Reuters Institute Fellowship Paper

University of Oxford

AFTER #METOO: HOW THE CAMPAIGN CHANGED THE WAY NORWEGIAN JOURNALISTS WRITE ABOUT RAPE

by Thea Storøy Elnan

July 2019

Hilary and Trinity Term

Order of content

Tables and illustrations

Acknowledgements

Introduction

On 15 October 2017 a tweet with the hashtag #metoo went viral. Alyssa Milano, the American actress, encouraged women to share their stories of sexual harassment and assault on social media platforms. Her aim was to show how common these experiences are. Within 24 hours on Facebook alone, more than 12 million people had shared posts with the hashtag #metoo (CBS, 2017). 'Me too' was created by Tarana Burke over a decade earlier to give voice to survivors of sexual violence (Blumell and Huemmer 2019). The use of the term 'survivor', instead of 'victim', is a direct consequence of #metoo and will be used to describe victims of sexual violence in this paper. After it became known in October 2017 that the film mogul Harvey Weinstein had abused several actresses, the path was cleared for the #metoo campaign to grow into a global phenomenon when Milano posted her tweet. Since then, multiple powerful men have been outed for abusing women across many countries in the entertainment, food, sports, news, and tech industries.

Norway was no exception. The thousands of news articles on #metoo that were published in the Norwegian media during the winter of 2017-2018 (Retriever 2019) raised awareness of sexual abuse and forced several employers to act. At the end of 2018, 17 percent of Norwegian employees reported in a survey that their workplace had changed their guidelines to prevent sexual harassment (Elnan 2018). This may have been caused by the fact that the media portrayed sexual harassment as a structural problem in the workplace (Sletteland 2018). The media played a central role in challenging stereotypes through interviews with a wide variety of 'regular' people. Journalists interviewed survivors, industry associations, union representatives, politicians and activists, and presented statistical surveys of sexual harassment in each industry (ibid.). A large part of the coverage was therefore about measures to improve routines for handling sexual harassment in the workplace. After the first couple of months, the media turned its attention towards the political sphere, and then the articles took a more personal focus. As a consequence, three politicians and a TV presenter had to step down: Trond Giske, the deputy leader of the Norwegian Labour Party; Kristian Tonning Riise, the leader of the Norwegian Young Conservatives; Ulf Leirstein, deputy leader of the Progress Party's parliamentary group; and Davy Wathne, sports journalist and anchor in one of the largest Norwegian TV-channels, TV2.

From spring 2018 and onwards, a substantial number of news articles have been published on sexual harassment, rape and abuse. Even though it started in social media, the mainstream media was a key factor in the growth of the #metoo campaign. The continued focus on sexual harassment made other sectors decrease their tollerance for sexual harassment in the workplace. But did the #metoo

campaign influence the media sector itself? More specifically: Did the campaign change the way journalists write about sex crimes? This is the research question I will address in this article.

Myths and reality about rape in the press

Research on how the media covers sexual harassment, violence, and abuse shows that journalists in general often simplify and trivialize sexual harassment, and that this is a global phenomenon (Gill 2007). This can give an inaccurate impression of what rape is really about and is often related to cultural beliefs about rape which are called rape myths. Rape myths are thought to support and perpetuate male sexual violence against women (Payne et. al. 1999: 27). Payne et. al. (1999) developed a Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, which identifies seven key myths about rape: (1) "she asked for it," (2) "it wasn't really rape," (3) "he didn't mean to," (4) "she wanted it," (5) "she lied," (6) "rape is a trivial event," and (7) "rape is a deviant event". They have been found in the news media all over the globe (see for example Gill 2007; Bendixen et. al. 2014; Blumell 2017; Fadnis 2018).

Rape myths can be found in different forms in news coverage of rape. For instance, journalists often write about sexual assault as scandalous or highly unusual incidents, while the truth is that these are quite common (Judd and Easteal 2013; Moore 2009). Second, the stories are often about the harassment conducted by a male leader of a big company than the more common everyday harassment among co-workers. Third, sexual harassment is often portrayed as something both the perpetrator and the survivor are responsible for, reinforcing the stereotypes about 'deserving' survivors and 'provoked' perpetrators (Easteal et. al. 2014). Fourth, if the news coverage is sympathetic to the survivor, the perpetrator is described using dehumanising language, such as 'monster', 'beast', or 'ripper' (Clark 1992; O'Hara 2012). The survivors seldom feel that such descriptions are accurate, as the perpetrator more often than not is someone they are close to, like a friend, partner or family member (Kruse et. al. 2013). A focus on the perpetrator as an 'outsider' may reinforce the impression that sex crimes are rare actions committed by deviant individuals, rather than a widespread social practice (which is the case, ibid.; Gill 2007; Kunst et. al. 2018).

Some have argued that these inaccurate portrayals of sex crimes in the news media traditionally have reflected: journalism's predominantly male and white constituency; the prevalent stereotypes associated with both rape and sex; and the media's tendency to prefer individual to societal or cultural explanations of crime (Benedict 1992; Meyers, 1994). In their study of newspaper coverage of sex crimes in England, Soothill and Walby (1991) find that the media "are very loath to consider that sex crimes may be related to men's and women's position in society," preferring instead to focus on a few disturbed or "sick" individuals who commit atrocities.

Myths about sexual assault are prevalent in the Norwegian press as well, albeit not to the same degree as in the United States and the United Kingdom (Kunst et. al. 2018; Risbakken 2018). The reason why rape myths are less prevalent in the Norwegian press might be because Norway is the second most gender-equal country in the world, according to the The Global Gender Gap Report (World Economic Forum 2018). Norway is a welfare state which facilitates gender equality through nurseries, parental leave, etc. The term 'state feminism' was coined by a Norwegian, Helga Hernes, in the late 1980's (Hernes 1987). It means a state where women don't have to choose futures that demand greater sacrifices from them than are expected from men, or where injustice on the basis of gender would be eliminated without an increase in other forms of inequality (Hernes 1987). Women have a relatively high status in Norwegian society, and in countries where this is the case women also experience less sexual violence (Yodanis 2004).

Another reason why rape myths are less prevalent in Norway might be the strong and unanimous feminist movement of the 1970s. Because of an overall agreement among the different branches of the women's movement, measures such as crisis centers, a women's university, daycare centres, the right to abortions, but also a hotline for survivors of domestic violence were already in place by the mid-70s. The struggle against sexualized violence was an important part of the Norwegian women's movement. The movement had an impact both on laws and regulations in this field, and on the development of the organizations and structures that the state now uses to deal with some of these issues. The main strategy towards sexual harassment was to demand judicial protection against employers, which basically meant illegalizing sexual harassment (Roseneil et. al. 2010). Today Norwegians display lower levels of sexism, lower endorsement of rape myths, and higher feminist identification than, for example, Americans (Kunst et. al. 2018).

