Men’s violence against women in Nordic countries:
A qualitative case study of men’s violence against
women in close relationships in Sweden.

Francois Joseph Nkounga
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Abstract

Sweden like other Nordic countries are cited as models in terms of gender equality in the world. In addition, they played a significant role in the process of changing the Declaration on eradication of discrimination against women (CEDAW) into a binding Convention. However, the report Captured Queen on men’s violence against women published by Brottsoffer-myndigheten (The Crime Victim Compensation and Support Authority) in 2001 showed the extent of this issue of society in Sweden. The purpose of this thesis is to explore how the situation of men’s violence against women in close relationships in Sweden is presented today since the publication of the report Captured Queen in 2001. The theoretical framework consists of the feminist perspectives and concept of hegemonic masculinities. Qualitative method and secondary materials were used to gain a deeper understanding of the issue of men’s violence against women in close relationships in Sweden.

The main findings of this thesis show that men’s violence against women in close relationships is a real social problem in Sweden. There is no specific profile of violent men against women in Sweden, since they come from all social classes, backgrounds and of all ages. Men’s violence against women can be explained by the result of inequalities between men and women in social structures. It is this social and collective domination of women by men that facilitate the individual domination of a man over his partner. Therefore, factors such as alcohol consumption cannot be the determinant cause of men’s violence against women. Nonetheless, alcohol consumption constitutes a factor that can promote or increase the likelihood of violence. The latest Swedish sexual assault legislation based on consent entered in force the first July 2018 cannot significantly reduce the extent of this social phenomenon, since social structures in Sweden are based on patriarchal considerations where men dominate over women.

Key words: Men’s violence against women, legislation on consent, close relationships.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>BRÅ</td>
<td>National Council for Crime Prevention</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women</td>
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<td>IPV</td>
<td>Intimate partner violence</td>
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<td>NCK</td>
<td>The National Centre for Knowledge on Men’s Violence against Women</td>
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<td>RFSU</td>
<td>The Swedish Association for Sexuality Education</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>The United Nations</td>
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<td>SFS</td>
<td>The Swedish Code of Statutes</td>
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<td>SKL</td>
<td>Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions</td>
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<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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Chapter One

1. Introduction and problem formulation
The Scandinavian countries are distinguished by a powerfully articulated culture of gender equality attached in legislation and other sources of public measures.1 Furthermore, the Scandinavian countries are today welfare states where women occupy almost a solid situation in the public domain. The unanimity familiarized Nordic inquiry on gender equality and gender measures has conducted to considerable changes within several areas of society. However, this definite progress is not as obvious in the sphere of gender and violence such as concerning violence and rape in close relationships, especially conducted against women and girls.2

In Sweden, a while later the application of the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in Swedish strategy, thus the issue of men’s violence against women was included in the gender equality strategy during the 1990s.3 However, the first main research “Captured Queen” about men’s violence against women published by Brottsoffermyndigheten (The Crime Victim Compensation and Support Authority) in 2001 pointed out that practically every other woman had been exposed to men’s violence. Moreover, women are exposed to men’s violence in various places and by different classes of men namely fathers, husbands, brothers, colleagues etc. Nearly every second woman that is to say 46 percent has been exposed to assault by a man since her fifteenth birthday.4 Besides, 56 per cent of all women have been subjected to sexual harassment. Every year, about 30,000 cases of abuse of women are reported to the police.5 Yet, in just under half of these cases, victims and offenders have a close relationship. Moreover, around 2,500 cases of gross violation of women’s rights are reported. However, the National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) estimates that about 80 percent of the violence against women in close relationships never is reported to Police. Every year about 17 women are murdered by a man with they have or have had a love relationship.

Like the government, the press notifies that Captured Queen especially diminishes the issue of violence to one of invisible link violence. A certain number of articles say no to the

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2Ibid
report’s picture of violence as describing everywhere. In addition to, its inquiry of the extent to which violence influences women out in the world at large. For example, one paper written by Aftonbladet (15 May 2001) stipulates that “Women are exposed to systematic violence at the hands of those close to them-while men encounter casual violence on the town and in restaurants and bars”.

1.2 Definitions of concepts
Violence in close relationships includes all forms of violence that can appear between close persons. Close relationships encompass heterosexual relationships as well as same-sex relationships, sibling relationships or other family relationships.

Violence in close relationships can take various types namely physical violence, sexual violence, psychological violence and economic violence.

Physical violence encompasses of assault in the model of blows, kicks, scarves, heavy shoulder, throttle grip and the utilization of adherence and weapons.

Psychological violence can be defined as a repetition of violence without taking account into the partner’s feelings. All use of words, action or absence of action that dominates, hurts, detracts or exasperates the closest is called psychological violence. Furthermore, it incorporates apostasy, intimidations, hurtful criticism, ignore person and hold partner responsible for actions that she has not done, for instance accusing her of being or intending to cheat.

Sexual violence consists of forced sexual contact, forced degrading sex games and sexual acts, rape and violence directed at breast and abdomen. Being forced to look at pornography is also a type of sexual violence.

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7 Ibid
9 http://hck.uu.se/kunskapsbanken/amnesguider/vald-i-nara-relationer/vald-i-nara-relationer/Accessed 08-02-2019
11 Lars-Ake Kastling, Män som slår kvinnor om mäns våld och skam i nära relationer. Themis. 2010. P.45
Economic violence occurs when, in a relationship, one of the parties controls the totality of the family’s resources and the other does not have enough financial resources to live.\textsuperscript{14} Violence can also be material, for instance when someone damages your things.

1.3 Aim and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to explore how the situation of men’s violence against women in close relationships in Sweden is presented today since the publication of the report “Captured Queen” in 2001. This study seeks to address the following questions:

1- What is the profile of men’s violence against women in close relationships in Sweden?
2- What legislations has Sweden taken to combat and prevent men’s violence against women in close relationships after the report Captured Queen?
3- What effects can the new legislation be expected to have?

1.4 Delimitation

As most of the cases of violence in close relationships are made by men against women, thus this thesis will be delimited in cases of violence in close relationships that happen in heterosexual couple relationships. Furthermore, the group of victims will concern on adult women from the age of 18 and up. This thesis will focus on assault and gross violation of women’s rights since there is a variety of sorts of violence in close relationships. In order to get a greatest view of men’s violence against women in close relationships in Sweden today, I will focus on the latest reports from different organizations and Sweden’s latest national plans of action for preventing and combating violence against women.

1.5 Previous studies

A number of researchers have investigated the issue of men’s violence against women in close relationships in Sweden. For instance, in her book “Mäns våld mot kvinnor i nära relationer ur perspektiven genus, rätt och folkhälsa:en kunskapsöversikt-Men's Violence Against Women In Close Relationships From the Perspective Gender, Justice and Public Health” 2005, Maria Scheffler Lindgren concluded by mentioning Maud Eduards (Professor in Political Sciences at University of Stockholm) that men’s power can consist as long as the private and public levels are kept separate. The gender power order with a male superiority

and a female subordination applies both at the private and at the public level. Since society views women’s experiences in private as individuals, they are ignored as a basis for political actions. The established political system does not take gender into account, which means that fundamental interests and conflicts of power are also denied. The man is seen as political and normative, women are seen as non-political and deviant.\textsuperscript{15}

The Brå’s report 2009:12 “Våld mot kvinnor och män i nära relationer. Våldets karaktär och offrens erfarenheter av kontakter med rättsväsendet: Violence against women and men in close relationships. The character of the violence and the victims’ experience of contacts with the judiciary” concludes that as long as power is unevenly distributed between women and men; we are most likely to witness men’s systematic violence against women. It is an important starting point for all work with relational violence. At the same time, much effort should be made to reduce relational violence by focusing on other causes of violence. One example is alcohol consumption. If alcohol abuse and / or addiction decrease, it would be reflected directly in violence, including violence into close relationships. Several studies show a connection between alcohol and violence and even Brå’s results confirm that alcohol plays an important role in events of relations of violence. In about half of these events, the perpetrator was drunk or drug-induced.\textsuperscript{16}

In her article “Blaming violent men-A challenge to the Swedish criminal law on provocation” 2014, Monica Burman points out that criminal legal is indispensable in order to attempt to avert violent men from dispossessing women of their rights to self-determination, honor, and well-being. However, there is absence of assurance that such an approach of culpability that has been conceived out will give a result which is more positive from a feminist perspective. Burman argues that a replaced conception of culpability will thus bring improved mechanisms for accordingly taking the discursive combat in Swedish criminal law which is perceived as an important step ahead in defying provocation and gender structures in law. This can no doubt ease the exercise of gender equality as a principle in criminal law in a feminist guidance, contrary to gender equality being a discursive mechanism which common Swedish violent men, with some assistance from the courts, capable to utilize to distance themselves from their offensive attitude. Certainly, without such a question to Swedish criminal law, therefore the criminal law will do no more than remain ( persist) to promote the utilization of

