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Media coverage of the metoo movement: Investigating differences across national contexts

A quantitative content analysis of Norwegian and British media coverage

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Stine Vedvik

Summary

The metoo movement garnered massive media attention after American actress Alyssa Milano encouraged survivors of sexual harassment and abuse to share their personal experiences on social media. To add to the understanding of the role of news media in the fight against sexual abuse, this thesis aims to investigate how Norwegian and British media covered the movement and associated cases. With a quantitative and comparative approach to content analysis, this study examines patterns in media coverage while considering cultural, political, and historical trajectories that could influence the movements' discourses and development within the countries. Some coverage patterns were similar in both countries, characterized by attributes of newsworthiness such as celebrity participants and stories on scandals and conflict. Differences in patterns were identified as a British focus on the entertainment sector, and a Norwegian focus on the political sector. Overall, this study demonstrates how mediated public debates and media coverage of metoo differ across national contexts. Furthermore, this study points out some of the challenges and opportunities given by the news media for groups of people fighting for social justice, especially regarding gender equality.

Sammendrag

Metoo bevegelsen fikk massiv medieoppmerksomhet etter den amerikanske skuespilleren Alyssa Milano oppfordret ofre av seksuell trakassering og mishandling til å dele sine opplevelser på sosiale medier. For å bidra til å øke forståelsen av nyhetsmedienes rolle i kampen mot seksuelle overgrep, har denne studien som mål å undersøke hvordan norske og britiske medier dekket bevegelsen og saker som oppstod som følge av metoo. Med en kvantitativ og komparativ tilnærming undersøker denne studien hvilke mønstre som oppstod i mediedekningen og samtidig vurderer de kulturelle, politiske og historiske diskursene i landene som kan ha påvirket mediedekningen og utviklingen av bevegelsen i landene. Noen av mønstrene i mediedekningen som var like i begge land var preget av nyhetsverdige faktorer, slik som kjendiser, skandaler og konflikter. Forskjeller funnet i mediedekningen er preget av et Britisk fokus på underholdning sektoren, og et norsk fokus på den politiske sektoren. Generelt viser denne studien hvordan medierte offentlige debatter og mediedekning av metoo kan være forskjellig på tvers av nasjonale kontekster. Videre peker studien på noen av utfordringene og mulighetene som finnes i nyhetsmediene for grupper som kjemper for sosial rettferdighet og likestilling.

Table of contents

Figures

Tables

1 Introduction

In a broad historical context of fighting for women's rights, the metoo movement could be considered another milestone towards greater gender equality. Laura Kipnis put it this way in the *Guardian*: "To the extent that women's bodies are still treated as public property by men, whether that means groping us or deciding what we can do with our uteruses, women do not have civic equality. To miss that point is to miss the political importance and the political lineage of #MeToo: the latest step in a centuries long political struggle for women to simply control our own bodies" (Kipnis, 2018).

Social movements and protests are legitimate and necessary for communities to influence social change and decision-making processes in democratic societies (Hanna et al., 2016). While social movements historically may be associated with physical protest, blockades or rallies, digital media and connectivity have changed and empowered ways in which activists organize, gain publicity, and communicate (Tufekci, 2014). This use of digital tools by activists was clear in the metoo movement by the role of social media as a key factor that amplified the global impact of the movement. What started out as grassroot work to fight sexual violence in communities of color by activist Tarana Burke, became a global movement a decade later due to the popularization of Alyssa Milano's tweet encouraging victims of sexual abuse to share their experiences online. After the tweet started circulating online, supporters and activists have utilized social media to organize protest actions, debate feminist ideas, share political messages, and to expose sexual abuse by individuals and within organizations (Hillstrom, 2019). Susan Fowler did for instance expose a culture of sexual harassment within her workplace and the technology industry, which resulted in an internal investigation that led to the founder of Uber resigning his position. In an interview with the Financial Times, Fowler noted that social media "has given a voice to many, like myself, who otherwise wouldn't have had a platform" (Hook, 2017).

Although there has been a considerable amount of attention on the role of social media for facilitating the movements visibility, researchers also press the continued importance of traditional media to legitimize movements and raise awareness of issues (i.e., Ashley & Olson, 1998; Nicolini & Hansen, 2018; De Benedictis, 2019). The role of social media contributing to setting the movement on the agenda demonstrates that news is increasingly networked, but the role of traditional media outlets should be considered to fully understand the development of the metoo movement (Russel, 2016). Research also shows that there is a decline in social media use for news, and that people generally have greater trust in traditional news (Newman et al, 2018). This might not be surprising, given the widespread occurrence of misinformation and fake news. Thus, despite the increasing popularity and impact of social media, traditional media outlets play an essential role in publicizing issues and debates (Elvestad et al., 2018). Furthermore, the different ways the news media portrays movements and issues are considered important for movements. Social media has aided in giving the metoo movement global recognition by offering an online public sphere with a counter narrative, which was ultimately adopted and further developed by the dominant public sphere maintained by traditional media outlets.

Researchers interested in media representation of movements often focus on the 'frames' in which the media portrays an event (McCurdy, 2012). By emphasizing some elements of an issue over others, frames affect how audiences understand an issue (Entman, 1993). The ways in which news media frame issues differ vastly across national borders and is often dependent on public discourses and cultural norms. Several studies compare media framing of the metoo movement between countries (Starkey et al., 2019; Erickson, 2019; Askanius & Hartley, 2019; Wallin, 2018; Jeon et al., 2022; Bisiada, 2021). Most of the literature on media framing compares two countries (i.e., Jeon et al., 2022; Erickson, 2019; Wallin, 2018), and often in Western countries which was noted by Starkey et al. (2019). They conducted a framing analysis comparing four national metoo contexts. By comparing media framing of women considered 'silence breakers', Starkey et al. (2019) identified four frames in the countries compared: 'brave silence breaker', 'stoic victim of an unjust system', 'reluctant or recovered hero', and 'hysterical slut'. This finding was argued to indicate that the media frames of metoo differ across national contexts and depend on social and cultural norms.

Other researchers also found that underlying ideological and cultural differences influenced media framing of metoo. Jeon et al. (2022) found that US media coverage contained more in-depth reporting while also including victims' voices, in comparison to Korean media coverage which tended to have shorter articles with little regard to victims' narratives. In analyzing German, Spanish and English Twitter discourses, Bisada (2021) found that metoo was often framed as exaggerated and short-lived in German, by referring to the phenomena as a 'debate'. This contrasted with Spanish and English discourses, in which metoo was mostly referred to as a 'movement' and framed as influential and long-term. Sweden and Denmark, countries generally seen as gender-egalitarian, also had differences in both their amount of coverage and the frames used by the media (Askanius & Hartley, 2019). Wallin (2018) found that the Swedish media more often framed metoo as a societal problem compared to US media, which could be explained by a more gender-scientific mindset and discourse that is more grounded in Swedish culture than in the US.

In the Norwegian context, there are major gaps in research on media coverage of metoo. Current research focuses largely on media coverage of specific cases (Moen, 2018; Amundsen, 2020; Smedsvik, 2020), which are cases that gained major Norwegian media attention but only accounts for findings specific to these scandals. Media research also found a decrease in rape myths (Storøy Elnan, 2019) and changes in journalistic norms after the height of the metoo movement (Orgeret, 2019). While these findings provide interesting insights, both studies have some limitations. The method used by Storøy Elnan (2019) can be argued to be weak because of a small sample size for measuring effects in rape myths, and the changes in journalistic norms related to metoo are based on interview data with journalists, and might therefore be biased (Orgeret, 2019). Sletteland (2018) argued that metoo was largely portrayed as an issue of the workplace by the Norwegian media, which can be explained by an already existing consensus of sexual harassment in the workplace clarified by law.

There is no current research comparing Norwegian media coverage of metoo to coverage in other countries. However, there are two cross-cultural studies on metoo focusing on the Norwegian context. Lamb (2020) investigated the underlying sociocultural factors that supported or challenged the development of the metoo movement in India and Norway by conducting expert interviews. Surprisingly, Lamb found many similarities between the

countries, such as a lack of policy implementation and stigmas around shame and sexual abuse. Moreover, Kunst et al. (2019) conducted a survey in Norway and the US to explain differences based on gender in attitudes towards metoo. They found that both Norwegian and US-American men (compared to women) were generally less supportive of the movement and argued that ideological perceptions might explain this difference. Their economic and cultural self-interest, along with a potential fear of being justly or unjustly accused, may explain men's stance on the issue compared to women.

As an effort to add to the existing research on the Norwegian media coverage of metoo, this study aims to highlight the social, political, and cultural contexts which may have influenced media framing of the movement. By conducting a quantitative content analysis of media coverage in four Norwegian and three British online newspapers, general patterns and differences in the respective countries can be identified. These patterns and differences will then be discussed considering previous research, relevant theories, and historical trajectories in both countries related to gender issues to investigate the following research questions:

RQ1) What similarities and differences emerge in Norwegian and British media coverage of the metoo movement?

RQ2) How may the cultural and political contexts of the countries, and their historical trajectories on gender issues, contribute to the understanding of the differences in media coverage of metoo?

To answer these research questions, the following chapter provides hypotheses based on relevant theories and existing research. The theories and previous research presented in chapter 2 also works as a backdrop for the discussion drawing on the results of this study. Chapter 3 presents and explains the methodological approach used for this study. In chapter 4, the results of the study are presented, which the discussion in chapter 5 will draw on considering theories and previous research. Lastly, concluding thoughts will be presented in chapter 6.

2 Previous research and theoretical framework

This chapter introduces the theoretical context in which this study is situated, presenting theories and previous research that make up the theoretical starting point for this analysis. Framing theory, and specifically framing of feminism and feminist movements are included in this chapter, as well as theories on public opinion and the spiral of silence. Theories on the dynamics between social movements and news media will also be presented, and particularly previous research on feminist movements and media dynamics. Some of these theories and concepts are often intertwined and influenced by each other.

2.1 The Protest Paradigm

The dynamics between the mainstream media and social movements have received academic attention since the 1960s (McCurdy, 2012). Early media research on social movements focuses on mainstream media coverage (Halloran et al., 1970; Gitlin, 2003; McCurdy,2012), and the ways in which activists engage with the mainstream media (Ryan, 1989; Jensen, 2001). Research on the media's representation of social movements can be traced back to Halloran et al. (1970), which explored the inconsistencies between media representations of anti-war protests and the reality on the ground in the UK. Halloran et al. argued that the occupational and institutional practices of journalism influenced and restricted the way in which the media portrayed demonstrations, and their work is often seen as the inspiration for the development of the "protest paradigm" (McCurdy, 2012).

The protest paradigm is an attempt to map the routines and patterns used by mainstream media when covering social movements and protests (McCurdy, 2012). In short, the protest paradigm can be described as the asymmetrical relationship between the media and protesters. The protesters need media coverage to gain attention for their cause, while media attention of protests often come from radical protest tactics which may stigmatize protesters (Harlow et al., 2020). Because of this asymmetrical relationship, due to the practices of journalism and the media system, social protests are argued to be predestined to be covered negatively (Boyle and Schmierbach, 2009; Cooper, 2002; Craig, 2002; McFarlane & Hay, 2003; McLeod, 2000).

Presence of police, demonstration size, potential of violence, geographic proximity, drama or sensationalism, and celebrity participants have been identified as certain attributes that have influenced media coverage of movements (Oliver & Maney, 2000; McCurdy, 2012). According to Ashley & Olson (1998), social movements often get attention from the media when something 'newsworthy' happens. According to the news value theory, stories must generally satisfy one or more requirements to be covered in the media (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Some examples of story characterizations that work as such requirements include exclusivity, bad news, conflict, surprise, drama, magnitude, entertainment, and celebrity (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016). Therefore, protesters may resort to illegitimate means such as dramatic gestures, marches, sit-ins, demonstrations, and violence to gain media attention (Ashley & Olson, 1998, p. 264). In the case of metoo, most of the protesting and narratives from supporters were shared by individuals online. Even speaking out online could however be perceived as 'risky' behavior, because public accusations can lead to (and has historically led to) negative consequences for the accusers, with limited certainty to win a potential legal

dispute. Therefore, one may assume that attributes that contributed to media coverage of metoo were 1) numbers of shared stories, tweets, and posts online, 2) drama, sensationalism, and conflict, and 3) stories of celebrity participants. The Women's March in March 2018 may be seen as a protest in relation to the metoo movement, which could include the attributes of demonstration size and presence of police. In this analysis, however, the focus is not on the physical protest but rather on the metoo movement in general.

Based on earlier research on the protest paradigm and media dynamics, the first hypothesis is that

H1: Media coverage of the metoo movement is characterized by a high share of articles mentioning A) celebrity participants, B) the magnitude of shared posts online, and C) articles characterized by drama, sensationalism, and conflict.

The three points in the first hypothesis refers to 'a high share of articles', and some of the following hypotheses in this chapter also refer to low or high shares of articles. What exactly represents a high or low share of articles will be further discussed in chapter 3.

2.2 Gamson's four dilemmas

Gamson (2004) explains how there are four dilemmas faced by social movements in adapting their strategies and tactics. First, the depth of challenge dilemma, refers to the 'imagined communities' the movement is promoting symbolic interests for. If movement actors challenge deeply held and taken-for-granted assumptions and beliefs, there is a higher risk of counterattacks, marginalization, and discrediting. Movement actors may therefore tacitly accept a narrower issue frame to increase the 'mobilization potential' and gain sympathy or support from potential allies (p. 250). In relation to the metoo movement, actors that made reports of sexual assault such as rape might have been taken seriously and gained support of a broad audience, whereas another actors' report on discriminating comments might not have been supported to the same extent as less support will be expected. For example, in an interview with The Guardian, congressional candidate Stacey Dash praised the metoo movement, while at the same time downplaying Donald Trump's misogynistic comments as 'just talk' (Caroll, 2018). Her view shows how the narrower issue frame of sexual harassment and assault might turn 'bystanders' into allies, while also showing how challenging the culture of 'boys will be boys' might get discredited and counter-attacked with opposing views.

The second dilemma of movement actors is access to the media, and the individuals who get to speak, or be an agent, on the behalf of the movement. Because of the routines journalists follow, it is rare that an agent for a movement gets 'routine standing', or regularly access to articulate, in the media. Access might be provided by tactics and spectacles that draw attention, but this might blur the preferred frames of the movement actors (p. 251). During the Golden Globes, shortly after metoo had gone viral, almost all the female attendees wore black to support the movement and in solidarity of victims of sexual abuse. While this tactic was intended to bring awareness of the movement, some media outlets briefly mentioned the tactic. The Sun for instance mentioned alternative reasons why these

women were wearing black. It quoted actress Joanna Lumley who said that actresses feel pressured to wear black because they're scared of the consequences that may ensue if they don't (Wottoon, 2018).

The need for validation is the third dilemma, referring to the need for media attention to validate the importance of the movement. The commercial media tend to emphasize entertainment relative to journalistic values, which may lead movement actors to rely on media strategies that satisfy entertainment needs. This may, for instance, involve celebrities that support the movement, which can act themselves as a spokesperson for the cause or share the spotlight with movement leaders (Gamson, 2004, p. 252). The metoo movement has multiple celebrity supporters and spokespersons that may have contributed to the extent of media attention. During the Golden Globes, actress Michelle Williams shared the spotlight by inviting the founder of the movement, Tarana Burke (Zander, 2018). Because of this dilemma, one can assume that coverage is characterized by a high share of articles concerning celebrities' involvement with the movement.

The fourth dilemma is called the 'weak control dilemma'. Movements rely on voluntary commitments, in contrast to bureaucratic organizations who have employees to carry out strategic plans (p. 253). This means that movement activists do not necessarily follow directions from movement leaders and might have preferred versions of activist tactics themselves. This makes it hard for a movement to have a coherent strategy, and participants might even undermine or contradict strategies. In Norway, for example, the metoo movement was portrayed as an issue of the workplace (Sletteland, 2018). While workplaces are an important arena to combat sexual harassment, the metoo movement involves every arena for social interaction and seeks to fight sexual violence wherever it may happen (metoo., n.d.). The media's focus on sexual abuse in workplaces may have resulted from the media attention the movement gained after Alyssa Milano shared her tweet in 2017, a case that focused largely on incidents within the entertainment sector in Hollywood. Based on Gamson's four dilemmas, the second hypothesis consists of three points:

H2: A) When an article is about more radical claims of the metoo movement (directed at deeply held and taken-for-granted assumptions and beliefs), the article is more likely to feature backlash, counterattacks, or discrediting,
B) A low share of articles mentions the need for structural and cultural change to end sexual violence
C) Celebrities act as speakers of the movement more frequently than movement leaders

2.3 Framing theory

As mentioned in chapter 1, framing refers to how media can portray the same event, issue, or topic in different ways. The same substantial information can be presented in different ways: "The glass is half-full" versus "the glass is half-empty" gives a totally different impression even though the substance of the information is the same. Regarding metoo, it could mean that the media can choose to present the narrative exclusively or predominantly from either the alleged victim or the alleged perpetrators perspective. Framing may be an important factor in influencing the ways in which the public perceive an issue, and can potentially influence attitudes and behaviors (Harlow, Kilgo & Garcia-Perdomo, 2020).

Framing effects occur when changes of opinions are led by changes in the presentation of an issue (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Framing, through a subtle mechanism, depends on the pre-existing belief and attitude structure of an individual which can be activated and combined in a manner that changes opinions.

Media framing may contribute to legitimizing social movements or protest, and news coverage is considered important to raise awareness of the movement (Ashley & Olson, 1998; Nicolini & Hansen, 2018). Media coverage could contribute to the 'mere exposure effect', a phenomenon that suggests that if one has heard of something before, it builds trust and sympathy, even if the individual cannot recollect the initial exposure (Janiszewski, 1993). Frames that legitimize protesters often focus on the substance of the movement (Dardis, 2006). Legitimizing media coverage may challenge established assumptions and ideas that are generally taken for granted, even though such coverage might feature backlash as mentioned with Gamson's first dilemma. Such coverage may illustrate that there is a gap between abstract concepts, such as "democracy", and what is actually occurring in reality. Gallagher & Zagacki (2007) did for instance argue that media coverage of the 1965 marches in Selma challenged taken-for-granted ideas of American democracy and stereotypes of African Americans, which evoked recognition of the reality of struggle and abuse by marginalized groups. Such counter-hegemonic coverage may contribute to changes in attitudes and to reconstruct the dominant ideology. This shift in attitudes could be explained by challenging the presumption that the US fulfilled all criteria for a democracy as the 'land of the free', which created a tension between ideal and reality.

