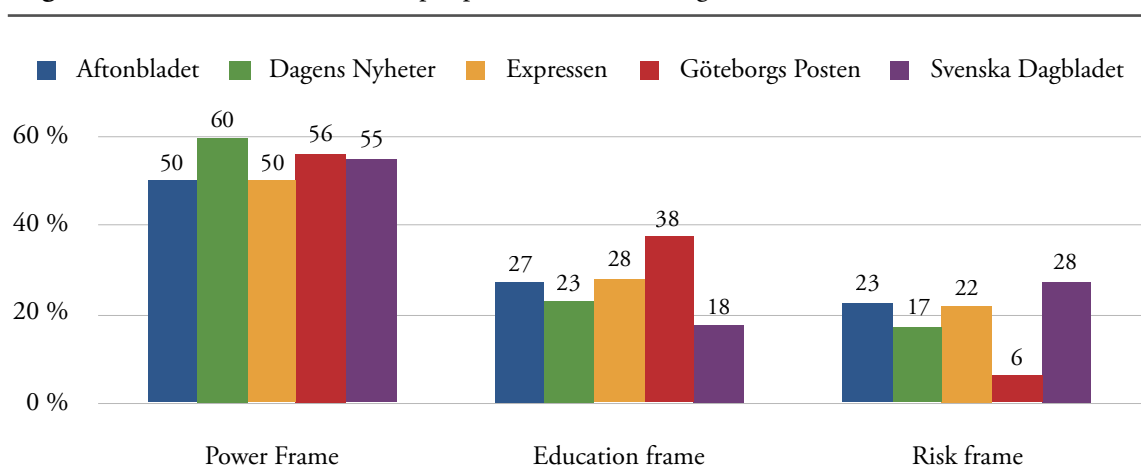
[11] "Det är dags för självkritik och att genomföra förändringen uppifrån." (see *Appendix D*, Emmylou Tuvhag, 0272)

[12] "– – nu är det dags att männen i kostym lyssnar. Och agerar." (see *Appendix D*, Linnéa Claesson, 0132)

5.1.2.   The Education Frame

The second largest frame with 46 articles (25 % of total) is named the Education Frame due to its focus on the importance of collective responsibility among men to change. Here 'education' should not be misleadingly affiliated only with formal education in schools, though many an article in this frame does touch upon that topic, too. Instead, most of the articles emphasise the general need to change traditional male norms: "We need to take collective responsibility to help each other. We need to support each other to crush the traditional male role. – – We will give each other space for emotions – – We will start talking about sex, when we've crossed the line, and will try to understand why it happened."[13]).

Table 7. The Education frame

Variable	Category
Main topic	Collective male responsibility, importance of education
Subtopic	Collective male responsibility, structural problems
Main actor	Society/male
Subactor	Education
Benefit	Changing behaviour, improving norm-critical thinking
Risk	-
Responsible for benefit	Society/male
Responsible for risk	-
Solution	Changing the male norm, education

The Education Frame gets its name also from the several instructive articles that state more directly than in the Power Frame how men should act, e.g. how to take a 'no' as a 'no' from a woman, how to promote norm-criticism among both kids and adults, or how to become more attentive to the wrongdoings of others in one's own surroundings. A subset of articles emphasise the need for good parenting and the responsibility of schools, as well as the importance of men being conscious about the examples they give to younger boys. Interestingly enough, most of the articles in this frame (37%) were published on the guest page (*Figure 8*), implying how eager external actors are to contribute to the public debate when it comes to the topic of education and setting an example. Of these guest columns, 47% were written by female contributors, 47% by male and 6% by a mixed group, indicating a very equal gender distribution.

Articles in the Education Frame are clearly most male-oriented of all the three frames: 51% of the articles state men as main actors. Several articles highlight the perspective of how #MeToo is not only a women's issue (*kvinnofråga*): "Doesn't matter how much women fight for their rights if men don't follow along"[14]. The role of men is highlighted also in favour of men them-

---

[13] "Nu tar vi män ansvar genom att hjälpa varandra. Vi stärker varandra i att bryta mansrollen. – – Vi ger varandra ett generöst och tryggt utrymme för fler känslor – – Vi börjar att prata om sex, när vi gått över gränsen och vi försöker förstå varför det hände." (see *Appendix D*, Max Hällström, 0019)

[14] "För det spelar ingen roll hur många fajter vi fortsätter att ta, om inte fler män är med på resan." (see *Appendix D*, Nisha Berasa, 0139)

selves. Ridding of the toxic male norm can mean a liberation to all: "[this is] much more than a match between men and women. – – [It's] a long and hard fight against inappropriate behaviour. All it takes is to be humane."[15].

The top-benefit and top-solution are in line with the general emphasis on male responsibility of this frame. Over half of the articles (56%) state 'changing behaviour' as the biggest benefit for men in #MeToo, while 38% of the articles mention 'changing the male norm' as the solution to the problems displayed by the movement. The focus on change is what defines this frame most: both the change in how men act and think as individuals, but also social change, e.g. by intervening in offensive situations or readily talking about emotions with others.

The Education Frame is close to free from possible risks for men – only two articles mention a risk (*Figure 9*, p. 38). Coupled with the high frequency of stated benefits (98%), the Education Frame can be considered most "male-friendly" of the three frames.

5.1.3.   The Risk Frame

The third and smallest identified media frame is the Risk Frame with 37 articles, equalling to 20% of the sample size. This frame focuses on the risks that #MeToo has presented and continues to impose on men as well as on the caution that media outlets should show before making hasty and possibly false accusations. Up to 95% of the articles (*Figure 9*, p. 38) within the frame named a risk, profiling the frame truly risk-laden.

37% of the articles describe the #MeToo movement as problematic. These problems refer to e.g. labelling 'all men' as culprits and similarly profiling 'all women' as victims, leaving men out of the gender equality discussion, criminalising what in fact is not criminal behaviour, spreading rumours uncontrollably on social media, or advancing possible polarisations in society. In turn, article's advocating for media's responsibility (21% of total) mainly discuss the need to stick to press ethics, to do journalistic groundwork thoroughly, and to base claims on actual evidence instead of social media rumours before publishing the names of the accused individuals. The general problematics of #MeToo and media's responsibility are closely intertwined topics. This is apparent in how both society (37%) and media (34%) are nearly equally considered the main actors, as well as in how media caution is considered the greatest solution to the highlighted problems (47%).

Table 8. The Risk Frame

Variable	Category
Main topic	Problematic #MeToo, media's responsibility
Subtopic	Structural problems, problematic #MeToo
Main actor	Media, society/male
Subactor	Society, social movements

---

[15] "Det här är en mycket tuffare match än mellan män och kvinnor. – – en lång och hård fight mot dåliga beteenden. Och den måste vara gemensam. Man behöver ju faktiskt bara vara människa." (see *Appendix D*, Ola Wenström, 0253)

| Benefit | (no primary benefit), changing behaviour |
Risk	False accusations, failed revolution, men "lose"
Responsible for benefit	(no primary responsible for benefit), social movements
Responsible for risk	Social movements, media
Solution	Media caution, advancing social change

However, it is also worth noting how 42% of the articles in this frame do not focus on the topics of media responsibility or problematics of #MeToo. While they, too, acknowledge the risks that the movement might impose, the main focus lies elsewhere. These topics range from post-#MeToo scenarios to advocating a culture of chivalry instead of feminist rhetorics, or from understanding the power of the collective 'us' including both men and women to the difficulty of dissociating a person's actions from his (artistic) work. These articles propose solutions such as advancing societal change (16%) and changing the male norm (13%), yet with considerably low frequencies.

The Risk Frame can thus be characterised as rather heterogeneous. What connects all of the cases are the mentions of risks, though at different levels of significance. About half of the articles place risks in the centre, warning about the dangers of #MeToo and how it has affected society and men especially in a negative sense. Then again, the other half reflects on the potentiality of these risks rather than deeming #MeToo problematic per se.

5.1.4. Masculinity roles

The data collection included a section on a range of masculinity roles: whether or not they were present in the article (see Chapter 4.2.2. for descriptions of each role). While these roles were not included in the cluster analysis of the media frames, they contribute in an interesting and holistic way to the analysis of male roles in general. *Figure 11* shows the frequencies of each masculinity role in the total sample size (n = 184). An article can include mentions of several different roles, which is why the total does not add up to 100%.

**Figure 11.** Frequencies of masculinity roles (n=184)
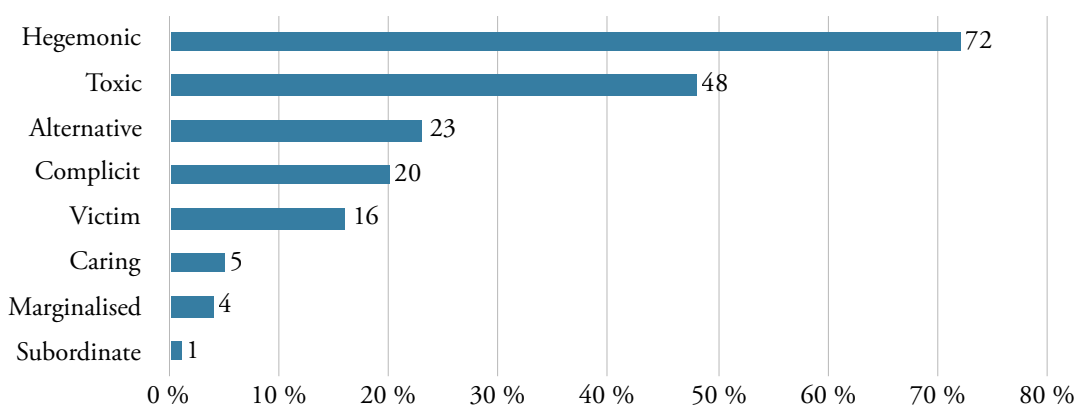
It is apparent how hegemonic masculinity as the dominating male ideal in society also dominates the male portrayal of #MeToo coverage with 72% of the articles referring to or describing it. Hegemonic and toxic masculinities overlap easily, as toxic traits are often characterised

as the negative aspects of hegemonic masculinity. Indeed, 80% of the articles discussing toxic masculinity also simultaneously refer to the hegemonic role. A similar correlation is found between the hegemonic and complicit roles: 97% of articles coded as complicit were also hegemonic. This can be explained by the way complicit masculinity is described as a "sidekick" of the hegemonic male; how most men adopt the complicit role if they do not fill the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity.

An interesting dimension emerges when examining the frequencies of the different types of masculinities per media frame (*Figure 12*). As explained above, several articles referred to many masculinity types, resulting in all of the types present in almost all of the frames. While hegemonic masculinity is fairly common in all frames, there is more variation when it comes to the other masculinity roles. The Education Frame discusses the toxic, alternative and caring male roles most. This goes naturally hand-in-hand with the toxic behaviour that the Education Frame instructs to rid of, in addition to the alternative and caring male role that it promotes instead. Similarly the Risk Frame views men as victims most of all frames. This corresponds to the high frequency of risks that the frame presents: men as victims of false accusations, men losing their reputation and jobs, or men having to be careful of how they act or what they say around women.

Figure 12. Frequencies of masculinity roles according to media frame (n=184)
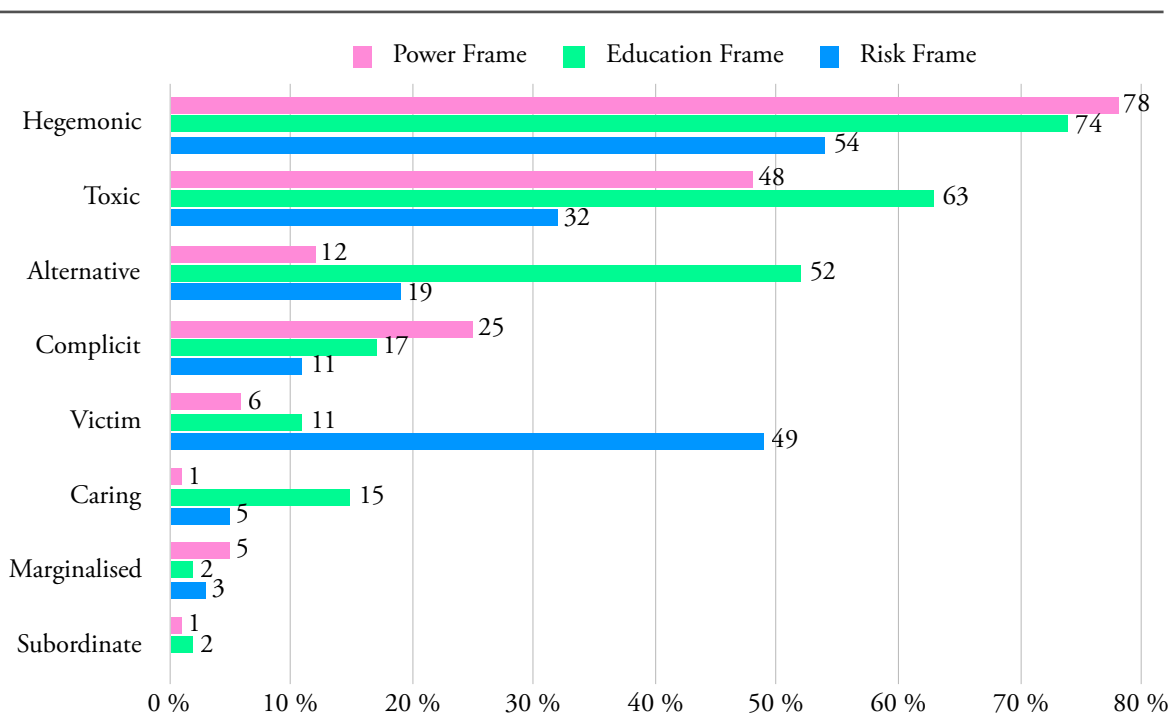
Marginalised and subordinate male roles have low frequencies in all frames, indicating how the critical discussion around #MeToo has hardly taken into consideration the role of e.g. ethnic minorities (marginalised males) or homosexuals (subordinate males).