\textsuperscript{15}Maria Scheffer Lindgren.MänsVåld mot kvinnor i Nära relationer ur perspektiven Genus, Rätt och Folkhälsa 2005.P.58

violence as a mechanism for men to accomplish, to pursue to or to preserve power and dominate over women.\textsuperscript{17}

In their article “\textit{Men’s violence narratives of men attending anti-violence programmes in Sweden}” 2014, Kerstin Edin and Bo Nilsson have explored gender structures by examining the descriptions expressed by men frequenting anti-violence plans within the Probation Structure in Sweden. They concluded that the men’s character constructions appeared to clash with the agenda’s aspirations of transforming men’s attitude. The explanation for this clash might be that the plans are established on the men’s absolute resignation (renunciation), that defends men diverse manners of protecting themselves by utilizing justifications and reasons in that approach building victim situations. This is the reason why in transforming violent men’s attitude it appears definitely as indispensable to active way include men in the creation of new existences as it does to blame the traditional ones.\textsuperscript{18}

\textbf{1.6 Method and Materials}

This thesis is based on qualitative method, since the case study is qualitative in nature. A case can be explained in various manners, however I choose a description from George and Bennet (2005) where they defend that, a case is an example of one type of event, where the nature of event, is a fact of scientific interest.\textsuperscript{19} I scrutinize men’s violence against women in close relationships in Sweden as an issue of scientific interest because Sweden is generally perceived as a frontrunner and a model regarding gender equality in the world. Nonetheless, the Swedish investigation Captured Queen published in 2001 alarming statistics concerning men’s violence against women in Sweden.

Unlike a quantitative study, which analyzes a large number of observations that are equally treated; a qualitative study is based on a deeper study with fewer objects of analysis.\textsuperscript{20} My study is qualitative, as I plan to gain a deeper understanding of the issue of men’s violence against women in close relationships in Sweden in a thorough and qualitative way. A quantitative study does not provide the same deep understanding of a problem. Furthermore, the quantitative approaches have commonly been linked to concepts for instance positivism,

\textsuperscript{17}Monica Burman. Blaming violent men-A challenge to the Swedish criminal law on provocation.Umeå Forum for Studies on Law and Society.Umeå University,Sweden. 2014.P.93


scientific, objectivity, statistics and masculinity. Feminist researchers have blamed quantitative positivistic approaches of neglecting and banning women and coexisting women to male knowledge. Case studies are often criticized for not giving sufficient basis for generalizations compared to other, comparative studies. My purpose is not to present general findings, but rather to understand the question of men’s violence against women in close relationships in Sweden. According to George and Bennett (2005), research design based on case study gives the best conceptual validity and case study is often most effective, when it comes to identifying and measuring the diversity of indicators that might represent the essential theoretical concepts.

I mostly utilized secondary materials in the form of reports, relevant legislation, and traditional sources of law, academic articles or books written by academic investigators in order to guarantee the quality of my sources. Among them, “En kunskapsöversikt Mäns våld mot kvinnor i nära relationer”, a report published by Sweden’s municipalities and councils (Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting) in 2006. The aim of this report is to cover widely the problem complex of the men’s violence against women in close relationships in Sweden. The script begins with putting the issue in a Swedish historical and international context. Then, it focuses on how men’s violence against women can be explained as well as the extent of violence is. The report “Stoppa våldet mot kvinnor. Mäns våld mot kvinnor i nära relationer” published by Amnesty International in 2004, has been made to raise awareness and knowledge about men’s violence against women in Sweden. I used both these reports, as my fundamental sources in the chapter of analysis. Other secondary materials on men’s violence against women, were utilized in the chapter of analysis. These materials contain: “Feminist Framework Plus: Knitting Feminist Theories of Rape Etiology Into a Comprehensive Model”, Trauma, Violence, Violence & Abuse, Vol. 17(3) 2016 written by Beverly A. McPhail and a report “Case closed. Rape and human rights in the Nordic countries” written by Amnesty International.

In the chapter of theory, I principally used Gösta och genusordningen. Feministiska betraktelser. Ordfront Stockholm (2017) written by Yvonne Hirdman- a professor of history at

Stockholm University. The author gives a description of the organizations and mechanisms that establish, and preserve inequalities in society.

In the sections of method and validity and reliability, I used books authored by Peter Esaiasson et al. (2007 and 2012) (In Swedish: Metodpraktikan - konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad). In the use of secondary sources, it is essential to have a critical approach, as secondary sources are considered to be less reliable than primary sources. In order to increase the credibility of a historical claim, one can confirm it with another statement from another source, with a different origin than the first. Another way is to try to start from sources with high centrality, that is to say sources that were centrally placed in a sequence of events.26 I am aware, that using secondary materials will constantly encounter empiricism that is colored by the author. I hope that by using sources that differ in both time and political slant, I will avoid an overly narrow view of what happened.

1.7 Validity and reliability

Validity can be divided into two components: conceptual validity and the validity of the result. Conceptual validity demands that there is a conformance between the theoretical definitions and the operational indicator as well as the absence of systematic errors. Whereas, the validity of the result is when we measure what we claim to measure.27 Furthermore, validity is the most indispensable criterion of research.28 Thus, problems of validity increase with the distance between the theoretical definition and operationalization.29 As a result, the problem is less serious when there are relatively simple and straightforward theoretical concepts that are close to that is measured at the operational level.30 The aim of this study, is to analyze how the situation of men’s violence against women in close relationships is looked out today since the publication of the report “Captured Queen” in 2001. How does one measure men’s violence in close relationships in Sweden? In the literature survey, I will get support of the theory developed by Professor Yvonne Hirdman as well as the concept of hegemonic masculinities; both try to explain the causes of the men’s violence against women in our society. This means that I will use the main ideas of the theory of Hirdman and the concept of hegemonic masculinities. These main ideas will be discussed to specify what will

27 Ibid. P. 57
be investigated in the chapter of analysis. The specification creates a clear picture of what is to be identified and investigated. In order to create a good result’s validity, I first need a good concept’s validity and high reliability.\(^{31}\) According to Esaiason et al, there are two sorts of validity: internal validity and external validity. Internal validity is alluded to well-founded conclusions of descriptive or explanatory nature on the basis of the limited number of analytical units that one have chosen to study.\(^{32}\) Whereas, external validity is referred to the possibility of generalizing descriptive results as well as explanatory conclusions from the selection of analytical units that have been studied to some form of larger and more relevant population, or from one context to one or more others. This may cause, challenge to qualitative researchers because the goal of a qualitative study is to focus on particular case studies as well as definite specimen in the research. However, as said earlier this thesis is an explanatory case study with a nature qualitative and the purpose is thus based on a certain theory to explain single cases. In this thesis, the single case is men’s violence against women in close relationships in Sweden.

Reliability means the absence of random or unsystematic errors. Reliability refers to the measuring instrument or the unit of measurement used for this investigation.\(^{33}\) A high reliability may suggest that, the same results would be obtained if the same research was done at another time and by another researcher.\(^{34}\) However, it can be difficult to re-use a measuring instrument in qualitative research because it is impossible to freeze a certain time, place and environment.\(^{35}\) The measuring instrument that I will assume is Hirdman’s theory and the concept of hegemonic masculinities. As this is a theory-consuming study, the goal is not to generalize the findings, but rather to explain the process in the current case.

### 1.8 Disposition

This thesis is structured in three chapters. The first chapter deals with the introduction that presents the problem formulation of this thesis, the aim and the research questions, delimitation, previous studies, method and materials. Theoretical framework is concerned with explanations of men’s violence against women in close relationships by feminist perspectives and concept of hegemonic masculinities and also discussion on validity and reliability. The second chapter is about historical background on Swedish legislation on


\(^{32}\)Ibid. P. 64


\(^{34}\)Jan Teorell & Torsten Svensson. Att fråga och att svara. Författarna och Liber AB 2007. P. 59

violence against woman. The third chapter consists of an analysis where, I apply fundamental ideas of feminist perspectives and concept of hegemonic masculinities to answer the three research questions of this thesis. Lastly, the fourth chapter examines the essential findings and makes proposals for future research.

1.9 Theoretical framework
As, this thesis is based on a gender perspective and also in order to get a larger holistic view of men’s violence against women in close relationships in Sweden. I believe that feminist perspectives and concept of hegemonic masculinities are suitable, since they try to describe why men exercise violence to a great extent than women.

1.9.1 Feminist perspectives on men’s violence against women
Professor Yvonne Hirdman at University of Stockholm has developed concepts such as gender order, gender power order and gender power system to describe the structures and processes that create and maintain inequalities in society. According to Hirdman, every society creates and maintains a system of order in which women and men are attributed to different tasks, roles and positions. The genus system is based on two principles, gender detention and male superiority. The isolation means that men and women, and male and female, are separated and viewed as each other's opposites. This means that women and men can be found in different arenas in society, both horizontally and vertically. The division between the sexes in the labor market is an example of this, where women and men are in different sectors namely care and technology, and are found in different positions. According to statistics presented by the National Board of Health and Welfare in November 2016 was 53% of the doctors’ men and 47% of the nurse’s assistant women. When a woman occupies for example a powerful position in an administration, she has more to prove, meets a certain mistrust. This is perceived sometimes as strange. By hierarchy, Hirdman means that man is commonly seen as an obvious principle in all professions of high position, he earns more money than woman does and that man has commonly a superior status than woman and he has a higher value socially as well.