Negative framing of social movements in the news can however delegitimize the movement and reduce public support (Bronstein, 2005; Ashley & Olson, 1998; Kilgo & Mourao, 2021). Groups that are pressing for political and social change might contradict the current hegemonic, dominant ideology (Gitlin, 2003), which may result in negative media coverage, or worse; no coverage at all. The mere exposure effect may contribute to the nexus between visibility and legitimacy, but negative coverage could remove this effect if individuals remember particularly negative coverage. Media coverage of groups whose goals differ from mainstream norms tend to focus on deviance of activists and the legitimacy of the group (McLeod, 1995). According to McLeod (1995), such coverage tends to exaggerate the threat of these groups and diminish their contributions and effectiveness. However, an important goal for protests or movements is to gain visibility and coverage in the news, so even negative media attention may be helpful to achieve those goals. According to Gamson (2004), no news is bad news. Negative coverage might be helpful for movements to stay relevant in the public discourse, but it might have consequences in other aspects, such as influencing public opinion. In short, there is a lower probability for a movement to be successful without visibility, however, the movement may fail to achieve its goals and strengthen the coherence of oppositional groups if the coverage has an exceedingly negative tone.

How and when media coverage of protests challenging dominant ideologies could be considered successful, or when it backfires, are not entirely clear within earlier research. While some argue that challengers of the dominant ideology might get negative media coverage or no coverage at all (Gitlin, 2003; McLeod, 1995), some argue that challengers of the dominant ideology might be covered in the media in ways that contribute to changes in attitudes (Gallagher & Zagacki, 2007; Dardis, 2006). It seems like coverage that makes

claims about reality, that are not too far from already established ways and patterns of thinking, have a better chance of disrupting the status quo. This notion relates to the already discussed dilemmas of Gamson (2004), in particular the depth of challenge dilemma, which suggests a better chance of success when using narrower issue frames. The ways in which the media frames the same substantial information might however contribute to either success or backlash, as demonstrated with the glass half-full/half-empty metaphor. The dynamics of groups challenging dominant ideologies, their preferred issue frames in relation to depth of challenge dilemma, and the (lack of) media visibility and framing seems to work as codependent factors that can influence and contribute to the success or backlash of a movement. These factors could be useful to consider when analyzing media framing of metoo, in addition to the potential influence on success or backlash caused by pre-existing beliefs and attitudes. The role and potential influence of pre-existing beliefs and attitudes can be further explained by the theory of public opinion and the spiral of silence theory.

2.5 Public opinion and the spiral of silence
When discussing media framing of social movement issues, the possible effects of media framing may be associated with 'public opinion' and the 'spiral of silence'. Public discourse takes place in various arenas every day, but the mass media is considered as the major site of contests over meaning (Gamson, 2004). If a social movement challenges a cultural code (symbols and systems of meaning relevant to members of a particular culture), the media can contribute to both signal and spread change. The term 'public opinion' may be difficult to define, but here I use Noelle-Neumann's definition of public opinion as an instrument to ensure social cohesion (Noelle-Neumann & Petersen, 2004). A public opinion is any opinion one can utter in public without fear of being ostracized. In any given issue or controversy with two competing camps of opinions, there is one camp which seems to hold public opinion, i.e., this means that there is mostly consensus that this side is in the majority and/or has the momentum of increasing in size relative to the other camp. The actual strength of the opposing camps does however not necessarily determine which of the sides that will come across as public opinion. The opinions of the side that predominate in public might cause a 'spiral of silence' for those with opposing views, even if they should be in the majority, e.g., according to polling measures.

The spiral of silence theory refers to the fact that people experience a fear of social isolation when they imagine uttering their opinion, which might lead them to fall silent in morally loaded and controversial discussions where their opinion does not match (perceived) public opinion (Noelle-Neumann & Petersen, 2004). Because of this fear of rejection, individuals constantly monitor how others behave, and note how opinions and behaviors are met with public approval or disapproval. If individuals believe that their position on an issue would result in threats of social isolation, such as laughter or objections, they tend to fall silent. However, the intensity of this fear varies from person to person and from situation to situation, and hence can be overridden by a strong motivation to voice one's opinions. If opinions and positions on an issue are met with approval and praise, the threat of social isolation for the opposing camp grows stronger. This is the beginning of a spiral of silence, where the apparently (but not necessarily numerically) dominant side (public opinion) becomes louder and more confident, and supporters of the other camp fall silent (p. 349).

According to Noelle-Neumann & Petersen (2004), public opinion is limited by time and place. The spiral of silence only goes on for a limited period, until one side has achieved

predominance and the other camp(s) have been marginalized and are only held by a «hard core» of believers. Still, similar forces hinder a revival of the marginalized opinions until the dynamics of public opinion changes. This notion is made obvious in the case of metoo, when actress Alyssa Milano shared a tweet that encouraged survivors of sexual abuse to share their experiences. By bringing the issue into the public discourse, the spiral of silence was inevitably broken. The mass media plays an important role, as mentioned, to propel the messages of the once silent camp. Before metoo went viral, public opinion might have been that sexual harassment and abuse are not morally right, seen as unwanted, deviant behavior. The magnitude of metoo participants globally demonstrated that sexual abuse and harassment affects a high number of individuals, which potentially reduced the fear of social stigmatization and secondary victimization. Before metoo, the issue of sexual abuse had created reluctance to speak out about such incidents, which can be explained by cultures, structures, and power relations. Speaking out as a victim of sexual abuse might have been met with prejudices related to their behavior. Adding the often lack of accountability and consequences for perpetrators, victims of sexual abuse might have had more reasons not to speak out. The way in which the media contributed to public discourses around sexual abuse and the legitimacy of the issue might be explained both by the framing of the issue and the frequency of coverage.

2.6 Framing of feminism and feminist movements

Not all feminists will agree on every issue, and there are variations of movements across times and places with different priorities and strategies (Moghadam, 2015). For Western women, feminist movements have succeeded in several ways to garner change toward equal rights and greater de-facto equality for women vis-a-vis men. What is often referred to as the "second wave" of feminism in western countries, started with women that participated in civil rights movements in the US that soon realized the need to demand equal rights for women as well (Mendes, 2011). Feminist movements across the West between the 1960's and 1980's differed in terms of their priorities, goals, structures, and tactics. Issues comprised (a) promotion of equal pay, (b) improvement of childcare provisions and financing, and (c) outlawing and prosecution of sexual violence, both in the US and across Europe (Mendes, 2011). For the present study, issue (c) is the main link to the feminist movement. With metoo, there is probably some overlap due to this issue, but some metoo activists may also reject the label «feminist».

Media frames of early feminist movements have tended to depict them in ways that misrepresent their purpose and identity (Ashley & Olson, 1998; Lind & Salo, 2002; Bronstein, 2005). Ashley & Olson (1998) examined the framing of the women's movement in U.S. print media between 1966 and 1986, comparing coverage of feminists and antifeminists. One of their findings was that feminists' physical appearances were mentioned in 92% of coverage whereas the physical appearance of antifeminists was mentioned in 8% of coverage (p. 268). Coverage focusing on physical appearance also appeared during metoo, such as the Mail Online article titled "Make-up free Naomi Watts, 49, cuts an exhausted figure as she drops her son Alexander off to school in New York" (James, 2017). In this article, the initial focus is on the woman's' appearance and clothing, describing her as looking "a tad tired" and "lost in thought", wearing a "simple blue jacket". At the very end of the article, Watts' metoo-post online was shared with her caption quoted. Such emphasis on appearance

directs the focus on objectifying the woman based on idealized standards of beauty (Halliwell, Malson & Tischner, 2011), thus prioritizing appearance over any other characteristic and trivializing activist efforts.

Lind & Salo (2002) also found that feminists often were personalized and trivialized by referring to feminists' marital status and physical appearance, and that women referred to as feminists were ten times as likely to be associated with words like 'jerk', 'bitch', or 'bad', compared to other women (p. 224). Douglas (1994) argued that the media had a major role in turning the term 'feminism' into a dirty word and the negative connotations that came with it, by labelling outspoken and forthright women as a militant or radical feminist. Such coverage might have been due to the phenomenon of backlash and counterattacks discussed earlier when protesters challenge established cultural practices. During the second wave, feminists were largely absent from the media, according to Lind & Salo (2002), who argued that feminism was routinely ignored by the media and therefore deemed unimportant. The lack of coverage and, if it occurred, often negative coverage of feminists and feminism during the second wave could be explained by a combination of patriarchal and capitalist structures in news media at the time (Mendes, 2011). The previously constructed stereotypes of «radical» feminists and feminism was readily available as a cultural point-of-reference media frames could point to. This made it easy to ignore or demonize the movement.

Barasko & Schaffner (2006) points out that there was a huge increase in positive public opinion of feminists around the time of the Equal Rights Amendment of 1982 in contrast to the years prior. However, while the support for feminists grew, fewer women participated in women's rights organizations (Huddy et al., 2000). This decrease in female participation and efforts for women's rights could be explained by the post-feminist discourse in Western countries, claiming that feminism had achieved its goal of gender equality (Aune & Holyoak, 2018), focusing on the legal situation, and neglecting gender inequality in other areas. Another problem faced by organizers after the second wave was the disconnect between media coverage of issues and the priorities of organizers, as found by Barasko & Schaffner (2006). By strategically playing into the routines of the media to gain attention, media coverage was dominated by issues regarding reproductive rights. This issue was not the top priority of activists and organizers. However, the issue of abortion provoked conflict and raised newsworthiness. The controversy between «pro-life» and «pro-choice» activists further heightens newsworthiness (p. 39). As mentioned earlier regarding the dilemma of media access; no news is bad news (Gamson, 2004). That could explain why organizers played into journalistic routines. Given the media's ability to shape public opinion and discourse, this in turn might have influenced lack of identification to the movement for some women.

'Popular' and 'neoliberal' feminism are terms that are often used to describe contemporary feminism, characterized by increasing visibility across media platforms and widespread popularity of feminism in Western cultures. Celebrity women such as Meghan Markle, Emma Watson and Oprah Winfrey are some of the few women across the Western world who have become new faces of feminism, openly calling themselves feminists. Banet-Weiser (2018) argues that contemporary 'popular' feminism is characterized by focusing on personal empowerment and achievements instead of structural change (Banet-Weiser, 2018). Neoliberal feminism is explained by Rottenberg (2018) as an individualized feminism:

structural gender inequalities become an individual affair. This is exemplified by pointing out Sheryl Sandbergs' book 'Lean In', in which Sandberg seems distinctly aware of the inequalities between women and men. However, these structural forces producing this inequality are disavowed by placing the responsibility for well-being on individual women (p. 420). Popular and neoliberal feminism which depoliticizes and individualizes feminism may have had an impact on media framing of the metoo movement (De Benedictis, 2018; Rottenberg, 2018). Metoo exposed the pervasiveness and extent of sexual abuse, but rather than paving a path to challenge power imbalances, some judge that the visibility became an end in itself (Banet-Weiser, 2018).

2.7 Framing of the Metoo movement

Social media could have worked as an arena for the metoo movement to find its way into public discourse; as a way to challenge the dominant, public sphere maintained by the media. Before the metoo movement gained its attention, some argue that sexual abuse and harassment was predominantly framed as occasional problems focusing on victims of singular episodes, rather than being recognized as a broad political issue caused by underlying structural problems (Hansson et al., 2020; Goehring et al., 2017; Nettleton, 2011). The online engagement of metoo demonstrated how the scope of the problem was larger than one might have anticipated, which could have contributed to making the issue salient and legitimate in public discourses both within nations and across borders.

Media framing of the metoo movement has been a field of research to understand the role of the media (i.e., Starkey et al, 2019; Erickson, 2019; Moore, 2019; Hansson et al., 2020). Some researchers found that while the media framed the movement mostly positive, coverage simultaneously reinforced familiar patterns of coverage on sexual abuse, such as victim-blaming (Cuklanz, 2020; Fileborn et al., 2019; De Benedictis et al., 2019). Other studies found that sexual harassment was framed as an individual responsibility for women (Eilermann, 2018; De Benedictis, 2019), as well as vast variety in frames and coverage based on media outlets' ideological stance (Leifermann, 2018; De Benedictis, 2019). These findings may be related to the previously discussed prevalence of neoliberal and popular feminism which presents a more individualized outlook on feminist issues.

Moore (2019) investigated the framing of the origins of the metoo movement in two American news outlets. The findings showed that the press emphasized the roles of powerful men and celebrities and situated the Weinstein case as the catalyst moment. Grassroot efforts of activists were barely, if at all visible, and were clearly portrayed as a second-order factor in the initial success of the movement. Moreover, framing was found to often center around 'ideal victims' and women who are predominantly white and wealthy (Tambe, 2018; De Benedictis, 2018; Fileborn et al., 2019). Be Benedictis (2018) argued that media framing of metoo helped to "reinscribe a dominant version of feminism, one that forefronts White women, and most often White women with a substantial amount of economic, social and cultural capital" (p. 734). While recognizing the emphasis on white, straight, middle-class women, Gill & Orgad (2018) argued that the broad appeal and inclusivity of the movement resulted in, at least in part, the hashtag going global (p. 1317). A large bulk of research on media framing of metoo is based on public discourse and media

coverage in the US, which makes the global reach of the movement a unique chance for researchers to compare media framing across cultures.

Based on the literature on media coverage of feminist movements and the metoo movement, along with the apparent prevalence neoliberal and popular feminism, the third hypothesis formulated:

H3) Media coverage of metoo is more often than not focusing on one specific case

2.8 Contexts of comparison

As previous cross-cultural research on metoo demonstrates, cultural and ideological contexts might influence media coverage and public perceptions of metoo. Fung & Scheufele (2014) argue that sociocultural environments influence how people interpret mediated messages and form opinions on issues, as well as the willingness to speak out regarding controversial issues. Both the theory of framing and the spiral of silence theory share the idea that interpretation of mediated messages and individual responses to opinion disagreement are largely explained and influenced by the socio-cultural environments in which they are socially negotiated (Fung & Scheufele, 2014). Therefore, the ways that public mediated debates of metoo evolved and resonated in societies are expected to differ.

As mentioned, this study aims to conduct a content analysis of metoo media coverage in Norway and the UK. A useful starting point to address sociocultural differences between Norway and the UK is a Hofstede Insight Country Comparison (Hofstede Insights, n.d.). This tool compares national cultures based on six dimensions; power distance, individualism vs collectivism, masculinity vs femininity, uncertainty avoidance index, long-term orientation vs short-term orientation, and lastly indulgence vs restraint. It should however be noted that these indexes are not uncontested, but for rough contrasts they can offer a helpful heuristic.

Figure 1: Country comparison

Norway   United Kingdom
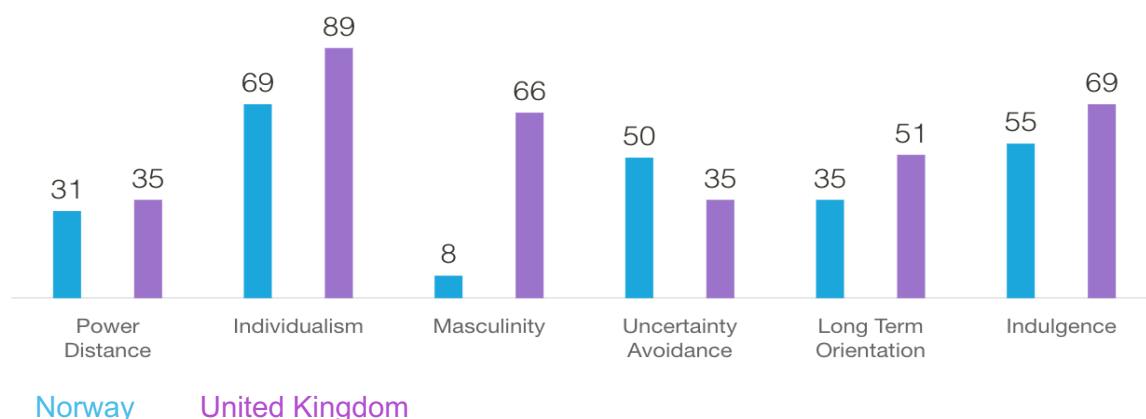
*Table retrieved from hofstede-insights.com/country-comparison/norway,the-uk/

For this study, dimensions on masculinity, individualism and power distance are most useful and relevant. The dimension for masculinity represents "a preference in society for achievement, heroism, assertiveness, and material rewards for success", in contrast to femininity which represents "cooperation, modesty and caring for the weak". This dimension

is where Norway and the UK differ the most. The dimension for individualism is defined as "a preference for a loosely-knit social framework in which individuals are expected to take care of only themselves and their immediate families". The dimension for power distance "expresses the degree to which the less powerful members of society accept and expect that power is distributed unequally", in which countries with low power distance "people strive to equalize the distribution of power and demand justification for inequalities of power". The cultural differences between countries will probably, as previous research also have suggested, influence how metoo was incorporated into public discourse. Therefore, the fourth hypothesis is that

H4) Norwegian media coverage of metoo generally differ from British media coverage of metoo

2.8.1 The Norwegian context

Norway is considered as one of the most gender egalitarian countries in the world, with a social and economic system that has become known as "the Nordic model". This term refers to a welfare system that aims to create universal rights and minimizing inequalities, and the model is often given credit for its success regarding political participation (Syvertsen et al., 2014). The Norwegian media have a publicly supported and independent press (NRK), which is publicly owned and funded. According to Syvertsen et al. (2014), this organization of media in Nordic countries has contributed to building national identity, and to maintain the highest number of readerships in the world. NRK plays an important role as a part of the welfare state of Norway, to provide widespread distribution and access for the Norwegian public, as well as advancing their political knowledge (Ohlsson, 2015).

Regarding gender politics, women were given the right to vote and run for election in 1907 and elected the first female prime minister in 1981. Norway was also influenced by the American second wave feminism, in which Norwegian women organized in the 1970's to demand a different life than the previous generation of 'house wives' (Hagemann, 2015). Norwegian women demanded equality in education and the workforce, and since the mid 1980's the number of women in higher education has been higher than the male share (Benum, 2015). The second wave in Norway had its peak in 1975; the year of the UN's first Women's Conference. The UN's declaration on women's' rights of 1967 was later implemented nationally in Norway in 1979, which granted equal opportunities in education, employment, and cultural advancement (Benum, 2015). Another important victory for the Norwegian second wave was concerning self-determined abortion, which resulted in the implementation of the law on abortion in 1978 (Hagemann, 2015). These victories increased women's' representation in policy making and created a shift towards a more gender inclusive society (Teigen & Skjeie, 2017).

Several regional and global reports have ranked Norway as one of the most gender egalitarian countries in the world (i.e., the UN Development Program's Gender Inequality Index of 2019; the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report of 2020). There has been substantial progress and changes socially, economically, and politically towards a more gender equal society in Norway. There are, however, still some challenges in Norway that sparks debate. The right to self-declared abortion was for instance back on the political agenda in 2014, in which thousands of protesters defended the right against oppositionist groups (Hagemann, 2015). Some also press concerns regarding the implications of

intersectionality in societies considered "women-friendly", in which minority women are often less represented in social and political institutions (Lister, 2009). Another challenge that still prevails in Norway is sexual violence and abuse. Almost 10% of Norwegian women experience rape at least once, and one third of these women never tell anyone about the incident. The few cases that are reported to the police rarely lead to convictions (Thoresen & Hjemdal, 2014). Although Norway may be ahead of other countries in terms of gender egalitarianism, these statistics demonstrate that some structural and cultural challenges to achieve gender equality remain.