There are few studies on how the Norwegian press covers sexual crime. What we know is that the media in Norway has few obstacles to hinder journalists from writing about taboo issues such as rape, as Norway is number one on the World Press Freedom Index (Reporters Without Borders 2019). Whether and how journalists write about rape is therefore an editorial decision. Both the strong culture of gender equality and the high level of the press's freedom might tell us something about what kind of change we could expect to see after a social movement such as #metoo. It might mean that change would come easily since Norwegians already are responsive to measures for more gender equality and the press is already open to write about such changes. But it could also mean that we shouldn't expect much change, since there isn't much to improve relative to other countries. But the stories about rape that are covered in the Norwegian press are still mostly of the extreme assault cases and of survivors who fit into the stereotypical picture of an 'ideal victim' (Drager 2011).

Even though the situation of the Norwegian press may be ahead of other countries, it can definitely be better.

It is plausible that journalists were influenced by #metoo, especially as they were the ones who pushed the movement forward and wrote stories of sexual harassment almost daily for approximately a year. One might think that journalists would have become more alert to how widespread sexual harassment is after writing or reading stories that have exposed the extent to which harassment happens. According to an editor in Aftenposten, one of Norway's biggest newspapers, the size of the problem, that it happens so often and to so many women, was the most important lesson from #metoo in Norway – both for society, but also for journalists (Sørheim 2017). Also, relatively egalitarian Norwegian journalists could therefore be more likely now than before the #metoo movement to include fewer rape myths and more context or structural background in their stories, and therefore give the readers a more accurate picture of sexual crime than before the campaign started.

Why this topic is important

News is a cultural product that reflects the dominant cultural assumptions about what social relations and arrangements are deemed normal (Gill 2007: 113-114). But also, what the media writes affects people's attitudes (Gill 2007; Easteal et. al. 2014), and sexual harassment and rape are not exceptions (Easteal et. al. 2014; Galdi et al. 2014). If people are presented with stories about sexual abuse that do not reflect reality, rape myths might be maintained. Journalists therefore need to be more aware of rape myths when we write about sexual harassment and abuse.

If we are to change the long history of cultural tolerance of violence against women, it is imperative that news reports about violence be reported in an accurate, unbiased manner regardless of the gender of the survivor and perpetrator. It is therefore essential to find out whether the #metoo campaign changed the way journalists write about sexual crimes. If so, it might have an impact on people's attitudes towards sexual violence. If not, the media is likely to continue to uphold outdated rape myths. In either case it is important and helpful to formulate a set of guidelines on how journalists should write about sexual harassment and abuse. At the end of this article I will outline a proposal for such guidelines.

Rape myths: The dependent variables

To explore whether #metoo has changed the way Norwegian newspapers cover sexual abuse, I will use news stories about rape as the unit of analysis. I will then look for rape myths within these stories, and these rape myths will be my dependent variable. As discussed above, rape myths are

cultural beliefs thought to support sexual violence against women (Payne et. al. 1999: 27). I expect that an increase in knowledge about sexual violence will reduce the number of rape myths. And because media coverage related to #metoo gave new information about sexual abuse, we should expect #metoo to have led to a decrease in the number of rape myths in the news coverage of rape in its aftermath.

Research on rape myths prevalent in Norway highlights three different cathegories (Bendixen et. al. 2014; Kunst et. al. 2018; and Risbakken 2018). These include myths that discredit the survivor, accusations about the survivor's story being false and the view of the perpetrator being a 'monster'.

Discrediting the survivor: 'she wanted it' or 'asked for it'

As discussed, the research on rape myths in the Norwegian press is inadequate. We do however know a lot about rape myths among judges in Norway, thanks to research conducted by Bendixen et. al. (2014). The most prevalent rape myth among Norwegian judges is the belief that the survivor provoked the rape by arousing the man sexually and therefore must partly blame herself (Bendixen et. al. 2014). She may have provoked it by dressing or behaving provocatively or flirtatiously (Gill 2007: 139). If a woman walks home alone after dark, goes to an afterparty with strangers, dresses sexily or gets drunk, she is taking a risk of being harassed and abused. The news articles that promote these kinds of discrediting rape myths might describe what the survivor was wearing when she was raped, how she was behaving and whether she had consumed alcohol or other drugs. The stories might include words like "drunk", "on drugs", "flirtatious", "was wearing a miniskirt", etc.

False accusations: 'she lied'

Another myth that is central to both the criminal justice process and to news reporting of rape is the idea that many women "make up" accusations of rape. Allegedly, they do this to disavow a sexual encounter that they regret and do not wish to take responsibility for. This leads people to doubt whether a rape actually occured. While we cannot exclude the possibility that this happens from time to time, we should keep in mind that it is neither an easy nor an unproblematic task to accuse someone of rape: the accuser will be exposed to intrusive examinations, and may face public scrutiny of her sexual relationships and stigmatization. The opposite is often true. Many women do not press charges, because they are afraid of not being believed in court, by the police, friends, and the media. The fact that only around 1-3 percent of Norwegian rape cases end with punishment can work as an additional discouragement to report the crime (Kripos 2018; Østlie et. al. 2015).

This myth is about the woman's credibility. Is the news article doubtful of whether the event actually took place? This can be seen by the use of doubting words, such as "the so-called rape", "doubt", "allegedly", "supposed to have happened", "asserted", "the survivor is not trustworthy", "revenge", "voluntary", etc. There might be a chance that such words are used by the journalist because there has been no verdict in the case yet. Most crime reporters would be very careful before stating that a criminal act has happened before the trial is over. But it is intereseting anyway to include this as a variable in order to measure the prevalence of doubt in articles about rape. The news articles that are promoting this rape myth might also use negative comments to describe the survivors or cite people who claim the survivor's accusation as false, like that she (or he) lied, does not know what he or she is talking about, etc. (Blumell and Huemmer 2019).

An opposition to the negative comments is the use of supportive comments towards the survivor in news articles about rape. For instance citations of someone who supports the survivor and think he or she is telling the truth. Earlier studies have shown that female sources defend survivors more than male sources, and that survivors are rarely included as a source to defend themselves (Blumell 2017). In the Norwegian case, the use of supportive comments, either by the survivors themselves or by others, might affect two issues: Firstly, if survivors are supported in news coverage, it might downplay some of the rape myths as the supporting comments give a more nuanced image of what the rape really was about. But on the other hand, inclusion of supportive comments might also mean more use of rape myths because of the journalistic value of 'balancing' news articles: If the journalist includes supporting comments towards the survivor, she or he will also have to include citations from someone defending the accused perpetrator. The perpetrator's defender might be likely to accuse the survivor of lying, not telling the whole truth, etc., which are rape myths measured in this article. The usage of supportive comments might therefore have an effect on the usage of rape myths and the results in this study. I'll therefore include a variable measuring the presence of supportive comments in news articles about rape. The variable is not defined as a rape myth in the theoretical framework and will therefore not be included as a component of the rape myth variables.

Rapists as deranged strangers
The final myth that often structures Norwegian media reporting of rape is the idea that "real" rape is conducted by a deranged individual who attacks unfamiliar victims. This myth is built on the idea that only horrible men who are strangers to the survivor can be perpetrators. Also, if the perpetrator comes from another country, this is likely to be mentioned. He (or she) is seen as a beast, psychologically ill, and not as a spouse, friend or family member, which is most often the case (Kruse

et. al. 2013). The framing of the perpetrator as a stranger or a monster is, among other things, caused by journalists who traditionally have reported on cases of assault rape rather than rape cases within families etc. (Gill 2007). Words used to describe the accused in reporting of rape promoting this myth might therefore be "monster", "sick", "deranged", "rapist", "foreigner", "stranger", etc.