5.1.5. Male vs. female coverage

As is mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the gender distribution for the total sample size (n = 184) is 62% female journalists, 36% male journalists, 1.5% mixed and 0.5% un-

known (*Figure 3*, p. 34). What is interesting is the gender distribution of the authors in the different media frames (*Figure 13*).

Figure 13. Gender distribution of journalists according to media frame (n=184)
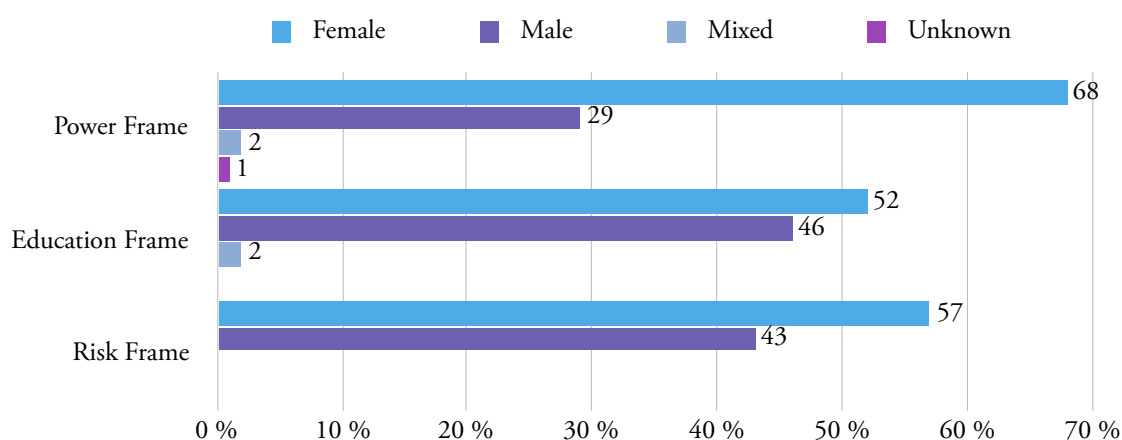
While female journalists do consist of the majority in all the frames, they are over twice as many in the Power Frame, implying how women in the wake of #MeToo are more eager advocates of structural change and shifts in power relations. On the other hand, men are nearly equally as active as women in the Education Frame, promoting collective responsibility in advancing male change. This is noteworthy considering that men only add up to slightly over a third of the total number of contributors of the sample. The Education Frame is also the frame men have contributed most to. The distribution in the Risk Frame in turn implies how men are considerably more keen on writing about the risks of #MeToo (with 43%) than about power structures or other societal change (29% in Power Frame).

Though the following subchapter will present the results for temporal changes in general, it is also an aspect worth discussing when analysing the gender differences of the journalists. As *Figure 14* displays, female and male contributors follow a similar pattern of activity during the sample period. Percentage-wise male journalists are more active in the beginning of the time period as 76% of the total male contribution takes place during October and November, while female contributors, on the other hand, continue to publish more steadily also towards the end of the sample period.

Figure 14. Gender distribution of sample articles published per month (n=184)
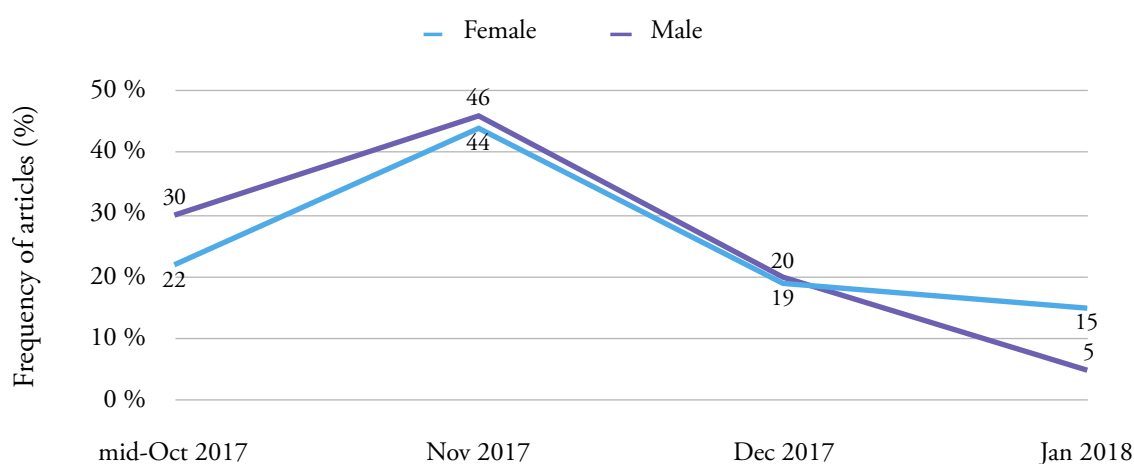
5.2. Changes in coverage over time

When analysing the temporal changes on how #MeToo was covered in the Swedish press month by month, it is important to note that October does not consist of a full month like the other three, since the outbreak took place mid-October. Thus the figures for October are not directly comparable with the other months.

The introduction to this chapter already lined out the changes in the frequency of published articles per week (*Figure 7*, p. 35). Going into further detail, we can see how the five newspapers all follow more or less the same trend: after the peak in November the pace of published articles starts slowing down (*Figure 15*). DN experiences the most drastic drop in the number of articles, while AD, GP and SvD have a more gradual decrease. EX publishes at a rather steady rate all throughout the time period without dramatic peaks or drops. This arguably is related to the tabloid profile of the outlet with slightly less importance put on opinion-based articles.

Figure 15. Frequencies of articles per publication according to publication month (n=184)
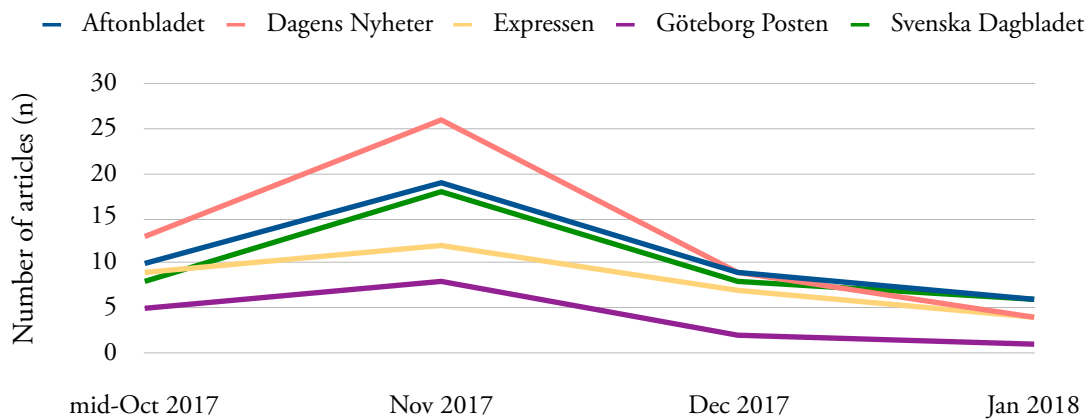
Examining the monthly frequencies of the three media frames instead (*Figure 16*) reveals an interesting yet also logical finding. While the Power Frame experiences a steep rise in November, it has nearly as steep a fall towards December. As was previously mentioned, this decline is partly affected by the Christmas holidays, but also the by the slowing down of branch-specific publications. Of the total of 65 sub-movement testimonials, only 13 were published in December as opposed to 32 in November. The Education Frame follows a similar pattern, though without any significant peaking. The Risk Frame, however, indicates a reverse movement. The amount of published articles rises steadily from November to December, contrary to the other two frames. This implies how the possible risks of #MeToo took some time to sink in, and thus were dared to be discussed in more analytical depth only after the initial month of the phenomenon.

Figure 16. Frequencies of frames according to publication month (n=184)
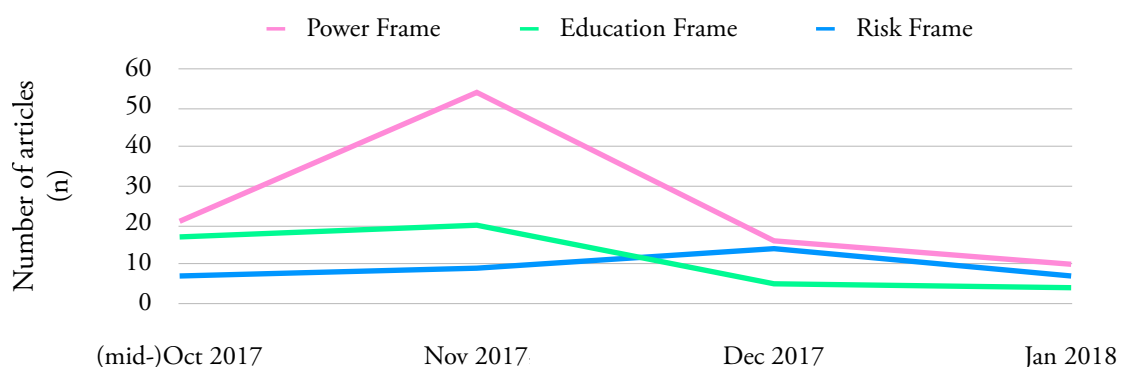
6. Discussion

#MeToo has opened up the global arena of gender equality discourse to individual voices and personal stories on sexual harassment in everyday lives of women. It is these accounts, both the individually shared ones and those from different occupational movements, that have sparked the discussion in the Swedish media on how men relate to it all. As established in the introduction, this study has the general purpose of examining how the male role has been discussed and portrayed in opinionated press coverage in the Swedish newspaper media. This chapter critically discusses these considerations and the results of this study in relation to the theoretical perspectives presented earlier. The focus lies in discussing the three media frames that emerged from the sample data set: the Power, Education and Risk Frames. The other research questions pertaining to masculinity roles as well as temporal differences in coverage are considered and discussed in conjunction with the different media frames.

The three identified media frames all include a distinct take on the male role, especially when related to the multiple masculinity role theory by Connell (1995). The Power Frame occurs most often in the sample of this study, and it is also the one frame depicting men in the most blunt, even harsh terms. The frame indicates high frequencies in presenting the hegemonic, toxic and complicit male roles, implying how men in this frame are mainly viewed in a negative light as perpetrators, abusers of power positions, or in general as the unequal counterparts. While this description is consistent with the characterisation of the frame, it is also in very strong contrast with the notion of the Swedish ideal of gender equality. Thus, it poses considerations on whether Connell's typology is applicable to the Swedish cultural context. Indeed, Swedish masculinity scholars (e.g. Nordberg, 2000; Gottzén & Jonsson, 2012) have critically noted how Connell's hegemonic, authoritarian masculinity does not describe the dominant male role in Sweden, the egalitarian and "softer" version of hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, a risk in applying Connell's hegemonic stereotype in Sweden is that the egalitarian male is not seen as part of the patriarchal structures of society and thus is never challenged, while the oppressing power structures in favour of men are continuously upheld in society (Nordberg, 2000).

Following up on Nordberg's critique, it needs to be taken into account how the stereotype of a hegemonic male changes in relation to the cultural and temporal context. This aspect relates to the Swedish stereotype of an "in-principle" male who supports gender equality and feminist agendas in principle, but does not necessarily live up to those values when it comes to personal choices or actions (e.g. Egeberg Holmgren, 2012; Jalmert, 1984). While this study did not examine the prevalence of the "in-principle" masculinity, it does highlight an aspect worth acknowledging: categorising gender representations into one or the other type, especially in a gender equal society such as Sweden, is a highly complex feat. While an individual might clearly represent one side of a typology, say hegemonic masculinity, what lies underneath can be very different.

While Connell's (1995) popular framework indeed needs to be critically viewed in a Swedish context, it does, however, lend itself in practical terms to a study such as this. #MeToo has inspired media texts from many perspectives and relating to the male role, and Connell's range of masculinity stereotypes do present an analytic way of dealing with the differing male perspectives that emerge from the media texts. It cannot either be disregarded how #MeToo has revealed certain surprisingly stereotypical authoritarian hegemonic and toxic aspects also in the Swedish male as the numerous testimonials and accounts have

exposed. These revelations give a new twist to the dimensions of the Swedish "in-principle" male, an interesting point of further research for Swedish masculinity scholars.

On the other hand, a quarter of the sample articles are categorised under the Education Frame with a notable prevalence of the alternative, "modern" type of masculinity. Based on Buschmeyer's (2013) addition to Connell's (1995) typology, the alternative male in this study represents men who contest hegemonic values, actively drive feminist principles, aim to reshape masculinity norms and encourage men to take more responsibility in the fight for improved gender equality. This is an example of the feminist ideal of a Swedish male that takes the concrete step from the "in principle" man to the "in practice" feminist (Egeberg Holmgren, 2012). Male journalists are most active in contributing to the Education Frame, supporting the ideal of the egalitarian male advocate for gender equality, norm-awareness and behavioural changes, even admitting how they themselves are guilty and part of the problem (e.g. *Appendix D*, Emanuel Karsten, 0100).