Sexual harassment in workplaces and within political parties became the main focus in the context of metoo in Norway, in addition to ethical guidelines of media practices. Metoo was tied to power relations and cultures within workplaces, often characterized by internally ineffective and flawed regulations against sexual harassment (Sletteland, 2018). Personal experiences were viewed in relation to the responsibility of employers, and the need for change of norms within organizations' cultures (Orgeret, 2020). The focus on the workplace may have caused media frames of sexual harassment as mostly a work-life issue (Sletteland, 2018). In the Norwegian media sector, metoo sparked internal debates regarding journalistic ethical guidelines, particularly anonymity (Orgeret, 2020). In December of 2017, the conversation on metoo in Norway shifted towards political parties. The following month was characterized by several specific cases which resulted both in internal disputes within parties and politicians stepping down from their positions. Because of metoo, organizations reassessed their internal guidelines on sexual harassment and reporting (Orgeret, 2020). This consequence might indicate that the issue of sexual harassment was taken particularly serious within workplaces in Norway. Sletteland (2018) argued that the focus on workplaces could be explained by the articulation of metoo into existing discourses on responsibilities concerning sexual harassment in the workplace which was already clarified by law (p. 156). With these findings, there is an expectation that Norwegian metoo coverage is characterized by cases within specific sectors, particularly in politics. Following, the fifth hypothesis is formulated:

H5) Norwegian media coverage of metoo is characterized by a high share of articles focusing on specific sectors, particularly politics

2.8.2 The UK context
While the UK often ranks lower than Norway in global reports on gender equality (i.e., UN Development Program's Gender Inequality Index of 2019), the country often gets relatively high ranked within a global context. The UK is also considered a welfare state with its own publicly supported broadcast institutions, but the institutional and political structures differ vastly from the Norwegian. British publicly supported broadcasters offer a wider definition; it includes institutions of British 'independent' broadcasters who have a strong presence of private ownership but with commitments and obligations similar to publicly supported broadcasters (Syvertsen, 1991). The UK welfare system differs from the Norwegian social democratic regime, often characterized as a liberal welfare state which is closer to the American, more privatized system (Crompton & Harris, 1997). The Norwegian model provides strong support for women's employment and universal social transfer systems, while the UK has market-driven solutions to work-family reconciliation (UN Women, 2019). Despite differences in institutional structures between the UK and Norway, both countries are considered as relatively 'woman-friendly' countries within a global context.

The British second wave might be assumed to have been influenced by the American movement, but Fairbairns (2003) indicate that it rather developed as a response to the sexual politics inspired by the efforts of women in trade unions and the Labour movement. Influenced by Europe's radical and socialist parties and trade unions, women fought for equal pay, childcare and against sexual violence (Mendes, 2011). The Sex Discrimination and Equal Pay Acts came into effect in Britain in 1975, which then resulted in a decline in feminist efforts (Bouchier, 1983). Bagguley (2002) argue that the period after the second wave rather was a feminist movement in 'abeyance' rather than in decline, because women became absorbed from movement activism into political opportunities and thus removing resources from movement organizing (p. 183). By the late 1980's, media coverage of feminist protest almost disappeared and became a less publicly visible movement.

With the New Labour in power from 1997, several welfare reforms brought significant rights for women, such as paid maternity leave (Annesley, 2010). 1997 also became the year that started to drastically improve the numbers of women in British politics. The number of women in parliament increased from 9 percent in 1987 to 18 percent in 1997, a period when young women of the second wave feminism entered the political sphere (Bagguley, 2002). This might demonstrate a process of feminization of formal institutions, as pointed out by Bagguley (2002). Public policy outcomes and the formal entry of women into the political sphere might have redirected efforts toward greater gender equality from the streets into the form of political participation.

Aune & Holyoak (2018) provides an interesting take on contemporary British feminism, tied to the flow of women into the New Labour government of the 1990's:

"Young women are negotiating an individualized, reflexive, neoliberal context in which they are seen as both the heroines and failures of late modernity; the 'can do' girls of the New Labour government of the late 1990's and 2000's who are excelling in education and smashing glass ceilings at work, but also the 'at risk' girls in peril of binge drinking, teenage pregnancy, and record rates of youth unemployment" (p. 184)

The post-feminist era in Britain could be considered as a depoliticized celebration of social and economic emancipation, with popular culture exemplified by Spice Girls and The Girlie Show that portrayed an unproblematic sexualized femininity (Aune & Holyoak, 2018). Post-feminism in Britain manifested as a culture of neoliberal agenda, in which gender inequalities became less visible behind the agenda of 'choice' (p. 187). Around the 2000's, a new generation of feminists mobilized in opposition to this culture. This led to a number of emerging public conferences, national issue-based campaigns concerning various forms of sexual harassment and media representation, as well as internet activism (Aune & Holyoak, 2018).

The metoo movement gained considerable media coverage in the UK. Media coverage was characterized by both distributing stories that had emerged online, as well as presenting new stories and reports on sexual abuse (De Benedictis, 2019). There were some cases that surfaced within national borders in the UK. The 'Oxfoam scandal' exposed power dynamics and widespread challenges of sexual abuse in British NGOs, when a series of allegations surfaced about behavior of employees during the 2010 Haiti earthquake (Riley, 2020). What

became known as the 'Pestminister scandal' revealed that several male politicians had sexually harassed women for years (Raney & Collier, 2021). Female politicians, staff members and journalists opened up about their experiences on sexual harassment in British politics, which led to resignations and suspensions of multiple Cabinet members and Members of Parliament (Krook, 2018).

Although incidents like these came into light, a survey of women between the ages of 18 to 30 in England and Wales revealed that nearly one third said that their workplace had taken no action after the metoo movement started to tackle sexual harassment (Elks, 2019). The libel laws in Britain also made it harder to write about incidents, and some claim that a broad use of NDA's silenced victims (Julios, 2022). To name perpetrators, even if the individual had already resigned, or to write about commonly known accusations, became challenging because of fears of litigation (Raney & Collier, 2021). The UK has a National Union of Journalists (NUJ) which offers guidelines for British journalists when reporting on sexual harassment and abuse. Royal (2019) analyzed British media coverage of metoo to determine if these guidelines were enforced. They found that the coverage analyzed regularly failed to represent lived experiences and the reality of sexual violence, often reinforcing negative gender stereotypes (p. 231).

Although the mentioned scandals of 'Pestminister' and Oxfoam were phenomenon specific to Britain, both scandals were often characterized by multiple accusers and multiple alleged perpetrators. The Westminster sexual misconduct allegations were initially revealed by a published spreadsheet with descriptions of complaints against 36 unnamed politicians written by some Westminster employees (Gelblum, 2017). The unofficial document contained largely unsubstantiated, sometimes vague claims, also containing claims of consensual relationships (Julios, 2022). The nature of these allegations may have resulted in media coverage on sexual harassment in British politics being more general and include several actors, rather than specific cases. However, some cases did become part of the public conversation (i.e., cases of Mark Garnier, Damien Green, Stephen Crabb) that resulted in resignations. However, due to challenges of media coverage on specific cases due to libel laws, one might expect that the share of articles focusing on 'victim vs perpetrator' is relatively low.

Based on the findings of previous research on metoo in the UK as well as the British cultural context one can assume that media coverage may be focusing less on specific cases in politics than in Norway, especially within national borders. Thus, the sixth hypothesis is that

H6) British media coverage focus less on a specific case within the political sector, compared to Norwegian media coverage

De Benedictis (2019) found three peaks of British media coverage: the initial virality of metoo, the Golden Globes and the Oscars. This finding along with the findings of media coverage reinforcing negative gender stereotypes (Royal, 2019) and the lack of action taken in workplaces to prevent sexual harassment (Elks, 2019), could indicate that British media coverage of metoo to some extent had more emphasis on entertainment and sensationalism while also reinforcing negative gender stereotypes. Even though both the UK and Norway generally rank relatively high on gender equality reports, as mentioned, Norway is considered to be ahead of the UK in some respects towards gender equality. Therefore, one

may assume that British media coverage overall is more critical towards the metoo movement and victims. The seventh hypothesis is formulated as following:

H7) British media coverage includes criticisms against the victim/accuser or the metoo movement that might harm credibility or legitimacy more often than Norwegian media coverage

3 Method

This chapter presents the research design and methodology used in this study, with justifications for choosing quantitative research methods and a codebook as a measuring instrument. Sampling procedure, how data was collected and analyzed and reflections on the quality of the research design is presented in the following sections.

3.1 Research design

Media coverage of the metoo movement has been comprehensive. To get an overview of the coverage to answer the research questions, the approach of quantitative content analysis is utilized to investigate how seven Norwegian and British online news outlets covered the metoo movement. The decision of using a quantitative approach is to get a more holistic perspective of how the movement was covered in news outlets. A larger pool of articles must be considered in order to get a more comprehensive overview of the coverage of the movement, which is why a quantitative approach is suitable for this study. A quantitative approach examines the width of coverage, rather than examining in depth which a qualitative approach might aim for.

A quantitative content analysis can be defined as a systematic, objective, and quantitative description of the content of a message (Østbye et al., 2013). This approach quantifies content in a systematic and verifiable manner based on predefined categories. This means that textual data are coded based on predefined categories found in a codebook. According to Scheufele (2008), there are three general purposes to quantitative content analysis: 1) To study factors that have influenced the text or message, 2) describing the text, i.e., by the emergence of key words, patterns, or persons and 3) the effect of the message or text (p. 3). In this study, the quantitative approach to content analysis aims to detect patterns in media coverage from four Norwegian and three British online newspapers. One important criterion for quantitative empirical research, according to Scheufele (2008), is the criterion of intersubjectivity that calls for transparent research. This means that the study should aim to be verifiable by providing all details of the analysis, explaining, and describing clearly what has been done.

3.2 Delimitations

This study aims to investigate framing of metoo in Norwegian and British media coverage, and these countries were not chosen by coincidence. As previously mentioned, research on media coverage of metoo in Norway has major gaps. A comparative approach is not yet to be found within research on the Norwegian media coverage of metoo, which is why this study has a comparative approach. The UK was chosen as the second country to analyze, which was not coincidental either. First, language barriers limited the countries to choose from, in which media coverage had to be either written in English or any Scandinavian language. Second, research on metoo coverage comparing countries often includes US media coverage, and some research already compares the Scandinavian countries. Therefore, the decision to compare Norwegian and British media coverage might provide a greater empirical contribution.

This study addresses media coverage of the metoo movement in a particular period of six months. The limit of six months was chosen because of time constraints and the number of articles found within this time period. 100 articles were randomly selected from each country, from October 2017 to April 2018, during the first six months after the metoo movement became popularized. Media content of seven online news outlets were chosen for the analysis, and each of the 200 randomly selected articles was analyzed as one unit. The term 'article' may however be an ambiguous term (Østbye et al., 2013). Some articles may be longer and combine multiple stories, in which decisions must be made concerning how articles should be registered and utilized. In this analysis, articles were regarded as one unit if the article contained at least 200 words. This decision was made to rule out short descriptions attached to videos and short press releases.

The online newspapers were chosen based on readership numbers found in the Reuters Institute Digital News Report (Newman et al., 2018) which provides insight on news trends of 2017. Based on the list of the most popular online news sites in the UK and the content available in the Factiva database, 100 articles were randomly chosen from Guardian online, Mail online and Sun online. Based on the most popular online news sites in Norway and the available content in the Retriever database, 100 articles were randomly selected from NRK, TV2, VG and Dagbladet. The most popular online news sites were chosen for this study, because one can assume that these outlets reflect public discourses to a higher degree than less popular news outlets. Online news was chosen because most people read news online in 2017, both in Norway and in the UK, according to the Reuters Institute report (2018).

The key words used to find relevant articles were "metoo OR #metoo" AND "sexual harassment OR sexual abuse OR rape OR sexual misconduct". These key words were used to gather relevant articles concerning the metoo movement and excluded the ones that only mentioned "metoo" without referring to some variation of a word linked to the issue of sexual harassment. The same key words were translated to Norwegian for the Norwegian content. The total number of articles found within the period of six months were 1253 Norwegian articles and 1774 British articles.

3.2.1 Norwegian online news sources
The four most popular online news sites in Norway in 2017 were VG, TV2, Dagbladet, and NRK - in that order. All these sources were available in the Retriever database, so media coverage from these outlets are included in this analysis. While these news outlets prefer to remain neutral in regard to political ideologies, there are some indicators based on readers' political affiliations that could mirror the general stance of their coverage. Based on their readers' political affiliations, NRK are positioned the farthest to the left, Dagbladet slightly to the left from the center, and VG slightly to the right from the center (Wilhelmsen, 2017).

NRK
Norsk rikskringkasting (NRK) is the state owned, publicly supported media outlet in Norway (Enli, Smith-Meyer & Syvertsen, 2022). NRK was mainly supported by license fees but has been financed directly by the state budget since 2020. NRK has a social mission which is formulated in the 'NRK-poster', which states that the media outlet shall strengthen democracy, Norwegian language, and culture, and strive for diversity, quality, and general accessibility (Enli, Smith-Meyer & Syvertsen, 2022). NRK does not experience the economic pressures as other commercial news outlets but must also strive to stay relevant and

supported by conforming to media competition (Bjørnstad & Leknes, 2018). NRK was the fourth most popular online news site in Norway in 2017, visited by 31 percent of survey respondents at least 3 times per week (Newman et al, 2018). NRK did however rank as the most trusted source by participants (p. 93).

VG
Verdens Gang (VG) is considered a national tabloid newspaper and was the most popular online news outlet in Norway in 2017 (Newman et al, 2018). Norway has one of the highest numbers of consumers willing to pay for news (Moe & Sakariassen, 2018 for Reuters Institute), which is demonstrated by VG's high numbers of consumed content behind a paywall, which passed a hundred thousand by the end of 2016 (Bjørnstad & Leknes, 2018). In 2017, VG was the most visited online news site in Norway with 56 percent of survey respondents visiting at least three days per week (Newman et al, 2018).

Dagbladet
Dagbladet was founded as a radical opposition organ in 1869, historically considered an anti-authoritarian newspaper with strong skepsis towards all forms of guardianship (Eide, 2021). Dagbladet has since had varying editorial lines, but its position as a liberal newspaper with some radical perspectives have been evident in issues such as language concerns, church politics, and women's' rights (Eide, 2021). Dagbladet is considered a tabloid and could be argued to be the biggest competitor to VG (Eide, 2021).

TV2
TV2 is the biggest commercial broadcaster in Norway, established to create competition in the Norwegian media market which was characterized by NRK monopoly and international competition (Enli & Syvertsen, 2018). In 2017, 40 percent of survey respondents visited TV2's website at least 3 times per week (Newman et al., 2018). TV2 has a unique position in the Norwegian media market because of a concession with the state, in which TV2 gets economic compensation to produce news that contributes to goals like the ones formulated in the 'NRK-poster' (Enli & Syvertsen, 2018). However, aside from some obligations from the state, TV2 mainly operates as a commercial media organization which relies on advertisements and subscription fees.

3.2.2 British online news sources
The most popular online news site in the UK in 2017 was BBC Online (Newman et al., 2018). Unfortunately, Factiva did not provide BBC content, therefore news coverage from BBC is not included in this analysis. Guardian Online and Mail Online were ranked as the second and third most popular online news sites of 2017, and articles from both these outlets are included in this analysis. The third UK online news publisher that Factiva provided content from was Sun online, which then became the third and last source for news content. Sun Online was ranked as the 7th most popular, so only those three news sources were used as an attempt to not skew the content towards less popular outlets. These news outlets also represent varying political orientations and thus a broad base of readership (Patterson & Teyhan, 2012).

Guardian Online
The Guardian is considered one of the most influential, respected, and leading newspapers of the UK, and has historically been praised for its investigative journalism (Britannica Online

Encyclopedia, 2021). For example, The Guardian played a major role recently in exposing Cambridge Analytica of their misuse of data (Newman et al., 2018). The editorial stance of The Guardian is considered less conservative than its main competitors; the Daily Telegraph and the Independent (Britannica Online Encyclopedia, 2021). The Guardian may be considered as a more 'serious' news outlet, in which content generally has a more serious tone and represents a diverse range of political ideologies (Patterson & Teyhan, 2012). There is however a perception of more left-wing oriented coverage (Smith, 2017).

Mail Online
Mail Online is the website of the Daily Mail, which is considered as one of the first British papers to popularize its coverage to appeal to a broad audience (Britannica Online Encyclopedia, 2022). The Daily Mail could be considered a middle-market tabloid, characterized by a more serious tone than tabloid outlets and often with middle-class, right-wing readers (Patterson & Teyhan, 2012). In a 2017 survey on public perceptions of where UK mainstream media sit on the left-right political spectrum, the Daily Mail was perceived as Britain's most right-wing paper (Smith, 2017). In contrast, The Guardian was considered the most left-wing paper in the UK in the same study.

Sun Online
Sun Online is the website of The Sun, a newspaper that was read by 15 percent of UK citizens in 2017 (Newman et al., 2018). In contrast to the Daily Mail and the Guardian, the Sun had more print than online readers in 2017. The Sun is considered a tabloid newspaper, characterized by less serious and sensationalist content (Patterson & Teyhan, 2012).

3.3 Codebook

The codebook for this study is made up of nine overarching categories, which in total counts to 71 variables. The aim of these categories is to investigate the media coverage of metoo in Norway and the UK, and to understand the similarities and differences between the countries. The codebook was created with a focus on the previously mentioned theories on social movements and media dynamics within a feminist perspective. Most variables are nominal and dichotomous, coded as 0 or 1, in which the variable was coded as 1 if the article contained that specific variable. Thus, most variables of the codebook work as a question regarding the text. Categories and variables were carefully chosen to answer the hypotheses and research questions given in chapter two. All articles were read and coded in Excel, and ultimately registered to Stata for statistical analyses.

3.3.1 Codebook categories
Below follows a short description of codebook categories. Further explanations and more thorough details of the codebook categories and variables can be found in the attachment.

Category A: Item information
The first category of the codebook consists of variables 1) Date, which was included to identify potentially varying coverage over time. 2) News outlet, which was included to distinguish where the article was published. 3) Type of text, to distinguish fact based and opinion-based articles. 4) Number of authors, and 5, 6, 7, 8, 9) Gender of journalist, that was included to identify potential patterns between news coverage and the gender(s) of the

journalist(s). Journalists were coded in the order of the appearance on the byline, and if there were more than five journalists only the first five were coded. If the gender of the journalist was unclear or not mentioned the variable was coded as "unclear".