37 Ibid
39 Ibid. P.9,166
There are three levels that partially explain different parts, which form a framework for people's understanding and response to violence.\(^{40}\) It is about (1) individual differences or deviations (2) structural factors as well as (3) cultural norms and values. Thus, these three levels constitute what is usually called a gender power system or gender power order. With The term order refers to a relationship of power in which men are superiors and women subordinates.\(^{41}\)

### 1.9.2 Concept of hegemonic masculinities

Hegemony masculinity is perceived as a critical concept in the men’s violence against women.\(^{42}\) However, this approach has also been at the heart of debate. Furthermore, this concept is nowadays utilized to replace a particular monolithic masculinity that is to say a global dominant model on a world proportion and it is perceived to allude to transnational business masculinity to an elite class where men dominate socially. Kimmel and R.W. Connell, masculinity writers point out how globalization as well global politics are considered as gender free and they give more attention to models of masculinity in a developing world gender system.\(^{43}\) While most thinkers of globalization do not pay attention on gender, whereas masculinity studies writers highlight the gendered aspect, for instance, in global politics, economics, diplomacy and institutions. However, according to Connell the existence of interpretations of masculinities in several regions and countries cannot be only the explanation of a global comprehension of masculinities. As the world becomes more and more globalized, accordingly local interpretations appear insufficient. The suitable approach is a grip of considerable-system social methods and the necessity of global relationships to comprehend masculinities on a world proportion. The concept hegemonic masculinity is seen as a mechanism to acknowledge that there are certain masculinities that are not constructed equal.\(^{44}\) Furthermore, it is an instrument that rings light to the question of the diversity within masculinities, to create masculinities. The term of masculinity does not only concern men’s power in relation to women rather, masculinity is thus demassified as a multitude of masculinities, and these do not have equality. Therefore masculinity has a dominant position over other masculinities and will control other sorts in any specific historical and social

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\(^{41}\)Ibid  
\(^{42}\)Christine Beasley. Rethinking hegemonic masculinity in a globalization world. The University of Adelaide, Australia. 2008. P. 86  
\(^{43}\)Ibid. P.87  
\(^{44}\)Ibid. P.88
situations. The article, *a multi-faceted power analysis of men’s violence to known: from hegemonic masculinity to the hegemony of men* concerns an evaluation of two principal perspectives as regards men and masculinities. Thus, hegemonic masculinity is applicable to interpret of men’s violence. However, to curtail this kind of violence to concept of hegemonic masculinity is not acceptable, the problem is that it is not clear if hegemonic masculinity is thus fortified or overturned by men’s violence to known women. Accordingly, to utilize the concept of hegemonic masculinity as a clarification is seen at best limited or unclear and at worst confusing. Thus, a total comprehension of men’s violence to known women is to be perceived in terms of the several various attitudes of the dominant position of men, containing, conniving masculinity and the structure of men. If this happen because partly men’s violence to known women changes that is to say from physical to non-physical violence and exploitation. Moreover from violence prepared to voluntary(instinctive) violence, from implementing of influence to improving of ability, from strengthening or undermining hegemonic masculinity or hegemony of common manner and from society to society.

\[45\] Christine Beasley. Rethinking hegemonic masculinity in a globalization world. The University of Adelaide, Australia. 2008. P.89

\[46\] Jeff Hearn. A multi-faceted power analysis of men’s violence to known: from hegemonic masculinity to the hegemony of men. The sociological review 2012. P.603

\[47\] Ibid. P.603

\[48\] Ibid
Chapter Two

2. Historical background on Swedish legislation on violence against woman

In the pre-industrial society, man was perceived as the head of the household, accordingly he decided on his wife, children and servants as well. Furthermore, man had legal right to use house law in other words, he could use violence against them. Thus, the path for the independence and liberty of the woman was difficult and long. In 1734, Sweden introduced a law which forbade man to use acts conducting to serious injuries or death to his wife. However, he could still beat her without being punished. In 1863, unmarried woman became major at 25 years old that is to say the lawful age. Previously, the father was guardian of his unmarried daughter until she was 50 years old. The law of 1864 modified the law of 1734 which allowed man to use passive violence that is to say, violence without serious injuries or death. In 1884, the official age of unmarried changed from 25 to 21 years old, the same as for men. But, the woman’s social status did not change since married woman still remained under control by her husband. In 1915, the Swedish government established laws on divorce, thus fundamental incompatibility “djup och varaktig söndring” was accepted as a reason for divorce, as a result women got a real opportunity to get out from an unbearable marriage. The consequence is that the number of divorces augmented. Thus, married woman becomes responsible for her body in 1920. Sweden made an important decision on women’s rights in the direction that, women have got right to vote and can be elected to the parliament “Riksdag”. The 1962 Criminal Code, SFS 1962:700, came into force and replaced the 1864 Penal Code. Hence, in 1965 Sweden becomes the first country in the world to establish a law against rape in marriage. Crimes, mentioned in the chapters 3-7 of the Criminal Code namely murder, abuse and sexual offense are called for the first time crimes against a person. A collective name, for offenses that are directed against a victim and where victim and perpetrator are usually confronted was established. In other words, that clarification was necessary in order to avoid misunderstanding regarding the chapters 3-7 of the Criminal

50 Ibid
51 Ibid
In the same perspective, in 1982, the Swedish government introduced a new law, which meant that all cases of assault fell under public prosecution. This was perceived as a great change in the policy to combat men’s violence against women. Accordingly, whoever can report a crime that falls under public prosecution, even the police who have come to a place where a suspected crime to have been committed. Therefore, the police are obliged to investigate such notifications regardless of whether the defendant is against investigation. The plaintiff may not withdraw his / her own notification. This was an important step against impunity. Before the change of legislation in 1982, assault that occurred in a private place, for instance at home, a criminal offense, which meant that the victim himself decided whether the crime would be reported to prosecution or not. However, gross assault on a private place had already fallen under public prosecution. About crimes against life and health, the Swedish criminal code affirms in the Chapter 3, §5-6:

§ 5 Anyone who causes another person: physical injuries, illness or pain or puts him or her in impotence or any other such condition is sentenced for assault to imprisonment for a maximum of two years or, if the crime is inconsiderable, is sentenced for fines or imprisonment for a maximum of six months. Law (1998: 393).

§ 6 If the offense referred to in § 5 is considered as gross, for gross assault shall be sentenced to imprisonment, at least one and maximum ten years.

When assessing whether the crime is gross, particular consideration should be given to whether the act was fatal or whether the offender caused severe physical injury or serious illness or otherwise demonstrated special recklessness or brutality. Law (1988:2).

The penalty for assault is imprisonment for a maximum of two years or fines or imprisonment for a maximum of six months if the offense is not considerable. Moreover, for serious maltreatment, the penalty is imprisonment for at least one year and maximum, 10 years.

In 1988, law on visit prohibition was introduced. A man convicted of abuse is not allowed to contact the woman that he has subjected to violence. Law means, among other things, that if there is a risk that an intimate man will commit a crime, persecute or seriously harass a woman, therefore a visit ban can be issued. Visit ban, which means that the man that is the offender must not seek out or in another way, contact the woman. It is applied maximum one year and can be extended by a maximum of one year at a time. A request for visit ban can be

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56 Ibid

57 Ibid


made by the vulnerable woman herself or otherwise when there is a justified reason. Thus, Prohibition of visit is examined and issued by public prosecutor. The decision shall be examined in the district court if any of the parties makes the request. Anyone who violates a visit ban can be fined or imprisoned for a maximum one year. However, concerning small cases, the man should not be held as liable. Yet in terms of violence there is no insignificant case. Accordingly, the perpetrator should be sentenced if there is evidence. It should be mentioned that this law is applicable also in other relationships.

2.1 Law on gross violation of women's rights

Still within the framework to combat men’s violation against women in close relationships, a new crime was introduced in the Criminal Code on July 1, 1998: The Act on gross peacekeeping (grov fridskräkning) and gross violation of women's rights (grov kvinnofridskränkning) (Chapter 4, §4a). The law means that if a man exposes a woman he has or has had a close relationship with, for repeated violations. The consequence is that he can be condemned for gross violation of women's rights. The violations that are referred to, are for example assault, offense, homicide (violation of the privacy of the home), and sexual constraint. The provision is primarily intended to include crimes that are not so serious that they can be described as, for example, gross abuse. Thus, repeated cases of this kind of women's offenses must be assessed together and result in a more severe punishment than what these individual actions were and each would bring with it himself. Violence that affects women in close relationships is often repeated and it can be difficult for the victim to disassociate the events and moments for the crimes. The Women's Freedom Act that assumes the affected woman's entire life situation is characterized by threats, assault and mental pressure. Furthermore, it is therefore shaped so that it should facilitate prosecution against men’s perpetrators who of repetitive way violate intimate women. Multiple crimes, for example, assault, abusive behavior and property infringement, are judged together in the same goal. As a result, the punishment for gross women’s offenses is imprisonment, minimum nine months and maximum six years.