If the volume of stories of sexual abuse that have surfaced during #metoo has had any effect on journalists, it is plausible to think that these three rape myths are less likely to be promoted in the news coverage of sex crimes after #metoo. This expectation leads me to my first hypothesis.

H1: There are fewer rape myths in the Norwegian news coverage of rape after #metoo.

Other possible influences on the usage of rape myths: independent variables

Female sources

Journalists are dependent on sources and people to interview in order to write good and accurate stories. Male sources are used more often in news coverage than female sources (Ross 2007; De Swert and Hooghe 2010; Semujju 2015; Narayana 2015; Blumell 2017). This is also the case in Norway, where women have been underrepresented in the media for many years (Eide 2001; Høidahl 2004; Aalborg 2009).

Men are far more likely to accept rape myths (Suarez and Gadalla 2010). This is also the case in Norway (Kunst et al 2018). Men demonstrate more positive attitudes towards sexual assault, are more likely to blame the survivor, and tend to be more tolerant of sexual harassment than women (Russell and Trigg 2004; van der Bruggen and Gruhh 2014). Norwegian men report less support for the #metoo campaign than Norwegian women (Kunst et al. 2018). They also report more frequently that the campaign went too far and would have no positive effects (Elnan 2018; Keldsen 2018). The Norwegian/Swedish author Jan Guillou even said in an interview with Aftenposten that after #metoo, men wouldn't dare to give women a hug (Korsvold 2017).

The fact that male sources are more likely to accept rape myths can influence the news stories about rape, and therefore create more rape myths in the news coverage if they are overly represented. Indeed, Blumell and Huemmer (2017) found that only 13 percent of headlines from the news coverage of the Access Hollywood scandal in the US were from a survivor's perspective, even though the whole case was about the then-presidential candidate Donald Trump sexually harassing women. They concluded that perpetrators' stories still dominate news coverage. #Metoo promoted survivors' voices and gave a completely different story than earlier of how prevalent sexual harassment is in the world. By including more stories with a survivors' perspective, but also a female perspective (as most survivors are female), we should expect to get a different worldview than the

traditional dominating one, mostly told by men. If the sources are female, or survivors, it is likely that fewer rape myths will be expressed in the news articles (Suarez and Gadalla 2010).

H2: Stories with more female and survivor sources include fewer rape myths.

The gender of the journalist

If women in general are less eager to accept rape myths, this is likely to be the case for female journalists as well. Indeed, female journalists are more likely to write about sexual harassment in a non-stereotypical way than men because they, on average, have different personal beliefs and values (Shoemaker and Reese 2013). For instance, Fadnis (2018) found that female journalists in India are more actively trying to change the ways that sexual assault is covered. They do this by employing non-traditional story angles, like reporting on legal reforms and social changes aimed at making the lives of women better. The male journalists were more likely to report on the accused, instead of promoting the survivor's story.

What women report on and how they write about it also differs from men. Female journalists are for instance more interested in human-interest stories and how different individuals are affected by changes in society (Gill 2007: 124). The fact that female reporters in general tend to write differently than their male colleagues leads me to my third hypothesis:

H3: Female journalists are less likely to present rape myths in their writings than male journalists.

The inclusion of context

As already noted, sexual harassment has earlier been written about as something unusual and sensational. But during the #metoo campaign in Norway, we learned something very important: 1) viewing all the stories about sexual harassment together, it became clear that sexual harassment is a structural problem that has affected most women; 2) in the past women have been too uncomfortable to tell the stories they told during #metoo, precisely because of the assumption that it happens very rarely. To stand out and be the one that was unfortunate enough to be abused is not a kind of exposure that most people prefer.

One result of #metoo might therefore be that media outlets have become more aware of the systematic nature of the problem of gender violence and harassment, at least more aware than they have been before. Indeed, according to McDonald and Charlesworth (2013), the context in which the sexual harassment occurred is not something that has been mentioned often in media stories about rape and abuse. My hypothesis is that this awareness has led journalists to include more contextual information about the prevalence of gender violence when they report on rape stories. But also that journalists who include context also will include fewer rape myths in their articles. For instance, if

the article includes statistics showing how rape is most often conducted by a family member or friend, it might educate the readers to not assume that the perpetrator is generally a stranger. If the article includes quotes from experts in the field, she or he might give the reader an explanation of why a short skirt is not responsible for a rape happening.

In other words: Context might give the readers a more nuanced picture of rape. I therefore expect that journalists who include more context when covering rape, such as rape not being something that only happens to a certain subgroup of women, also include fewer rape myths. Giving context for sexual abuse might be done, for instance, by using statistics to show how widespread it is. It might also be done by giving a briefing of the historic background of sexual harassment, for instance by referring to similar cases from the past or other women's stories. It might also be shown by including experts' comments or excerpts from research articles on the phenomenon, showing that sexual harassment is something non-sensational that can be discussed in a balanced way.

H4: Articles about rape that include context will include fewer rape myths.

Other variables that are included in the analysis are whether the story is published in a liberal or conservative news outlet or whether the news story is about a famous person. I've also included control variables such as whether the journalist is reporting from a trial. In these news stories, the journalists seldom interview the two parties but rather refer to what has been said and done in court. This might make the stories less prone to include nuances about rape but rather more likely to include rape myths. I've also included a control variable measuring the number of words used to write the stories. The greater the length of the stories, the more likely it is that the journalists include statistics, expert voices or scientific reporting. A third control variable measures whether the survivor is a male. This is included in order to see whether the gender of the survivor might affect the results. The last control variable measures whether the story includes graphic descriptions of violence to control for the sensational and extreme cases of rape that journalist often write about (and less often the most common and 'normal' ones).

Method: Content analysis

Given the large number of news stories on rape published during a year, I have limited the years and publications to make the study manageable. This method is called purposive sampling (Riffe et. al. 2014). The analysis includes the major news outlets for print and online articles in Norway. Two time periods were chosen to investigate whether news coverage of rape changed due to #metoo: The first time period is 15 October 2016 – 15 October 2017 (one year before the breaking news about the sexual harassment conducted by the film mogul Harvey Weinstein reached international

attention). The second time period is 10 March 2018 until 10 March 2019 (the year after the coverage of #metoo quietened down in Norway). I assume that these two time periods should be fairly similar with the exception that one is before and the other is after #metoo. While it is difficult to be sure that no other factor may have caused the differences in the two samples, I will proceed on the assumption that the periods are not systematically different, since they are not that far apart in time.