Category B: Case focus
The second category of the codebook is case structure. This category considers the number of cases mentioned, if there is a focus on a specific dominant case, and if the article refers to texts on social media. These variables were included to potentially identify patterns of articles focusing on single cases, multiple cases, or no cases.

Category C: Attention for actors
The category for attention for actors counts how many paragraphs the (alleged) victim, (alleged) perpetrator, people connected to either victim/perpetrator, other prominent people, or regular people were mentioned in the article. These variables were included to determine whose voices were prioritized in the coverage.

Category D: Actor characteristics
The characteristics of actors include the (alleged) victim, (alleged) perpetrator, and other prominent people. If one is considered a famous person, if one is affiliated within a specific sector, and if either (alleged) victim/perpetrator is anonymous.

Category E: Presence of narratives
The category for presence of narratives involves variables for victim/perpetrator, to identify if either narrative is present in the article, and if the narrative is questioned or supported. Questioning the victim/perpetrators narrative was coded as 1 if the credibility of the actor/the actor's narrative was explicitly questioned, for example by discussing possible inferior motives, inaccuracies, intoxication, psychological disorders. The variable for support was coded as 1 if the credibility of a narrative was explicitly supported, for example by highlighting possible superior motives, consistency with neutral accounts, or negative impact of their account. These variables were also coded as 1 if the article contained a third persons' narrative confirming/refuting the victim/perpetrators' narrative.

Category F1: Criticisms against movement or victim
This category accounts criticisms against the victim/accuser/movement that may harm credibility or legitimacy. This category consists of 16 variables that are based on stereotypical attitudes on sexual violence. These variables are coded as 1 if the article provides a narrative that explicitly or implicitly criticize the movement, the victim, excuse the behavior of the perpetrator, refer to the incident as a scandal, and so on.

Category F2: Support for movement or victim
This category includes variables such as the mentioning of courage of the accuser, supportive notions of the movement, presenting the metoo movement as a driver of social change, celebrating of technology to bring awareness, mentions of numbers of women coming forward, presenting a change in culture as a solution, and presenting sexism as a structural and cultural issue.

Category G: Support for accused

This category includes variables of support for the (alleged) perpetrator, for example mentions of professional or personal achievements and professional life, how the accusation negatively impacts the accused, and whether the behavior of the accused is referred to as being considered a 'gray area'.

Category H: Legal aspects
The category for legal aspects includes variables on the current legal situation, if the case already has been resolved in court, the legal status of the victim/perpetrator, if the accused face other negative consequences such as being fired from their job, and if there are any criticisms of internal handlings of an accusation. The latter was coded as 1 regardless of the criticism being in favor of either victim or accused.

Category I: General
The last category called 'general' includes variables on whether the movement was explicitly or implicitly portrayed in a negative/positive manner, if there is any expression of ambiguity, if the goals of the movement is mentioned, if the article is specific to any professional sector, and if the article mentions Tarana Burke, Alyssa Milano, or Harvey Weinstein.

3.4 Coding process and procedures

Most of the variables used in this analysis are nominal and dichotomous. Therefore, statistical analyses consisted mostly of analyzing bivariate frequency tables. Some variables were made into index variables to answer the hypotheses. A bivariate frequency table describes the relationship between two variables, without defining either variable as the cause to the other (Midtbø, 2016). To rule out possible coincidental covariances, chi-squared tests are used to determine the likeliness of whether the covariance between variables are coincidental or not. Furthermore, the Cramer's V value of the Chi-squared tests were considered. The p-value will determine the likeliness of rejecting a true null hypothesis, which should be under 5%; where $p<0.05$. Cramer's V measures the strength of association between the variables (Midtbø, 2016). In the following section, the procedures done to answer each of the seven hypotheses will be explained further.

One part of hypothesis 1 is the expectation of a high share of articles focusing on celebrity participants. Three variables were combined to make a variable that was labeled "celebrity". Variable D1 "*Does the item include a victim/accuser that is considered a famous person?*, D2 *Does the item include a perpetrator/alleged perpetrator that is considered a famous person?*" and D3 "*Does the item include a prominent person that is considered a famous person?*" were combined into one variable that accounted for the frequency any celebrity mentioned in articles. This index variable was also used to answer part of hypothesis 2, whether celebrities act as spokespersons more often than movement leaders.

Two variables for social media mentions were made into an index; variable B3 "*Does the item mention social media, or refer to texts on social media? (i.e., twitter posts)*" and variable F21 "*Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly mentions numbers, in terms of the number of women coming forward and also in terms of the number of testimonies shared, liked, or reported on?*". This index variable was used to answer part of hypothesis 1; whether there was a high share of articles mentioning the magnitude of shared posts online.

The third part of hypothesis 1 is the expectation of a high share of articles characterized by drama or sensationalism. This part was answered by the frequencies observed in variable F6 *"Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly describes the incident as some kind of a scandal, rather than a gender equality issue?".* In addition, an index variable of all support variables was used in a bivariate frequency table to identify articles characterized by conflict and opposing views. Variable F17 *"provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly considers the courage of the victim/accuser",* F18 *"provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly includes supportive notions of the movement"*, F19 *"provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly presents metoo as a legitimate driver for social change and/or personal vindication for women across the world"*, F20 *"provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly mentions the role of technology and social media as celebrated and an important factor"* was included in this index. Variable F21 that was presented above was also included in the index variable, as well as variables F22, F23 and F24. The latter variables will be presented below. The dichotomous support variable was used in a bivariate frequency table with an index variable made up of all criticism variables. The index variable for criticism is also explained below.

The second hypothesis was also tested with index variables. The index variable for "radical claims" in favor of the movement was variables F22, F23 and F24, which then was coded into a dichotomous variable. Variable F22 included articles that "*provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly defines the cause of the problem as an imbalance in power structures between men and women, as a gender equality issue, as a culture of silence, or a lack of respect for women on a general level"*, variable F23 was articles that "*provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly mentions that the solution is a change in culture? by changing laws and by finding collective solutions, suggesting that men both take the blame (even if they individually have not done anything) and that they should be part of the solution",* and variable F24 was articles that *provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly presents sexism as a structural problem built into the fabric of our culture? i.e. culture that is not changed by removing "bad apples".* These variables were classified as radical claims because the claims refer to sexual harassment and misconduct as structural and cultural problems of political concern. An index variable was also created to include all criticism variables, which in total was 17 variables: variables F1-F16 and I1. Some criticism variables will be further discussed in the next chapters, and further explanations of all criticism variables can also be found in the attachment. These index variables were created to answer two parts of hypothesis 2; that articles with radical claims often also feature criticism, and that a low share of articles features radical claims.

Hypothesis 4 is the expectation that media coverage generally differs between the countries. To investigate this hypothesis, the overall frequency distributions for each country were analyzed and tested for statistical significance. This was done largely by analyzing bivariate frequency tables, which resulted in finding some statistically significant differences between the countries. Some results will however be presented even though they are not statistically significant, based on the interpretation of the relevance of the results. Furthermore, hypotheses 6 and 7 also investigate differences between the countries which could impact the rejection or acceptance of hypothesis 4. One correlation analysis was utilized to determine the relationship between UK articles and "*support for the (alleged) perpetrators' narrative"* which determines the linear relationship between the two variables (Midtbø, 2016).

The fifth hypothesis is that a high share of Norwegian articles will focus on specific sectors, and particularly the political sector. This hypothesis was answered by creating an index variable. Variable D4, D5, and D6 represents whether the victim, alleged perpetrator, and other prominent person was coded in any of the following sectors: 1) politics, 2) entertainment, 3) fashion, 4) hospitality, 5) sports, 6) other, or 8) does not refer to any sector or profession. First, all three variables were coded into dichotomous variables where politics was coded as 1 and all other sectors coded as 0. Furthermore, these new dichotomous variables were combined into a new variable labeled "politician". This was done to observe the frequency of Norwegian articles referring to politicians. Variable I5 was also used to partly answer this hypothesis, which represents the frequency of articles referring to "*victim(s) of sexual harassment coming forward in one specific sector"*.

Hypothesis 6, "*British media coverage focuses less on a specific case within the political sector, compared to Norwegian media coverage"*, was also answered by index variables. First, variable B2 that represents frequencies of articles focusing on one dominant case, two or more cases or has no mention of any cases was coded into a dichotomous variable. Articles focusing on one dominant case were coded as 1. Following, two country variables were generated: one labeled "Norway" and one labeled "UK". Furthermore, the two country variables were combined with the opinion variables, and then coded into two dichotomous variables which represented the frequency of opinion-based articles for each country. Lastly, these variables were used in a bivariate frequency table with the index variable labeled 'politician'.

The last hypothesis that British articles feature more criticism variables than Norwegian articles was investigated by a bivariate frequency table of the country variable and the index variable 'criticisms' which was already generated for hypothesis 2. All raw data criticism variables are however also presented in a table to compare frequencies between countries.

Hypotheses 1, 2 and 5 refer to expectations of variables in low or high shares of articles. What could be perceived as a low or high share of articles are relative and may be interpreted differently. In this context, however, the limit of low/high shares is set to 20% of the sample. This means that if a variable is featured in less than 20% of sample articles, the interpretation in this study will be that there is a low share of articles containing that variable. Conversely, if a variable is featured in over 20% of sample articles, the interpretation in this study will be that there is a high share of articles featuring the variable. This limit is set to reject the null hypotheses or confirm the alternative hypotheses. However, the individual hypotheses and their results will be further discussed in chapter 5 regarding the frequencies of variables found in sample articles.

3.4.1 Challenges of the coding process
The coding process was characterized by some challenges. The first challenge was related to two variables; people connected to 1) (alleged) victim, and 2) (alleged) perpetrator. In some articles, a person mentioned could be connected to both, such as when a political leader commented on an ongoing case within the party. Therefore, the person was coded as connected to both the victim and perpetrator if the commenting was neutral and largely descriptive of the case. If the person was clearly presenting a point of view, the person would be coded as connected to either victim or perpetrator based on their stance.

Two variables represented whether the narrative of victim/perpetrator was questioned, and two represented if either narrative was supported. Some articles could have supportive or questioning notions within the article in general. This could for example be an article mentioning that an alleged perpetrator has been convicted of similar accusations earlier, which implicitly questions the narrative of the perpetrator if they deny the allegations. There were however several articles that had other people confirming or refuting the narratives of either the victim or the perpetrator. Therefore, the rules for coding of these four variables were changed to include other people's narratives that either supported or questioned the victim or the perpetrator.

Cases that had a dominant case, but that did not have a particular victim should also be addressed. For instance, one article was about a soccer coach accused of discriminatory comments. In such cases, the victim was coded as 0 while the accused was coded as usual. Another example is one article regarding a group of employees, that was not named, signing a petition against sexual harassment within the organization. In such cases the victim was coded as anonymous, and the organization was coded as the perpetrator to account for the particular sector.

3.5 Quality and ethics

Quantitative content analysis provides systematic, inter-subjective and replicable categorizing of content (Magin & Geiss, 2021). With this method, one can systematically categorize larger samples of news articles to identify overarching patterns in media coverage. One of the advantages of quantitative content analysis is therefore that large samples of data can be analyzed in a systematic and precise way (Burnham et al., 2008), and the codebook works to translate article characterizations into numerical numbers (Magin & Geiss, 2021). The creation of a codebook does however limit the findings to the specific categories and themes that are chosen, which may overlook interesting findings that could be easier to detect in a qualitative analysis.

Transparency, reliability, validity, and invariant application of sampling criteria are the four standards of a quantitative content analysis, according to Scheufele (2008). Detailed explanations of analysis procedures should be included, with the aim to make it as clear as possible for the reader what has been done. Coding rules and sampling criteria should be explained. Therefore, thorough explanations of the approach used in this study is given in the methods chapter. Explanations of the codebook categories and variables are given, as well as the procedures to answer each hypothesis. These detailed explanations are provided to strengthen transparency of the research process and approach of this study.

Even though a quantitative approach may strengthen intersubjectivity, the role of the researcher should be noted. The coding process and following results could be affected by personal bias and could therefore affect reliability. Therefore, readers should have in mind that this study is conducted from a feminist, social constructivist perspective, focusing on social justice and the connected possibilities and challenges of media coverage. The detailed explanation of the codebook, coding rules and processes should however strengthen intersubjectivity.

3.5.1 Reliability and intra-coder test

Reliability refers to the accuracy and the quality of the collected data (Ringdal, 2018). The codebook should be created with the aim to get the same results if the study were to be repeated. Therefore, the codebook must be as dependable as possible for the results to be reliable. High validity means that the instrument used measures what it intends to measure, and high reliability is a prerequisite of high validity (p. 103). One limitation to this study is that there was only one coder. When coding the material, there might be inconsistencies of interpretation even for the same coder. Another researcher coding the same material could also end up with a different result. To have more than one coder strengthens reliability because coders can interpret articles differently and discuss the material.

A detailed codebook and thorough explanations for each code could however strengthen reliability, as well as an intra-coder test where the same material is coded twice by the researcher. To optimize the reliability of the codebook used for this study, an intra-coding test was completed to determine the reliability of each code. The results of the intra coder test determined the reliability of each variable, in which variables with alpha<.80 would not be considered as satisfactory. Krippendorff (2008) recommends not using data with alpha<.65. Considering the sample size of this study, the limit requirement was set higher. The test found three problematic variables with alpha<.80, and these variables will therefore not be expected to find any effects in the analysis. The first problematic variable was "*overall impression of credibility of the victim*", in which overall impression of credibility was ranged on a scale from 1-5. The interpretation of credibility could be challenging, which could explain the low reliability of this variable. The second problematic variable was "*questioning the victim's motives*", and the third "metoo as witch hunt". These variables could also be problematic due to interpretations of implicit messages. Beside these three variables that are expected to not find effects in the analysis, the overall intra-coder reliability could be considered as high.

The sample size of this study may also affect the reliability and validity. The sample of 200 articles may be considered a small sample in quantitative analysis. Another researcher with a bigger sample size could therefore get other results. The 7 chosen online newspapers may also affect the results of this study, in which other researchers conducting the same study with a bigger sample size from more news outlets may get different results. However, the sample for this study was drawn by random selection of articles found with the keywords for searches. A true random sample heightens the representation of the population sample. The key words used to find relevant articles could also be heightening validity, because the sample of articles used measure what was intended to be measured. In addition, hypotheses given in chapter two are based on theories and previous research, and the approach to answer these are explained in detail which shows how the codes are relevant.

4 Results

In this chapter, the results of the analysis will be presented. Each subchapter provides the results of each of the seven hypotheses that was presented in chapter 2. The statistical tests and variables used to answer the hypotheses were previously explained in chapter 3.4, which mostly consists of bivariate analyses.

4.1 Focus on celebrities, magnitude, and scandal

The first part of hypothesis 1 is the expectation of a high share of articles mentioning celebrity participants. In the sample of 200 articles, 22.5% of articles have no mention of any person considered as a celebrity, while 77.5% of articles mention at least one famous person. The percentages of articles mentioning no celebrities, one celebrity participant, two celebrity participants and three celebrity participants are shown in the pie diagram in figure 2 below.
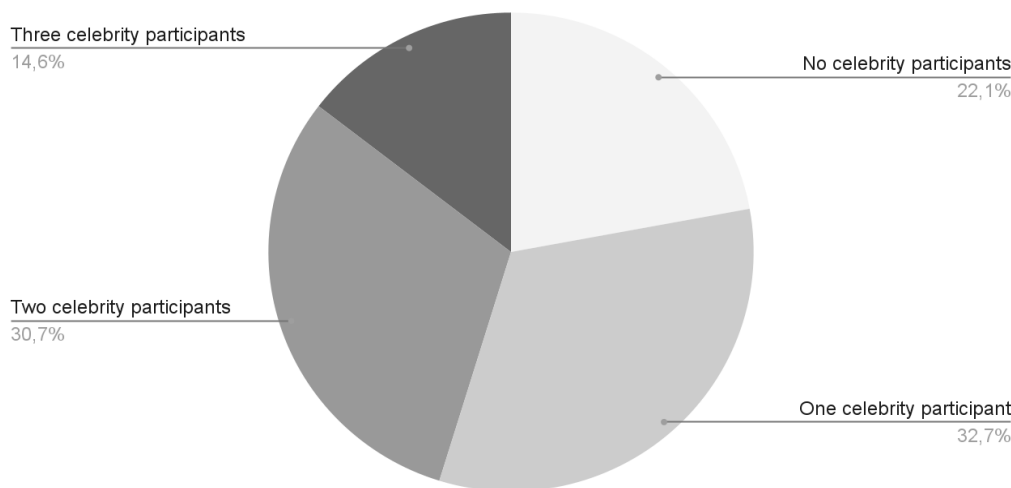
Figure 2: Distribution of articles featuring celebrity participants

The mentioning of celebrity participants in articles are either an alleged victim, alleged perpetrator or another prominent person considered a celebrity. The 14.5% of articles mentioning three celebrity participants are articles featuring a(n) (alleged) victim, (alleged) perpetrator and another prominent person considered celebrities. Based on the limit of 20% set for this study of what is considered a high share, this part of hypothesis 1 is accepted. Thus, the first part of hypothesis 1 is accepted: H1(A) *Media coverage of the metoo movement is characterized by a high share of articles mentioning celebrity participants.*

The second part of the first hypothesis is an expectation that a high share of articles will refer to the magnitude of the shared posts online. As shown in figure 3, the percentage of articles with no mention of social media or the magnitude of shared posts online are 57%. This means that 43% of articles either mention social media or the magnitude of shared posts online, or both.
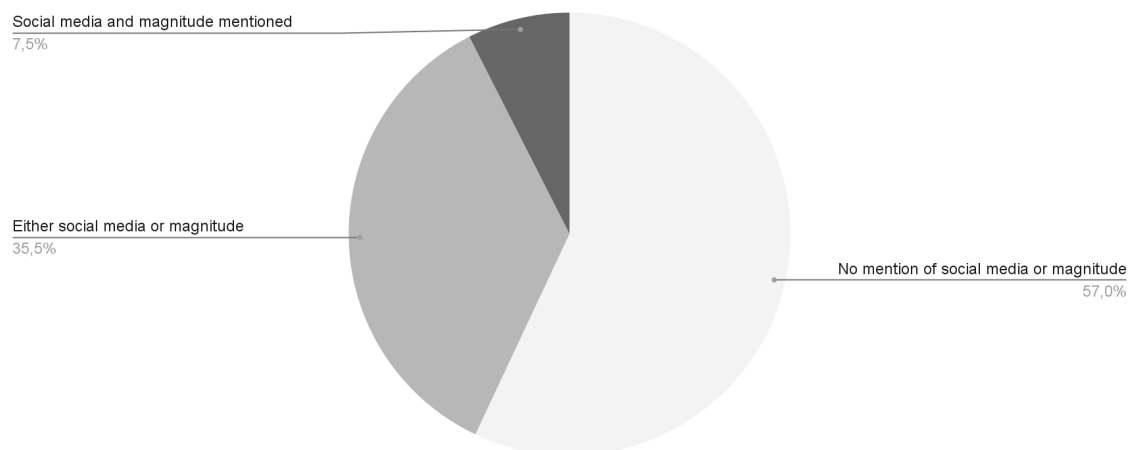
Figure 3: Distribution of social media and/or magnitude mentioned

35.5% of articles either mention the magnitude of shared testimonies online or refer to social media in one way or another, while 7.5% of articles mention both numbers of shared posts and social media. The share of sample articles mentioning the magnitude of shared posts online and social media is higher than the 'low share' limit of 20%. Based on these results, this part of hypothesis 1 is accepted: H1(B) *media coverage of the metoo movement is characterized by a high share of articles mentioning the magnitude of shared posts online.*

The third point of hypothesis 1 is that the expectation that a high share of articles is characterized by drama or sensationalism. 46% of sample articles (n=200) referred to either a particular case or the movement itself as a scandal. Thus, a high number of articles contained attributes of drama or sensationalism. 54% of sample articles (n=200) feature both at least one kind of support for victim/movement and one kind of criticism of victim/movement, which could be an indication of stories featuring conflict and opposing views.