While it is on one hand positive how men in media have taken an active role in pursuing this educational norm-change, it is, however, interesting how male journalists are least active as contributors to the Power Frame in discussing themes such as structural problems and workplace culture. It is here where women dominate the discussion, and where a link to the muted group theory (Ardener, 1975; Kramarae, 1981; Meares et al., 2004; Kissack, 2010) can be drawn. The theory lends to an interesting consideration that rises on whether the concept of a muted group could instead of women be partially applied to men in the context of #MeToo. The phenomenon has surely transformed the societal discourse around sexual harassment and structural problems in a way where the female circle of experience overrides the male circle, even to the point where men might be seen as not taking part in the discussion and stay silent, possibly fearing the strong feminist rhetorics that label the discourse. This is apparent in the difference in number of Swedish female and male journalists who wrote about the phenomenon during the first months, but also in the gender difference of the written content. While women journalists often contributed as avid advocates of structural, political and cultural change at workplaces and society as a whole, male journalists tended to stick to the instructive and educational narrative of how they can change themselves and support each other in this change in masculinity. This is in many ways a natural division and correlates with the nature of #MeToo as a women's movement, yet it is an interesting find on how most men in media have shied away from discussing the structural aspects and instead mostly concentrated on how they can change as individuals. Though this study has not investigated the various hashtags by men that arose in the wake of #MeToo, e.g. #IHave, #ItWasMe and #HowIWillChange, they all have similar grounds as the Education Frame in giving emphasis to the role of the individual male. This is not to dismiss the value of these male movements, or the fact that structural change often begins with the individual.

Lastly, the smallest of the three frames, the Risk Frame, raises themes around the victimisation of men, media caution and concerns on how the Swedish press ethics have not been followed properly in the coverage of #MeToo. Interestingly enough, the use of this frame increases towards the end of the sample period. This indicates how journalists seemed less aware at first of the problematics #MeToo might pose on the journalists' ethical guidelines that are held to be of utmost value in Sweden (Nilsson, 2016). It is also worth noting how mass media journalists do represent a certain profile. For example, according to Strömbäck et al. (2012), Swedish journalists are highly educated and lean ideologically relatively heavily to the political left. Though the Swedish partisan bias has been found to have close to no influence on journalistic content (ibid.), it does give a hint of a journalist profile that might prefer certain angles or

frames over others and thus affect what is published in mass media. Nonetheless, a range of alternative and diverse opinions are always present in the rogue discourse arena of social media, also pertaining to the role of men in #MeToo (see e.g. Schützer Nelander, 2017). The uncontrollable discussion on social media, e.g. the hasty naming of culprits, poses additional challenges to ethical considerations, but can also allude to not all men identifying themselves in the public discourse going on in the media. As a sample article puts it, listening to men's opinions on the matter can be vital to keeping the discussion alive: "Otherwise you get what you deserve. Silence. No engagement"[16]. Comparing the male role presented in traditional media with what is discussed on digital platforms among the public could offer for interesting future research.

---

[16] "Annars får man det man själv skapar. Tystnad, helt enkelt. Inget engagemang." (see *Appendix D*, Jonas Lundström, 0320)

7. Conclusion

As a social movement, a phenomenon, #MeToo has proved itself unique in various ways; it has high-lighted everyday gender inequality problems that still plague even the most egalitarian societies of the 21st century. In Sweden especially, #MeToo has been characterised as "not just a *kvinnofråga*," but an issue that relates to and touches everyone despite gender or social grouping. This study has examined in an exploratory way how the Swedish newspaper media has portrayed the male role in the #MeToo dis-cussion during the first three months after the outbreak of the hashtag, thus contributing to the under-standing of how men specifically relate to the phenomenon in Sweden. Also, this study has exemplified the use of a cluster analysis strategy in identifying media frames in a Swedish context. This concluding chapter will first summarise the main facets and results of the study, then shed light on the various methodological and researcher limitations, before going on to recommendations for future research as well as practical implications.

Summary

The theoretical framework drew upon media framing (Entman, 1993) and various typologies and stud-ies on masculinities (e.g. Connell, 1995), while the method used to extract the media frames was based on a cluster analysis strategy by Matthes and Kohring (2008). The cluster analysis identified three dis-tinct media frames used in the #MeToo coverage that each treat and characterise the male role as well as the movement topically in differing ways. The Power Frame typically discusses the structural problems that the #MeToo accounts have their roots in, as well as identified men as the "culprits" who need to make amends. The Power Frame in general challenges the notion of male privilege and power, and therefore also advocates for e.g. gender equal workplace culture and policies. The Education Frame, on the contrary, emphasises the importance of men taking responsibility and acting for change. Here the most common male role presented was the "alternative male", juxtaposed against the prevailing hege-monic ideal of masculinity. These articles consisted of about a quarter of the sample, proving how the media discussion on "modern masculinity" is well on way, though not yet widespread. Lastly, the Risk Frame raised the consideration of how men are too hastily being condemned by the media, framing them mostly as victims of the debate.

Some differences were detected in the gender distribution of journalists contributing to each frame. While female journalists wrote most actively about problematic workplace culture and patriarchal struc-tures of society in the Power Frame, male journalists were more eager in writing about the educational importance of changing male norms. Temporal differences in the way the phenomenon or male role was covered were not drastic, though articles in the Risk Frame did tend to increase towards the end of the sample period, indicating rising caution on the way accusations were handled in the media. Relatively unexpected was the result of the number of male journalists and contributors *not* rising towards the end of the sample period, which could have been anticipated after the initial shock of the accounts had sunk in and the general need to change masculinity norms had become more common in societal discourse.

Limitations

Certain limitations of the research process also need addressing. Methodological constraints include the limited sample size of 184 articles. While this amount can be considered a moderately representative sample of the 375 articles that were originally identified and gathered from the five media publications, the study can hardly be generalised to represent Swedish press coverage at large. Also due to limited search functions and access problems on certain outlet websites, several articles belonging to the population might have been unintentionally missed. An additional methodological limitation deals with the clustering strategy used to identify the media frames (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). While a case cannot be categorised into more than one cluster in the statistics programme used in this study, in reality a journalist can write an article using elements of several different frames, only emphasising elements from one frame more than another. While this is one of the principles the clustering method bases on, it should not go accepted as unproblematic in a study such as this. For example, an article might be identified as belonging to the Power Frame based on its focus on misuse of power at the workplace, while the solution presented essentially belongs to the Education Frame. If this aspect were not a limitation of the programme, or if the clustering would rather be done manually with human consideration, the results of the study could look rather different. However, regarding the cluster analysis strategy, this study contributes for its part to the still limited literature using this particular method to identify media frames. While this type of quantitative research method did prove fruitful in establishing the media frames and examining the more cursory sides of the press coverage, a critical discourse analysis on the topic could further reveal detail and depth in the representation of the male role in a qualitative way. For example, noting the presence of certain masculinity roles does indicate general tendencies, but does not give deeper, specific insight into the latent aspects of the male representations that might emerge from underlying meanings when using a qualitative method.

A minor constraint that might have affected the results is the author's fluency in Swedish. While the second coder is a native speaker, the author herself, with Swedish as a foreign language, acted as the main coder and naturally also delved into the articles and the results on a linguistic level in order to interpret them. Any uncertainties that the author had during coding or interpreting the material was dealt with by consulting a native speaker. A more likely researcher limitation influencing the study is the possibility of attitudinal bias. While objectivity was naturally strived for throughout the research process, the position of the researcher as a young woman deeply affected by the #MeToo phenomenon can not go unacknowledged.

Lastly, one of the biggest obstacles and an eventual limitation of this study is the lack of prior research. Due to the topicality of the #MeToo issue, scarcity of literature was a known limitation already from the beginning. Yet the challenge of locating similar studies also on textual media representations of men or on media framing of social movement actors did weaken the foundation for understanding the research problem and connecting it to the corpus of existing research. While this constraint does inhibit pioneering and exploratory studies such as this, it simultaneously offers an opportunity to fill in a gap in the literature and also inspire further research in the field.

Future research

This study has pioneered in investigating #MeToo's coverage from a Swedish perspective, and also in general contributed to emerging research on the movement. In addition, it has for its part helped fill the gap in literature of framing gender in textual media representations. #MeToo as the massive social phenomenon it is will surely be subject to diverse future research in various fields. While this study has focused on media's portrayal of the movement and the male role specifically, an equally interesting perspective is how the "hashtag activists", the grass-root level actors, or simply the private individuals who have taken part in the movement experience the power of this particular hashtag. By posting "#metoo" or any of the numerous Swedish sub-hashtags, or by sharing their personal stories on social media, people are contributing to the larger societal discourse in ways that are out of bounds of traditional media. E.g. a large-scale survey for members of #MeToo related Facebook-groups could shed light on how these individuals have empowered each other to take part in what likens organised cyber-activism. What do they aim to achieve through their activism? Likewise a social network analysis could clarify how different societal actors – social groupings, businesses, authorities, politicians – have reacted to the problems raised by the movement and how do they differ in the level of commitment in solving these problems. Regarding the male role more specifically, future research might be interested in examining the impact the movement and its media coverage has had on boys and men. E.g. a combination of observations in school environments as well as qualitative interviews with teachers and pupils could unwrap these questions. Has the movement influenced how pupils talk to each other or how sexual education and mutual respect is taught in schools? A discourse analysis could further help investigate how can the popularisation of notions such as "locker room talk", "culture of silence" or "toxic masculinity" be linked to the media coverage of #MeToo.

This study was conducted during spring 2018; soon after and partly while the #MeToo phenomenon was still developing. While this proximity to the outbreak has its advantages in allowing for an exploratory and original research, there are aspects that only can be discovered from a distance with a longitudinal perspective. Some Swedish opinion based research has already shown shifts in public awareness, interest and opinion on sexual harassment after the #MeToo outbreak (e.g. Lagerwall, 2017; Zachariasson, 2017), yet further research needs to be done in order to thoroughly and fully understand the societal influence and implications the movement has had over course of time. In Sweden, the surge of the branch-specific sub-movements is an exceptional phenomenon of its own that deserves further investigation and documentation of how these sub-movements developed and what kind of influence they have had in their respective branches. Naturally, cultural comparisons on e.g. how #MeToo has been portrayed in traditional media or how it has spread on social media in different countries could also prove especially interesting as topics for future research, since the movement was received in highly distinct ways around the globe.

The review of literature on social movements indicated how activism has found a new form in the digital era of today, exemplified especially in the success of many hashtag movements such as #MeToo. It could thus be interesting to investigate how men's reactions to #MeToo in the form of e.g. the hashtags #IHave, #ItWasMe and #HowIWillChange have not properly gained ground as viral movements. In Sweden, where in total 65 sub-movements by women followed in the wake of #MeToo, men did not have a single hashtag of their own. Without a long history in activism like women's movements have, direct online mobilisation for these "men's movements" can be a tough feat. Thus, the premises for a successful men's hashtag movement and the essential interconnectedness of online and offline campaigning could also prove to be fruitful perspectives for future research.

Practical implications

Various studies have shown how gendered media actually is, e.g. how women are systematically represented less in news coverage, also in gender equal Sweden (Mannila, 2016). However, in the coverage of #MeToo men have been left, or they have deliberately decided to stay, more or less offside. This study can in part help media practitioners to understand the complexity of the topic of the male role in relation to #MeToo. While the findings indicate how the movement has caused large variety in response behaviour, it has proven difficult for men in particular to take a definite stance. This study could act as a reminder to journalists on how significant it is to both give voice to and demand voices from each side of a story to fully depict an issue. Similarly the findings might help journalists in angling their stories differently, e.g. examining why silence has enveloped men in the discussion: is it a sign of disinterest in the topic or, on the contrary, an indication of them listening and analysing carefully instead of reacting hastily? On the other hand, the results prove how Swedish men have also spoken up and expressed their will to change, which can be valuable in motivating men at a larger scale to take a stronger stance for gender equality. Journalists can also use the study's findings to approach #MeToo from a point of view that has not yet been discussed much, e.g. emphasising the intersectional perspective and giving voice to men categorised as 'subordinate' or 'marginalised' masculinities.

In addition to suggestions for journalists, this study can provide practical incentive to gender equality activists, such as FATTA or Make Equal in Sweden, in channelling their campaign efforts even more towards reaching and involving men. While the Education Frame identified in this study demonstrates how Swedish men are expressing a will to further both individual and collective change in their everyday lives, they do not necessarily brave to express this support online. This indicates that the need for organised action and offline campaigning is still vital in order to create a foundation for meaningful and effective online mobilisation.

How #MeToo will develop in the long term, both as a societal phenomenon and in the media, remains to be seen. What this study partly confirms, however, is that it has certainly already had an influence on how the issue of gender equality is considered newsworthy in Sweden, how it is discussed from various angles and how the role of men is also considered integral in the fight against sexual harassment and for gender equality, especially in the era of post-#MeToo we are now in.

References

Ardener, S. (1975). *Perceiving Women*. New York: Wiley.

Beauvoir. S. de (1995). *Det andra könet.* Stockholm: Pan. [Original: *Le deuxième sexe*] (Bjurström, I. & Pyk, A., trans.)

BRÅ, the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (2017). *Våldtäkt och sexualbrott.* https://www.bra.se/brott-och-statistik/statistik-utifran-brottstyper/valdtakt-och-sexualbrott.html (Retrieved 23/3/2018)

Buschmeyer, A. (2013). The construction of 'alternative masculinity' among men in the childcare profession. *International Review of Sociology,* 23(2), 290-309. DOI: 10.1080/03906701.2013.804293

Butler, J. (2006). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity.* New York: Routledge.

Carroll, W. K., & Hackett, R. A. (2006). Democratic media activism through the lens of social movement theory. *Media, Culture & Society*, Vol. 28(1): 83–104. DOI: 10.1177/01634437 06059289

Carter Olson, C. (2016). #BringBackOurGirls: digital communities supporting real-world change and influencing mainstream media agendas. *Feminist Media Studies*, 16:5, 772-787. DOI: 10.1080/14680777.2016.1154887

Chong, D. & Druckman, J. N. (2007). Framing Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science,* 2007, 10:103–26. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.072805.103054

Clark, R. (2016). "Hope in a hashtag": the discursive activism of #WhyIStayed. *Feminist Media Studies*, 16:5, 788-804. DOI: 10.1080/14680777.2016.1138235

Cobb, S. & Horeck, T. (2018). Post Weinstein: gendered power and harassment in the media industries. *Feminist Media Studies*, 18:3, 489-491. DOI: 10.1080/14680777.2018.1456155

Cosar, S. (2017, December 5). Därför är svenska intresset för #metoo störst i världen. *SVT.* https://www.svt.se/nyheter/darfor-ar-svenska-intresset-for-metoo-storst-i-varlden (Retrieved 17/5/2018)

Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities.* (2nd Ed). Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Connell, R. W. & Messerschmidt, J. (2005). Hegemonic Masculinity – Rethinking the Concept. *Gender & Society*, Vol. 19 No. 6, December 2005, 829-859. DOI: 10.1177/0891243205278639

Cutler, K. (2007). *Multiple Masculinities? A Content Analysis of Men in the Print Media.* Master's Thesis. Washington State University - Department of Sociology.