The articles were sampled from Retriever, a Scandinavian archive for media articles. It includes almost all Norwegian articles written in national and local newspapers, magazines and journals since 1945 and all published digital articles (except articles published by Dagens Næringsliv and Morgenbladet). The keyword used for searching and finding articles was the Norwegian word for "rape": "voldtekt". This gave me 2364 articles for the first time period and 2656 for the second. There has been a rise in the number of articles about rape, but the difference is small. A simple random sample was drawn from these articles to make the sample more achievable to study. This was done by using a random numbers table to select 200 numbers between 1 and 2364 for the first period and similarly 200 numbers between 1 and 2656 for the second time period. In doing so I have excluded opinion pieces (which Retriever does not filter out) and articles that only mention the word "rape", but that are not about rape cases, and sampled the next article in line. The total number of articles in the sample is 400. I carried out the coding of the articles personally.

An a priori design was used by first developing a codebook before coding began (Riffe et al., 2014). I created nine dichotomous indicators to measure rape myths. The first three rape-myth variables relate to whether the survivor *was being discredited* by descriptions of her or his behaviour, clothing and whether she or he was described as being drunk/on drugs. Four variables relate to the description of *the accused being a stranger*, foreigner, deranged, or drugged. The last two variables relate to whether the survivor is *accused of being false*: one variable measuring whether the articles include citations from someone stating the survivor is a liar or other negative comments about the survivor's trustworthiness, the other whether the journalists use doubting words to describe the rape, like "the so-called rape" etc. In addition, I've included a variable measuring whether the articles cite someone who supports the survivor. I've done this in order to see whether survivors are supported or not in news stories. The variable is not part of the nine rape myth variables as it is not defined as a rape myth in the theoretical framework.

The dichotomous indicators were analyzed using bivariate analysis (cross-tabulations). To analyse the continuous variables, I've used t-tests and compared means. A variable with all the rape myth

variables merged was used as the dependent variable when looking at the general prevalence of rape myths.

I also developed three linear regression models in order to test the linear correlation between the different variables. A linear correlation is chosen instead of, for instance, a curvelinear one in order to understand how rape myths are directly linked to #metoo and different traits of journalism. Model one tests the relation between rape myths and the change in time before and after #metoo. This is done in order to understand the bivariate effect of the #metoo movement on rape myths. The second model tests the relation between rape myths, source use, gender of the journalist and use of contextual factors. These are all the variables this study has hypothesised will have a significant effect on the usage of rape myths. The third tests the relation between rape myths and all variables, including control variables. A rape myth index including the nine rape myths was used as the dependent variable in all three models.

Results

H1: There are fewer rape myths in the Norwegian news coverage of rape after #metoo

Rape myths, as they are described in this paper, occur in 42 percent of the Norwegian articles about rape (N = 400). There has been a small decrease in the use of all the different rape myths in news articles about rape after #metoo: Of the 200 coded articles from before the #metoo campaign, 44 percent included rape myths. This was true for 39 percent of the 200 articles after #metoo, a difference of 5 percentage points. However, the difference is relatively small and not statistically significant. This is probably because the sample is small. It is likely that a significant result will be found in a bigger sample.

Likewise, the regression models show no significant difference in the usage of rape myths between the two time periods (R2=.005, F(1.98), p = .106, see table 1). The results of the regression indicate that the time difference before and after #metoo only explained 0.5 percent of the variance. This might indicate simply that enough time has not passed after #metoo for change to happen in Norwegian journalism (see more on this under Discussion).

Table 1: Three linear regression models for rape myths in Norwegian media.

Model	(1)	(2)	(3)
Before/after #metoo	-0.095	-0.056	-0.024
	(0.067)	(0.066)	(0.071)
Nb. female sources		-0.02	-0.019
		(0.031)	(0.035)
Female journalist		0.04	0.08
		(0.082)	(0.086)
Context		-0.315***	-0.295**
		(0.086)	(0.093)
Survivor incl. as source		0.159	0.119
		(0.109)	(0.112)
Accused incl. as source		0.332**	0.224
		(0.110)	(0.119)
Liberal media		0.083	0.111
		(0.076)	(0.079)
Supportive comments		0.314***	0.337***
		(0.098)	(0.103)
Famous rapist			0.00
			(0.087)
Violence description			0.212*
			(0.106)
Trial			0.161*
			(0.074)
Male victim			0.033
			(0.128)
Pedophilia			0.063
			(0.099)
Total nb. words			0.00
			(0.00)
Constant	0.560***	0.510***	0.375***
	(0.048)	(0.057)	(0.074)
R^2	0.005	0.097	0.130
N	400	398	372

Note: Std. error in paranthesis. The table shows the results for three linear regressions models. The dependent variable is a rape myth index. A positive coeffisient means that the effect of the variable is likely to lead to more use of rape myths in Norwegian news articles about rape. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Of the nine different variables that measure rape myths, the one measuring whether the articles use words that may indicate doubt about the survivor's story to describe the rape (like "the so-called rape", "allegedly") was the most prevalent one. This might be, as already noted, because such doubtful words are often used in the Norwegian press since most crime reporters would be very careful to state that a criminal act has happened before the trial is over. However, even in some of the stories which report from verdicts where the accused is found guilty, doubting words are still used. This might be because journalists are so used to implementing this kind of language when writing about rape cases, or it may show us that journalists themselves have internalized rape myths. The description of the rapist as a stranger is used in 11 percent of the articles. This is a high number compared to most of the other rape myths (see the histogram below) but still shows a low usage of this rape myth.