2.2 Social Services Act

The Social Services Act (1980: 620) received an additional provision (Socialtjänstlag SoL §8a) that social welfare committees should work to ensure that women who are or have been

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61 Ibid.
subjected to violence or other abuse at home, receive support and help in order to change their situation. Thus, the paragraph was changed with the new Social Services Act that was adopted in July 2001 and it mentions responsibilities of social welfare committee in Chapter 5 11§: "The Social Committee should work to ensure that the person who has been subjected to crime and her/his relatives receives support and help. The Social Committee should in particular take into account that women who are or have been exposed to violence or others abuses at home may be in need of support to change their situation.".

2.3 Sexual harassment
The Gender Equality Act was strengthened in reference to sexual harassment (SFS 1998: 208) and a definition of the term of sexual harassment was introduced into the Gender Equality Act. Besides, the law was also clarified so that now every employer is obliged to actively prevent abuse and prevent sexual harassment. Because, failure may lead to damages. Sexual harassment refers to unwelcome behavior of sexual nature that violates the employee's integrity. Thus, on every workplace, there must be routines for handling sexual harassment.

2.4 Legislation against discrimination (2008:567)
The legislation describes discrimination in the chapter 4§1 as a behavior that violates someone's dignity and which is related to any of the grounds of discrimination, sex-transgenic identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation or age. By law chapter 4§4, harassment is a behavior that violates someone's dignity and which is related to any of the grounds of discrimination, sex-transgenic identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation or age and chapter 4§5 defines sexual harassment as a behavior of sexual nature that violates someone's dignity.

2.5 Law on change in the criminal code (2013:367)
On 30 May 2013, the Swedish parliament passed a law containing in the Chapter 4 section 4a of the Penal Code that stipulates that:

63 Ibid
66 Ibid
“Anyone who commits criminal acts according to chapters 3, 4, 6 or 12 or according to section 24 of the Act (1988: 688) on the prohibition of contact with a related or previously related person, is judged whether each of the acts constituted part of a repeated violation of the person's integrity and the deeds have been intended to seriously hurt the person's self-esteem, for gross violation of integrity to prison in at least nine months and a maximum of six years.

Has the acts mentioned in the first paragraph been committed by a man committed repeated acts towards a woman his is or has been married to or who he lives or has lived together under a similar form of relationship, the offense would fall under gross violation of a woman’s integrity”.

2.6 The Government's collective action against sexual violence and harassment

Men’s violence against women is one of the biggest social problems in Sweden, which occurs both in private and public sphere. This is the reason why, in response to the #Metoo movement, which started in October 2017, the Government implemented measures to counteract sexual violence, harassment and violations. It is about preventive measures, stronger protection and assistance, more effective law enforcement, investments in the work environment and knowledge-enhancing measures. Thus, to strengthen the preventive and competence-enhancing work against sexual harassment, the Government has provided SEK 10 million to the Swedish Work Environment Authority in 2018 for information and education initiatives with support for employers. In addition to, the Government has also contributed SEK 15 million to the state funds for regional safety representatives during 2018. The Government has allocated additional resources to the Discrimination Ombudsman for that the authority to, among other things, be able to exercise supervision over the Discrimination Act. In June 2018, the National Board of Health and Welfare was commissioned to coordinate an initiative to offer staff primarily within the social services education on violence in close relationships. The education is based on complaints that have been mentioned in #Metoo movement from vulnerable groups and the needs that are linked to violence and sexual abuse directed against, among other things, older women. This is the explanation why, the commission is to be carried out in collaboration with the Equality Authority, National Centre for Knowledge on Men’s violence against Women (NCK) at

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Uppsala University and the county administrative boards. Mandatory elements have been introduced on men's violence against women and violence in close relationships in education to professions that involve meetings with women and children exposed to violence. The courses that are concerned are physiotherapy degree, law degree, and doctor’s degree, psychologist's degree, nursing degree, socio-professional degree and dental exam. For this reason, the Gender Equality Authority has been commissioned to offer training initiatives and knowledge support for teachers and other education managers at universities and colleges.\textsuperscript{72}

\subsection*{2.7 New sexual offense legislation based on voluntariness}

On 20 March 2018, the Swedish Government submitted a bill to the Riksdag (parliament) with a proposal for a new sexual crime legislation based on voluntariness.\textsuperscript{73} The aim is to clarify that every person has an unconditional right to personal and sexual integrity and sexual self-determination. Thus, sex should be voluntary, if it is not, it is illegal. The bill proposed that the limit on punishable offense should be used if participation in a sexual activity is voluntary or not. It should no longer be required that the perpetrator has used violence or threats, or exploited the victim's particularly vulnerable situation, in order to be sentenced for, for example, rape.\textsuperscript{74} Furthermore, the bill pointed out that there is a particular negligence in terms of responsibility for certain serious sexual offenses. The Swedish parliament approved the governmental bill and it entered into force on 1\textsuperscript{st} July 2018.\textsuperscript{75}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{73}\url{https://www.regeringen.se/rattsliga-dokument/proposition/2018/03/prop.-201718177/.Accessed 16-02-2019}
\item \textsuperscript{74}Ibid
\end{itemize}
Chapter Three

3. Analysis
In order to attain the aim of this thesis and also to answer research questions of this thesis, I will use the main characteristics of the theory of gender system defended by Yvonne Hirdman and the concept of hegemonic masculinities.

3.1 Are all men violent against women?
Violence in close relationships is a major social issue in Sweden. The question of violence in close relationships affects both women and men, however women are more often affected by repeated and more serious violence. In the most of cases, the offender is a man. The research regarding gender and violence extends from individualist and psychological perspectives to sociological approaches. Thus, each perspective attempts to give the best explanation. Brottsförebyggande rådet Brå (The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention) indicates that the majority of the violence in close relationships takes place indoors, usually in the victim’s home. This means it is a hidden problem that is difficult to prove. Yet, men who use violence against women in close relationships come from all social groups, of all ages, with different occupations. Besides, many of them have a well-ordered life. Hence, the complexity to comprehend the issue of the profile of men violent against women. However, there are three levels that partly explain various parts and that form a framework for people’s comprehension and reaction to the violence. These three levels are: (1) individual differences or disparities, (2) structural aspects and (3) cultural principles and values. Together, these three levels form what is called a gender power system or the gender power scheme. The term order alludes to a power relationship in which men are superior and women subordinated.

76 https://www.socialstyrelsen.se/valds-ochbrotsrelateradefragor/valdinararelationer_Accessed 07-02-2019
77 Ibid.
80 https://www.aftonbladet.se/wendela/article10186359.ab_Accessed 09-03-2019
3.1.1 Individual level

The individual level is explained by men with certain characteristics own problems namely men with alcohol and drug problems, criminals, mentally ill, psychopaths and men who were themselves exposed to violence in childhood as well. Thus, a common explanation for men’s violence is personal factors, not least the man’s personal qualities. A consequence is that by unilaterally emphasizing personality characteristics, the issue of men’s violence against women is reduced and can be kept at a distance. As a result, men who use violence against women are perceived as special men that is to say alcoholics, criminals, sickly aggressive men etc. But not my conscientious neighbor or brother-in law. This way to perceive violent men against women as “special” could reinforce them to continue using their aggressive attitude against vulnerable persons namely women and children etc. Another consequence, of emphasizing deviant properties as an explanation for the violence is that it becomes difficult to find general preventive measures against men's violence. The issue of violence against women is a violation of human rights. Therefore, suitable solutions should be taken in order to prevent men’s violence against women. On the individual level, the differences, including the power relationship, between women and men are greatest. All men are not superior to all women, but within comparable groupings, such as within a profession, it is more common, for example that the manager in a working group is a man than a woman. The majority of men are not violent; moreover many do not exploit male privileges. One part of men even takes active distance from them that is to say they do not use their status to dominate others. However, through category affiliation, even those individuals who protest may benefit from an unequal distribution of powers. For instance in South Africa in the period of apartheid, whites were favored regardless of setting black’s expense. This shows that certain forms of structures or organizations shaped by individuals can conduct to discrimination, racism, domination etc.