David, C., Atun, J., Fille, E. & Monterola, C. (2011). Finding Frames: Comparing Two Methods of Frame Analysis. *Communication Methods and Measures,* 5(4), 329–351. DOI: 10.1080/19312458.2011.624873

Devitt, J. (2002). Framing gender on the campaign trail: Female gubernatorial candidates and the press. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly.* 79(2), 445-463. DOI: 10.1177/107769900207900212

Dixon, K. (2014). Feminist Online Identity: Analyzing the Presence of Hashtag Feminism. *Journal of Arts and Humanities.* 2014;3(7):34-40. DOI: 10.18533/journal.v3i7.509

DN Debatt (2018, March 5). "Här är vallöftena som vi i metoo-uppropen vill se". *Dagens Nyheter.* https://www.dn.se/debatt/har-ar-valloftena-som-vi-i-metoo-uppropen-vill-se/ (Retrieved 29/4/2018)

Donk, A., Metag, J., Kohring, M. & Marcinkowski, F. (2012). Framing Emerging Technologies Risk Perceptions of Nanotechnology in the German Press. *Science Communication,* 34. 5-29. DOI: 10.1177/1075547011417892.

Drüeke, R. & Zobl, E. (2016). Online feminist protest against sexism: the German-language hashtag #aufschrei. *Feminist Media Studies*, 16:1, 35-54. DOI: 10.1080/14680777.2015.1093071

Duncanson, C. (2015). Hegemonic Masculinity and the Possibility of Change in Gender Relations. *Men and Masculinities* 2015, Vol. 18(2) 231-248. DOI: 10.1177/1097184X15584912

Egeberg Holmgren, L. (2012) Feministiska män : från i-princip till i-praktik. In *Andra män: Maskulinitet, normskapande och jämställdhet* (Eds. Gottzén, L. & Jonsson, R.), p. 99-117. Malmö: Gleerups.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x

Eriksson, K. & Torén Björling, S. (2017). *Därför blev Metoo-uppropen så starka i Sverige.* Dagens Nyheter 01/12/2017. https://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/darfor-blev-metoo-uppropen-sa-starka-i-sverige/ (Retrieved 02/05/2018)

Fernandez-Villanueva, C., Revilla-Castro, J. C., Dominguez-Bilbao, R., Gimeno-Jimenez, L., & Almagro, A. (2009). Gender differences in the representation of violence on Spanish television: Should women be more violent? *Sex Roles*, 61, 85–100. DOI 10.1007/s11199-009-9613-9

Field, A. (2000). *Postgraduate Statistics: Cluster Analysis.* http://www.discoveringstatistics.com/docs/cluster.pdf

Fountaine, S., & McGregor, J. (2002). *Reconstructing gender for the 21st century: News media framing of political women in New Zealand.* Palmerston North: Department of Communication and Journalism, Massey University.

Fowler, K. & Thomas, V. (2015). A content analysis of male roles in television advertising: Do traditional roles still hold?, *Journal of Marketing Communications*, 21:5, 356-371. DOI: 10.1080/13527266.2013.775178

Goffman, Erving. (1974). *Frame Analysis: an Essay on the Organization of Experience.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gong, W., Tu, C. & Jiang, L. C. (2015). Stigmatized portrayals of single women: a content analysis of news coverage on single women and single men in China. *Journal of Gender Studies,* 26:2, 197-211. DOI:10.1080/09589236.2015.1095082

Gottzén, L. & Jonsson, R. (Eds.) (2012). Goda män och Andra män. In *Andra män. Maskulinitet, normskapande och jämställdhet*. Malmö: Gleerups.

Gottzén, L. (2014). Genus och maskulinitet. *Jämställd NU.* http://www.jamstall.nu/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Maskulinitetsteori-pdf.pdf (Retrieved 03/05/2018)

Gracia, E. & Merlo, J. (2016). Intimate partner violence against women and the Nordic paradox. *Social Science & Medicine,* 2016, 157: 27-30.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from a Prison Notebook.* London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Grady, C. (2018, March 20). The waves of feminism, and why people keep fighting over them, explained. *VOX.* https://www.vox.com/2018/3/20/16955588/feminism-waves-explained-first-second-third-fourth

Hammer, T. R. (2010). A Content Analysis of Women's Career Choices in Film. *Journal of Creativity in Mental Health*, 5:3, 260-274. DOI: 10.1080/15401383.2010.507590

Hayes, A. F. & Krippendorff, K. (2007). Answering the Call for a Standard Reliability Measure for Coding Data. *Communication Methods and Measures 1*(1), 77-89.

Heimerson, S. (2017, November 24). Metoo en häxjakt med drag av Stalins utrensningar. *Aftonbladet.* https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/kolumnister/a/Eo43MA/metoo-en-haxjakt-med-drag-av-stalins-utrensningar (Retrieved 02/05/2018)

Houston, M. & Kramarae, C. (1991). Speaking from Silence: Methods of Silencing and of Resistance. *Discourse & Society,* Vol 2, Issue 4, pp. 387–399. DOI: 10.1177/0957926591002004001

Jalmert, L. (1984). *Den Svenske Mannen.* Stockholm: Tiden.

Jewkes, R., Morrell, R., Hearn, J., Lundqvist, E., Blackbeard, D., Lindegger, G., Quayle, M., Sikweyiya, Y. & Gottzén, L. (2015). Hegemonic masculinity: combining theory and practice in gender interventions. *Culture, Health & Sexuality,* 17:2, 112-127. DOI: 10.1080/13691058.2015.1085094

Jia, S., Lansdall-Welfare. T., Sudhahar, S, Carter, C & Cristianini, N. (2016). Women Are Seen More than Heard in Online Newspapers. *PLoS ONE* 11(2):e0148434. DOI: 10.1371/journal.pone.0148434

Kavada, A. (2015). Creating the collective: social media, the Occupy Movement and its constitution as a collective actor. *Information, Communication & Society*, 18:8, 872-886. DOI: 10.1080/1369118X.2015.1043318

Kissack, H. (2010). Muted voices: a critical look at e-male in organizations. *Journal of European Industrial Training,* Vol. 34 Issue: 6, p.539-551. DOI: 10.1108/03090591011061211

Kramarae, C. (1981). *Women and men speaking.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Krøløkke, C. & Sørensen, A. (2006). *Gender Communication: Theories and Analyses. From Silence to Performance.* Sage Publications.

Kupers, T. (2005). Toxic masculinity as a barrier to mental health treatment in prison. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 61: 713-724. DOI: 10.1002/jclp.20105

Lagerwall, K. (2017, December 12). DN/Ipsos: 7 av 10 har påverkats av Metoo-uppropen. *Dagens Nyheter.* https://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/dnipsos-7-av-10-har-paverkats-av-metoo-uppropen/ (Retrieved 07/05/2018)

Mannheimer, E. (2017, December 17). Regeringen lägger fram förslag om samtyckeslag. *SVT.* https://www.svt.se/nyheter/inrikes/uppgifter-regeringen-infor-samtyckeslagen (Retrieved 24/03/2018)

Mannila, S. (2017). *Women and men in the news: Report on gender representation in Nordic news content and the Nordic media industry.* Copenhagen: Nordic Council of Ministers. DOI: 10.6027/TN2017-527

Martin, P. (1998). Why can't a man be more like a woman? Reflections on Connell's masculinities. *Gender & Society,* 12 (4): 472-74. DOI: 10.1177/089124398012004008

Matthes, J., & Kohring, M. (2008). The content analysis of media frames: Toward improving reliability and validity. *Journal of Communication*, 58, 258–279. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00384.x

Matthes, J. (2009). What's in a Frame? A Content Analysis of Media Framing Studies in the World's Leading Communication Journals, 1990-2005. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly,* Vol 86, Issue 2, pp. 349 - 367. DOI: 10.1177/107769900908600206

Meares, M. M., Oetzel, J. G., Torres, A., Derkacs, D., & Ginossar, T. (2004). Employee mistreatment and muted voices in the culturally diverse workplace. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 32(1), 4-27.

Moscato, D. (2016). Media Portrayals of Hashtag Activism: A Framing Analysis of Canada's #Idlenomore Movement. *Media and Communication,* 2016, 4(2), pp. 3-12. DOI: 10.17645/mac.v4i2.416

Måwe, I. (2018, March 8) Svensk metoo-rörelse störst genomslag i Norden. *Nationella sekretariatet för genusforskning, Göteborgs Universitet.* https://www.genus.se/nyhet/svensk-metoo-rorelse-storst-i-norden/ (Retrieved 17/5/2018)

Neuendorf, K. (2002). *The Content Analysis Guidebook.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Neuendorf, K. (2010). Content Analysis – A Methodological Primer for Gender Research. *Sex Roles* (2010) 64:276–289. DOI: 10.1177/1097184X16664952

Nilsson, M. (2016). Journalists in Sweden. *World of Journalism Study.* https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/31694/1/Country_report_Sweden.pdf

Nordberg, M. (2000). Hegemonibegreppet och hegemonier inom mansforskningen. In *Hegemoni och Mansforskning. Rapport från Nordiska Mansforskningsworkshopen i Karlstad 19-21/3 1999* (Eds. Folkesson, P., Nordberg, M. & Smirthwaite, G.). Karlstad: Jämställdhetscentrum, Univ.

Oftung, K. (2000). Men and gender equality in the Nordic countries. In I. Breines, R. W. Connell, and I. Eide (Eds.), *Male roles, masculinities and violence: A culture of peace perspective.* (p. 143–162). Paris: UNESCO.

O'Toole, A. M. (2016). Portrayals of Gender in the Media: A Content Analysis Approach to Identifying Gender Oppression and Legitimation of Patriarchy in Magazine Advertisements. Theses, Dissertations and Capstones. Paper 1008. Marshall University.

Pandevski, S. et al. (2018, January). Dokument #metoo. *Faktum,* p. 8-19.

Patterson, C., Emslie, C., Mason, O., et al. (2016). Content analysis of UK newspaper and online news representations of women's and men's 'binge' drinking: a challenge for communicating evidence-based messages about single-episodic drinking? *BMJ Open, 2016,* 6:e013124. DOI: 10.1136/bmjopen-2016-013124

Scheufele, B.T. & Scheufele, D.A. (2010). Of spreading activation, applicability, and schemas: Conceptual distinctions and their operational implications for measuring frames and framing effects. In *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives,* 2010, pp. 110-134. (Eds. D'Angelo P. & Kuypers J.A.). New York: Routledge.

Scheufele, D.A. & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of Communication,* 57, 9-20.

Schützer Nelander, K, (2017, November 24). Män och #metoo – dela med dig av dina tankar! *SVT*. https://www.svt.se/nyheter/inrikes/man-och-metoo-dela-med-dig-av-dina-tankar (Retrieved 09/05/2018)

Schwartz, E. (2018, February 5). Här är alla metoo-upprop. *Fria Tidningen.* http://www.fria.nu/artikel/132419 (Retrieved 29/04/2018)

Skagegård, E. (2017, December 9). Hennes forskning hånades – #metoo kan ge upprättelse. *Svenska Dagbladet.* https://www.svd.se/hennes-forskning-hanades--metoo-kan-ge-upprattelse (Retrieved 02/05/2018)

Smith, A. M. (1999). *Girls on film: Analysis of women's images in contemporary American and "Golden Age" Hollywood films.* Masters thesis. Cleveland State University, Cleveland, OH.

Statistics Sweden (2016). Women and Men in Sweden - Facts and Figures 2016. https://www.scb.se/Statistik/_Publikationer/LE0201_2015B16_BR_X10BR1601ENG.pdf

Stough-Hunter, A. & Hart, J. (2015). Understanding masculine identity among anti-war veterans, NORMA, 10:3-4, 219-235. DOI: 10.1080/18902138.2015.1102382

Strömbäck, J., Nord, L. & Shehata, A. (2012). Swedish Journalists: Between Professionalization and Commercialization. In Weaver, D. H., & Willnat, L. (Eds.), *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century* (p. 306-319). New York: Routledge.

SoI - Svenskarna och Internet (2017). *Läsa dagstidning på nätet.* http://www.soi2017.se/titta-lyssna-och-lasa/lasa-dagstidning-pa-natet/ (Retrieved 8/4/2018)

Swedish Government (2017). *A feminist government ensures that decisions promote gender equality.* http://www.government.se/4a5757/globalassets/government/dokument/socialdepartementet/fem-reg-infoblad-aug-2017_en.pdf (Retrieved 24/3/2018)

Swert, K. de (2012). *Calculating inter-coder reliability in media content analysis using Krippendorff's Alpha.* University of Amsterdam. https://www.polcomm.org/wp-content/uploads/ICR01022012.pdf

TT (2017, November 26). #prataomdet banade väg för #metoo. *Svenska Dagbladet.* https://www.svd.se/prataomdet-banade-vag-for-metoo (Retrieved 02/05/2018)

Terkildsen, N. & Schnell, F. (1997). How Media Frames Move Public Opinion: An Analysis of the Women's Movement. *Political Research Quarterly,* Vol 50, Issue 4, p. 879-900. DOI: 10.1177/106591299705000408

Valenzuela, S. (2013). Unpacking the use of social media for protest behavior: The roles of information, opinion expression, and activism. *American Behavioral Scientist, 57*(7), 920-942. DOI: 10.1177/00027642134 79375

Van Baalen, S. (2013). *"Cry, the beloved country." News sources and media framing of the Marikana massacre in South Africa.* Bachelor's Thesis. University of Uppsala. http://sebastianvanbaalen.se/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Sebastian-van-Baalen-Bachelors-thesis.pdf (Retrieved 8/4/2018)

Von Krogh, T. (2012). *Understanding Media Accountability: Media Accountability in Relation to Media Criticism and Media Governance in Sweden 1940-2010.* Sundsvall: Dep. of Information Technology and Media, Mid Sweden University.