The prevalence of each rape myth before and after the #metoo movement. In percentages.
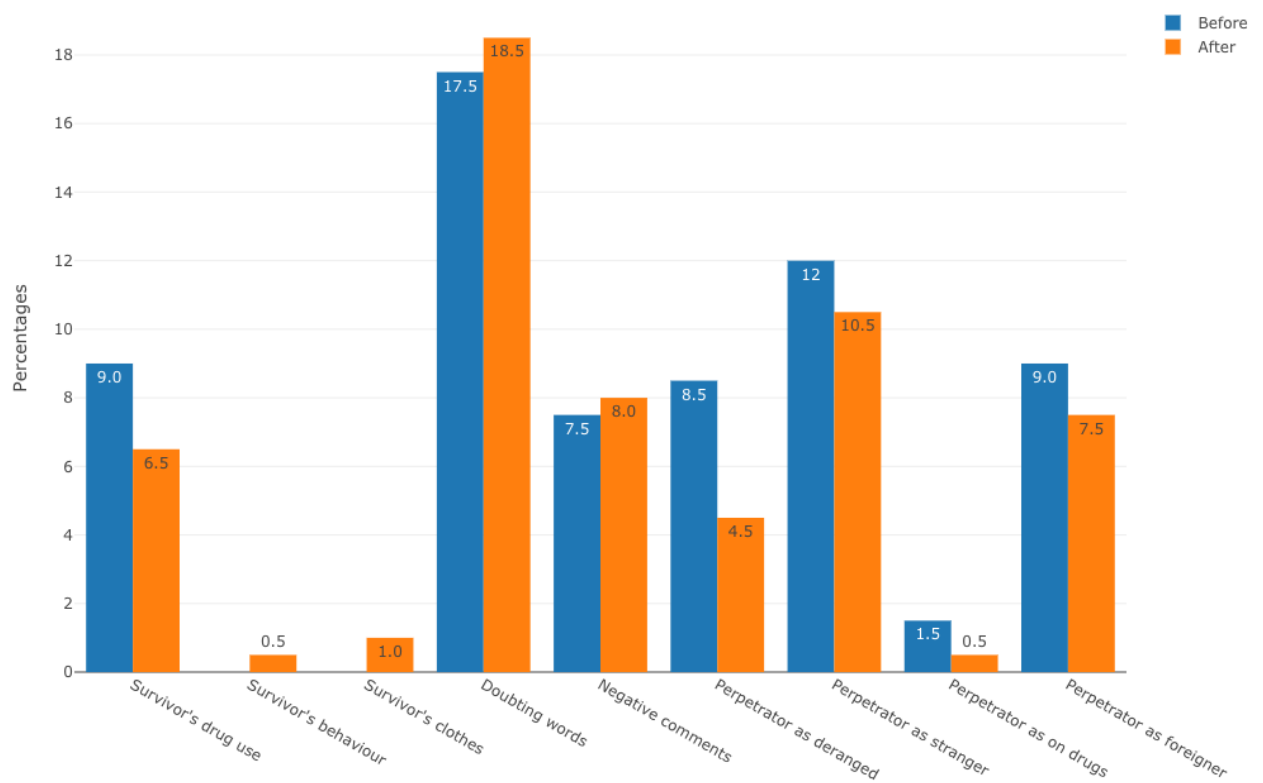
The inclusion of quotations from people supporting the survivor is present in 15 percent of the Norwegian articles about rape. That is almost twice as much as the usage of negative comments about the survivor (used in only 8 percent of the articles). The effect of articles including quotations from people supporting the survivor is the only one which is significantly different before and after #metoo: Before #metoo 1 in 10 articles used such supportive comments. After #metoo the number was 1 in 20. This means that after #metoo there's a tendency that journalists include less citations from people who support the survivor ($X2$ (1, N = 400) = 8.77, p <.01). This could mean that the survivors' own voices and testimonies are seen as enough to legitimize the story and that the story therefore don't really need other sources stating the trustworthiness of the survivor. On the other side, the lack of supportive sources can be interpreted in a less optimistic way: the reason why so many women came forward with their stories about sexual violence was because they together felt enough support to actually tell their stories. If journalists include fewer supportive sources after #metoo, they might downplay the #metoo movement itself by not maintaining the level of support in society that the #metoo movement called for and not looking for sources that support the survivors. The effect of supportive comments on usage of rape myths is also stronger than the effect of most of the other variables in the regression models, even with the control variables (see table 1). This means that if a news article about rape includes supportive comments towards the survivor, the article is likely to also include rape myths. As already noted, this might be related to the journalistic value of 'balancing' news articles and giving space to both sides of the story, including the supporters of the perpetrator.

Almost none of the news articles in my sample included descriptions of the survivor's behaviour or clothing. Whether the survivor had consumed alcohol or other drugs was noted in 8 percent of the articles before #metoo and 9 percent of the articles after. However, this type of information in the coded news articles was often noted in conjunction with description of the survivor not being in a state to refuse the intercourse and therefore to prove the survivor's case.

H2: Stories with more female sources include fewer rape myths
This is Perhaps counterintuitive, but before #metoo women (M = .85, SD = 1.38) were more frequently used as sources in rape stories than men (M = .70, SD = .90). After #metoo, however, this gender source gap has narrowed, as the number of male sources increased and almost reached the level of female sources (M = .82, SD = 1.06). However, this change is very small and not significant. Women are still the most used sources in stories about rape (for women: M = .87, SD = 1.20).

What is noteworthy is the source use in general in these kinds of stories. It is very low and the average is 1.7 persons per story (this average is more or less the same both before (1.64) and after (1.73) #metoo). This might be because approximately 40 percent of the rape stories in the Norwegian press are reports from trials. In these news stories, the journalists seldom interview the two parties but rather refer to what has been said and done in court. They may include a comment or two from the lawyers, but seldom more than that. Another reason why the number of sources is low might be because there hasn't been a tradition of writing long stories about rape cases and therefore journalists haven't had the space to include different expert sources, survivors or accused, and others. This is evident when one looks at the descriptive data for these variables: Expert sources are used in only 11 percent of the stories, survivors in 13 percent and the accused in only 10 percent of the stories. The number of articles using survivors as sources in rape stories increased just a little bit after #metoo, but not to a noteworthy extent. And more importantly, the typical rape story is short, with an average length of around 500 words (from M = 472 before #metoo to M = 565 after, p = n.s.). This is shorter than the average length of a news article, which is about 600 to 700 words.

The presence of female sources might nevertheless have some influence on the usage of rape myths: In stories that do not include rape myths, there are on average more female sources (M = .88, SD = 1.21) than in stories that include rape myths (M = .82, SD = 1.4), t = .47. The opposite is true for male sources: In stories that include rape myths, more men are used (M = .86, SD = 1.04) than in stories without rape myths (M = .69, SD = .93), t = -1.64. None of the differences are, however, statistically significant.

The presence of survivors in stories covering rape has no influence on the usage of rape myths in my sample. In the regression models, neither the effect of the presence of female sources nor the effect of the presence of survivor sources are significant.

H3: Female journalists are less likely to present rape myths in their writings than their male colleagues
More rape stories are written by men than by women (26 percent male-only bylines vs. 20 percent female-only bylines in my sample, while 6 percent of the stories had both genders represented in the byline and 47 percent unidentifiable). This gender difference might be present because crime reporting is still dominated by men. The number of female journalists writing about rape went up after #metoo (24 percent of the bylines before #metoo were female, 29.5 percent after), but not significantly.

Articles written by men tend to include more rape myths than articles written by women. Among the stories written by women, 60 percent of the stories do not include rape myths. This is true for 50 percent of the stories written by men only. However, this difference of ten percentage points is not significant (X2 (3, *N* = 400) = 4.36), but still notable enough that it may be significant in a study with a larger sample. In the regression models, the effect of this variable was not significant. However, women are more likely than men to include more citations from people supporting the survivor than men. 24 percent of the articles written by women included such supportive comments, versus 11 percent of the articles written by men (X2 (1, *N* = 400) = 10.59, p < 0.001). This might be because female journalists are more actively looking for voices that support the survivor than their male colleagues. Women may more easily relate to the survivor, since rape happens to more women than men. This is in line with what Fadnis (2018) found, that female journalists in India are trying more actively than men to change the ways that sexual assault is covered, by employing non-traditional story angles, like reporting on legal reforms and social changes aimed at making the lives of women better.

H4: The inclusion of context and background in stories about rape leads to less use of rape myths
23.5 percent of news articles about rape published before #metoo included scientific reports, statistics, examples of similar rape cases from the past and expert sources, compared to 30.5 percent of the articles published after #metoo. In other words, there is a higher prevalence of context in rape stories after the #metoo campaign, though this relationship is not statistically significant. A bivariate analysis, between the rape myths and the context measures merged into one variable, shows that stories about rape which include context tend to use rape myths less: Among the stories including context, only 27 percent of the articles included any rape myths. Among the stories that did not include scientific reports, stats, historic background or expert sources, 47 percent of the articles included at least one of the rape myths. This correlation is significant (X2 (1, *N* = 400) = 13.1, *p* < .001).