Table 1: The relationship between support and criticism of victim/movement in articles

Support of the victim mentioned	Criticism of the victim mentioned		
	No criticism (n=64) %	Some criticism (n=136) %	Total (n=200) %
No support	2	20	14
Some support	98	80	86
Sum	100	100	100

Note: *Column-wise percentages. Chi2=12.1 Pr= 0.001 Cramer's V= 0.246*

The relationship between support and criticism of a victim and/or the movement in articles are weak, but statistically significant, with a p-value<.001 and Cramer's V of 0.25. This means that the features of criticism and support in articles are not independent, and that the feature of one of them has implications for the feature of the other. Table 1 shows that 80% of articles featuring criticism also feature support, while 20% of articles featuring criticism feature no support. Articles featuring no criticism feature support in 98% of articles.

The results show that 46% of sample articles feature scandal, and 54% of articles contain at least one support variable and one criticism variable, which in regard to the limit set of 20% represent a high share of articles featuring drama or sensationalism. Thus, this part of hypothesis 1 can be accepted: H1(C) *media coverage of the metoo movement is characterized by a high share of articles mentioning articles characterized by drama or sensationalism.*

4.2 Dynamics of support and backlash

The first part of the second hypothesis is the expectation that when articles contain more radical claims of the metoo movement, the article is more likely to also contain backlash or counterattacks. Table 1 below presents the frequencies in which radical claims or criticism was included in articles, as well the column percentages.

Table 2: The relationship between radical claims and criticism in articles

| Criticism of the victim or movement mentioned | Radical claims mentioned | | |
	No radical claim (n=96) %	Some radical claims (n=104) %	Total (n=200) %
No criticism	17	46	32
Some criticism	83	54	68
Sum	100	100	100

Note: *Column-wise percentages.* $\chi^2(1)= 19.95$ Pr<.001 Cramer's V= 0.32

The results in table 2 shows that 54% of articles featuring at least one radical claim, also include at least one criticism. 46% of articles containing at least one radical claim does not feature any criticism. This finding indicates that articles containing radical claims also contain criticisms approximately half of the time. The contingency between radical claims and criticism in articles is statistically significant with a chi-squared of 19.95; p<.001. This means that the features of radical claims and criticism are not independent, and that the features of one of them have implications for the features of the other. Cramer's V value of .32 indicates that the relationship between the variables is weak. Based on these results, articles featuring radical claims also contain criticism more often than not. Therefore, the first part of hypothesis 2 is accepted: *H2(A) When an article is about more radical claims of the metoo movement (directed at deeply held and taken-for-granted assumptions and beliefs), the article is more likely to feature backlash, counterattacks, or discrediting.*

By considering the variables of radical claims by themselves, the results differ vastly. 34% of the sample (n=200) "*provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly defines the cause of the problem as an imbalance in power structures between men and women, as a gender equality issue, as a culture of silence, or a lack of respect for women on a general level*". The relationship between articles featuring this narrative and criticism is shown in row 1 of table 3; "imbalance in power structures". Articles providing this narrative contained criticism in 52% of articles. Table 3 shows the distribution of articles featuring criticism when articles feature each of the three radical claims variables.

Table 3: Relationship between criticism and three radical claim variables

Articles featuring radical claim	Criticism of victim or movement			χ²; p; Cramer's V
	No criticism	Some criticism	Total	
Imbalance in power structures (n=69)%	48	52	100	χ²(1) = 12.13 p<0.001 Cramer's V= 0.25
Change in culture (n=87)%	52	48	100	χ²(1)= 27.53 p<0.001 Cramer's V= 0.37
Structural problem (n=28)%	61	39	100	χ²(1)= 12.337 p<0.001 Cramer's V= 0.25

Note: *Row-wise percentages.*

44% of sample articles (n=200), "*provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly mentions that the solution is a change in culture; by changing laws and by finding collective solutions, suggesting that men both take the blame (even if they individually have not done anything) and that they should be part of the solution*" represented by the second row in table 3; "change in culture". 48% of articles that contained "change in culture" also featured criticism.

14% of sample articles (n=200) provide *"a narrative that explicitly or implicitly presents sexism as a structural problem built into the fabric of our culture*", as presented in the third row in table 3; "structural problem". 39% of articles featuring "structural problem" also feature criticism.

Each radical claim variable has statistically significant relationships between them and the criticism variable. This indicates that features of each of the radical claims and criticism are not independent, and that the features of each radical claim and criticism have implications for the feature of the other. As evident in table 3, "imbalance in power structures" and "structural problem" have relatively similar values for chi-squared and Cramer's V, which indicates a significant but weak relationship between both these radical claim variables and the criticism variable. The "change in culture" variable has a higher value for chi-squared and Cramer's V, which indicates a stronger relationship between this radical claim variable and the criticism variable. The value of Cramer's V of 0.371 does however indicate that the relationship is weak. Further exploration also shows that 73% of all opinion-based articles featured at least one radical claim, compared to 45% of fact-based articles, which will be further discussed in chapter 5.2.

The frequency of the variable for "structural problem" shows that 14% of sample articles (n=200) refer to the need for structural change. This percentage falls below the limit of 20% set to differentiate low and high share of articles. However, 44% of sample articles (n=200) feature the radical claim variable for "cultural change". This percentage, in the context of the set limit of 20%, represents a high share of articles. Because hypothesis 2(B) is worded in a way that includes both variables for radical claims "structural problem" and "cultural change", this part of hypothesis 2 is rejected: H2(B) *A low share of articles mention the need for structural and cultural change to end sexual violence.*

Following the surprising finding of articles mentioning cultural change, further exploration showed that 58% of articles referring to cultural change also focus on a specific sector. This

result could indicate that mentions of cultural change often refer to cultures within workplaces, which will be further discussed in chapter 5.2.

Part C of hypothesis 2 is the expectation that celebrities more often act as speakers of the movement more frequently than movement leaders. Overall, Tarana Burke was mentioned in 5% of sample articles (n=200), while one or more celebrities was mentioned in 78% of sample articles (n=200). Articles with no mentions of sexual harassment cases (n=23) mentioned a celebrity in 52% articles, while Tarana Burke was mentioned in 9% of these articles. Table 4 shows the frequencies and percentages that a celebrity was mentioned in articles, based on whether the article mentioned no specific cases, had one dominant case, or had no dominant case. Overall, celebrities were featured in articles more frequently than not.

**Table 4:** The relationship between case structure and celebrity features

Celebrity feature	Case structure			
	No cases mentioned (n=23) %	One dominant case (n=79) %	More than one case (n=98) %	Total (n=200) %
No celebrity	48	15	22	23
Celebrity	52	85	78	78
Sum	100	100	100	101

Note: *Column-wise percentages.* Total percentages different from 100 are due to rounding errors. $\chi^2(2)$=10.88; Pr=.004; Cramer's V=0.23

There is a weak relationship between features of "celebrity feature" and "case structure" that are statistically significant with chi-squared 10.88 and p<0.05. This means that "celebrity feature" and "case structure" in articles are not independent, and that the two have implications for the other. The results show that celebrity participants are featured in over half of sample articles regardless of case structure, but that celebrity participants are featured most in articles with a dominant case. The results also showed that the founder of the metoo movement, Tarana Burke, was barely featured in articles. There is a difference of 73 percent points between articles featuring Burke and articles featuring at least one celebrity within the article sample (n=200). In articles with no case mentioned, at least one celebrity participant was mentioned in 52% of articles. Based on these results, part C of hypothesis 2 is accepted: H2(C) *Celebrities act as speakers of the movement more frequently than movement leaders.*

4.3 Focus on specific cases

To answer hypothesis 3, whether media coverage mostly focuses on a specific case, frequencies of the variable for "case structure" were considered. The variable for case structure represents frequencies of articles focused on one specific dominant case, two or more cases, or if there is no mention of any cases. The frequencies of the categories for case structure are presented in figure 4 below.
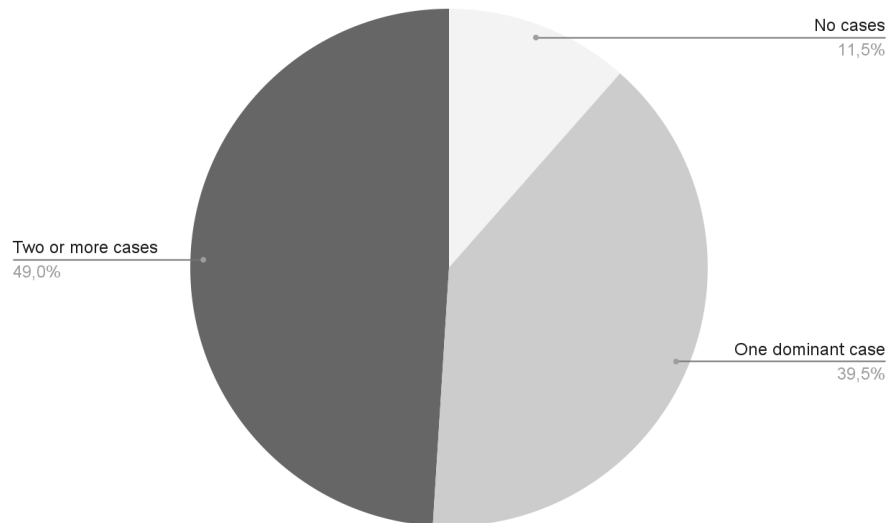
Figure 4: Distribution of case structure.

40% of articles focus on one specific dominant case, 49% of articles focus on two or more cases, and 12% of articles do not mention any specific cases. Based on these results, hypothesis 3 is accepted: H3) *Media coverage of metoo is more often than not focusing on one specific case.*

4.4 General country differences

Hypothesis 4 is the expectation that Norwegian and British media coverage of metoo generally differs. The results presented to answer hypotheses 6 and 7 will determine if there are differences between the countries regarding the prevalence of focus on specific sectors and the prevalence of criticism. Also, differences between the countries in hypotheses 1, 2 and 3 were investigated. Although there were slim differences in some parts of hypothesis 1-3, no differences were statistically significant.

First, there was found a difference in the attention for actors between the countries. Figure 5 shows the distribution of actors featured in articles within the Norwegian and the British sample.
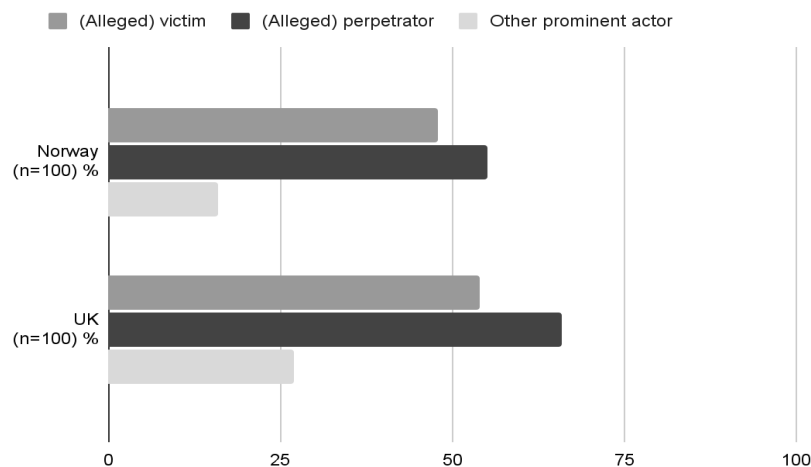
Figure 5: Distribution of actors mentioned by country

While the pattern in attention for actors is similar in both countries, British articles feature attention to actors more often than Norwegian articles. The differences between countries and the actor variables are however not statistically significant with p>.05.

There is a positive correlation between UK articles and the variable representing articles featuring "*support for the (alleged) perpetrators' narrative".* With r=0.15 and p<.05, the results indicate that articles from UK news outlets tend to feature more support for the (alleged) perpetrator.

There is a slight difference in articles featuring celebrity participants, in which 75% of Norwegian articles and 80% of British articles feature at least one celebrity participant. This difference was however not statistically significant with p>.05 and there is a high chance that this difference is coincidental.

63% of British articles focus on specific sectors, a relatively similar share of the Norwegian articles of 69%. However, the specific sectors in which coverage focuses on differs between the countries. Variables that represent the specific sectors of (alleged) perpetrator, (alleged) victim and other prominent actors were analyzed. 40% of British articles (n=100) feature an (alleged) perpetrator within the entertainment sector, compared to 25% of Norwegian articles (n=100). The difference between country and the sector of (alleged) perpetrator is statistically significant with Chi-squared of 16.29 and p<.05, indicating that the differences between the countries have a low chance of being coincidental. Cramer's V of 0.29 indicates a weak relationship between the variables, but the causal direction is unambiguous. Thus, which country the article is from may affect the attention given to an alleged perpetrator within a sector, not the other way around. 31% of British articles (n=100) featured an (alleged) victim in the entertainment sector, compared to 24% in Norwegian articles (n=100). The differences between the countries does however have a p-value of 0.082 and thus have an 8.2% chance of being coincidental.

In the British articles (n=100), 45% of articles featured a prominent actor in the entertainment industry, compared to 32% of Norwegian articles (n=100). The difference in sectors of prominent actors featured in articles between the countries are statistically significant: chi-squared=18.9; p<.05; Cramer's V=.31. This indicates that UK articles feature a prominent actor in the entertainment sector more often than Norwegian articles.

There is a weak, but statistically significant relationship between the country variable and variable for featuring an anonymous (alleged) victim. An anonymous (alleged) victim was found in 23% of Norwegian articles, compared to 12% of British articles. The relationship between the variables is weak with a Cramer's V value of 0.145, but the relationship is significant; chi-squared=4.19; p<.05. Thus, Norwegian articles feature anonymous victims more often than UK articles.

As mentioned, hypotheses 6 and 7 will further investigate particular differences between Norwegian and British coverage. However, based on the statistically significant differences between the countries previously discussed, the results demonstrate that there are differences in media coverage between the two countries. Therefore, hypothesis 4 is

accepted: H4) *Norwegian media coverage of metoo generally differ from British media coverage of metoo*

4.5 Norwegian focus on workplaces

Hypothesis 5 is the expectation of a high share of Norwegian articles focusing on specific sectors, and particularly the political sector. The results show that 69% of the Norwegian articles in the sample (n=100) focus on a specific sector. 51% of the Norwegian articles that focus on a specific sector (n=69), focus on the political sector. As figure 4 shows, 35% of Norwegian articles in the sample focus on at least one politician.
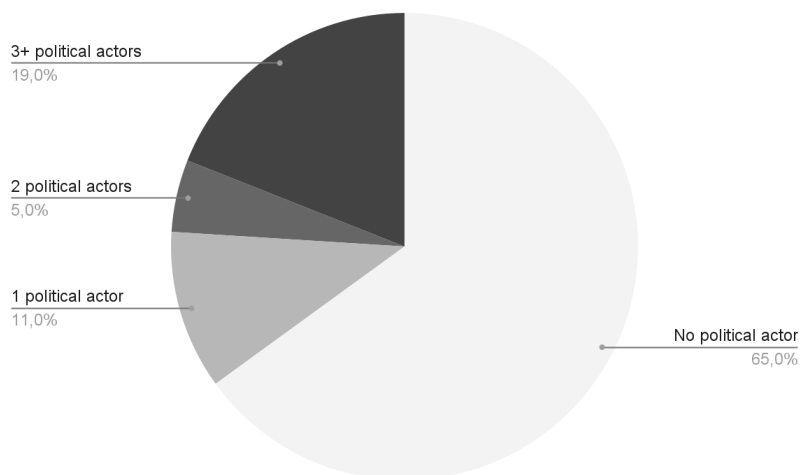
Figure 6: Distribution of Norwegian articles featuring political actors

The relationship between the country variable and the politician variable has a Chi-squared of 15.289 and p-value <0.05, which indicates that there is a statistically significant relationship between the variables. Cramer's V value of 0.277 indicates that the relationship between the variables is weak. Thus, because of the unambiguous causal direction, the result indicates that Norwegian articles feature political actors more often than UK articles. A 35% share of Norwegian articles focusing on at least one politician is considered as a high share of the sample, based on the limit set to 20% to differentiate low and high shares of articles. Therefore, hypothesis 5 is accepted based on these results: *H5) Norwegian media coverage of metoo is characterized by a high share of articles focusing on specific sectors, particularly politics.*

Further investigations of the results also showed that 22% of Norwegian sample articles (n=100) featured criticism of internal handlings of sexual misconduct complaints, which will be further discussed in chapter 5.5.

4.6 Focus on specific cases in politics

Hypothesis 6 is the expectation that British articles will be featured by less specific cases within the political sector compared to Norwegian articles. Overall, 12% of British sample articles (n=100) focus on the political sector. This percentage falls under the 20% limit of differentiating low and high shares of sample articles. Consequently, the results indicate that

the British articles feature a low share of articles focusing on the political sector. The differences between the countries in regard to articles featuring political actor(s) are statistically significant: chi-squared=14.71; p<.001; Cramer's V=.27. That indicates that the share of articles focusing on the political sector is different between the countries; that British articles focus less on the political sector than Norwegian articles.