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83 Ibid.P.21
84 Ibid
85 Ibid
3.1.1.1 Alcohol

A large number of researches and statistics show that there is a close interaction between alcohol consumption and violence in relationships. Furthermore, this correlation applies in general for all sorts of addiction. However, the influence of the use of illegal drugs and drug addiction is less well analyzed. Women whose men abuse alcohol are much more likely to suffer aggression from their partner during their lives as other women, with the exception of this aspect, have similar conditions. Yet, alcohol should not be an excuse to justify his aggressive behavior against his partner. There is a connection between an increase of sales of alcohol and an increase of reports of violence against women to police. But men who have alcohol problems, according their partners, differently behave under the influence of alcohol. This means that alcohol acts differently in men who have alcohol problems. Hence, there are three categories of men who have alcohol problems. The first group of men, always abuse when they are drunk, the second group of men, are always sober when they exercise violence but they have alcohol problems and the final group of men, are able to do both. However, the influence of alcohol is partly regulated by cultural performances. Thus, in some cultures, alcohol can make people wild and aggressive whereas in others cultures it can make people idle and kind. In traditional Swedish culture, the last group of men is more common. Women who live with violent men explain often their behavior with alcohol by this following word “while sober he cannot even hurt a fly”. But it would be a mistake to interpret this that alcohol induces reactions that are totally unfamiliar for the individual. Rather, it is about that alcohol removes barriers and conscious control. Assimilate that alcohol as the determining cause of violence against women is not bearable. However, alcohol consumption is rather perceived as a factor that can promote or increase the likelihood of violence. In Sweden, it is often legitimate to blame for alcohol to excuse an unlawful behavior as fight or sexual approaches or even abuse. The man can say, “I was so full that I did not know what I did”. Although this kind of excuse is not by the courtroom, yet it is often accepted by the environment of the violent man. Women, subjected to men’s violence sometimes say that their

87 Ibid.
89 Ibid
90 Ibid
men “need alcohol to dare to beat”.

As for, violent men as when they are sober, they say that they should refrain from violence against women, appear to be more often violent under the influence of alcohol than in sober conditions. While, men do not show such concerns can be violent too in sober condition. It is common to overestimate the effects of alcohol when one face with a different circumstance which must be explained. For example, when testing the degree of intoxication through blood test, it may turn out that the man himself, the woman, the police and other spectators believe that the man has a higher alcohol content than the blood test shows. Thus, the issue of the specific role of alcohol for a man’s tendency to exert violence against his partner remains to be answered. This would be reasonably to get scientific answers on the interaction between alcohol consumption and violence. As a result, violent men with alcohol consumption would not have any excuse to justify his aggressive behavior in case he would be before the judge. However, alcohol cannot alone be a factor of the appearance de violent behaviors.

3.1.2 Structural level

Explanations at this level perceive men's violence as a problem connected to the social structure, which of direct and indirect way encourages and facilitates men to dominate, control and even use violence against women. In Western countries as elsewhere, the contrast in the education of boys and girls partly explains the victimization of women. In a recent era, the girl was educated to obedience and valued when she was gentle and devoted. Whereas, the boy was educated to conquer and recognized as a real guy, when he won using strength and cunning. Structures of society are the family, parenthood, working life contain various (often unspoken) principles that can be applied to women and men, for example, what sexual freedom a teenage daughter and a teenage son should have, what opportunities to invest in the job as young mothers and young fathers should have, what salary levels will apply to the professions such as care where women dominate in terms of number and the occupations for instance engineering where men dominate. Thus, women have lesser salary than men. As a result, men’s pensions are higher than women’s pensions. Structural level is


92 Ibid

93 Ibid. P.20


95 Ibid

seen as structures that frame our life. Some examples of important structures in society are the family and working life. It should be noted that these structures are carried by laws and / or traditions, such as legislation on family law and labor law. Furthermore, these structures are more obvious or manifest and conscious to us than cultural norms and values. Individuals tend to follow laws established by structures mentioned above than principles of culture and values. Structural level has a concept, is used to analyze violence against women namely patriarchal power structures that shape the actions of individuals. It refers to social systems in which women are controlled by men. In other words, men dominate women in all structures of our society. The United Nations (UN) defines patriarchal violence as a collective concept for the violence that has its origin in patriarchal power structures. There is another very common concept of violence at structural level that is simply structural violence. A report published by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1997 mentions several examples of structural violence such as prostitution, trafficking, genital mutilation, forced marriage, etc. These examples of structural violence are thus regarded as crucial elements for women’s life health and well-being. This is the reason why, Sweden has several legislations that prohibit structural violence for instance the law on the prohibition against the purchase of sexual services called the sex purchase law, but several men, including high-ranking lawyers consider themselves to be able to disregard it. Another example of structural violence is sexual harassment at a workplace, but the ban against this, is thus perceived in many cases as a ridiculous invention and a restriction on the personal freedom that has been introduced by sex enemies and without humor. The consequence is that the freedom that is then threatened is the freedom to act unprofessionally and the right to offend colleagues or subordinate (dominate) because of gender. Yet, pornography should also be counted as structural violence (though not erotic representations, poems, pictures etc. as available in all cultures). In Sweden, pornography is regarded as an issue of the freedom of the press, but it could also be seen as an issue of human right.

98 Ibid. P. 21
99 Ibid.
100 Ibid
3.1.3 Cultural level

Cultural level is about understanding of frameworks, norms and values that can serve as excuses for violence.\textsuperscript{101} For example, it is shameful for a man not to be gentleman in his own house and therefore he may have been provoked by a dominant wife to violence. An understanding of the forms of violence, scope, factors that facilitate violence to continue and how individuals handle violence must include all three levels namely structural level, individual level and cultural level. Thus, the individual chooses to perform the acts, but environmental factors that is to say individual level and structural level facilitate, explain and excuse the violence that he exerts against his partner.\textsuperscript{102} The important point at cultural level is that its elements are not usually difficult to identify when they apply to cultures far removed from the one in which one is imposed differently.\textsuperscript{103} However, cultural governance and the influence on gender relations, norms for good masculinity and good femininity, different acceptance of actions and behaviors depend on whether it is a woman or a man, is everywhere.\textsuperscript{104} In other words, men’s violence against women is a global phenomenon. For example, traditional Swedish culture includes many aspects that give an idea (opinion) of the superiority of men over women of general manner and their own partner in particular, despite the laws on gender equality. Proverbs and general locutions, for example express an expected standard. In the Swedish language there are many insults for vicious women, but there are few invectives for vicious men. Furthermore, there are four times so many pejorative expressions about sexual surviving women as if corresponding men. Angry women and women, who obviously live out their sexuality, violate the cultural norms of Sweden of good women’s behavior.

Most of the people do not usually reflect consciously over norms of gender, except in contexts that are mentioned in the media or in discussions about division of labor. But since unexpressed principles are internalized, that is to say unconsciously they have become a part of our image of the world. Thus, values that defy women can be shared by both women and men and accordingly they are considered as natural by both parties. This is the reason why a great number of women subjected to men’s violence comprehend sometimes their partner’s aggression mostly when they are under the influence of alcohol. Moreover, certain women appreciate of men that show their virility, strength etc. For example, sado-masochistic

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid.P.21
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid.P.22
practices where men strike their partner with whips, jerks etc. This can be nuanced since certain men like sado-masochistic practices. Nevertheless, women also contribute to the idea of the dominance of men over them by cautioning certain cultural values. The male sex is generally considered to add something. For example, to predominantly female occupations, and therefore the admission requirements could reduce for expectant male preschool teachers and nurses. However, situations are perceived as positive special treatment, therefore, when two people have equivalent qualifications and one can choose the underrepresented sex, give women unfair benefits. Generally, cultural norms are and values invisible are therefore regarded as obvious ways of being women and men. However, anyone who deviates from the norm, a clearly confident woman or a man who assume women's occupations becomes thus aware of the existence of the norms.\(^\text{105}\) Although, some individuals are aware of and take distances themselves from norms mentioned above, yet it does not abolish the existence of the norms.\(^\text{106}\) As long as, many people in practice agree that man does not have rights as a woman in a relationship therefore, it should have a private oppression within the relationship and also the continuation of the existence of violence. Thus, combating unfair and unequal structures happen through new laws and a strict application of these, which in the long term is expected to affect both ours actions and our values. The problem is that norms change lower than laws.

### 3.1.4 Is unemployment or criminality a factor to justify men’s violence against women?

Unemployment is often stated as the cause of women's abuse. The explanation is that as rising unemployment has shown a connection with an increase in the number of cases of abuses of women.\(^\text{107}\) The psychological explanation is usually that the man is stressed because the loss of income and reputation and that in turn lead to frustration, as a result usually the appearance of violence. Intimate partner violence (IPV) against women is particularly profound in societies where there is a severe gender inequality. Bangladesh has the highest proportions of IPV in the world.\(^\text{108}\) In a survey conducted in Bangladesh, in 2002, by Scientists namely Sidney Ruth Schuler, Rachel Lenzi, Sohela Nazneen and Lisa M.Bates, revealed that Research participants argued that the stress provoked by the economic deprivation increased IPV. For economic hardship makes men’s accomplishment of their classic roles as

\(^\text{106}\)Ibid.P.23
breadwinners crucial, which in turn facilitates stress and IPV. “The main reason behind all unrest is poverty. Men used to have hot heads due to poverty. They used to beat their wives. But now they are becoming better off and this has helped to bring out a better understanding between men and women.”