The effect of the context variable is also significant in the regression models (see table 1), and relatively stronger than the other variables. The effect is also negative, which means that news articles about rape including scientific reports, expert voices, statistics of rape and examples of similar rape stories from the past are less likely to include rape myths. After I controlled for different variables, like the length of the text (the more words, the more likely that the journalist had more space to prioritize context in the story) and for whether the stories were reports from trials, the effect of the context remained significant. This is probably because on its own each variable only has a small effect.

When I look at the nine rape myths separately, only the effect of context on 1) the description of the survivor as drunk or on drugs; and 2) the use of doubting words in the article, are significant. This might be because my sample is small. More research on a bigger data set would be a useful additional piece of research to do as this dataset is limited (more on this under Discussion).

Additional significant findings

An interesting correlation worth mentioning is found between the occurrence of rape myths and descriptions of graphic violence in the news stories (X2 (1, *N* = 400) = 10.87, p < .001). Stories which include descriptions of violence towards the survivor, also tend to include rape myths. This is not so surprising as the typical stories about rape that reach the news outlets are the sensational and extreme ones.

Another tendency in my sample is that stories reporting from rape trials are more likely to include rape myths (X2 (1, *N* = 400) = 10.82, p < .001). This is also the case when I control for both the number of words in the articles (whether the journalist has space to include context or other types of nuances) and descriptions of graphic violence (whether the stories are the most sensational ones or not). This might be because there's still a dominance of men among journalists reporting on crime and that the reporting from trials still has a very traditional, non-nuanced cling to it. This should be challenged and changed.

I also find an increase in rape stories where famous persons were named after the #metoo movement (X2 (1, N = 400) = 14.68, p < .001). This does make sense: the Norwegian #metoo movement put focus on powerful, famous men who harass women. Famous persons were exposed in the media, specifically powerful politicians (of both genders). The search for other powerful persons to take responsibility for their previous actions just continued on from then.

Discussion

Many of the stories I read and coded were about special and severe cases of rape. Either very violent ones, or cases about incest, pedophilia or abuse conducted through "new" technology, such as Facebook live and Skype. That is because media outlets seldom report on "normal" cases of rape. But after #metoo there were more stories which did not just simply report from trials. The stories tended to be longer and more nuanced. Whether this is because of #metoo or just a general trend is difficult to say. This study also indicates that #metoo may have led journalists to include more contextual factors like statistics and research. This may be done to show that rape is a structural problem. More importantly, this study shows that when including context, journalists tend to use

fewer rape myths in their stories about rape. In this regard, #metoo might have had a small impact on the way Norwegian journalists write about rape; yet. Hopefully, the campaign has made more journalists more aware of the true nature of sexual abuse.

However, this is a complex issue, and we should not expect to see huge changes in attitudes over a short period of time (something that the lack of significant findings suggests). But a key finding in this study is that there is some evidence of changes following #metoo, for instance that fewer rape myths are being used, more context is included in articles about rape, and that more female journalists are writing about rape. This study also shows that reporting patterns can be very entrenched, and habits are hard to change. Therefore we should not expect to see large overnight differences in reporting styles. The results in this study point to the fact that things probably are changing, but slowly.

A similar study with a larger sample should either way be conducted after a couple of years to see if the changes have persisted or transformed. R squared in model 3 (see table 1) indicates that more variables are needed in future research to explain the prevalence of rape myths in the Norwegian press. The lack of significant findings could also suggest that the knowledge about rape myths in the Norwegian press is inadequate. There are few academic articles that specifically look at the connection between rape myths and the Norwegian press, and the scientific literature is incomplete. An alternative theory might be that there are other kinds of rape myths that are prevalent in the Norwegian press, or that they are more nuanced than the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, as defined by Payne et. al. (1999).

Either way, this paper might be seen as a myth buster: even though the #metoo movement hit Norway hard and turned the public debate about gender violence upside down, the movement has not had a big impact on the country's journalism (yet). It may seem strange that something so important to so many people did not affect journalism in a similar way, but there are several plausible reasons why the #metoo campaign has failed to have a bigger impact.

For instance, Norwegian journalists already tend to use relatively few rape myths, which would suggest that little improvement should be expected. In the articles analysed in this paper, there was for example no mention of the clothing and behaviour of the survivor. Negative comments about the survivor were rarely included. Norway ranks high on both the Journalists Without Borders' press freedom index and the UN's Gender Inequality Index. This might suggest that journalists in countries with high gender equality use fewer rape myths. However, at this point this is a mere conjecture that

should be studied systematically. In future research, researchers should try to study other, more nuanced types of rape myths in order to see change.

This study also indicates that the Norwegian press still has potential when it comes to using a wider sample of sources when writing about rape in general. Especially the use of expert sources and survivor sources should be increased in order to make the stories more nuanced and less sensational. But the source use in general is very low in Norwegian rape stories. This might be because the survivors and accused find it difficult to speak to the media, both because of the private nature of the case, but maybe also of the way they are portrayed and victimized in the stories. Many experts can find it hard to make a comment on a particular case and might therefore decline an invitation to be interviewed. I have already mentioned the possibility of crime journalists being too influenced by traditional writing norms when reporting from trials. Why should the standard norms for using many and different sources in order to get a balanced and thorough story be any different in crime reporting? This is an area that needs to be challenged.

Another possible reason why the #metoo campaign has not had a big impact on Norwegian journalism might be that #metoo never really reached the Norwegian media itself. The media sector never had its own petition with demands from female journalists, and the campaign never revolted or changed Norwegian journalists' workplace as it did in other sectors. Only a couple of articles were written about sexual harassment in the media sector.

Even though the reporting style of Norwegian journalists didn't change much after #metoo, the Norwegian press learned some valuable lessons from working with the #metoo movement. For instance, that survivors of sexual violence are not few in number, but many. Sexual harassment happens to most women, even in an egalitarian society like Norway. And speaking from my own experience, it also became obvious that survivors of sexual violence are in need of transparency and a feeling of control when they talk to the press. They lost control over their own narrative once, they do not want to experience that again. #Metoo was also a crash-course in handling many vulnerable sources with different needs at the same time.

Where do we draw the line between being a professional journalist and a therapist's shoulder to cry on? There are no guidelines for journalists to lean on. As this study showed, not even a big movement such as #metoo had an impact big enough to prevent the use of rape myths. Maybe guidelines could raise enough awareness among journalists for more survivors to dare come forward and therefore debunk rape myths? There are several advantages with guidelines. First of all, it might make the reporter's job easier. When meeting a survivor of sexual violence for the first time, a

reporter will already know the importance of control and transparency. If the journalist feels insecure, she will have a helpful resource to go to from which she can seek support. Second, being able to point to a set of guidelines might make the survivor or perpetrator trust journalists more. The process might become both more transparent and more understandable for the sources because it feels more secure knowing that they and the journalist are operating according to a set of guidelines. The whole process will then become more predictable. Finally, guidelines can influence the journalist to include expert sources, citations from scientific reports and other important factors that can reduce the use of rape myths. This will give the readers a truer and more nuanced picture of what sexual violence actually is.