36% of British sample articles (n=100) focus on a dominant case. Within the share of British articles that focus on a specific case, 8% of articles focus on a specific case within the political sector. By comparison, 16% percent of Norwegian articles focus on a
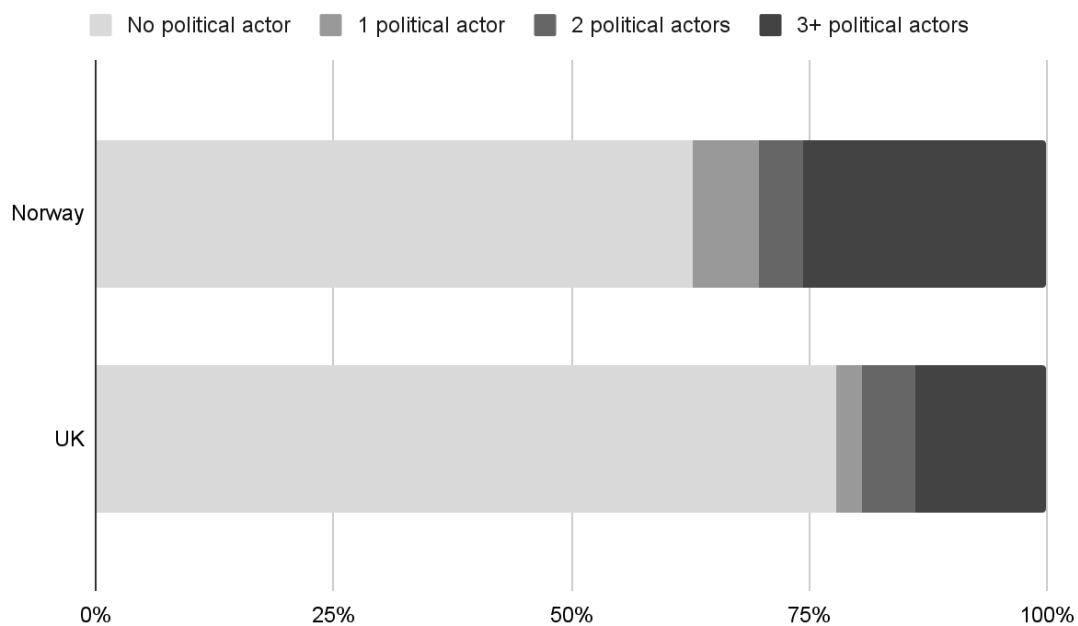
Figure 7: Distribution of articles with a dominant case focus featuring political actors

specific case within the political sector, as seen in figure 6. The results show that Norwegian coverage overall had more articles focusing on specific cases. However, figure 5 is made up by the results of two bivariate frequency tables; one for each country variable. The cross table of the variable for Norwegian articles focusing on a dominant case (n=43) by the politician variable had a Chi-squared of 8.903 and a p-value <0.05, and Cramer's V 0.211. These results indicate that there is a weak but statistically significant relationship between the Norwegian articles focusing on dominant cases and the attention for political actors in articles. The cross table for British articles focusing on a dominant case by the politician variable was however not statistically significant with a p>0.05.

There is a difference of 8 percent points between the countries. Norwegian articles that focus on a dominant case, feature at least one politician twice as often as British articles focusing on a dominant case. Based on these results, hypothesis 6 is accepted: H6) *British media coverage focuses less on a specific case within the political sector, compared to Norwegian media coverage.*

4.7 Feature of criticism

The seventh hypothesis is the expectation that British articles feature criticism of the movement or victims more often than Norwegian articles. Overall, British articles had more articles that featured criticism, as shown in table 5. However, these are slim differences that are not statistically significant with a p>.05 which indicates that the difference between the countries could be coincidental. There is a difference of 6 percentage points between the countries on the frequency of articles featuring at least one criticism variable.

Table 5: The relationship between country and criticism

	Country		
Criticism of the victim or movement mentioned	Norway (n=100) %	UK (n=100) %	Total (n=200) %
No criticism	35	29	32
Some criticism	65	71	68
Sum	100	100	100

Note: *Column-wise percentages.* χ²(1)= .83 Pr= .36 Cramer's V= .06

However, when considering each type of criticism by themselves, the type of criticism differs between the countries. Table 6 below presents the percentage of each criticism type featured in articles by country, with marginal statistically significant variables bolded. In total, the British articles (n=100) featured more criticisms than Norwegian articles (n=100). Another interesting finding is that 10 out of 17 criticisms have very slim differences between countries. Variable F1 does for instance appear 5 times in Norwegian articles and 2 times in British articles, while variable F6 appears 43 times in Norwegian articles and 48 times in British articles.

Table 6: Percentages of each criticism featured in articles by country.

Criticism	Norwegian articles (n=100) %	British articles (n=100) %	Chi-squared; Pr; Cramer's V
F1 "The price for fame"	5	2	Pr>.1
F2 "Minor case"	**8**	**17**	**$χ^2(1)$= 3.7 Pr<.1 Cramer's V= 0.14**
F3 "Questioning motives"	9	8	Pr>.1
F4 "Victims' behavior"	6	6	Pr>.1
F5 "Bad apple"	**9**	**17**	**$χ^2(1)$= 2.83 Pr<.1 Cramer's V= 0.12**
F6 "Scandal"	43	48	Pr>.1
F7 "Grey zone"	**15**	**7**	Pr>.1
F8 "Minor problem"	5	4	Pr>.1
F9 "Whataboutism"	10	12	Pr>.1
F10 "Rumors"	**4**	**0**	**$χ^2(1)$= 4.08 p<.05**

			Cramer's V= 0.14
F11 "What really happened"	**7**	**2**	**$\chi^2(1)$= 2.91** **p<.1** **Cramer's V= 0.12**
F12 "Witch hunt"	6	4	Pr>.1
F13 "Campaign gone too far"	**6**	**13**	**$\chi^2(1)$= 2.85** **p<.1** **Cramer's V= 0.12**
F14 "Remove bad apples"	22	18	Pr>.1
F15 "Womens responsibility"	**11**	**20**	**$\chi^2(1)$= 3.09** **p<.1** **Cramer's V= 0.12**
F16 "Anti-feminist"	4	6	Pr>.1
I1 "Negative portrayal"	7	13	Pr>.1

Note. Marginal statistically significant relationships (p<.1) are bolded.

The variable for "minor case" is the first that is marginally statistically significant with p<.1 which indicates that there is a relationship between the variables with less than 10% chance to reject a true null hypothesis. The "minor case" variable refers to articles that *provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly imply that the incident is a minor case, i.e. depicting such actions as sexual misconduct is respectless against real rape victims, or that the victim misunderstood the accusers' attempt at humor.* In the sample of British articles (n=100), 17% contained this variable. In the Norwegian articles, the variable "minor case" was featured in 8% of articles, a difference of 9 percent points from British articles. The relationship between the country variable and "minor case" has a chi-squared of 3.7, p=.054, and Cramer's V=.136, which indicates that there is a 5.4% chance of rejecting a true null hypothesis that there is no difference between the countries.

The variable "bad apple" represents articles that *provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly excuse the behavior of the accused/alleged perpetrator, i.e. describing the accused as a "bad apple" or "just trying to flirt".* 17% of British articles (n=100) feature this variable, in comparison to 9% of Norwegian articles (n=100), a difference of 6 percent points. The chi-squared for the relationship between these variables are 2.83 and p-value of 0.093, which indicates that there is a 9.3% chance of rejecting a true null hypothesis.

The variable "grey zone" shows the frequency of articles that *provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly describes (the accusation of) sexual harassment as a "grey zone".* This variable more often appears in Norwegian articles than British articles, with a difference of 8 percent points. In the Norwegian sample, this variable was found in 15% of articles, compared to 7% of British articles.

The variable "rumors" represents the number of articles that *provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly describes harassment and discrimination as something "felt" by the women? i.e. saying that women "have an experience of being harassed" or "feel intimidated" or referring to incidents as "rumors".* This variable was found in 4% of Norwegian articles (n=100) and in

none of the British sample articles, a difference of 4 percentage points. The differences between the countries are statistically significant: chi-squared=4.08; p<.0. However, the frequency of this variable is relatively low, so the significance should be taken with a pinch of salt.

The variable "what really happened" represents articles that provide *a narrative that explicitly or implicitly suggests solutions to be investigations and/or meetings to figure out "what really happened".* This variable was found in 7% of Norwegian articles, and 2% of British articles. There is a difference between the countries of 5 percent points.

Variable "campaign gone too far" shows the frequency of articles that *provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly describes the movement as a campaign that has gone "too far".* This variable was found in 13% of British articles, and 6% of Norwegian articles. Thus, there is a difference between the countries of 7 percent points.

The variable "women's' responsibility", represents articles that *provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly considers the issue as women's individual responsibility? i.e. by suggesting how women can act to prevent sexual harassment.* This variable was found in 20% of British sample articles, and in 11% of Norwegian sample articles, which is a difference of 9 percent points between the countries.

Based on each type of criticism by country, some criticisms differ between countries and are within marginal statistical significance. However, to avoid a Type-I mistake of accepting a false alternative hypothesis, only results with p-values <0.05 are accepted in this study. Therefore, hypothesis 7 is rejected: *H7) British media coverage includes criticisms against the victim/accuser or the metoo movement that might harm credibility or legitimacy more often than Norwegian media coverage.*

Although hypothesis 7 is rejected due to high p-values, the results found are still valuable and will be further examined in the discussion. By further exploration, there was however found a statistically significant difference between countries and the variable for "supporting (alleged) perpetrator". The variable "supporting (alleged) perpetrator" represents articles *supporting the (alleged) perpetrators' narrative.* This variable was found in 12% of British articles (n=100), and in 4% of Norwegian articles (n=100), a difference of 8 percentage points. There is a weak relationship between "supporting (alleged) perpetrator" and the country variable, with Chi-square=4.35; p<.05; Cramer's V=.147. In comparison, 6% of British articles featured the variable for "questioning the (alleged) perpetrator, which are articles *questioning the (alleged) perpetrators' narrative.* This variable was featured in 3% of Norwegian articles, a difference of 3 percentage points. The relationship between variable E6 and the country variable was however not statistically significant with a p-value >0.05. These results combined with the previously discussed results that led to the rejection of hypothesis 7 will be further discussed in the next chapter.

5 Discussion

Through a quantitative content analysis, this study aims to answer two research questions by testing seven hypotheses. Based on the results, previous research and theoretical framework, the following research questions will be discussed: *RQ1) What similarities and differences emerge in Norwegian and British media coverage of the metoo movement?* and *RQ2) How may the cultural and political contexts of the countries, and their historical trajectories on gender issues, contribute to the understanding of the differences in media coverage of metoo?* First, the results of each hypothesis will be discussed by determining how findings may contest, complement, or add to existing research. Furthermore, the research questions will be answered by considering the already discussed results of the hypotheses. Additionally, some methodological limitations and theoretical take-aways will be considered.

5.1 Similarities in coverage

5.1.1 Focus on celebrities, magnitude, and scandal

A high share of media coverage is mentioning celebrity participants in both Norwegian and British articles, which indicates that coverage is characterized by a high share of celebrity participants regardless of country. This finding is in compliance with the news value theory, in which stories of celebrity participants are considered satisfactory as a requirement to be covered in the media (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). The protest paradigm which explains the asymmetrical relation between protesters and the media (McCurdy, 2012), also explains the role of celebrity participants in media coverage of social movements. As Ashley & Olson (1998) noted, social movements get media attention when something news-worthy happens, and according to the news value theory, stories on celebrities are considered news-worthy.

Another expectation based on the protest paradigm and news value was a high share of articles mentioning social media and the magnitude of shared posts online. Even though a high share of articles featured mentions of social media and the magnitude of shared posts, it was for example mentioned less than celebrity participants. Some articles mentioned the magnitude of shared posts online, such as an article in Guardian noting that "thousands of women are posting their #MeToo stories on social media" (Delaney, 2018). Many articles, however, refer to social media posts without mentioning the magnitude of shared metoo-stories. One Mail Online article reported on a specific case in which author Margaret Atwood was criticized for defending a professor accused of sexual misconduct. This article contains multiple screenshots of Twitter posts criticizing the author by both regular and famous persons, and in that way publicizing a discussion which was initiated online (Collman, 2018). Allegations (and following disputes) that were made publicly online were often followed by news articles that referred to the specific posts online. This demonstrates the notion that news is increasingly networked (Russel, 2016), but that traditional media outlets contribute to publicizing these online disputes and discussions.

In regard to the news value theory that considers 'magnitude' as a news-worthy factor (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016), and that demonstration size and geographic proximity was found to be attributes that influence media coverage of movements (Oliver & Maney, 2000; McCurdy, 2012), the results of hypothesis H2(B) may be further discussed. While media

coverage often depended on referrals to social media posts, a low share of articles mentioned the magnitude in a similar manner to the article in the Guardian by Delaney (2018) referred to above. On one hand, one could therefore argue that media coverage is characterized by a low share of articles mentioning the magnitude of shared posts online. However, articles such as the Mail Online article by Collman (2018) referred to above, does refer to the magnitude of posts online regarding a specific metoo-initiated dispute. Furthermore, one might assume that the magnitude of metoo posts online was featured in articles around the initial popularization of the hashtag online, and that the magnitude of the phenomena over time became considered an indisputable fact. The high numbers of articles referring to social media posts could therefore be characterized by disputes online over time that were initiated by metoo. In that sense, the high share of articles referring to social media posts could be considered to further present and publicize the magnitude of shared posts online in relation to the metoo movement.

The third expectation based on the protest paradigm and news value theory is the high share of articles characterized by drama, sensationalism, and conflict. Because of the dynamics between social movements and the traditional media, protesters may resort to risky tactics that may contribute to satisfy the requirements of newsworthiness to gain media attention (Ashley & Olson, 1998). Speaking out publicly online could be considered 'risky' behavior because such accusations may lead to negative consequences for the victim, and such allegations may trigger drama and conflicts. The results did indeed show indications of a high share of media coverage characterized by drama, sensationalism, and conflict. Over half of the coverage featured both support and criticism, which could indicate conflict and opposing views within a high share of articles.

5.1.2 Dynamics of support and backlash

Based on Gamson's (2004) dilemmas explained in chapter 2.2, there was an expectation that articles containing radical claims were more likely to also contain backlash or counterattacks. The results showed that articles featuring radical claims more often than not also featured criticism. In compliance with the depth of challenge dilemma, challenges of deeply held and taken-for-granted assumptions and beliefs have a higher risk of counterattacks and discrediting (Gamson, 2004). There was however almost a 50/50 chance that radical claims articles also contained criticism or not, similar to articles featuring support.

While the depth of challenge dilemma may explain the high shares of criticism in articles featuring radical claims, the explanation of the high share of articles featuring radical claims with no criticism may be further discussed. First, one might assume that backlash or opposing views might be triggered as a *response* to coverage. For example, an incident between an anonymous alleged victim and actor Aziz Ansari was publicized in the media, which then were followed by articles featuring backlash and criticism. For instance, in an article published in Sun Online regarding this incident, one noted that "real victims should be recognised" but that "naming anyone who has ever acted inappropriately is becoming very uncomfortable" (Bannon, 2018). Thus, backlash, counterattacks or discrediting of radical claims might not always be featured in the same article. In addition, a high share of opinion-based articles was found to feature radical claims compared to fact-based articles. Because fact-based articles more often provide multiple perspectives and sides to a story, one could assume that most articles featuring radical claims and no criticism comes from opinion-based articles. The prevalence of opinion-based articles featuring radical claims could also

be linked to the spiral of silence theory. The once silenced camp that may have experienced a fear of social isolation for uttering these 'radical claims', could have shared these opinions because of the popularity of metoo.

The rejection of hypothesis 2(B) was due to the high shares of articles featuring the need for structural and cultural change. The need for structural change was mentioned in a low share of articles, while the need for cultural change was found in a high share of articles. The high share of articles featuring the variable for cultural change could however be further discussed. In some articles for instance, cultural change is often mentioned as a solution within workplaces. For example, an article in Dagbladet quoted a politician arguing that the solution to the allegations within the party is to consider the culture within the party that contributes to the problem (Suvatne, 2018). Another article in Mail Online features an interview with actress Zoe Saldana regarding the culture in Hollywood (Waheed, 2018). By considering the high share of articles referring to the need for cultural change within a specific sector or workplace, one could argue that there actually is a low share of articles featuring the need for structural and cultural change in a wider context. The focus on specific sectors may explain the difference in shares of articles mentioning structural change and articles mentioning cultural change. The articles mentioning the need for structural change often point to broad structures within nations, while articles mentioning cultural change often refer to cultures within organizations, institutions, or professional sectors rather than culture in a broader context. Based on the prominent and specific sector focus within both countries, Norwegian articles may refer to cultural changes within the political sector and British articles may refer to cultural changes within the entertainment sector.

Another expectation based on Gamson's (2004) dilemmas was that celebrity participants more often acted as speakers of the movement compared to movement leaders. The results showed that the founder of the metoo movement, Tarana Burke, was mentioned in far less articles than celebrity participants. This finding is in compliance with Moore's (2019) findings that grassroot efforts were barely visible in two US news outlets and portrayed as a second-order factor in the initial success of the movement. One could assume that articles featuring no mention of specific cases are characterized by more thematic frames rather than episodic frames, in which the phenomena or movement itself might be discussed. One example from the sample of articles is one published in the Guardian; an interview with award-winning playwright Patricia Cornelius on a couple of subjects, including her views on metoo (Howard, 2018). Thus, articles featuring celebrities making comments or being interviewed about the movement may contribute to celebrity participants acting as speakers for the movement.

Celebrity participants contribute to gain media coverage and validation of the importance of the issue, which is explained by Gamson's (2004) dilemmas. Regarding the fourth dilemma of 'weak control', celebrity participants acting as speakers for the movement might however not necessarily follow directions from movement leaders. Thus, even though celebrity participants contribute to media attention, the downside may be that the ways in which the issue is talked about may not be in line with what movement leaders might wish. In an article found in Mail Online, for instance, celebrity participant Susan Sarandon commented on the movement referring to metoo as a 'sea of change' within Hollywood that was followed by 'people being held responsible for their actions' (Thomas, 2018). On one hand, her comments on metoo within the article does provide visibility and legitimacy of the movement.

On the other hand, one could interpret her comments as if metoo succeeded in creating change and holding perpetrators accountable.

The prominent focus on Hollywood is demonstrated by a woman quoted in an article published in VG about metoo in Turkey, noting that metoo is just 'a celebrity thing in Hollywood' (Amundsen, 2018). The movement was however initially created to create change and provide resources for women and girls in communities of color, and for women and girls from marginalized communities. Therefore, movement leaders might prefer speakers of the movement to validate the importance of creating change that also applies to marginalized communities' women and girls. Because of the weak control dilemma and the need for validation dilemma, celebrity participants may redirect the substance of the movement to fit their own preferred narratives and versions.