Vreese, C. H. de (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal + Document Design,* 13(1), 51-62.

Werner, B. (2018, March 24). Metoo skulle hanterats bättre av medierna. *GP Göteborg Posten.* http://www.gp.se/kultur/kultur/metoo-skulle-hanterats-b%C3%A4ttre-av-medierna-1.5447957 (Retrieved 25/3/2018)

White, R. C. (2017, December 22). Toxic Masculinity as a Mask for Anxiety. *Psychology Today.* https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/culture-in-mind/201712/toxic-masculinity-mask-anxiety (Retrieved 05/04/2018)

World Economic Forum. (2017). *The Global Gender Gap Report 2017.* http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2017.pdf

Zacharek, S., Dockterman, E. & Sweetland Edwards, H. (2017) Person of the Year 2017: The Silence Breakers. *Time Magazine.* http://time.com/time-person-of-the-year-2017-silence-breakers/ (Retrieved 02/05/2018)

Zachariasson, H. (2017, December 4) 45 procent av svenska män tycker me too-uppropen är överdrivna. *SVT.* https://www.svt.se/nyheter/inrikes/45-procent-av-svenska-man-tycker-metoo-ar-overdrivet (Retrieved 09/05/2018)

Åkerblom, A. (2009). *När kvinnor fick rättigheter: Sverige 1700 till 2010.* Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Appendices

Appendix A. **List of branch-specific #MeToo sub-movements in Sweden**

1. #akademiuppropet, academics
2. #allmänhandling, authorities
3. #arbetsfel, HR managers
4. #banaväg, transport branch
5. #bortabrahemmavärst, against sexual violence in homes
6. #deadline, journalists
7. Publishing and literature branch (without hashtag)
8. #givaktochbitihop, military
9. #hjälpaintestjälpa, personal assistants
10. #ickegodkänt, school personnel
11. #ikulturarbetarnasrum, cultural workers
12. #imaktenskorridorer, politicians
13. #inationensintresse, students from Uppsala
14. #intebättreförr, pensioners
15. #intedinhora, prostitute women and transpersons
16. #inteförhandlingsbart, union movement
17. #inteminskuld and #påvåravillkor, bank, finance and insurance branch
18. #killtheking, hardrockers
19. #konstnärligfrihet, visual arts
20. #larmetgår, emergency service
21. #lexlotta, against sexual violence in homes
22. #listanärstängd, night club personnel
23. #lättaankar, female sailors
24. #medvilkenrätt, jurists
25. #metoobackstage, women backstage and behind cameras
26. Fashion branch (without hashtag)
27. #nomore, school managers
28. #nustickerdettill, health care
29. #närmusikentystnar, music branch
30. #nödvärn, police
31. #omniberättarlyssnarvi, psychologists
32. #orosanmälan, social workers
33. #påminvakt, safety and security branch
34. #rättattbearbeta, adequate care after assault
35. Coordination group (not connected to a specific movement)
36. #sanningenskagöraerfria, free church
37. #sistabriefen, marketing, pr and communication branch
38. #sistasetet, workout branch
39. #sistaspikenikistan, construction and architecture branch
40. #skrattetihalsen, comedians
41. #skiljagnarnafrånvetet, farmers
42. #slutavverkat, foresters
43. #slutvillkorat, women with disabilities
44. #slådövörattill, deaf community
45. #ståuppigen, martial arts
46. #teknisktfel, tech-industry
47. #theshowisover, cirkus art
48. #timeout, athletes
49. #tystdansa, dancers
50. #tystdiplomati, oversees authorities
51. #tystiklassen, school pupils
52. #tystnadtagning, actresses
53. #underytan, against honour violence
54. #utanskyddsnät, women and non-binary persons with addictions, abuse problems, criminal connections and prostitution
55. #utantystnadsplikt, doctors
56. #utgrävningpågår, archeologists
57. #vardeljus, Swedish church
58. #vikokaröver, restaurant branch
59. #virivermurarna. Swedsih Prison and Probation services
60. #visjungerut, singers
61. #visparkarbakut, horseback branch
62. #vispelarintemed, gamers
63. #vårdensomsvek, patients
64. #youthworktoo, youth workers

(#dammenbrister and #ålandocskå were removed from the original list since they are movements from Swedish-speaking Finland)

Source:
Dagens Nyheter. *"Här är vallöftena som vi i metoo-uppropen vill se"*. 05/03/2018.
https://www.dn.se/debatt/har-ar-valloftena-som-vi-i-metoo-uppropen-vill-se/

Appendix B. **Results of inter-coder reliability test**

Results of inter-coder reliability test #2 and explanations for low agreement measures (n=11)

	Variable	Kalpha (α)	Agreed (n)	Disagreed (n)	Explanation for low agreement
Descriptive variables	Date	1,0000	11	0	Perfect agreement
	Gender	1,0000	11	0	
	Publication	1,0000	11	0	
	Type of article	1,0000	11	0	
	Section	0,7835	9	2	This descriptive variable should be very easy to code. Therefore the disagreement between the coders was looked into. One of the disagreements was due to unclear placement of the section on the printed article. The other was due to confusion of coder 2, which was later clarified with her.
Frame element variables	Main topic	0,5670	7	4	The low topic reliability can have two explanations: • Coders code the same categories, but interpret them differently either as the main topic or subtopic. 2/11 of the pretest articles account for this. • An article can discuss more than 2 topics. As coders need to make the decision of which topics to include and which to exclude, this can cause variation in the coding. This problem is addressed by underlining that it is only the *most prominent* topic and subtopic that needs coding.
	Subtopic	0,2462	4	7	
	Actor	0,5942	7	4	The same situation as with the topic variables applies to the actor variable. In this test, the same category appeared in 1/11 of the cases as both main actor and subactor. However, the variance of this variable was also addressed by going through the category alternatives with the external coder and clarifying their differences.
	Subactor	0,4474	6	5	
	Benefit	0,3438	6	5	The pretest pointed out how categories 1 and 2 of the benefit variable are challenging to differentiate between. The coding instructions for this category were revised as well as clarified to the other coder.
	Risk	0,4112	8	3	The reliability measure for risks indicated how one coder is more prone to interpret risks in the text than the other. The concept of 'risk with regards to men' was clarified both verbally to the other coder as well as refined in the codebook instructions.
	Responsible for benefit	0,4588	6	5	The responsibility variables indicated how the differentiation of the categories 'social movement/#MeToo' (70) and 'society' (10) can be difficult to tell apart. This was agreed on

	Responsible for risk	0,3762	8	3	with both coders and also revised in the codebook.
	Solution	0,5227	7	4	The low measure of the solution variable is explained by the vagueness of the variable in itself. The coders agreed on coding '999' (unknown) unless a solution is offered explicitly.
Masculinity role variables	Hegemonic	–0,4528	7	4	The male role variables demonstrate how the Kalpha test does not work flawlessly with binary variables, as variation in these cases is considered very rare and thus any disagreement results in very low reliability. In this category, the coders disagreed on 3/11 of the cases. However, the Kalpha returned a negative value.
	Toxic	–0,2905	7	4	Same as above. Disagreement in 2/11 of the cases.
	Complicit	1,0000	11	0	Perfect agreement
	Marginalised	0,0000	10	1	This result indicates an absence of agreement though only 1/11 of the cases were disagreed on. This is due to the disagreed category being very rare, i.e. only one '1' in a sea of 0s.
	Subordinate	1,0000	11	0	Perfect agreement
	Caring	0,0000	10	1	See explanation from the 'marginalised' variable above.
	Alternative	0,7529	10	1	These variables also had 1/11 cases of disagreement each, but with the difference that there was a broader variation in the coding of both 0 and 1, i.e. coding '1' was no longer as rare as in e.g. variables 'marginalised' or 'caring'. This results in higher reliability measures.
	Victim	0,7529	10	1	
Total mean		**0,5233**	**9**	**2**	

Appendix C. **Variables excluded from or combined in the cluster analysis**

Variables excluded from the cluster analysis due to low frequencies
and those combined with each other and then included in the cluster analysis

	Excluded	Combined and included
Main topic	Feminism, gender equality	
Subtopic	Importance of education	
	Media's responsibility	
Main actor	Politics/male	Society & Society/children
	Education	Media, Media/female & Media/male
	Culture/female	Workplace, Workplace/female & Workplace/male
	Other	
Subactor		Society, Society/male & Society/children
		Media, Media/female & Media/male
		Politics & Politics/male
		Workplace, Workplace/female & Workplace/male
		Culture, Culture/female & Culture/male
Benefit	Other	
Risk	Other	
Responsible for benefit	Politics	Society/female & Society/children
	Education	Media, Media/female & Media/male
		Workplace, Workplace/female & Workplace/male
		Culture, Culture/female & Culture/male
Responsible for risk	Society	
	Society/female	
	Politics	
	Workplace	
	Education	
	Culture	
	Culture/male	
Solution	Political responsibility	
	Other	

Appendix D. **List of articles in sample data**

0001.20171014. Frida Söderlund. Weinstein är inte en ensam förövare | Aftonbladet

0002.20171016. Evelyn Schreiber. Sexuella övergrepp behöver ingen hashtag - DN.SE

0003.20171016. Frida Boisen. Hörni alla schysta män, var är ni i den här debatten? | Expressen

0004.20171016. Helena Lindblad. Bäva månde världens fi... många, många fler vittnesmål. - DN.SE

0005.20171017. Adam Cwejman. Stå aldrig på förtryckarens sida

0006.20171017. Atilla Yoldas. Vi ignorerar att det är män som är förövarna. Expressen

0008.20171017. Erika Hallhagen. Dags för er killar att agera – här är tio tips | SvD

0010.20171017. Frida Svensson. Vill du verkligen vara en man som får s...fter flera nej? | SvD

0011.20171017. Jens Liljestrand. Vi vill ha beröm – för att vi inte är svin | Expressen

0015.20171018. Erica Treijs. Även dagisbarn kan säga- Stopp, min kropp! | SvD

0019.20171018. Max Hällström. Nu är det nog – vi män måste förstå | Aftonbladet

0021.20171018. Niklas Wahllöf. Visst är det sorgligt a...s privata upprop mot svinerier - DN.SE

0024.20171019. Emanuel Karlsten. #metoo sätter medieskiftet i blixtbelysning

0025.20171019. Evelyn Schreiber. Beteenden ovärdiga en rättsstat - DN.SE

0026.20171019. Fredric Karén. #metoo sätter etiken under hård press | SvD

0028.20171019. Niklas Ekdal. Vid internets skampåle är...ldig tills motsatsen bevisats. - DN.SE

0029.20171019. Robert Hannah. Efter #metoo – det här kan vi göra nu | Aftonbladet

0030.20171020. Åsa Linderborg. Kändisarna stjäl syret | Aftonbladet

0031.20171020. Emanuel Karlsten. De ofällbara gick att fälla

0032.20171020. Eva Franchell. Det har varit en riktigt jävlig vecka | Aftonbladet

0034.20171020. Kajsa Haidl. Jag vet att det låter vansinnigt – men han skulle skyddas till varje pris - DN.SE

0035.20171020. Karin Olsson. Lägg ner tramset om att medierna mörkar sexövergrepp | Expressen

0037.20171021. Björn Wiman. Ingen kan säga "inte alla män" när alla kvinnor vittnar om samma sak - DN.SE

0039.20171021. Lisa Irenius. Kvinnor – gör inte som män – med makt följer ansvar | SvD

0040.20171021. Nisrit Ghebil. Det är inte synd om er ångerfulla män. | Aftonbladet

0041.20171022. Jens Liljestrand. Dickpicsen blottar ett manligt kontrollbehov | Expressen

0043.20171022. Peter Hjörne. Nej är inte bara ett ord!

0044.20171022. Peter Wolodarski. Kanske bevittnar vi det bästa som hänt jämställdheten på länge - DN.SE

0045.20171022. Tove Lifvendahl. Jaget, könet och vi-et | SvD

0047.20171023. Jack Werner. Ryktesspridningen kvinnor emellan är en överlevnadsmekanism - DN.SE

0048.20171023. John Sjögren. Porren gör att män beter sig som svin | SvD

0049.20171023. LARS LINDSTRÖM. Kanske blir fler män bättre förebilder för sina söner | Expressen

0053.20171024. Lisa Magnusson. Gör upp med myten om vad sexövergrepp är. - DN.SE

0054.20171024. Nils Pettersson och Torsten Tullberg. Dags för männen att ta tag i den omoderna mansrollen - DN.SE

0057.20171025. Cássandra Winther. Min son ska inte vara rädd – för att bli man | Aftonbladet

0065.20171027. Åsa Beckman. Övergreppen sker ofta i skydd av det lojala brödraskapet - DN.SE