Are guidelines really necessary? Maybe they are too strict and might imply that if you make a set of guidelines for this specific topic, you would have to make guidelines for all other topics as well. But I would argue that sexual violence still is such a taboo topic that, even though it happens to many, it is still talked about surprisingly little. We still know little about it, which might make it difficult for many journalists to know where the line between a professional writer and a therapist falls. Some guidance on how to handle sensitive information and vulnerable sources will arguably make it easier for journalists in their daily work and also improve journalism. It might even build more trust among readers, which the press desperately needs at the moment. And maybe these guidelines are what is needed in order to encourage more sources to speak in stories about sexual abuse and rape.

Indeed, advocates of gender-fair media production worldwide have long argued for the need for professional ethics codes for stories about sexual abuse (Global Media Monitoring Project 2013). It will take time to develop guidelines like this, but drawing from the results in this study and my own experience as a sex crime reporter during #metoo, I propose the following guidelines:

Guidelines for journalists writing about sexual harassment and abuse

- Avoid stereotypical labeling of the parties in a case, especially those which put the blame partially or completely on the survivor.

- Avoid linking the case to a name or geographical location. Like "the Kavanaugh story" or "the Rotherham story". This might lead people to turn away from the survivor because the inhabitants do not wish that their home town should be linked to a criminal act.

- Always give the survivor or perpetrator the possibility of being anonymous. Even if the source is happy to have their full name in print, think this through. Sources don't always understand what the consequences may be. Journalists do. But anonimity does not negate the need for verification and cross checking of information.

- Give context to the bigger picture to avoid giving a misleading picture of it being an exceptional event. Use statistics, neutral experts, scientific reports and examples of similar cases to show that the rape story is not exceptional. If the story *is* exceptional, make a point out of this.

- Be transparent. This will give survivors a sense of control over their own stories. For instance, talk with them about the headline, the story's angle, publishing date, show them the guidelines you are operating with, and give them updates on how the work with the story is going. Tell them in advance of the interview whether you plan to contact the accused perpetrator. Tell them when you're cross-checking facts with other sources. They've lost control once and are afraid of losing it again. Transparency builds trust.

- Give survivors time. Both when planning the interview and when sending quotation checks. The topic might be hard to "live through" again.

- Be careful when asking for details about smell, sounds, and other sensations related to the attack. They might trigger flashbacks. Do not suggest going back to the place where the rape happened.

- Be a good listener. Do not rush the source, it is hard to talk about and live through traumatic experiences.

- Have a good understanding of your role as a journalist. A journalist should not behave like a good friend. The relationship is exclusively professional.

- Always ask for documentation for the story, but ask with a thorough explanation of why the documentation is needed, so that the survivor won't feel that you don't believe his or her story.

- Advice the source to contact professional help and to be with friends or family after the interview.

- Offer survivors a follow-up after the interview especially if their story is not published. The survivor might experience this as a defeat. Have information on where to get support ready, in case the source needs it.

Conclusion

In this article I've analyzed whether the #metoo movement has had any effect on the use of rape myths in the Norwegian press' coverage of rape stories. I find a tendency towards a decreased use of

rape myths after #metoo. These rape myths include descriptions descrediting the survivor, negative comments or doubtful language and descripotions of the perpetrator being a stranger or deranged. But even so, it is clear that rape myths are still prevalent in the Norwegian media.

I also found that articles including context, such as scientific reporting, statistics and interviews with experts, include fewer rape myths. This effect is significant ($p < .001$) in both a bivariate analysis and in several regression models. This is also the only hypothesis which is confirmed in this study. My data also shows a tendency towards journalists including fewer citations from sources supporting the survivors after #metoo. This might be because the survivors' own explanations now are seen as legitimized, allowing the stories to stand for themselves. But source-use in stories about rape is low in general according to this study (1.7 on average) and most of the stories are about an ongoing or closed trial. The latter is correlated with high use of rape myths. A more nuanced and varried coverage of rape is perhaps needed to ensure readers get a more accurate picture of what rape really is about.

This stuy also shows that reporting patterns can be very entrenched, and habits are hard to change. Therefore we should not expect to see large overnight differences in reporting styles. The results in this study point to the fact that things probably are changing, but slowly.

References

Aalborg, T. (2009) Kritiske kvinner og medievridde menn – En empirisk studie av stortingsmedlemmers forhold til norske medier. Norsk medietidsskrift02 / 2009 (Volum 16). pp: 100-119.

Bendixen, M., Helle, S., Langbach, T., & Rasmussen, K. (2014). Voldtektsmyter og kjønnssjåvinisme blant norske lekdommere og fagdommere. *Tidsskrift for norsk psykologforening*, 51, 7-13.

Benedict, H. (1992) *Virgin or Vamp: how the press covers sex crimes*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Blumell, L. E. (2017). She Persisted… and so did He: Gendered source use during the Trump Access Hollywood scandal. Journalism Studies, 20(2), 267-286.

Blumell, L. E., & Huemmer, J. (2017). Silencing survivors: how news coverage neglects the women accusing Donald Trump of sexual misconduct. Feminist Media Studies, 17(3), 506-509.

Blumell, L. E., & Huemmer, J. (2019). Reassessing balance: News coverage of Donald Trump's Access Hollywood scandal before and during #metoo. Journalism, 1464884918821522.

Buchwald, E., Fletcher, P. R., & Roth, M. (Eds.). (1993). Transforming a rape culture (p. vii). Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions.

CBS (2017, 17 October) *More that 12M "me too" Facebook posts, comments reactions in 24 hours.* Retrieved from: https://www.cbsnews.com/news/metoo-more-than-12-million-facebook-posts-comments-reactions-24-hours/

Clark, K. (1992). The linguistics of blame: representations of women in The Sun's reporting of crimes of sexual violence. *Language, text and context: Essays in stylistics*, 208-224.

De Swert, K., & Hooghe, M. (2010). When do women get a voice? Explaining the presence of female news sources in Belgian news broadcasts (2003—5). European Journal of Communication, 25(1), 69-84.

Drager, R. H. (2011). 180 cm høy og av afrikansk opprinnelse:-Voldtekt som sosialt problem i norsk presse (Master's thesis). Retrieved from: https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/22470/1/RobinxHxsetxDrager.xMasteravhandlingx8.5.2011.pdf

Easteal, P., Holland, K., & Judd, K. (2015). Enduring themes and silences in media portrayals of violence against women. In *Women's Studies International Forum* (Vol. 48, pp. 103-113). Pergamon.

Eide, Elisabeth (2001): «Mannsbastioner med iboende treghet. Medier, kjønn og makt» i Martin Eide (red.) Til dagsorden! Journalistikk, makt og demokrati. Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk.

Elnan, T. S. (2018) *Stor støtte til #metoo på tvers av kjønn, lønnsnivå og landsdeler.* Retrieved from: https://www.aftenposten.no/kultur/i/vm71mV/Stor-stotte-til-metoo-pa-tvers-av-kjonn_-lonnsniva-og-landsdeler

Everbach, T. (2013). "Women's (mis) representation in news media." *Media disparity: A gender battleground*, 15-26.