This is the reason why augmented economic activity was seen as a determinant factor as decreasing IPV through boosting better development and diverting husbands’ and wives’ vitality away from conflict between them. For example, in a couple when the husband and the wife are active in their work, therefore they do not time to strike with each other.

Several interviewees in this study argued that access to legal recourse was the most second aspect behind the slump in IPV, after economic transformations. Yet, few violent men were brought to criminal court. But in the same way as in the connection between alcohol and men's violence against women one should carefully examine all factors and insert them into a larger one social context before any conclusion can be drawn. One objection to the interpretation that lost self-esteem is behind the violence is that the abuse also increases that the woman has no professional occupation (Okun, 1986).

For criminality, men who are previously criminally charged are over-represented among men who use violence against their partner. This illustrates that the criminal law can or not dissuade a man previously sentenced to utilize aggressions against his partner. Yet, it is not surprising; they are already norm breakers and disregarding the conventions of ordinary behavior. Other reasons include that in this group there are men who often have serious disturbances to feel empathy and respect for others.

3.1.5 Background of family violence experienced in childhood

Several studies show that men who have been physically abused or sexually abused as children (direct victims), or who have witnessed scenes of violence between their parents (indirect victims), have a higher propensity to commit acts of violence against their partner.

This is called the social heritage that is to say some behavioral patterns that repeat generation after generation and follow the same gender patterns seem to have some significance.

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110 Ibid
111 Ibid. P. 251
psychological explanation is what is called model learning, where we follow models that are similar ourselves and that seem to have power and influence. However, this social heritage does not seem to apply to women who grow up in families where the mother is subjected to violence. They do not learn to accept violence and they do not choose more often than other women a relationship with men who behave like their father. Accordingly, a woman who is enveloped by abuse and threat is not perceived as a model for her daughter.\textsuperscript{115} Whereas some researches show that women who have been subjected to family violence in childhood or who witnesses of violence between parents also experience a relationship marked by violence, other studies indicate that there is no such link as mentioned above.\textsuperscript{116} Like all isolated factors, the fact to have directly or indirectly suffered different sorts of violence in his childhood should not be understood as a determining factor in the occurrence of violence in couple relationships. Indeed, the majority of men directly or indirectly victims of violence do not reproduce this pattern of behavior. This finding clearly highlights that the factors of influence that contribute to the appearance of violence or maintenance of a situation of non-violence are therefore situated at different levels.

3.1.6 Men’s violence against women viewed by different perspectives

According to sociologists, violence against women is only a strategy of domination inscribed in the genes of man, to guarantee the exclusivity of sexual intercourse and reproduction. If we follow this theory, we do not understand why not all men are violent.\textsuperscript{117} Feminists have focused on analyzing the social context to attempt to explain sexual abuse against women. For example, the radical-liberal feminist perspective argues that rape appears because of ambitions of power and domination rather than sexual enjoyment. In other words, incentives and acts of rape arise out of aggression rather than sexual accomplishment.\textsuperscript{118} About rape, psychologists as Thornhill and Palmer defend that the origin of rape is to find it in biology. Additionally, rape is a flexible male coupling plan of actions to enhance opportunities of generative achievement.\textsuperscript{119} Thus, psychologists regard all kinds of rape as sexually stimulated

\textsuperscript{115}Rapport.Sveriges Kommuner och Lansting.En kunskapsöversikt.Mäns våld mot kvinnor i nära relationer.2006.P.49


\textsuperscript{119}Ibid
and criticize feminist theories affirmations that rape is because of nonsexual intentions for instance power and control.\textsuperscript{120} The transformation of radical/liberal feminist perspective to regard rape as stimulated by domination contrary to sex played a significant role in changing condemnation away from female victims.\textsuperscript{121} As a result, the physical captivation and sexual experiences of rape survivors became pertinent. Thus, certain words changed for example victims shifted to survivors and rape became sexual assault with the objective to pay attention on violence of the attack rather than its sexual essence. This change in vocabulary and practice also contributed to the offense of crime and its results to be taken with much attention by the criminal justice organization. Yet, the humiliation of rape cases in the criminal justice continues to be completely high.\textsuperscript{122} In other words, our society prepares men for a dominant role and, if they do not succeed naturally, they tend to do it by force. Violence would be one way for them to control women. As such, violence would be as a last resort for men to utilize their power over women. Thus, socialization based on the learning of gender roles gives men a position of power and authority.\textsuperscript{123} Women are attributed to typically female behaviors, such as gentleness, passivity, while men are strong, domineering, and would not express their emotions. However, the sociological explanation is not sufficient either because the majority of men are not violent. So the psychological analysis of the violent man is multidimensional, cannot be reduced to a single factor but on the contrary carries in it different aspects and manifestations.\textsuperscript{124} On the other hand, it appears that many violent men have suffered abuse in their childhood. When they have been abused or sexually abused in childhood, they may resort to violence, but most often, as a result of such traumas, they have lost their limits and are more vulnerable to abuse and to an aggression. It can therefore be argued that the traumas of childhood, by weakening the person and modifying his personality, lead to greater permeability to social pressure. However, we must not conclude too quickly that men are violent only in response to violence suffered in childhood, we must be wary of such a simplification; not all violent men suffered trauma in childhood. When this is the case, it is important to recognize in them the after-effects and marks that a painful childhood may have left, but that does not turn them into patients and in no way absolves them the responsibility for their actions, their malaise should not be an excuse to destroy their partner. Another angle

\textsuperscript{121} Ibid.P.316
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid
of approach is based on the theory of social learning.\textsuperscript{125} When a man has been raised by a violent father, his intrapsychic organization has been changed, until the use of violence is part of his operating mode. He will get into the habit of reacting with violence whenever he needs to relieve his internal tensions or gain self-esteem. Later, if his violent acts are not sanctioned, there is no reason that they do not reproduce, and that is of course what happens. Just let it go once so that the habit is maintained.

Researchers in social psychology see that the purpose of raising boys in a patriarchal system is to induce them to identify with the male model, so that they become strong, aggressive, logical and responsible for their families. But to achieve this masculinity is also based, according to this education, to hide their feelings, their weakness and all that approaches their femininity. For this reason, men are currently experiencing conflictual situations and tensions, on the one hand they are the dominant and the responsible and on the other hand they are not prepared for the new statutes and roles played by women what men consider it as a threat to their own status and roles offered by their identification with the patriarchal system.\textsuperscript{126}

3.2 Swedish measures against men’s violence against women after the publication of the report Captured Queen

Since the publication of Captured Queen in 2001, a certain number of measures have been taken by the Swedish government to combat men’s violence against women. Thus, in 2005, legislative provisions including rape were enlarged with the acceptance of the Sexual Offences.\textsuperscript{127} However, the Swedish police received more than 3,500 cases of rape against persons over the age of 15 in 2007. These statistics mean that, on average, 10 rapes or attempted rapes are noted each day. Furthermore, an enormous number of cases are reported. The majority of these crimes continue hidden, as most of the victims never announce the aggression to the police, for several reasons.\textsuperscript{128} The Sexual Crimes Act of 2005 proposed to “improve protection against sexual violations and further enhance sexual integrity and the right of self-determination”.\textsuperscript{129} This legislation on sexual violations includes a sphere of other breaches than rape, for instance sexual violence, sexual abuse of a vulnerable person, child rape, sexual offense of children, sexual act with a descendant, sexual act with a sister or brother, abuse of children for sexual posing, the buying of sexual acts from children, sexual

\textsuperscript{126}Ibid
\textsuperscript{127}Amnesty international. Case closed. Rape and human rights in the Nordic countries.2007.P.45
\textsuperscript{128}Ibid
\textsuperscript{129}Ibid. P.47
persecution, purchasing sexual services and obtaining. Thus, certain sorts of sexual crimes, containing rape, an attempted offense is also culpable by law. However, there were concerns that several questions remained not resolved concerning the legal rights of women who victims to rape and sexual assault. Among these unresolved problems, there was the legal explanation of rape, together with the manner the criminal courts explore and to concentrate on rape affairs. The legislation specifies that the intercourse or other sexual act must be committed during the utilization of violence or under the menace of a criminal act. The consequence is that several circumstances, where intercourse or other acts are executed without violence, however in brutality of the victim’s choices, will not be treated as establishing rape. A singular worry is the fact that the majority of rape affairs never come to trial at all. Besides, there is a miniscule number recorded rapes conduct to a legal process and there is also a smaller number of reported rapes lead to an admission. What is surprising is that a majority of rape examinations are abandoned at an early moment, commonly with the clarification that “it cannot be proven that a crime has been committed.” Another worry is that there is only 12% of offense victims who notify rape, see their affair approved in a court of law. This small proportion means that, in practice several offenders are not punished for their acts. They enjoy freedom. When it comes to preventive measures to fight and eliminate rape and sexual violence have been ignored and they must be improved and strengthened. Moreover, stereotypical views as regards female and male sexuality, regarding what is- and what is not- common and women’s opportunity for sex are completely established in society. This kind of believes and approaches, which concrete the idea for gender-established violence against women, containing rape must be resisted and transformed. The insufficiency of care and support offered to victims of men’s violence has been observed. Thus, long-term assistance and reconstruction for instance professional psychological guiding must be made accessible to girls as well women who have been subjected to rape or other sorts of sexual aggressions. In 2006, Yakin Erturk, the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women expressed concern the fact that sexual violence against girls and women in Sweden seems to augment. Furthermore, she pointed out a distinction between the legislative arrangements and the manner the legislation is used in practice, as a result most of the offenders succeed in escaping penalty. Despite these concerns, the Committee on the Elimination of