0066.20171027. Britta Svensson. Att kalla sig feminist och samtidigt antasta går inte | Expressen

0067.20171027. Eva Franchell. Om alla män kan hålla tyst en stund | Aftonbladet

0069.20171027. Karin Alfredsson. "Det är männen och pojkarna som måste förändras" | SvD

0070.20171027. Malin Ullgren. Du har fått lära dig att acceptera det mesta utom våldtäkt - DN.SE

0074.20171029. America Vera Zavala. Nu är det dags för männen att minnas

0076.20171029. Clara Lidström. Välkommen till vår värld! | Expressen

0080.20171030. Kjell Corneliusson. Vi gör sexbrottslingar till offer i Sverige idag | Aftonbladet

0082.20171031. Nisha Besara. Därför måste alla män rannsaka sig själva | Expressen

0085.20171101. Torbjörn Elensky. Efter #metoo kan ingen längre gömma sig | SvD

0087.20171103. Johanna Frändén. Balansen i samhället är rubbad efter #metoo | Aftonbladet

0092.20171106. David Eberhard. Jämställdhet handlar inte om att kvinnor är offer

0095.20171107. Kristina Lindquist. På scen kan man leka med kvinnliga fantasier om hämnd - DN.SE

0097.20171107. Susanna Popova. Sextrakasserier – oavsett kön | SvD

0099.20171109. Åsa Beckman. Tänk dig att någon börjar onanera när du pratar med en kund - DN.SE

0100.20171109. Emanuel Karsten. Jag är en del av problemet | Aftonbladet

0102.20171109. Johan Hilton. Därför ursäktas alltid sexismen i skådespelarbranschen - DN.SE

0104.20171109. Lisa Magnusson. Nu är de manliga genierna livrädda - DN.SE

0106.20171110. Alf B Svensson. Många män har dålig karaktär

0107.20171110. America Vera-Zavala. Mansrollen står inför öppen ridå

0109.20171110. Hans Linde, RSFU. Stoppa övergreppen redan innan de sker | Aftonbladet

0110.20171110. Lars Ring. Typiskt svensk teaterstil kan ha lett till övergrepp | SvD

0112.20171111. Catia Hultquist. Louis C K har åtminstone förstått maktbalansens dilemma - DN.SE

0113.20171111. Flera. Nej, du kallar inte min dotter "hora" | Aftonbladet

0116.20171112. Karin Olsson. Mikael Persbrandt och Louis CK gör något rätt | Expressen

0117.20171112. Merit Wager. Sexuella trakasserier gör skolan till en otrygg plats | | SvD

0120.20171113. John Sjögren. Alla män, vi bär skuld för de sexuella övergreppen | SvD
0121.20171113. Flera. Ni osynliggör dem som utsätts, RFSU | Aftonbladet
0123.20171113. Lisa Magnusson. Det finns något som är ännu svårare än att säga förlåt - DN.SE
0124.20171113. Maria Schottenius. Nya kvinnorörelsen största som hänt sedan rösträtten - DN.SE
0127.20171114. Emanuel Karlsten. Därför är landslagets könsordsattack ett problem | Debatt | Expressen
0128.20171114. Erik Helmersson. Jösses pojkar, fortsätt diskutera Metoo i sociala medier - DN.SE
0131.20171114. Helena Granström. Att vilja trycka upp någon mot väggen är inte fel | Expressen
0132.20171114. Linnéa Claeson. Maktstrukturerna sitter i juristbranschens väggar – dags att riva dem! | Aftonbladet
0133.20171114. Lisa Irenius. Nu skrivs historia – övergreppens kultur rensas ut | SvD
0134.20171114. Mårten Schultz. Rättsstaten skadas – nu krävs rannsakning | SvD
0138.20171115. Johanne Hildebrandt. Den tafsande chefen fick sparken | SvD
0139.20171115. Nisha Besara. Jämställdhetskampen har länge skitit i männen | Expressen
0141.20171116. Hans Linde. Skolan missar chans att hindra övergrepp | Aftonbladet
0143.20171117. Adam Svanell. Hur farligt är det att tala om mäns ansvar? | SvD
0150.20171118. Björn Wiman. Den nya kvinnorörelsen visar att allt kan förändras – när man minst anar det - DN.SE
0152.20171119. Fredrik Kärrholm. Vad föräldrar bör berätta för sina döttrar | SvD
0153.20171119. Hanna Larsson.Jo, snälla killar kan också våldta kvinnor | Aftonbladet
0154.20171119. Kashif Virk. Metoo bör även rymma kvinnorna som bär slöja | Debatt | Expressen
0155.20171119. Linus Larsson. Teknikvärlden har ursäktat mäns övergrepp för länge - DN.SE
0156.20171119. Susanna Popova. Män är djur? | SvD
0158.20171120. Aleksandra Boscanin. Slöja inget skydd mot sexuella trakasserier
0160.20171121. Anna Charlotta Gunnarson. Det gör fysiskt ont att minnas all sexism i mediebranschen - DN.SE
0161.20171121. Evelyn Schreiber. Alla onda ting behöver inte hänga ihop - DN.SE
0162.20171121. Hanne Kjöller. Nu avskaffas mängdrabatten för övergrepp | Expressen
0164.20171121. Jenny Strömstedt. Manliga stjärnor och chefer tog sig friheter | Expressen
0166.20171121. Malin Ekman. Komprometterande uppgifter måste fram | SvD
0167.20171122. Åsa Fahlén, Jaara Åstrand, Lärarfacken. Vi lyssnar – och är skyldiga att agera | Aftonbladet
0170.20171122. Noa Bachner. Är dags att skapa dålig stämning nu | Expressen
0173.20171123. Daniel Swedin. #MeToo tvingar oss att handla | Aftonbladet
0175.20171123. Ewa Stenberg. Fler avgångar att vänta när resningen fortsätter - DN.SE
0176.20171123. Johan Esk. Fler kvinnliga ledare är inte ett behov – det är ett krav - DN.SE
0179.20171123. Lisa Magnusson. Vi kan kalla det könsmobbning - DN.SE
0180.20171123. Tove Lifvendahl. Det kommer att finnas ett före och efter #metoo | SvD
0181.20171124. Åsa Beckman. Även för män är #metoo en befrielse - DN.SE
0184.20171124. Flera. Här vågar man inte tala om övergrepp | Aftonbladet
0185.20171124. Flera. Ut med porren från barnens klassrum | Aftonbladet
0186.20171124. Greta Thurfjell. Kan man med gott samvete fortfarande "skilja på verk och person"?- DN.SE
0188.20171124. Johanna Frändén. Vi har fått kryssa mel...anliga olyckorna – MeToo | Aftonbladet
0189.20171124. Li Bennich-Björkman. Vetenskapens alfahannar missbrukar kvin...tt få makt | SvD
0190.20171124. Lisa Magnusson. Genierna finns tack och lov inte på riktigt - DN.SE
0194.20171124. Pontus Bäckström. "Övergrepp handlar nästan alltid om makt"
0196.20171124. Torbjörn Nilsson. Sex, lögner och politik | Expressen
0198.20171125. Björn Wiman. Det finns en särskild plats i helvetet för män som förgriper sig på sina elever - DN.SE
0203.20171125. Zozan Inci. Nu måste ni män stå för era handlingar | Aftonbladet
0205.20171126. Catia Hultquist. Vad är det vi ska se upp med, svinerierna eller spåren de lämnar? - DN.SE
0206.20171126. Eric Hilmersson. Från och med nu kostar det att bryta mot reglerna
0207.20171126. Evelyn Schreiber. Guillou har levt ett liv där han inte behövt lyssna på kvinnor - DN.SE
0209.20171126. Julia Mjörnstedt Karlsten.Inga män som kränkt eller hånat sitter säkert | Expressen
0211.20171126. Magnus Jägerskog, Bris. Skolan har ett särskilt ansvar att säkra miljön | SvD
0214.20171127. Elisabeth Hjorth. Nu flyttas skammen från offer till förövare - DN.SE
0217.20171127. Kajsa Hessel, Johan Lindholm. Läget akut – vi måste få bort machokulturen | Aftonbladet
0219.20171127. Ludwig Schmitz. Tiden på Klubben präglades av förakt för svaghet - DN.SE
0221.20171127. Mattias Larsson. Hennes berättelse är precis likadan | Expressen
0222.20171127. Petter Tiger, Fredrik Sarman. "Vad gör vi med vår ilska efter #metoo?" | SvD
0225.20171128. Åsa Regnér. Kvinnornas ilska får inte vara förgäves | Aftonbladet
0227.20171128. Frida Söderlund. Nu gör vi upp med vad det innebär att vara kvinna | Aftonbladet
0229.20171128. Malin Ullgren. Kvinnor som saknar social bildning är chanslösa i männens salong. - DN.SE
0230.20171128. Olivia Svenson. Berättelserna från metoo är vår jävla verklighet | Aftonbladet
0234.20171129. Elaine Eksvärd. Säg "förlåt" i stället för "utredning" ännu en gång
0236.20171129. Fredric Karén. Sakta i backarna, Åsa Linderborg | SvD
0238.20171129. Malin Fransson. När tystnaden bryts händer det något - DN.SE
0239.20171129. Maria Rydhagen. Titta noga på dinosaurierna – snart finns de inte längre | Expressen
0240.20171129. Maud Eduards. Gör om gör rätt | Aftonbladet
0241.20171129. Niklas Wahllöf. Det är kulten av framgång som ligger bakom vår tids övergrepp - DN.SE

0242.20171130. Diana Zadius. Bara samarbete kan stoppa sexismen
0248.20171202. Ann Heberlein. Feministretorik löser inte manlighetens kris | Debatt | Expressen
0250.20171202. Jenny Strömstedt. Kvinnorna tyckte inte om det, Jan och Staffan | Expressen
0253.20171202. Ola Wenström. Man behöver inte vara kvinna för att up...nkiga värderingar | SvD
0256.20171203. Johan Esk- Är hon som våldtog "Emma" en ledare i dag? - DN.SE
0258.20171203. Peter Wolodarski. Viktigt att publicera, men glöm aldrig att det handlar om människor - DN.SE
0259.20171204. Pia Berg. Byggjobbare skolas in i machokulturen. | Aftonbladet
0260.20171204. Susanna Popova. Jämställdhet på allvar, för alla | SvD
0264.20171206. Flera. Manliga politiker i #viktigastevallöfte...ll göra upp med sexismen | Aftonbladet
0266.20171206. Malin Ekman. Kliv upp ur sandlådan, mediechefer! | SvD
0267.20171206. Ulf Malmros. Hela min familj har gått sönder av ryktet | Aftonbladet
0269.20171207. Csaba Perlenberg. Männen borde ha läst upp vittnesmålen | Expressen
0270.20171207. Dominika Peczynski. Tråkigt att det blev Too Much av MeToo | Aftonbladet
0272.20171207. Emmylou Tuvhag. Attendos ägare – nu har ni chansen att förändra | SvD
0276.20171207. Malin Lernfelt. De "goda" snubbarnas ord var skitiga lögner | Debatt | Expressen
0277.20171208. Evelyn Schreiber. De anonyma kvinnorna är Metoo-revolutionens dolda hjältar - DN.SE
0278.20171208. Frida Boisen. Nobelpriset har blivit ett skämt | Expressen
0281.20171208. Johanna Frändén. Varför sa ni inte att kulturmannen var en våldtäktsman? | Aftonbladet
0283.20171209. Maria Gunther. Viktigt att avslöja de osynliga strukturerna, både i naturen och i samhället - DN.SE
0291.20171210. Linda Snecker. Ge kvinnliga forskare hälften av pengarna | Aftonbladet
0292.20171210. Per Wirtén. Nu måste vi göra politik av #metoo | Expressen
0293.20171211. Catia Hultquist. Catia Hultquist- #Metoo är männens röda piller - DN.SE
0295.20171211. Ewa Stenberg. Ovanlig enighet om att Metoorevolution behövs - DN.SE
0296.20171211. Fredrik Svenaeus. Filosof- Håll huvudet kallt – finns risker med #metoo | SvD
0305.20171214. Susanna Popova. I kölvattnet av #metoo | SvD
0310.20171216. Katrine Marçal. Taylor Swift har tjänat miljarder på att vara typiskt kvinnligt jobbig - DN.SE
0313.20171218. Robert Aschberg. Nättroll finns det gott om – även i journalistkåren | Aftonbladet
0315.20171219. Susanna Popova. Lär metoo-förövare att hålla händerna i styr | SvD
0319.20171220. Janerik Larsson. Mike Pence som förebild | SvD
0320.20171220. Jonas Lundström. MeToo slår fel när vi män stängs ute | Aftonbladet
0321.20171221. Cássandra Winther. 200 000 skäl till att sluta säga 'jävla fitta' | Aftonbladet
0323.20171222. Evelyn Schreiber. Äntligen vågar fler flickor anmäla - DN.SE
0325.20171225. Patrik Holmgren. Männens fel att kvinnor inte får en rättvis lön
0328.20171229. Britt-Marie Mattsson. Hårt slag för den svenska självbilden
0334.20171230. Nina Björk. När Metoo blev Wetoo - DN.SE
0335.20171231. Yvonne Maria Werner, historiker. I metoo är kvinnan enbart ett offer | SvD
0337.20180103. Katharina Berndt Rasmussen. Filosof- Visst gör det ont när makten omfördelas | SvD.pdf
0338.20180104. Jörgen Jonasson. Kvinnoraseriet har sparkat männen ur deras gyllene palats - DN.SE
0339.20180108. Åsa Linderborg. Ett svartvitt Metoo förminskar kvinnor | Aftonbladet
0342.20180109. Isobel Hadley-Kamptz. Borde inte en socialist förstå kraften i kollektivet? | Expressen
0343.20180109. Ledarredaktion. Systemet som sviker kvinnor - DN.SE
0344.20180111. Eduards, Jansson, Rönnblom. Det behövs en ny skarp maktutredning efter metoo
0347.20180111. Ivar Arpi. Metoo gör alla kvinnor till offer | SvD
0348.20180111. Zozan Inci, Roks. Det är nog nu – stoppa männens könskrig | Aftonbladet
0349.20180112. Åsa Regnér, Ann-Sofie Hermansson. Dags att samla kraften i Sveriges jämställdhetsarbete | GT | Expressen
0350.20180112. Johanna Frändén. Vi ska få välja när vi vill vara vulgära | Aftonbladet
0354.20180114. JENNIFER WEGERUP. Män, tror ni inte att vi vill ha er också? | Expressen
0356.20180115. Åsa Linderborg. Ducka inte för det svåra | Aftonbladet
0357.20180117. Greta Thurfjell. Uselt sex hör också hemma i #metoo - DN
0358.20180117. Lena Lind Palicki. Tyvärr! Vi behöver ord som beskriver härskartekniker | SvD
0361.20180119. Madelaine Levy. Dåligt sex är inte olagligt | SvD
0364.20180121. Lisa Magnusson. #metoo handlar inte om vem som gjort fel - DN.SE
0365.20180121. Petter Larsson Här har du dina siffror, Hedenmo | Aftonbladet
0367.20180122. Åsa Linderborg. Journalister hatar inte kvinnor | Aftonbladet
0368.20180122. Maria Brander. En revolution som glöder – men segern är inte vunnen | Expressen
0370.20180123. Maria Ludvigsson. Den misogyna vänsterns skam | SvD
0371.20180126. Isobel Hadley-Kamptz. Leif GW Persson ska inte agera sexdomare | Expressen
0374.20171024. Johan Norberg. #metoo handlar varken om offren eller förövarna | Aftonbladet