Fadnis, D. (2018). "Uncovering Rape Culture: Patriarchal values guide Indian media's rape-related reporting". *Journalism Studies*, 19(12), 1750-1766.

Galdi, S., Maass, A., & Cadinu, M. (2014). Objectifying media: Their effect on gender role norms and sexual harassment of women. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 38(3), 398-413.

Gill, R. (2007) *Gender and the media.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Global Media Monitoring Project (2013) *Who makes the news? The Global Media Monitoring Project.* Retrieved from: http://cdn.agilitycms.com/who-makes-the-news/Imported/mgm/MediaAndGenderMonitor24.pdf

Hernes, H. M. (1987). *Welfare state and woman power: Essays in state feminism.* A Scandinavian University Press Publication.

Høidahl, Henrik (2004): «Norsk politikk i mediene. Kjønn & politikk. NRK 1 Dagsrevyen og TV 2 Nyhetene 01.07.03–31.12.03». Medieanalyse fra Observer Norge. Oslo: Observer Norge AS.

Jordan, J. (2011). Silencing rape, silencing women. Handbook on sexual violence, 253-286.

Judd, K., & Easteal, P. (2013). Media reportage of sexual harassment: the (in) credible complainant. *Denning LJ*, 25, 1.

Keldsen, T. (2018) *Er menn og kvinner splittet om effekten av Me Too-kampanjen?* [Are men and women divided on the effect of the Me Too campaign?]. Retrieved from https://yougov.no/news/2018/03/08/er-menn-og-kvinner-splittet-om-effekten-av-me-too-/

Korsvold, K. (2017) *Jan Guillou: – En eldre mann er det mest motbydelige man kan være for tiden.* Retrieved from https://www.aftenposten.no/kultur/i/nk5zL/Jan-Guillou--En-eldre-mann-er-det-mest-motbydelige-man-kan-vare-for-tiden

Kripos (2018) *Voldtektssituasjonen i Norge 2017.* Retrieved from: https://www.politiet.no/globalassets/04-aktuelt-tall-og-fakta/voldtekt-og-seksuallovbrudd/voldtektssituasjonen-i-norge-2017

Kruse, A. E., Strandmoen, J. F., & Skjørten, K. (2013). *Menn som har begått voldtekt - en kunnskapsstatus. Nasjonalt kunnskapssenter om vold og traumatisk stress.* Retrieved from: https://www.nkvts.no/rapport/menn-som-har-begatt-voldtekt-en-kunnskapsstatus/

Kunst, J. et al. (2018) "Sexism, rape myths and feminist identification explain gender differences in attitudes toward the #metoo social media campaign in two countries". *Media Psychology*, pp: 1-26.

McDonald, P., & Charlesworth, S. (2013, March). Framing sexual harassment through media representations. In Women's Studies International Forum (Vol. 37, pp. 95-103). Pergamon.

Moore, S. E. (2009). Cautionary tales: Drug-facilitated sexual assault in the British media. Crime, media, culture, 5(3), 305-320.

Narayana, U. R. (2015). Mainstreaming Women in News-Myth or Reality?. Pragyaan: Journal of Mass Communication, 22.

Payne, D. L., Lonsway, K. A., and Fitzgerald, L. F. (1999). Rape myth acceptance: Exploration of its structure and its measurement using the Illinois rape myth acceptance scale. J*ournal of Research in Personality*, 33(1), 27-68.

Pennington, R., and Birthisel, J. (2016). When new media make news: Framing technology and sexual assault in the Steubenville rape case. *New media & society,* 18(11), 2435-2451.

Reporters Without Boarders (2019), *World Press Freedom Index*. Retrieved from:
https://rsf.org/en/ranking

Ross, K., and Sreberny, A. (2000). Women in the house: media representation of British politicians. *Gender, politics and communication*, 79-99.

Ross, K. (2007). The journalist, the housewife, the citizen and the press: Women and men as sources in local news narratives. Journalism, 8(4), 449-473.

Russell, B. L., & Trigg, K. Y. (2004). "Tolerance of sexual harassment: An examination of gender differences, ambivalent sexism, social dominance, and gender roles." *Sex Roles*, 50(7-8), 565-573.

Semujju, B. (2015). Frontline Farmers, Backline Sources: Women as a tertiary voice in climate change coverage. Feminist Media Studies, 15(4), 658-674.

Shoemaker, P. J., and Reese, S. D. (2013). *Mediating the message in the 21st century: A media sociology perspective*. Routledge.

Sletteland, A. (2018). #metoo in Norway: A substantial, but incomplete norm change against sexual harassment. *Tidsskrift for kjønnsforskning* 03/2018 (Volum 42).

Soothill, K., and Walby, S. (1991) *Sex crime in the news.* Routledge.

SSB (2018) "4 prosent utsatt for uønsket seksuell oppmerksomhet." Retrieved from:
https://www.ssb.no/arbeid-og-lonn/artikler-og-publikasjoner/4-prosent-utsatt-for-uonsket-seksuell-oppmerksomhet

Suarez, E., & Gadalla, T. M. (2010). "Stop Blaming the Victim: A Meta-Analysis on Rape Myths." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 25(11), pp: 2010–2035.

Sørheim, S. (2017) "Det er nok nå [It's enough now]", Aftenposten. Retrieved from:
https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/i/E03Mj/Det-er-nok-na--Sarah-Sorheim

Risbakken, K. (2018). " Råd for å unngå voldtekt": Voldtektsmyter i norske aviser-En kvantitativ innholdsanalyse av norsk presses fremstilling av voldtektssaker (Master's thesis). Retreved from:
https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/64257/Risbakken_master.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Thoresen, S., & Hjemdal, O. K. (Red.) (2014). *Vold og voldtekt i Norge. En nasjonal forekomststudie av vold i et livsløpsperspektiv.* Oslo: Nasjonalt kunnskapssenter om vold og traumatisk stress.

Van der Bruggen, M., & Grubb, A. (2014). "A review of the literature relating to rape victim blaming: An analysis of the impact of observer and victim characteristics on attribution of blame in rape cases." *Aggression and violent behavior*, 19(5), 523-531.

Weiss, K. G. (2009). "Boys will be boys" and other gendered accounts: An exploration of victims' excuses and justifications for unwanted sexual contact and coercion. Violence Against Women, 15(7), 810-834.

World Economic Forum (2018), *The Global Gender Gap Report*. Retrieved from: https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2018

Yodanis, C. L. (2004) 'Gender Inequality, Violence Against Women, and Fear: A Cross-National Test of the Feminist Theory of Violence Against Women', Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 19(6), pp. 655–675).

Zoch, L. M., & Turk, J. V. (1998). Women making news: Gender as a variable in source selection and use. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 75(4), 762-775.

Østlie, K., Aarnes, H., Olsen, T. (2015) "1 prosent av voldtektene ender med fellende dom", Aftenposten 22.04.2015. Retrieved from: https://www.aftenposten.no/norge/i/oE2a/1-prosent-av-voldtektene-ender-med-fellende-dom