5.1.3 Focus on specific cases

Overall, media coverage focuses on specific cases. 11% of coverage had no mention of any specific cases, which demonstrates that media coverage largely consisted of episodic frames. This finding is in compliance with the characterizations of neoliberal and popular feminism as an individualized feminism, focusing on personal achievements and empowerment rather than structural change (Banet-Weiser, 2018). Although the activist efforts on social media may contributed to exposing the pervasiveness of sexual misconduct, the depolitization and individualized of neoliberal and popular feminism may have affected media coverage (De Benedictis, 2018; Rottenberg, 2018). Thus, the low share of thematic frames could be explained by reinforcing familiar patterns of coverage framing sexual harassment as occasional problems of individuals rather than a broad political concern (Hansson et al., 2020; Goehring et al., 2017; Nettleton, 2011).

Stories of specific cases might satisfy the requirements given in the news value theory more often than thematic news stories. Specific incidents, conflicts and disputes on sexual misconduct may provide a story that is more scandalous and dramatic, satisfying the newsworthiness of drama, sensationalism, or conflict (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Harcup & O'neill, 2016). These attributes may be harder to satisfy in a story on the substance of the metoo movement, in news stories regarding the goals of the movement and the underlying causes of the problem. Particularly privately owned news outlets that rely on funding through subscriptions and advertisements may therefore have higher requirements to publish stories. NRK is the only publicly supported news outlet used in this analysis, which could be expected to have more nuanced coverage because of its important role as a part of the welfare state (Ohlsson, 2015). However, NRK are still conformed by market competition, and the other 6 news outlets used in this analysis are commercial. Therefore, media coverage of metoo was expected to be characterized by attributes given to news value and the implications of the protest paradigm and Gamson's dilemmas.

On the other hand, media coverage of specific cases might also simultaneously recognize the need for change, as shown in the high shares of articles referring to cultural change discussed earlier. While most articles focused on specific cases regarding sexual harassment and metoo, thematic features could have been included in these articles. As mentioned, a high share of articles referred to the need for cultural change (though some could have referred to work environments), which could demonstrate that some thematic aspects are covered within articles focusing on specific cases.

5.2 Differences in coverage

5.2.1 General country differences

There are some differences found in Norwegian and British media coverage of metoo. One of the most prominent differences between the countries are the sectors in which media coverage focuses on. The findings showed significant differences between the countries regarding the sector of the (alleged) perpetrator and the sector of a prominent person featured in articles. British media coverage focused largely on actors within the entertainment sector. This finding differs from the focus on the political sector in the Norwegian coverage, which is discussed further in chapter 5.5. The major focus on the entertainment sector in UK articles may be explained by the findings of De Benedictis (2019); that coverage revolved around key events such as the Golden Globes, the Oscars, and the initial popularity of metoo online. Thus, British media coverage could have largely focused on metoo in Hollywood based on the findings of this study and the findings of De Benedictis (2019).

Another significant finding was the shares of articles featuring support for the (alleged) perpetrator. British media coverage featured support for the (alleged) perpetrator more often than Norwegian media coverage. This finding could be related to the finding that British articles more often featured attention for actors than Norwegian articles, as well as the difference in sector focus. Some British articles within the sample consisted of celebrities connected to an alleged famous perpetrator or victim within the entertainment sectors. For instance, an article in Mail Online features Cate Blanchett discussing alleged perpetrator Woody Allen (Kekatos, 2018). As explained in chapter 2, stories featuring celebrity participants are considered to satisfy the requirement of being 'news-worthy' (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016). Therefore, celebrity participants that are commenting on other celebrities' allegations or accusations may be covered by the media, regardless of their stance on the issue. The difference of articles featuring support between the countries could also be linked to the cultural differences shown by table 1 in chapter 2.7, where the UK and Norway differ vastly within the dimension of masculinity. While Norwegian culture is characterized as more feminine, represented by cooperation, modesty and caring for the weak, British culture is more masculine. This could affect media coverage in a sense that Norwegian coverage largely supports the narrative of the 'weak', while British coverage is more neutral and presents support for both sides in a more competitive manner.

Another significant difference between the countries are articles featuring anonymous victims. A high share of Norwegian articles features an anonymous victim, while a low share of British articles features an anonymous victim. This difference between the countries could be explained by the public disputes between famous actors in the entertainment sector that often were featured in British coverage, whereas Norwegian coverage more often featured allegations of famous politicians within political parties. The allegations made within political parties in Norway were often handled internally within political parties or organizations, whereas allegations of Hollywood were often made publicly online by victims. In a Mail Online article, two male co-stars of Heather Lind supported her allegation of sexual assault made on social media (Parry & Finn, 2017). This article features both celebrity participants commenting on another celebrity's allegation, and a public allegation. In Norwegian articles, however, allegations were less descriptive. In an NRK article, for instance, a political party announced internal allegations against a political actor, and the article does not mention

specific incidents. Rather, the allegations made within the party are described as incidents that largely consist of 'too much alcohol, ongoing flirting, and relations where age gaps and power differences are skewed' (Fossen & Lydersen, 2018). These findings thus relate to the findings of Orgeret (2020) that metoo became an issue in regard to ethical guidelines on anonymity, and the findings of Sletteland (2018) of metoo as an issue of the workplace.

5.2.2 Norwegian focus on workplaces
A high share of Norwegian articles focuses on specific sectors, and particularly the political sector. This statistically significant finding relates to the findings of Sletteland (2018), which found that metoo was largely framed as a work-life issue in Norway, characterized by a consensus in public discourse based on already clarified rules and regulations. Thus, there was already existing routines and regulations within workplaces to deal with sexual harassment complaints, but metoo may have exposed the flaws of these routines and regulations that negatively affected sexual harassment victims. The focus on internal handlings within organizations and institutions were also evident by the high share of articles criticizing internal handlings of sexual misconduct allegations and complaints.

That metoo became largely an issue of the workplace within the Norwegian public discourse could be related to the spiral of silence theory and the depth of dilemma explained by Gamson (2004). The issue of sexual harassment within workplaces might have been accepted as a legitimate concern within public discourse, because of a narrower issue frame which could have contributed to an increased mobilization potential of sympathizers. The spiral of silence regarding sexual harassment in Norway broke largely by internal allegations made within organizations, rather than as a structural and cultural issue beyond the workplace. The earlier reluctance to speak out against defective rules and regulations within workplaces might have been removed by the popularity of metoo online and in the media. There was already existing rules and regulations to prevent sexual harassment within workplaces, and these rules and regulations had obvious flaws exposed by the metoo movement. The exposing of these flaws may have contributed to the issue of sexual harassment within workplaces gaining legitimacy and support within public discourse. In comparison to Gallagher & Zagacki's (2007) findings, the exposed flaws and ineffectiveness in workplace handlings of sexual harassment might have challenged the presumption that workplaces fulfilled their responsibilities to prevent sexual harassment. In that sense, there might already have existed a public opinion on sexual harassment within workplaces, which could explain the prevalent consensus post-metoo regarding sexual harassment in workplaces.

While Norwegian media coverage largely framed metoo as an issue of the workplace, a considerable amount of coverage featured allegations within political parties. Articles featuring allegations within political parties also falls under the category of sexual harassment within the workplace, but also adds celebrity participants. Combining the Norwegian discourse of metoo as an issue of the workplace and the newsworthiness of celebrity participants could explain the large focus of sexual harassment within political parties in Norway.

5.2.3 Focus on specific cases in politics
Overall, a low share of British articles focuses on the political sector. The statistically significant difference between the countries in articles featuring political actors may be

explained by several factors. The results discussed earlier indicate that Norwegian media was characterized by framing metoo as an issue of the workplace in Norway, and that the combination of this discourse and the newsworthiness of celebrity participants may have contributed to a high share of articles featuring allegations within political parties and accused political actors. British media coverage was found to have high shares of articles focusing on the entertainment sector, which could be explained by De Benedictis (2019) finding coverage to peak around certain Hollywood events. Furthermore, British coverage could have been focusing on foreign news to a greater extent than Norwegian coverage, which may be explained by the British focus on the entertainment sector and the peaks in coverage around Hollywood events.

An even lower share of British articles focuses on dominant cases within the political sector, a share that is half of the share of Norwegian articles focusing on a specific case within the political sector. Although both Norway and the UK had metoo-initiated incidents within the political sector, the nature and trajectories of allegations differed. Norway handled internal allegations and complaints by individuals and investigations within political parties. The 'Pestminister' scandal of the UK was however initiated by an unofficial spreadsheet of various allegations, which may have resulted in related British media coverage being more general and less about specific cases. Libel laws and NDA's might also have prevented victims from publicly speaking up, which could have contributed to a low share of British articles featuring victim allegations of political actors.

5.2.4 Feature of criticism

Although British articles featured more criticism than Norwegian articles with a difference of 6 percent points, this finding could be coincidental. There were also found several similarities between the countries when considering each type of criticism. Over half of the criticisms had very similar prominence within articles. Some criticisms were barely visible in coverage in both Norway and the UK, such as "questioning motives", i.e., suggesting that the victim wanted to further their career, or "victims behavior", i.e. suggesting that the victim didn't clearly signal that what happened was against their will. Some criticisms that did not have significant differences between the countries did however have more prominence in articles. The suggestion to "remove bad apples" as a solution was for instance featured relatively often in both countries, as well as the referrals to incidents or the movement as a "scandal".

There were however some differences between the countries that are worth further discussion. British coverage trivialized sexual harassment experiences more often than Norwegian coverage by referring to incidents as a "minor case". British coverage also had more articles that excused the behavior of the perpetrator referring to them as a "bad apple", and more often that the "campaign had gone too far". A high share of articles also suggested that preventing sexual harassment is a "women's responsibility". One significant finding was that British articles more often supported the (alleged) perpetrator more often than Norwegian articles. The higher feature of these criticisms in British articles could be explained by the political and cultural context in the UK. It seems like the combination of these criticisms show that less serious allegations are trivialized as minor cases, and that (alleged) perpetrators more often get the benefit of the doubt as bad apples that might have misunderstood a situation. Such minor cases may be considered women's' responsibility to avoid and prevent, and such minor cases shows that the movement has gone too far. British articles mention for instance that allegations can "trivialize people who are really getting

raped and abused" (Corcoran, 2018), that "nobody really knows whether an advance is wanted or unwanted until somebody (still usually the man) has made the first, tentative move" (Johnson, 2018), and that men are "being tried on social media and losing their reputations and jobs" (Delaney, 2018).

While most of these criticisms are featured in a relatively low share of British articles, the difference between the countries could be explained by sociocultural differences. As shown in figure 1, the UK has higher scores in dimensions of masculinity, individualism, and power distance (Hofstede Insights, n.d.). These cultural differences could contribute to the understanding of the higher prevalence in British articles. The dimension of masculinity/femininity is the one that differs the most between the countries, in which Norwegian society has a higher preference of cooperation, modesty and caring for the weak. The allegations framed as "minor cases" in Britain articles giving the benefit of the doubt to the alleged perpetrator, may be explained by the interpretation of such allegations as an individual issue for women. Less serious allegations might not be accepted in the same way as more serious allegations in Britain, while Norwegian articles may accept such "minor cases" to a higher degree. Because Norwegian society has a higher preference of caring for the weak, narratives of the (alleged) victim might therefore be given the benefit of the doubt to a greater extent, and less serious incidents may be accepted as real concerns that should be dealt with by cooperating rather than placing responsibility on the individual.

The high share of British articles framing sexual harassment and misconduct as women's responsibility also coincides with the trajectory of popular and neoliberal feminism prominent in UK culture (Aune & Holyoak, 2018). This individualized and depoliticized form of feminism that places the responsibility for well-being on individual women. Rather than highlighting the roots of the problem, articles may suggest how women should act or behave to avoid being sexually harassed. This prominence of an individualized feminism in British society may also relate to the general differences between the countries within the dimension of individualism found in figure 1. While serious allegations such as rape may be generally seen as unacceptable, the degree to which less serious allegations of sexual harassment are accepted may differ between the countries based on the sociopolitical contexts. While serious allegations may be considered as a public concern in Britain, less serious incidents may be considered as an individual issue.

Norwegian coverage more often referred to allegations as being in the "gray zone", provided attributes of "rumors" and suggested solutions to figure out "what really happened". None of these criticisms were featured in a high share of articles but were relatively more often featured than in British articles. The higher feature of these attributes in Norwegian articles could be related to the focus on workplaces, and that personal experiences were seen in relation to the responsibility of employers (Sletteland, 2018). Following, the attributes could be related to the feature in articles of anonymous victims, some "less serious" allegations and internal investigations within organizations. In one specific case within one political party, the particular dispute was concerning a text-message which did not contain "offensive content" but that was considered as "not okay" (Suvatne & Karlsen, 2017). Another article noted that internal investigations had not yet concluded "whether all the episodes that have been reported can be defined as sexual harassment" and quoted a politician that warned against "making up an opinion based on rumors" (Zondag, Holm-Nilsen & Wernersen, 2018).

The combination of more articles referring to allegations as gray zones, rumors and suggesting solutions to figure out what really happened could therefore be explained by the high share of coverage focusing on allegations within workplaces. Allegations within workplaces were often followed by internal investigations, and articles often referred to allegations of sexual harassment without providing any specific details. For instance, some sexual harassment allegations were referred to as incidents largely consisting of 'too much alcohol, ongoing flirting, and relations where age gaps and power differences are skewed' (Fossen & Lydersen, 2018). It seems like the specific cases and disputes that referred to allegations as being in the gray zone, as rumors and to figure out what really happened often were found in articles featuring "less serious" incidents. In that sense, allegations considered less serious may have been taken somewhat seriously in Norway by conducting internal investigations and assessing internal rules and regulations on sexual harassment.

In summary, Norwegian and British media coverage had a relatively similar share of articles featuring criticism. The type of criticism featured did however have some differences, and these differences could be explained by sociocultural differences between the countries. British media coverage might have been influenced by a culture characterized by individualism and masculinity, providing higher requirements for the seriousness of allegations to be considered as unacceptable and of political concern. Less serious allegations may be considered as women's individual responsibility. Norwegian media coverage of less serious allegations seems to have been characterized by efforts to figure out what happened and finding solutions as to where the line is drawn within the "gray zone" of accusations. In that sense, it seems like less serious allegations are dismissed as a public concern in the UK and further discussed and investigated in Norway.

5.3 Metoo in the Norwegian and British news media

Overall, the metoo movement and cases associated with the movement had several similarities in Norwegian and British media coverage. Results of hypotheses based on previous research and theories regarding the dynamics between social movements and media outlets seems to apply for both countries. Although there were some slim differences between the countries, these differences were not statistically significant and may therefore be coincidental. The expectations based on theories on the protest paradigm, Gamson's four dilemmas and previous research on feminist media coverage had relatively similar results for both countries. These hypotheses may be broader by considering the more widespread and established dynamics between social movements and media outlets. Following, similarities between the countries were expected for the expectations based on the movement-media dynamics.

The lack of significant differences between the countries indicates that attributes of news value do not differ between the countries. Both Norwegian and British news coverage of metoo is characterized by attributes found to influence news coverage of movements and protests explained by the protest paradigm, based on the news value theory. Media coverage of the metoo movement in both countries are characterized by high shares of articles featuring celebrity participants, social media posts and magnitude, and drama, sensationalism, and conflict. The shares of radical claim articles featuring criticism, articles featuring the need for structural and cultural change, and features of celebrity participants

compared to movement leaders were also similar in both countries. Both countries also had high shares of articles focusing on specific cases. These findings, based on expectations given by Gamson's four dilemmas and previous research on framing feminist movements, may also be explained by broader and more general expectations based on the dynamics between social movements and the mainstream media.

Another interesting finding was the slim differences in articles featuring criticism. Although there was an expectation that British media coverage would feature more criticism than Norwegian coverage, these differences were slim and may not be significant but rather coincidental. Overall, both countries had low shares of most criticisms, indicating that coverage overall was supportive towards victims and the movement. Some types of criticisms, such as referring to incidents or cases as a 'scandal' or implying that the solution is to 'remove bad apples' were found in high and relatively similar shares of articles in both countries.

Based on these findings, the answer to the first research question can be provided:

RQ1) What similarities and differences emerge in Norwegian and British media coverage of the metoo movement?

In short, metoo was framed in both Norwegian and British media as a problem within specific sectors and workplaces. Framing was often influenced by attributes of news value, with high shares of articles featuring celebrity participants, referrals to social media, and stories relying on drama, sensationalism, and conflict. Coverage in both countries were overall largely supportive towards victims and the movement and featured relatively similar amounts of criticism towards victims or the movement.

5.4 Interpreting the differences in media coverage

There were some differences in media coverage between the countries. One of the most striking findings was the difference in sector focus, where British coverage focused largely on the entertainment sector while Norwegian coverage focused on the political sector. The British focus on the entertainment sector may be explained by the findings of De Benedictis (2019) that coverage peaked around certain Hollywood events. The Norwegian focus might be explained by the findings of Sletteland (2018) that sexual harassment within workplaces already had internally clarified rules and regulations around sexual harassment.

British coverage featured attention to victims, perpetrators, and other prominent people more often than Norwegian coverage, and British coverage featured more support for the (alleged) perpetrator. These findings could be explained by the difference in sector focus, in which the focus on incidents of Hollywood often were characterized by publicly made allegations followed by public disputes. Norwegian coverage featured a high share of articles with anonymous victims, which may have led to some articles being less descriptive about allegations and incidents and providing less sides of the story. Some British articles also had celebrity participants commenting on publicly made allegations within Hollywood.

As previously discussed, there were some differences in the types of criticisms that could be explained by sociocultural differences between the countries. British articles seemed to trivialize less serious allegations as 'minor cases', and (alleged) perpetrators more often got the benefit of the doubt as 'bad apples' that might have misunderstood a situation. These minor cases may have been considered as 'women's' responsibility' to avoid and prevent, and such minor cases could result in the view that the 'movement has gone too far'. Norwegian media coverage of less serious allegations seemed to have been covered as incidents that led to efforts to figure out 'what really happened' and finding solutions as to where the line is drawn within the "gray zone" of accusations.

These findings lead to the second research question:

RQ2) How may the cultural and political contexts of the countries, and their historical trajectories on gender issues, contribute to the understanding of the differences in media coverage of metoo?

Norway could be argued to generally be a step ahead of the UK regarding gender egalitarianism. The Norwegian welfare system, often referred to as "the Nordic model", aims to minimize inequalities and provides strong support for women's employment and universal social transfer systems (Syvertsen et al., 2014). The UK welfare system is closer to the American more privatized system, with market-driven solutions to work-family reconciliation (UN Women, 2019). These differences of political structures do have many similarities, but the differences might contribute to the influence of media coverage. Norwegian culture is characterized more by the preference of cooperation, caring for the weak and equal rights. Norwegian media coverage of metoo which largely focused on sexual harassment within workplaces could therefore be explained by these preferences. Certain allegations within organizations called for cooperation to examine allegations that may have been considered as being in the "gray zone" by reassessing internal guidelines on sexual harassment. Victims were barely questioned in articles and often anonymous, which could have been influenced by the preference of sympathizing with 'the underdog'. British culture is characterized as more masculine and individualistic, driven by competition, achievement, and success. These characterizations could have influenced coverage, for example by emphasizing the stories of successful celebrities within the entertainment sector. Less serious allegations could have been dismissed as women's own responsibility because of the more individualistic preference within the culture. This notion could also be tied to the prevalence of popular and neoliberal feminism within British culture, that may have contributed to dismiss the structural and cultural roots of the problem and rather placed the responsibility on individual women to a greater extent than in Norway.