CODEBOOK

A content analysis of Swedish
press portrayals of men & #MeToo

by Elissa Shaw

As an appendix for a thesis
in partial fulfilment of a
Master in Science degree

Master in Communication
University of Gothenburg
May 2018

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

1.1. **Purpose of the study**

This codebook is used for a content analysis which will identify media frames in newspaper coverage of the #MeToo movement in Sweden. The content analysis is conducted as part of a master's thesis project, which focuses on the ways men have been portrayed or how their role has been discussed in relation to the movement by the Swedish press. Only opinion pieces, such as editorials or columns, were selected for the study in order to capture the subjective views on how journalists and other contributors as representatives of the Swedish society actually perceive the male subject in relation to #MeToo. The news media outlets selected for this study are five Swedish newspapers: Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter, Expressen, Göteborgs Posten and Svenska Dagbladet. Only articles available in the online versions of these outlets were selected for the study. Theoretically the study draws on the Media frame theory as defined by Entman (1993) and various masculinity studies (e.g. Connell, 1995), which the coding scheme in this codebook also bases on.

1.1.1. **Media framing meets cluster analysis**

While framing has been defined by many a different scholar, Robert M. Entman's (1993) is generally the most recognised one. He suggests that to frame is "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular *problem definition*, *causal interpretation*, *moral evaluation*, and/or *treatment recommendation*" (1993, p. 52). Matthes & Kohring (2008) have further operationalised these four elements in Entman's definition into a cluster analysis strategy, which the coding scheme of this study is also based on.

For this study the frame element categories were operationalised regarding the research focus as follows:

- *problem definition:* the central issue/s discussed in the article and the most important actor/s related to the issue/s

- *moral evaluation:* the benefits i.e. positive effects and the risks i.e. negative effects of the #MeToo phenomenon with regard to men or the male role

- *causal interpretation:* identifying which actor/s are considered responsible for the benefits and risks of the moral evaluation variables

- *treatment recommendation:* the possible solution offered in the article to the problem

The variables for these categories were derived partly from Matthes & Kohring's study (2008) but mostly from an inductive qualitative reading process of 10% (n=37) of the population of articles gathered for this study and simplifying the emerging variables into a selection of main variables under topics, actors, benefits, risks and solutions.

Each of the four elements is coded using basic content analytic techniques. After the coding procedure, the variables are analysed for patterns with hierarchical cluster analysis, which aims to

identify patterns or frames that emerge from co-occurrences of frame elements in the articles. Matthes and Kohring (2008) argue that their method is more reliable and objective than many an other, since with their strategy the "frames are neither identified beforehand nor directly coded with a single variable" (p. 264).

1.1.2.   Operationalising male roles

The second section of the coding scheme deals with identifying different male roles. This is to complement the cluster analysis framework with perspectives from masculinity studies, making the coding process more holistic. It also develops the aspect of male identity portrayal, which is not covered much per se within the frame element categories. Based on work by e.g. Connell (1995), Gottzén & Jonsson (2012), Kupers (2005), Oftung (2000) and Buschmeyer (2013), the following variables aim to identify specific masculinity roles presented or discussed in the articles:

- *hegemonic masculinity:* refers to the socially constructed norm of seeing masculinity as dominating over femininity or other subordinate expressions of masculinity; links men to patriarchal power, privileges and economic advantages, and in Western societies to being white, heterosexual, middle-class, physically strong, and suppressive of emotions; also some essentially positive traits can be considered hegemonic, e.g. pride, solidarity or success (Connell, 1995 & Kupers, 2005)

- *toxic masculinity*: refers to socially regressive male traits that foster violent domination, competition, and the devaluation of women and other gender subordinates; also related to psychological traits such as self-reliance and stifling emotions (in the vein of 'boys don't cry'); generally refers to the most negative aspects of hegemonic masculinity (Kupers, 2005)

- *complicit masculinity:* refers to men who do not fit into the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity but do not challenge the facets of gender structure either, thus benefitting from being male and becoming complicit to the system (Connell, 1995)

- *marginalised masculinity:* refers to men who do not have access to hegemonic masculinity (in most cultural contexts) due to certain characteristics such as race, social class or disability, yet they subscribe to hegemonic norms such as aggression, suppression of emotions and physical attributes (Connell, 1995)

- *subordinate masculinity:* refers to men lacking in characteristics of hegemonic masculinity and expressing opposite qualities, e.g. feminine, emotional or homosexual such (Connell, 1995)

- *caring masculinity:* refers to men being involved as a care-giver in their family (e.g. children, spouse, parents, siblings) and taking more responsibility of the domestic sphere; also working in typically "feminine" professions and caring for oneself (Oftung, 2000)

- *alternative masculinity:* refers to men who deliberately oppose ideals of hegemonic masculinity, seek to perform alternative models of behaviour, and strive to be a role model for this type of masculinity (Buschmeyer, 2013)

- *men as victims:* refers more specifically to the victimisation of men surrounding the #MeToo phenomenon, e.g. getting falsely accused as a perpetrator or the generalising proposition that 'all men' as guilty of sexual misconduct. This category is not based on any masculinity theory or research but rather derived inductively from qualitative reading of the population of articles.

1.2. Procedure

The articles for the coding process have already been selected by the researcher; thus no sampling is done by the coder. However, if articles that **1)** do not relate to #MeToo specifically OR **2)** do not discuss the male role in any way happen to come across, they may be discarded. An initial filtering has been done to exclude articles that do not meet these requirements.

The codebook is divided into three sections, each with different functions: descriptive variables, frame element variables and male role variables. A description of each section's function is given in the respective chapter before the actual coding categories.

2. Codebook

2.1. General instructions

- All coding should pertain to what you can *actually read* in the article, not what you interpret or assume is meant.

- Read through the article at least once, taking coding notes as you go, or twice: first skimming through and then giving it more thought the second time.

- Always read the coding instructions and the given example first. If a code cannot be filled out or is unknown, use 999 for numerical codes and 'u' for verbal string codes.

- There are some subcategories where certain 'other' variables can be specified. Fill in these subcategories **only** if possible – otherwise leave them blank.

- Excess coding of the category 'other' should be avoided, but do not be afraid to use it if genuinely unsure.

- All variables are numeric except if otherwise indicated.

- Code **every category** that is presented on a light grey background, e.g.:

2.2.6.	Type of article

- Code categories that are presented on a dark grey background **only** if you code 'other' (0) in the previous category, e.g.:

2.2.6.1.	Other type of article

2.2. Descriptive variables

The first set of variables is descriptive, assisting in identifying the formal aspects of the articles.

2.2.1.	Article ID
Instructions:	Fill in the four-digit ID-number that is indicated in the beginning of the file name or at the top of the printed page.
Example:	An article file is named *0121.20171113. Flera. Ni osynliggör dem som utsätts, RFSU	Aftonbladet.* Code this variable as '0121'.
2.2.2.	**Coder ID**
Instructions:	Fill in your coder number C1, C2, etc.
2.2.3.	**Date**
Instructions:	Fill in the date when the article was published. Use the following format: 'YYYYMMDD'. If the article has been edited and a date has been given for that, give the original date of publishing.
Example:	The article is first published on Dec, 3rd 2017 and then updated on Dec, 4th 2017. Code this variable as '20171203'.
2.2.4.	**Gender of author**
Instructions:	Fill in the code corresponding to the gender of the author. If there are several authors with different genders, code 'mixed'. If there are several authors of the same gender, code as if they were one author ('female' or 'male'). Code 'unknown/none' if the gender of the author does not clearly match either of the first two binary gender definitions. 1 = female 2 = male 3 = mixed 999 = unknown/none
Example:	An article is written by two female authors and one male. Code this variable as '3' (mixed).
2.2.5.	**Publication**
Instructions:	Fill in the corresponding code of the publication. 1 = Aftonbladet 2 = Dagens Nyheter 3 = Expressen 4 = Göteborgs Posten 5 = Svenska Dagbladet

2.2.6.	Type of article
Instructions:	Fill in the code corresponding to the type of article. This is often stated before or after the article. 1 = lead/editorial column (*ledarartikel)* 2 = personal column (*kolumn, krönika)* 3 = guest column (*debattartikel)* 4 = commentary or opinion (*kommentar, åsikt)* 0 = other, please specify in the subcategory 2.2.6.1. below 999 = unknown

2.2.6.1.	Other type of article
Instructions:	Write down in lowercase the type of article not found in the variable list above.

2.2.7.	Section
Instructions:	Fill in the code corresponding to the section in which the article is published in. This is often stated before or after the article. Sometimes it can also be found in the URL-link of an article, which is stated at the top of the page. 1 = lead/editorial page (*ledarsida)* 2 = news (*nyheter)* 3 = culture (*kultur)* 4 = politics (*politik)* 5 = guest page (*debatt)* 6 = column (*kolumn, krönika)* 0 = other, please specify in the subcategory 2.2.7.1. below 999 = unknown/none

2.2.7.1.	Other section
Instructions:	Write down in lowercase the section not found in the variable list.
Example:	An article is found in the local section. Write/code this variable as 'local'.

2.3. Framing element variables

The second set of variables relates to the frame element categories as described above in chapter 1.1. In this section more abstract aspects such as topics and main actors of the articles are coded, which is a crucial yet challenging step in the coding process. A list of possible options has been predefined, but please also rely on your own judgement; there is always an option to specify the 'other' variable in you own words in a subcategory.

2.3.1. Problem definition

In this section the central issue or main topic of the article as well as one subtopic will be coded. The subtopic category is coded only if a specific topic can be defined. Also the main actor and possible sub-actor in the article will be coded in this section.

2.3.1.1.	Main topic
Instructions:	The main topic describes in a broad sense what an article is about, or its theme. In order to code a main topic, a mere mention is not enough; it needs to clearly be an overarching topic in the article as a whole. All articles have a main topic: it is central to the article's argument and main idea. Fill in the code corresponding to the main topic of the article. **Obs!** Code the more general category of 5 'structural problems' only if no other specific category matches. **1 = collective male responsibility**: *e.g. changing masculinity norms; men taking action; showing mutual respect; ridding of toxic behaviour* **2 = importance of education:** *e.g. change starts with children and schools; responsible parenting; change in sports culture* **3 = media's responsibility:** *e.g. avoiding hasty & false accusations; sticking to press ethics* **4 = problematic #MeToo:** *e.g. ruining reputations; labelling all men as culprits/women as victims; criminalising what is not criminal behaviour; spreading rumours; women are seen as incapable of defending themselves* **5 = structural problems:** *e.g. "roots lie deep down"; mentions of patriarchy; male norms; women's reality; culture of sexism; popular culture; porn industry* **6 = workplace culture:** *e.g. "culture of silence" (keeping quiet, protecting a perpetrator); misuse of power positions (economic, political, influential); changing workplace practices; need of stronger leadership* **0 = other**, please specify in 2.3.1.1.1.
Example:	An article talks about how schools should be porn-free areas. Code this variable as '2' (importance of education).

2.3.1.1.1.	Other main topic
Instructions:	Write down in lowercase the main topic that does not fit any of the listed variables above.

2.3.1.2.	Subtopic
Instructions:	Some articles also have subtopics. A subtopic supports the main idea of the article by giving some additional information or addressing another angle, but always comes back to the main topic. If a subtopic is identifiable, fill in the code corresponding to the most prominent subtopic of the article. Only one subtopic will be coded. **Obs!** Code the more general category of 5 'structural problems' only if no other specific category matches. **1 = collective male responsibility**: *e.g. changing masculinity norms; men taking action; showing mutual respect; ridding of toxic behaviour* **2 = importance of education:** *e.g. change starts with children and schools; responsible parenting; change in sports culture* **3 = media's responsibility:** *e.g. avoiding hasty & false accusations; sticking to press ethics* **4 = problematic #MeToo:** *e.g. ruining reputations; labelling all men as culprits/women as victims; criminalising what is not criminal behaviour; spreading rumours; women are seen as incapable of defending themselves* **5 = structural problems:** *e.g. "roots lie deep down"; mentions of patriarchy; male norms; women's reality; culture of sexism; popular culture; porn industry* **6 = workplace culture:** *e.g. "culture of silence" (keeping quiet, protecting a perpetrator); misuse of power positions (economic, political, influential); changing workplace practices; need of stronger leadership* **0 = other**, please specify in the subcategory 2.3.1.2.1. below **999 = unknown/none**
Example:	The article that argues that schools should become porn-free also addresses the fact that porn industry and sexist popular culture harms the healthy sexual development of children. Code this variable as '5' (structural societal problems).

2.3.1.2.1.	Other subtopic
Instructions:	Write down in lowercase the subtopic that does not fit any of the listed variables above.