Amnesty international. Case closed. Rape and human rights in the Nordic countries.2007.P.47
Ibid.P.49
Ibid.P.45
Ibid
Ibid.P.46
Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which analyzed the Swedish government’s transitional report in January 2008 expressed its satisfaction as regards the acceptance of new sexual crimes law. However, the committee also indicated concern regarding the limited percentage of reported violent offenses against women that lead to prosecution and conviction.135 Amnesty International Sweden defends a law that insists a lot on the freedoms of all individuals to sexual-determination and probity which should be of clear manner followed in the legal definition of rape.136 Besides, the definition of the circumstances (positions) under which infiltration and other should take account into the fact that rape appears during the utilization of various sorts of coercion, simply violence or the menace of violence.

3.3 New legislation on men’s violence against women.
Sexual crimes are increasing in Sweden and younger women are the most vulnerable. At the same time, few of these crimes are reported to the police.137 In order to reverse the negative development, new legislation has been introduced on 1st July 2018. The new legislation is based on voluntariness (consent).138 The purpose of the new sexual crime legislation is, among things that every person has an unconditional right to decide on his/her sexual intercourse. In order words, from July 1, 2018, the Swedish sexual crime legislation is based on the principle that all sex should be voluntarily.139 This means that all intercourse where one partner does not engage in intentionally is a rape. Sexual crimes are contained in the Chapter 6 of the Criminal Code, where rape is the title of the roughest form of sexual offense. The new legislation affirms “that a person who has intercourse or performs a comparable action with someone who does not participate voluntarily can be sentenced to rape. Both men and women can be subjected to a rape and both men and women can be perpetrators. The starting point for the legislation is that every person has a natural right to his/her own body and sexuality. A sexual assault is an extreme and unacceptable expression of lack of respect for this right of self-determination.”140 In other words, the new legislation with the word “consent” wants to make the discrepancy between sex and abuse. Indeed, sex is a reciprocity

135Amnesty international. Case closed. Rape and human rights in the Nordic countries.2007.P.46
136Ibid.P.52
140Ibid
whose the base is made on respect and cooperation, where consent should therefore be a fact.\textsuperscript{141}

\textbf{3.3.1 Intercourse in the new legislation.}

The concept of intercourse within the law only contains vaginal intercourse but, even other comparable acts can also be seen as rape.\textsuperscript{142} This is the explanation why such acts are anal or oral intercourse, penetration with for example objects or fingers or that the perpetrator's and victim's genitals come into contact with each other. Even a sexual act that cannot be considered comparable to sexual intercourse can be criminalized. For example, this can be a sexual assault. The word of rape or sexual abuse is much clear and well defined in the new legislation. Therefore, this would facilitate investigations of prosecutors.

\textbf{3.3.2 The concept of voluntariness and its consequences in the new legislation}

The new law that entered into force on July 1, 2018, as mentioned earlier has for principle that sex should be voluntarily, that is the basis for the Swedish sexual crime legislation.\textsuperscript{143} In principle, this means that any sexual act where one party does not participate voluntarily is considered as a rape. This is why, in order to assess this, the court takes its starting point whether the voluntariness has been expressed through words, actions or in other ways. The person may have said he/she wants, but he/she can also make it clear through, for example, his/her body language or by actively contributing to the sexual acts. It can happen that a person has the right to change at any time even if there was initially consent (acquiescence). In this case, the sexual act ceases to be voluntary and turns into an abuse that is to say an offense that normally requires an opening of investigation of prosecutor. Furthermore, even situations where a person is affected by a so-called freezing reaction and is unable to tell after having initially expressed of voluntariness that is covered by the legislation. However, there are situations where sex can never be voluntary under the law. This applies if someone is forced to participate because of violence or threats. It is a question even if the perpetrator exploits that the victim is in a particularly vulnerable situation as a result of, for example, unconsciousness, sleep or serious fear. Finally, sex is never voluntarily if the perpetrator seriously abuses that the victim is dependent on the offender.\textsuperscript{144}

\textsuperscript{141}http://fatta.nu/about-fatta/. Accessed 05-03-2019
\textsuperscript{142}http://nck.uu.se/kunskapsbanken/amnesguider/sexuellt-vald/sexualbrottstiftningen/. Accessed 20-02-2019
\textsuperscript{143}Ibid
\textsuperscript{144}Ibid
3.3.3 Effects of the new legislation

Threats or violence are no longer needed for something to be classified as a rape.\textsuperscript{145} The new legislation requires consent to sex, compared to previous legislations which demanded the existence of some form of violence, threat or other vulnerable situations to be counted as rape.\textsuperscript{146} It is a significant difference with the previous laws. Sveriges Radio (Sweden Radio) announced on November 9, 2018, that twenty convictions have been declared throughout the country since the new law came into force on 1\textsuperscript{st} July 2008. Christine Voigt, Prosecutor of chamber in Stockholm declared on Sweden Radio that “We have got a whole new plan now. For those situations that we now assess, they could at most be judged as a sexual offense. But these situations are now considered as rape.”\textsuperscript{147} For example, a man was sentenced for the new crime called negligent rape (oaktsam våldäkt). Indeed, a woman had fallen asleep on a couch, when she woke up, the man, whom she repeatedly rejected during the evening, was undressing her. Before she protested, the man penetrated her.\textsuperscript{148} According to Prosecutor, this is not a completely unusual circumstance, the woman was tired, a bit drunk and she was very surprised and was a little shocked at what happened. Furthermore, Prosecutor continued to explain that she didn’t really put an end to what she didn’t think it would happen, but so suddenly it happened, it was a fast process. But there was enough that happened because he would get two years in prison, said Prosecutor. Had one gone after the old legislation, he had at most been convicted of a sexual offense and perhaps received a month's imprisonment or fine. Thus, the man who was now sentenced to two years' imprisonment for rape. However, he denied crimes formulated by the prosecutor and had intended to appeal the verdict.\textsuperscript{149} With the new legislation, the sentence for an offender for sexual assault augments, what can be perceived as a strong signal sent to those who would seek to force woman to have sex without her consent. However, this new legislation is not welcomed by some observers.

3.3.4 Criticisms of the new legislation

A great number of lawyers have previously criticized the new legislation that is perceived as ineffective. Anne Ramberg, the General Secretary of the Bar Association declared that “We

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{146} http://lund.lokaltidningen.se/2018-11-09/-Flera-f%C3%A4llande-domar-om-v%C3%A5ldt%C3%A4kt-%E2%80%93-ny-samtyckeslag-har-gett-effekt-3487649.html.Accessed 22-02-2019
  \item \textsuperscript{147} http://bastad.lokaltidningen.se/2018-11-09/-Flera-f%C3%A4llande-domar-om-v%C3%A5ldt%C3%A4kt-%E2%80%93-ny-samtyckeslag-har-gett-effekt-3487649.html.Accessed 04-03-2019
  \item \textsuperscript{148} https://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=83&artikel=7084923. Accessed 05-03-2019
  \item \textsuperscript{149} https://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=83&artikel=7084923. Accessed 05-03-2019
\end{itemize}
do not believe an act of consent will lead to more convictions. It is clear from the investigation that you do not even believe that it will be effective. Instead, it will function normatively, to show that society does not accept this. We will have just the same problem with proving that an assault has been committed. It is a problem of evidence.”

The changes in sex crime legislation have been prompted by a strong commitment from civil society, where, among other things, the organization Fatta that signifies “get it” has been a driving force in influencing politicians to make so-called consent legislation. However, Fatta acknowledged that the work against sexual violence is not over that is to say the Swedish sexual assault legislation would not totally eradicate sexual violence against women. Yet, it is an immense step until that there will be a consent culture in a society where free will is the foundation of all interpersonal rapports. In addition to, a society that is impregnated with free will, mutuality as well as respect. In consequence of the fact that for the legislation to have its reaction it is essential for each individual to comprehend what agreement is as well as what it signifies to use agreement in day-to-day life. Thus, with this new legislation one can also be convicted if one is negligent. This is possible if a prosecutor has succeeded in showing that a rape or violence has taken place, but has not been able that the offender had intent on committing a rape. Then, the court can test whether the person should have understood that there was something wrong in that situation. The person can then get a penalty - even if he or she claim he/she did not understand. This requires gross negligence in order to be convicted. Accordingly, the crime headings call negligent rape or negligent sexual abuse, depending on the act that has executed. There is a very clear link between masculinity and sexual offense, but masculinity is always variable. So take the chance and invite young guys and men into the change work. Pelle Ullholm sexual educator at the Swedish Association for Sexuality Education (RFSU) argues that not being negligent in sexual situations should be just as obvious as being negligent when driving.