5.5 Strengths and weaknesses of the study

There are some limitations to this study. The methodological approach of this study largely accounts for broader, overarching, and immediate content, rather than analyzing the coverage in depth. A qualitative approach would for instance go more in-depth of the coverage, which could identify more hidden and underlying meanings. By utilizing other approaches and perspectives, one could identify other factors that may have influenced media coverage. In-depth interviews of journalists could have been conducted to determine

the assessments done when writing about sexual harassment cases, and research on audiences could have identified perceptions and attitudes around the movement. An inductive approach to this study could also have found further specific frames in countries by conducting a cluster analysis.

The research design also has certain limitations. The chosen time period only accounts for six months of coverage. A broader time period may have given a better overview of metoo coverage, given that metoo was still covered after the six months analyzed in this study. More than one coder could also have strengthened the reliability. The chosen news outlets could also have skewed the results. BBC online was ranked as the most popular news site in 2017, but the Factiva database did not provide BBC content. Considering that the most read online news site in Britain was not included in the analysis while all four of the most popular Norwegian online news sites were included, the results may be skewed. As an attempt to prevent this, the British sample was drawn from three online news outlets and the Norwegian sample was drawn from four news outlets.

Another limitation is the time constraint of this study, which mostly impacted the sample size. The sample size of this study is relatively small, and statistical analyses based on small samples are often vulnerable. This limits the ability to draw any causal conclusions and generalizations. Even though findings may be statistically significant, alternative factors and explanations cannot be ruled out to influence differences. This limitation is due to lack of information, which could be solved by broadening the time period and the definition of the research phenomena (Ringdal, 2018). In addition, Norway may be considered as small and more homogenous than the UK, which may be characterized by greater divisions and differences which could have impacted the results. Thus, the findings of this analysis are largely based on indications, considering that some alternative factors that may influence differences and similarities between the countries are not accounted for or clarified.

The study does however contribute with valuable empirical findings within the fields of media research and feminist scholarship. Indications of broader patterns within media coverage of metoo within the Norwegian and British context was found and considered within the countries' cultural and political contexts. Metoo became a global phenomenon, which makes it an interesting case to study by comparing countries' media coverage to examine how and why debates around sexual harassment unfolded differently across cultural contexts. These findings add to the minor amount of attention in research given to metoo in Norway, by considering how the Norwegian media coverage compares to British media coverage and discussing the possible contextual factors which may influence coverage. The findings of this study may also contribute further to the understanding of the dynamics between movements or protests and the traditional media, and how the news media may provide opportunities and challenges for groups of people trying to create social change.

6 Conclusion

Media coverage of the metoo movement in Norway and the UK share similarities by largely featuring supportive notions of victims of sexual harassment and the movement itself. Media coverage in both countries are largely characterized by requirements of news value, emphasizing celebrity participants, often referring to social media posts and magnitude, and providing sensationalist stories of scandals, conflict, and drama. Media coverage in both countries had high shares of articles focusing on specific cases, and high shares of articles focusing on specific sectors. The sectors focused on did however differ between the countries.

The cultural and political contexts within Norway and the UK may explain the differences found in media coverage of metoo. Both countries had relatively similar shares of articles featuring criticisms towards victims or the movement. The differences found may however be explained by a greater acceptance in Norway of allegations considered as less serious, whereas such allegations might have been dismissed in the UK as a political concern. Norway may be considered as more gender egalitarian than the UK, with cultural and structural forces that may to a greater extent prioritize gender equality.

Although both countries were found to be generally supportive towards victims and the movement, there are some points that should be addressed. Both countries are generally considered as women-friendly nations in a global context. However, there are still structural and cultural challenges in both countries that affect women and girls. Sexual violence towards women and girls are still prevalent, and such violations are often not reported (Thoresen & Hjemdal, 2014). Furthermore, media coverage of efforts to combat sexual harassment is considered influential in creating changes in attitudes and public opinion. While the attributes of news value may increase media visibility of the movement, the high shares of articles featuring these attributes may also bring some challenges. Because of the asymmetrical relationship between social movements and media outlets explained by the protest paradigm, media coverage of the movement may misrepresent activists or the substance of the movement.

The focus on specific sectors in both countries may have limited the conversation of sexual harassment as an issue of the workplace. The specific focus workplaces could have contributed to a depoliticization of the issue, where the solution to the problem was internal investigations and assessments in workplaces. The centering of experiences of Hollywood celebrities and actors within the entertainment and political sector may also have excluded the challenges of other groups of more underprivileged women. For instance, women of color, low-income and migrant women in the UK are most often employed in domestic services and hospitality sectors (De Benedictis, 2019), and these sectors were barely visible in British articles. Thus, media coverage may have played an important role propelling the visibility of the movement and contributing to advancing public awareness in both countries, but the role of the media as a contributor to shape social change might have been limited.

The introduction of this study provided a quote written in the Guardian, stressing the "political importance and the political lineage of #MeToo: the latest step in a centuries long political struggle for women to simply control our own bodies" (Kipnis, 2018). The metoo movement

and associated media coverage could be argued to have provided a push in the right direction towards greater gender equality, but there are still cultural and structural challenges that disproportionately affect women. Therefore, media coverage of women's' issues such as metoo, sexual harassment and violence, are still important; both as a field of research and to better understand the opportunities and challenges when fighting for social change and gender equality.

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Attachment 1 - Codebook

Codebook and variable explanations

Category A: Item information

The first category of the codebook consists of variables 1) Date, which was included in order to identify potentially varying coverage over time. 2) News outlet, which was included to distinguish where the article was published. 3) Type of text, to distinguish fact based and opinion based articles. 4) Number of authors, and 5, 6, 7, 8, 9) Gender of journalist, were included to identify potential patterns between news coverage and the gender(s) of the journalist(s). Journalists were coded in the order of the appearance on the byline, and if there were more than five journalists only the first five were coded. If the gender of the journalist was unclear or not mentioned the variable was coded as "unclear".

A1) Date of publication
A2) News outlet: which news outlet the news coverage was originally published in.
11   NRK
12   VG
13   Aftenposten
14   Dagbladet

21   The Daily Mail UK
22   The Guardian UK
23   The Sun UK
A3) Type of article: opinion or fact based
A4) Number of authors
A5) Journalist 1: the gender of the journalist
1   Kvinne
2   Mann
3   «Tredje» kjønn (eksplisitt)
4   Uklart
A6) Gender Journalist 2
A7) Gender Journalist 3
A8) Gender Journalist 4
A9) Gender Journalist 5

Category B: Case focus

The second category of the codebook is case structure. This category considers the number of cases mentioned, if there is a focus on a specific dominant case, and if the article refers to texts on social media. These variables were included to potentially identify patterns of articles focusing on single cases, multiple cases or no cases.

B1) Case count: The number of cases mentioned in an article
B2) Case focus: Does the article focus primarily on a single case or is there no dominant case in the article?
0   There is not a single specific case mentioned
1   There is a dominant case
2   There is not a dominant case

B3) Mention of social media: does the item mention social media, or refer to texts on social media? (i.e. twitter posts).

Variable for social media was an index of two variables: Mention of SoMe and mention of magnitude of shared posts online. (Variable B3 and F20)

Category C: Attention for actors

The category for attention for actors counts how many paragraphs the alleged victim, alleged perpetrator, people connected to either victim/perpetrator, other prominent people, or regular people were mentioned in the article. These variables were included to determine whose voices were prioritized in the coverage.

C1) Attention for perpetrator/accused/alleged perpetrator: NUMBER OF PARAGRAPHS
C2) Attention for victim/alleged victim: NUMBER OF PARAGRAPHS
C3) Attention for people connected to the victim/alleged victim: NUMBER OF PARAGRAPHS
C4) Attention for people connected to the perpetrator/accused/alleged perpetrator: NUMBER OF PARAGRAPHS
C5) Attention for other prominent people (no connection to perpetrator/victim/accuser is visible): NUMBER OF PARAGRAPHS
C6) Attention for non-prominent/regular people [man/woman on the street): NUMBER OF PARAGRAPHS

Category D: Actor characteristics

The characteristics of actors include the (alleged) victim, (alleged) perpetrator, and other prominent people. If one is considered a famous person, if one is affiliated within a specific sector, and if either (alleged) victim/perpetrator is anonymous. People connected to victim/perpetrator were sometimes connected to both (i.e. coworkers within an organization where both victim/perpetrator works), but were coded based on which 'side' they appeared to be on. Articles that had a dominant case, but did not have a specific victim (i.e. "Soccer coach accused of discriminatory comments online") was coded as 0 for victim characteristics while perpetrator was coded as usual.

Variable for celebrity used in analysis was an index of three variables: victim, accused, other prominent (Variable D1+D2+D3). Celebrities within a certain sector also as an index (D4+D5+D6)

D1) Does the item include a victim/accuser that is considered a famous person?
D2) Does the item include a perpetrator/alleged perpetrator that is considered a famous person?
D3) Does the item include a prominent person that is considered a famous person?

D4) Does the item refer to an perpetrator/alleged within one of these sectors?
1 Politician, or an actor with affiliation to a political party
2 Entertainment industry, i.e. an actor or actress
3 Fashion industry
4 Hospitality
5 Sports industry
6 Other
8 Does not refer to any profession
D5) Does the item refer to a victim/accuser within one of these sectors?
D6) Does the item refer to a prominent person within one of these sectors?

Category E: Presence of narratives

The category for presence of narratives involves variables for victim/perpetrator, to identify if either narratives' are present in the article, and if the narrative is questioned or supported. Questioning the victim/perpetrators narrative was coded as 1 if the credibility of the actor/the

actor's narrative was explicitly questioned, e.g. by discussing possible inferior motives, inaccuracies, intoxication, psychological disorders. The variable for support was coded as 1 if the credibility of the actor/the actor's narrative was explicitly supported, e.g. by highlighting possible superior motives, consistency with neutral accounts, negative impact of their account. These variables were also coded as 1 if the article contained a third persons' narrative confirming/refuting the victim/perpetrators' narrative.

E1) Narration of the episode from the alleged victim/victim's point-of-view [also: their lawyers]
Code: Does the item narrate the episode from the victim's perspective?
1 Yes, the victim's story is presented
2 No, the victim's story is not presented, and no explanation is given why it is not presented
3 No, it is explicitly said that the victim has not publicly spoken about the episode
0 No narrative - the case is only mentioned briefly

E2) Questioning the victim/victim's narrative
Is the credibility of the victim/the victim's narrative explicitly questioned, e.g. by discussing possible inferior motives, inaccuracies, intoxication, psychological disorders?
1   Yes, the credibility is explicitly questioned
0   No, the credibility is not explicitly questioned

E3) Supporting the victim/victim's narrative
Is the credibility of the victim/the victim's narrative explicitly supported, e.g. by highlighting possible superior motives, consistency with neutral accounts, negative impact of their account?
1   Yes, the credibility is explicitly supported
0   No, the credibility is not explicitly supported

E4) Overall impression of the accuracy of the victim / victim's account
1   Very low legitimacy/credibility
2
3
4
5   Very high legitimacy/credibility
8   No impression of legitimacy/credibility is created

E5) Narration of the episode from the accused's/alleged perpetrator's/perpetrator's point-of-view [also: their lawyers]
E6) Questioning the accused/alleged perpetrators' narrative
E7) Supporting the accused/alleged perpetrators' narrative
E8) Overall impression of the accuracy of the accused/alleged perpetrators' account

Category F1: Criticisms against movement or victim
This category accounts criticisms against the victim/accuser/movement that harm credibility or legitimacy. This category consists of 16 variables that are based on stereotypical attitudes on sexual violence. These variables are coded as 1 if the article provides a narrative that explicitly or implicitly criticize the movement, the victim, excuse the behavior of the perpetrator, refer to the incident as a scandal, and so on. All variables are coded as 0 or 1. An index variable for criticism was used in the analysis, based on 17 variables: F1-16+I1.

F1) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly imply that sexual harassment is the price for fame/celebrity you have to pay, "It has always been that way"?
1   Yes, the item provides a narrative that explicitly or implicitly imply that sexual harassment is the price for fame/celebrity you have to pay

0   No, the item does not provide this narrative

F2) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly imply that the incident is a minor case? i.e. depicting such actions as sexual misconduct is respectless against real rape victims, or that the victim misunderstood the accusers' attempt at humor?
F3) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly questions the victim/alleged victim motives? i.e. by narratives such as "maybe the victim wanted to further his/her career by engaging in sexual activities with the alleged perpetrator? Maybe the perpetrator is even the victim?"
F4) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly questions the victim/alleged victim's behavior? I.e. by narratives such as "maybe the victim did not clearly signal this is against his/her will"
F5) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly excuse the behavior of the accused/alleged perpetrator? i.e. describing the accused as a "bad apple" or trying to flirt
F6) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly describes the incident as some kind of a scandal, rather than a gender equality issue?
F7) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly describes (the accusation of) sexual harassment as a "grey zone"?
F8) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly question whether sexual harrassment is a problem proportional to the magnitude og response and attention #metoo received?
F9) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly centers around "Whataboutism"? i.e. "men also experience secual harassment", discussions on consent will make it difficult for people (men) to know how to act properly in public spaces
F10) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly describes harassment and discrimination as something "felt" by the women? i.e saying that women "have an experience of being harassed" or "feel intimidated" or referring to incidents as "rumors"
F11) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly suggests solutions to be investigations and/or meetings to figure out "what really happened"?
F12) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly describe #metoo as a witch hunt against men? i.e. by describing #metoo as a smear campaign, or that women are "ganging up" against men, or describing women as emotional or irrational or "out of control"
F13) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly describes the movement as a campaign that has gone "too far"?
F14) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly suggests that the solution to the problem is to remove the "bad apples"? i.e. companies cutting ties with the alleged perpetrator, the perpetrator resigning their position as solutions
F15) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly considers the issue as women's individual responsibility? i.e by suggesting how women can act in order to prevent sexual harassment
F16) Does the item include views of anti-feminists? i.e. by pinning women against each other

Category F2: Support for movement or victim

This category includes variables such as the mentioning of courage of the accuser, supportive notions of the movement, presentation of metoo as a driver of social change, the mention and celebration of technology to bring awareness, mentions of numbers of women coming forward, presenting a change in culture as a solution, and presenting sexism as a structural and cultural issue. All variables are coded as 0 or 1.

Variable used in statistical analysis for "radical claims" was an index of four variables: F22, F23, F24.

F17) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly considers the courage of the victim/accuser?

1 Yes, the item provides a narrative that explicitly or implicitly considers the courage of the victim/accuser

0 No, the item does not provide this narrative

F18) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly includes supportive notions of the movement?

F19) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly presents #metoo as a legitimate driver for social change and/or personal vindication for women across the world?

F20) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly mentions the role of technology and social media as celebrated and an important factor? i.e. by stating that the hashtag is a way of bringing awareness of the isssue of sexual harassment

F21) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly mentions numbers, in terms of the number of women coming forward and also in terms of the number of testimonies shared, liked, or reported on?

F22) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly defines the cause of the problem as an imbalance in power structures between men and women, as a gender equality issue, as a culture of silence, or a lack of respect for women on a general level?

F23) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly mentions that the solution is a change in culture? by changing laws and by finding collective solutions, suggesting that men both take the blame (even if they individually have not done anything) and that they should be part of the solution?

F24) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly presents sexism as a structural problem built into the fabric of our culture? i.e culture that is not changed by removing "bad apples"?

Category G: Support for accused

This category includes variables for the mentions of the accused' professional or personal achievements and professional life, how the accusation negatively impacts the accused, and whether the behavior of the accused is referred to as being considered a 'gray area'. All variables are coded as 0 or 1.

G1) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly mentions the accused' career achievements, personal achievements or professional life?

1 Yes, the item provides a narrative that explicitly or implicitly mentions the accused' career achievements, personal achievements or professional life

0 No, the item does not provide this narrative

G2) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly mentions the ways in which the allegations/case negatively affects the accused?

G3) Does the item provide a narrative that explicitly or implicitly refers to the incident as a "gray zone"? i.e. that the accused could not have known that he/she was doing something wrong?

Category H: Legal aspects

The category for legal aspects includes variables on the current legal situation, if the case already has been resolved in court, the legal status of the victim/perpetrator, if the accused face other negative consequences such as being fired from their job, and if there are any criticisms of internal handlings of an accusation. The latter was coded as 1 regardless of the criticism being in favor of either victim or accused

H1) Has the (primary/first) case already been resolved in court, according to the article's presentation?

1 Yes, article explicitly states that the case has been ruled in court already

0 No, the article does not explicitly state that, or there's no mention of legal aspects

H2) Current legal situation
1   No legal procedure has been initiated
2   Investigations are ongoing
3   Court case is ongoing
4   Court case has already been ruled, but it is not yet final
5   Court case has been finally settled
0   No mention of legal aspects
H3) Status of victim
1   Actual victim
2   Alleged victim
3   Unclear
0   No mention of legal aspects
 H4) Status of perpetrator
1   Actual perpetrator
2   Alleged perpetrator
3   Unclear
0   No mention of legal aspects
H5) Does the item mention the (alleged) perpetrator facing negative consequences other than legal aspects? (i.e. being fired from their job, losing contracts/professional partnerships)
H6) Does the item criticize internal handlings of an accusation? i.e. if the incident contradicts with a company's rules on sexual harassment and accusations were ignored

Category I: General

The last category called 'general' includes variables on whether the movement was explicitly or implicitly portrayed in a negative/positive manner, if there is any expression of ambiguity, if the goals of the movement is mentioned, if the article is specific to any professional sector, and if the article mentions Tarana Burke, Alyssa Milano, or Harvey Weinstein. All variables are coded as 0 or 1.

I1) Is the metoo movement explicitly or implicitly portrayed in a negative manner?
1 Yes, the metoo movement is explicitly or implicitly portrayed in a negative manner
0 No, the metoo movement is not explicitly or implicitly portrayed in a negative manner
I2) Is the metoo movement explicitly or implicitly portrayed in a positive manner?
I3) Does the item explicitly or implicitly express ambiguity of the situation/case?
I4) Does the item mention the goals of the movement/hashtag? i.e. mention the reason for sharing stories online is to show the magnitude of the problem
I5) Does the item refer to several victims of sexual harassment coming forward in one specific sector?
I6) Does the item refer to Tarana Burke?
I7) Does the item refer to Alyssa Milano?
I8) Does the item refer to Harvey Weinstein?