2.3.1.3.	Actor

Instructions:	An actor refers to the person or group that is most central in the article; which instance is prompted to take action, or who's actions or opinions are in general discussed most. Fill in the code corresponding to the most important actor presented in the article. If possible, also specify the gender.
	
	10 = society: *e.g. people in general, family, friends, social media*
	    11 = female
	    12 = male
	
	20 = media: *e.g. newspaper journalism, TV, internet*
	    21= female
	    22 = male
	
	30 = politics: *e.g. politicians, government, municipalities*
	    31 = female
	    32 = male
	
	40 = workplace: *e.g. employers, employees, business, fields/branches*
	    41 = female
	    42 = male
	
	50 = education: *e.g. schools, universities, upbringing in general*
	    51 = female
	    52 = male
	
	60 = culture: *e.g. arts & culture, institutions, popular culture*
	    61 = female
	    62 = male
	
	70 = social movements: *e.g. #MeToo & its submovements, feminist movements*
	
	0 = other, please specify in the subcategory 2.3.1.3.1. below
	
	999 = unknown/none

Example:	The article about porn-free schools mainly addresses schools, the education system and teachers as actors that should take responsibility in educating children about sex. Code this variable as '50' (education).

2.3.1.3.1.	Other actor
Instructions:	Write down in lowercase the actor that does not fit any of the listed variables above.

2.3.1.4.	Subactor

Instructions:	A subactor refers to an actor that is discussed in the article with less of a focus as the main actor. A subactor might have a significant role in the argument, but only in a supportive, not a central, way. Fill in the code corresponding to the most important subactor presented in the article. If possible, also specify the gender.
	
	10 = society: *e.g. people in general, family, friends, social media*
	    11 = female
	    12 = male
	    13 = children
	
	20 = media: *e.g. newspaper journalism, TV, internet*
	    21= female
	    22 = male
	
	30 = politics: *e.g. politicians, government, municipalities*
	    31 = female
	    32 = male
	
	40 = workplace: *e.g. employers, employees, business, fields/branches*
	    41 = female
	    42 = male
	
	50 = education: *e.g. schools, universities, upbringing in general*
	    51 = female
	    52 = male
	
	60 = culture: *e.g. arts & culture, institutions, popular culture*
	    61 = female
	    62 = male
	
	70 = social movements: *e.g. #MeToo & its submovements, feminist movements*
	
	0 = other, please specify in the subcategory 2.3.1.4.1. below
	
	999 = unknown/none

Example:	The article about porn-free schools also mentions how parents, homes, and society in general also play a role in how children develop their sexual understanding. Code this variable as '10' (society).

2.3.1.4.1.	Other subactor
Instructions:	Write down in lowercase the subactor that does not fit any of the listed variables above.

2.3.2. Moral evaluation

This section refers to the positive or negative effects of #MeToo or the article's specific argument regarding the role of men in terms of e.g. male behaviour or attitude. These categories can also be thought of as benefits and risks.

2.3.2.1.	Benefit
Instructions:	Fill in the code corresponding to what is considered the main benefit i.e. positive effect *with regard to the role of men* in the article. Note that not all articles state a benefit. In these cases code '999' (unknown/none). **1 = changing behaviour:** *e.g. showing mutual respect; intervening in situations; taking responsibility; men "waking up" to female reality* **2 = improving norm-critical thinking:** *e.g. changing gender norms; talking about emotions; improving sex education; changing view of women; promoting gender equality* **3 = shifting power positions**: *e.g. changes in workplace hierarchies; reclaiming bodily self-determination; challenging celebrity or genius ideals* **0 = other**, please specify in in subcategory 2.3.2.1.1. below **999 = unknown/none**
Example:	The article on porn-free schools argues that banning porn in schools with content filters would help boys and young men develop a sexual understanding that does not base on unrealistic depictions of sex and does not degrade women and girls. Code this variable as '2' (norm-critical thinking).

2.3.2.1.1.	Other benefit
Instructions:	Write down in lowercase the benefit that does not fit any of the listed variables above.

2.3.2.2.	Risk
Instructions:	Fill in the code corresponding to what is considered the main risk i.e. negative effect *with regard to the role of men* in the article. Note that not all articles state a risk. In these cases code '999' (unknown/none). **1 = false accusations:** *e.g. accusing hastily without proof; ruining reputations; criminalising what is not criminal behaviour; labelling "all men" as culprits & "all women" as victims* **2 = failed revolution:** *e.g. rejecting masculinity and becoming more gender sensitive creates more uncertainty, distrust and split in society; nothing significant happens "post-MeToo"; #MeToo victimises women even more* **3 = men "lose":** *e.g. affects their jobs, reputation and family; become overly aware of their behaviour (e.g. flirting); become depressed* **0 = other,** please specify in subcategory 2.3.2.2.1. below **999 = unknown/none**
Example:	An article posits that #MeToo has gone too far in accusing and judging individuals too quickly though the problems lie much deeper down in society and culture. Code this variable as '3' (men "lose").

2.3.2.2.1.	Other risk
Instructions:	Write down in lowercase the risk that does not fit any of the listed variables above.

2.3.3. Causal attribution

This section links the benefits and risks from section 2.3.2. to the actors from 2.3.1.3. Select which actor is considered responsible for each of the benefits or risks in their respective subcategories.

2.3.3.1.	Responsible for benefit

Instructions:	Fill in the code corresponding to which actor is deemed responsible for the benefit coded in section 2.3.2. The list of actor variables is the same independent of which benefit is in question. **Obs!** Code the overarching category '70' when referring to the #MeToo movement only in case no other category is considered directly responsible.
	
	 10 = society: *e.g. people in general, family, friends, social media*
	     11 = female
	     12 = male
	
	 20 = media: *e.g. newspaper journalism, TV, internet*
	     21 = female
	     22 = male
	
	 30 = politics: *e.g. politicians, government, municipalities*
	     31 = female
	     32 = male
	
	 40 = workplace: *e.g. employers, employees, business, fields/branches*
	     41 = female
	     42 = male
	
	 50 = education: *e.g. schools, universities, upbringing in general*
	     51 = female
	     52 = male
	
	 60 = culture: *e.g. arts & culture, institutions, popular culture*
	     61 = female
	     62 = male
	
	 70 = social movements: *e.g. #MeToo & its submovements, feminist movements*
	
	 0 = other, please specify in the subcategory 2.3.3.1.1. below
	
	 999 = unknown/none

Example:	'2' (or norm-critical thinking) was coded in 2.3.2.1. as the benefit of porn-free schools. The article in question views schools and teachers as most responsible for this. Code this variable as '50' (education).

2.3.3.1.1.	Other responsible for benefit
Instructions:	Write down in lowercase the responsible actor that does not fit any of the listed variables above.

2.3.3.2.	Responsible for risk

Instructions:	Fill in the code corresponding to which actor is deemed responsible for the risk coded in category 2.3.2. The list of actor variables is the same independent of which risk is in question. **Obs!** Code the overarching category '70' when referring to the #MeToo movement only in case no other category is considered directly responsible.
	
	10 = society: *e.g. people in general, family, friends, social media*
	      11 = female
	      12 = male
	
	20 = media: *e.g. newspaper journalism, TV, internet*
	      21= female
	      22 = male
	
	30 = politics: *e.g. politicians, government, municipalities*
	      31 = female
	      32 = male
	
	40 = workplace: *e.g. employers, employees, business, fields/branches*
	      41 = female
	      42 = male
	
	50 = education: *e.g. schools, universities, upbringing in general*
	      51 = female
	      52 = male
	
	60 = culture: *e.g. arts & culture, institutions, popular culture*
	      61 = female
	      62 = male
	
	70 = social movements: *e.g. #MeToo & its submovements, feminist movements*
	
	0 = other, please specify in the subcategory 2.3.3.2.1. below
	
	999 = unknown/none

Example:	'3' (men "lose") was coded in 2.3.2.2. as the risk of accusing individuals too quickly as culprits of sexual harassment. The article views media and especially social media most responsible. Code this variable as '20' (media).
2.3.3.2.1.	Other responsible for risk

2.3.4. Treatment recommendation

This section pertains to how men are seen in the articles as contributors to the solution of the problems exposed by the #MeToo phenomenon.

2.3.4.1.	Solution
Instructions:	Fill in the code corresponding to what is suggested as the solution to the problems displayed by the #MeToo phenomena *regarding the male role*: **1 = advancing societal change:** *e.g. taking action to change power balances; showing mutual respect; listening to women; asking consent; no more hypocrisy* **2 = changing the male norm:** *e.g. talking about emotions; talking openly about sex; encouraging sensitivity; challenging macho-culture* **3 = education:** *e.g. banning porn; banning degrading language; teaching about modern gender roles; improving sexual education* **4 = more media caution:** *e.g. journalists should get facts straight; internet rumours and social media should be controlled; taking it easy with the hasty accusations & testimonials* **0 = other,** please specify in subcategory 2.3.4.1.1. below **999 = unknown/none**
Example:	The article about porn-free schools sees banning porn as the solution to promoting healthier sexuality. Code this variable as '3' (education).

2.3.4.1.1.	Other solution
Instructions:	Write down in lowercase the actor that does not fit any of the listed variables above.

2.4. Role variables

This section aims to identify which masculine roles or profiles are present in the articles. Each role is explained shortly in the category's instructions as well as in chapter 1.1.2. Some articles might present several different roles; it is advised to code all the possible roles you identify. On the contrary, some articles might not specifically portray any role or it might be unclear to identify which one it is. In these cases, do not try to guess, but simply code 'no' or 'unknown'. If you identify a role that can be categorised as a type of masculinity that does not fit these categories, please code that in the category 2.4.9. 'Other type of masculinity'.

2.4.1.	Hegemonic masculinity
Instructions:	Hegemonic masculinity is seen as the masculinity norm that dominates in society over women and subordinate types of masculinity such as homosexuals. Refers to e.g. power structures, traditional masculinity and male privilege. *Is hegemonic masculinity present in the article?* 1 = yes 0 = no 999 = unknown
Example:	An article talks about how #MeToo is promoting gender equality by shifting power positions. Women are urged to be more responsible with acquired power than men, whom are portrayed as those typically abusing their power positions.

2.4.2.	Toxic masculinity
Instructions:	Toxic masculinity relates to socially regressive, negative hegemonic masculinity traits, e.g. sexual violence, domination, stifling emotions, alcohol abuse. *Is toxic masculinity present in the article?* 1 = yes 0 = no 999 = unknown
Example:	The article about porn-free schools gives an account of a group of school boys "pretend fucking" a female classmate and calling her a "whore".

2.4.3.	Complicit masculinity
Instructions:	Complicit masculinity refers to men who do not fit the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity but do not challenge the facets of gender structure either, e.g. "nerds", bystanders, supporters in a group. *Is complicit masculinity present in the article?* 1 = yes 0 = no 999 = unknown
Example:	An article describes how men in the IT branch are typically thought of as shy and sensitive, but still often foster a sexist and objectifying image of women.

2.4.4.	Marginalised masculinity
Instructions:	Marginalised masculinity pertains to men who do not have access to hegemonic masculinity due to certain characteristics such as race, social class or disability, yet they still tend to subscribe to hegemonic norms. *Is marginalised masculinity present in the article?* 1 = yes 0 = no 999 = unknown
Example:	An article discusses how women of race are objectified in suburban popular culture.

2.4.5.	Subordinate masculinity
Instructions:	Subordinate masculinity refers to men lacking in characteristics of hegemonic masculinity and expressing opposite qualities, e.g. emotional or homosexual. *Is subordinate masculinity present in the article?* 1 = yes 0 = no 999 = unknown
Example:	An article focuses on how #MeToo does not address the sexual violence that homosexual men face.

2.4.6.	Caring masculinity
Instructions:	Caring masculinity refers to men being involved as care-givers in their family, e.g. as a father and husband. *Is caring masculinity present in the article?* 1 = yes 0 = no 999 = unknown
Example:	An article talks about how fathers have an integral role as parents to educate their sons on healthy masculinity.

2.4.7.	Alternative masculinity
Instructions:	Alternative masculinity refers to men deliberately opposing the ideals of hegemonic masculinity, seeking to perform alternative norm-breaking models of behaviour, and striving to be a role model for this type of masculinity. *Is alternative masculinity present in the article?* 1 = yes 0 = no 999 = unknown
Example:	An article gives men instructions on how to take an active role and to start changing masculinity norms, e.g. on talking about emotions.

2.4.8.	Men as victims
Instructions:	This category pertains more specifically to the #MeToo discussion. It refers to men being to a greater or a lesser extent getting victimised, e.g. being falsely accused as a perpetrator, or generalising 'all men' as guilty of sexual misconduct. *Are men victimised in the article?* 1 = yes 0 = no 999 = unknown
Example:	An article highlights how #MeToo mistakenly portrays only women as the victim and all men as the culprits, though women can be guilty too.

2.4.9.	Other type of masculinity
Instructions:	Write down in lowercase the type of masculinity that is present in the article but that does not fit any of the listed categories above.

References

Buschmeyer, A. (2013). The construction of 'alternative masculinity' among men in the childcare profession. *International Review of Sociology,* 23(2), 290-309. DOI: 10.1080/03906701.2013.804293

Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities.* (2nd Ed). Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x

Gottzén, L. & Jonsson, R. (Eds.) (2012). Goda män och Andra män. In *Andra män. Maskulinitet, normskapande och jämställdhet.* Malmö: Gleerups.

Kupers, T. (2005). Toxic masculinity as a barrier to mental health treatment in prison. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 61: 713-724. DOI: 10.1002/jclp.20105

Matthes, J., & Kohring, M. (2008). The content analysis of media frames: Toward improving reliability and validity. *Journal of Communication*, 58, 258–279. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00384.x

Oftung, Knut. (2000). Men and gender equality in the Nordic countries. In I. Breines, R. W. Connell, and I. Eide (Eds.), *Male roles, masculinities and violence: A culture of peace perspective.* (pp. 143–162). Paris: UNESCO.