150 http://lund.lokaltidningen.se/2018-11-09/-Flera-f%C3%A4llande-domar-om-v%C3%A5ldt%C3%A4kt-%E2%80%93-ny-samtyckeslag-har-gett-effekt-3487649.html Accessed 22-02-2019

151 http://www.ockero.se/nyheter/nyheter/vadinnebarsamtyckeslagen.5.4536c66216779e18677146fe.html Accessed 23-02-2019

152 http://fatta.nu/about-fatta/ Accessed 05-03-2019

Chapter 4

4. Discussion and conclusions
Sweden like other Nordic countries are cited as examples in terms of gender equality in the world. In addition, they played a significant role in the process of changing the Declaration on eradication of discrimination (CEDAW) against women into a binding Convention. The ratification of this Convention by Sweden was in 1980. However, the research regarding men’s violence against women led by Jenny Westerstrand, Graduate in Law, at Uppsala University showed the extend of this issue of society in Sweden. It should be remembered that until 2001, there were no statistics indicating the degree of men’s violence against women.

To answer the first research question of this thesis: What is the profile of men’s violence against women in close relationships in Sweden? I may say that there is no specific profile of violent men against women. Since violent men against women come from all social categories, of all ages, with different professions. Besides, many of them have a well-established life. Nonetheless, some factors such as alcohol can push men to be violent against women. Yet, not all alcoholics are violent. Sociologists argue that violence against women is only a method of superiority inscribed in the genes of man, to guarantee the particularity of sexual intimacy and reproduction. If we follow this approach, we do not understand why not all men are violent. Whereas feminists defend that society prepares men for a dominant role, and if they do not succeed naturally, they tend to do so by force. Thus, violence would be one way for them to control women. The question is that how one can explain women’s violence against men, which is also a real issue of society. Unfortunately, this kind of violence is still perceived as a taboo in our society. Furthermore, there is violence in homosexual relationships. As said earlier, it is difficult to identify the exact portrait of a violent man. Although, the Brà’s report 2009 affirmed that a drunken deceased person occurs in half of cases of violence in Sweden. Yet, alcohol and other factors cited above cannot justify the violence against women. Therefore, men’s violence against women in close relationships in Sweden can be explained by the result of inequalities between men and women in social structures. It is this social and collective control of women by men that permeates the individual domination of a man over his partner. Although, all societies have been founded
on power and domination, especially between men and women. However, all forms of violence against women of manner particular and against Human Beings of general manner must be prohibited and eradicated.

As for the second research question: *What legislations has Sweden taken to combat and prevent men’s violence against women in close relationships after the report Captured Queen?* Since the publication of *Captured Queen* in 2001, many measures and laws have been taken to combat men’s violence against women. For instance, Social Services Act on July 1, 2007 which indicates that the social welfare committee obligation to provide backing and assistance for victims is more clearly apparent. Nonetheless much remains to do. For example there are no many places in women’s shelters. There are about 200 women’s and girl’s shelters in Sweden. According to newspaper Dagens Nyheter of Thursday 4 April 2019 that 55,000 persons contacted women’s shelters whose 94% were women in 2018. Brigett Stehag one of the managers of women’s and girl’s shelters recognizes that her structure has always high pressure and it happens that she cannot receive women subjected to violence because of the insufficiency of the number of places. Yet, victims of men’s violence need support and assistance as mentioned in the Social Services Act. Hence, the necessity to sufficiently create women’s and girl’s shelters for battered women and accordingly, to avoid a return to their home that could be harmful.

On the regional plan, Sweden ratified the Istanbul Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence on July 1, 2014. It entered into force on November 1, 2014. The article 1 of the Convention contains the purposes, which are to:

- a- protect women against all forms of violence, and prevent, prosecute and eliminate violence against women and domestic violence;
- b- contribute to the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and promote substantive equality between women and men, including by empowering women;
- c- design a comprehensive framework, policies and measures for the protection of and assistance to all victims of violence against women and domestic violence;
- d- promote international co-operation with a view to eliminating violence against women and domestic violence; e- provide support and assistance to organizations and law enforcement agencies

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to effectively co-operate in order to adopt an integrated approach to eliminating violence against women and domestic violence.\textsuperscript{155}

Despite measures taken by the Swedish government on men’s violence against women, this scourge does not decrease. For example, during 2017, 22,000 sex violations were announced, of which 7,370 were categorized as rape. Whereas in the Swedish Crime Survey, 2.4 per cent of the respondents reported that they were subjected to sex offences during 2016. The # Metoo movement has showed that men’s violence against women also occurs outside close relationships. As mentioned earlier it is a phenomenon that touches all social structures such as works, hospitals, schools etc. The conviction for rape of an untouchable figure of the cultural world, illustrates that certain men use their power to dominate women. This man, close to the Swedish Academy, had been accused of aggression by eighteen women in the Swedish press. As a result, he has been put in prison for two years.\textsuperscript{156} Thus, the Swedish government has taken announcements to counteract sexual violence, harassment and violations against women. It is about preventive measures, stronger protection and assistance, more effective law enforcement, investments in the work environment and knowledge-enhancing measures. Furthermore, to enhance the preventive and competence-strengthening work against sexual harassment, the Government has provided SEK 10 million to the Swedish Work Environment Authority in 2018 for information and education initiatives with assistance for employers. Changing the laws might be one of the ways to try changing how men behave. However, other tools are needed; measures outside criminal law. For example, children must be educated from an early age on notions of equality in law and treatment, consent and respect for others. In the same direction, at the forum “Stand Speak Rise up”, held on 26 and 27 March 2019 in Luxembourg, Doctor Denis Mukwege, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate 2018 opposes to toxic masculinity but he advocates a positive masculinity, favorable to “education that teaches from the cradle the equality between man and woman.”\textsuperscript{157} It should be remembered that masculinity is commonly perceived as being dependable and controlling of women.\textsuperscript{158}

\textsuperscript{155}Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence.Istanbul, 11.V.2011.P.2
\textsuperscript{156}http://www.rfi.fr/emission/20181010-suede-me-too-laboratoire-relations-hommes-femmes.Accessed 05-03-2019
The inequality between man and woman must be combated from childhood—that is to say no longer distinguish everything that separates gender for instance toys, colors, occupations, etc. In other words, girls and boys have to be educated in the same way beyond stereotypes. For example stop seeing men as potential aggressors and women as potential victims.\textsuperscript{159} Hence, awareness campaigns on sexual assault, rape and penalties incurred should be done at all levels for instance schools, works, etc. Besides, a number of inquiries based women’s experiences victims of men’s violence should be done in order to increase knowledge about all forms of violence against women. All should be involved in combating this social issue in Nordic countries and over the world as well. The movement #MeToo is a good approach, since it has played an important role in the liberation and dissemination of women’s words. Thus, it is necessary to sensitize the populations so that they know and want to intervene when they witness an aggression. Additionally, you have to be aware of the signs of violence to react before it's too late, because women are often afraid to denounce.

Concerning the last research question: \textit{What effects can the new legislation be expected to have?}

The latest Swedish sexual assault legislation is based on consent and it entered in force the first July 2018. At first sight, this new legislation is a big victory concerning the struggle of men’s violence against women. It is a significant legal change. Although, Sweden is often perceived as one the most equal countries in the world because of its policies in terms of gender equality. However, it is only the tenth country in Europe to recognize that sexual intercourse without consent constitutes rape.\textsuperscript{160} While, most of the Europeans countries continue to explain rape solely in terms of physical force, threat or coercion. Anna Błuş, Amnesty International's researcher on women's rights in Europe, expressed her joy the day when the Swedish parliament overwhelmingly passed the new legislation: “Today's vote is a huge victory for women's rights activists in Sweden, who have campaigned tirelessly for more than a decade for this legal change. By refusing to remain silent, these activists spearheaded the campaign to end sexual violence, and members of parliament who voted today were able to find inspiration in their courage.”\textsuperscript{161} However, I believe that this new legislation would have a limited effect on the social issue of the men’s violence against women in close


\textsuperscript{161}Ibid.
relationships in Sweden. Since men’s violence against women in close relationships often occurs in private sphere that is to say in family, where the subject remains taboo, because most of the time, the entourage presses to solve this type of aggression amicably. The objective is to preserve the image of a family. Therefore, it is also difficult to intervene or help the person who is exposed.\textsuperscript{162}

Among of the positive points in this new law, the number of years of imprisonment for a perpetrator of violence against women is now fixed at two years compared to the former legislation. Furthermore, with this legislation, men would be more careful in their behavior towards women. Yet, the question is to know whether this new legislation would contribute to decrease the number of cases of men’s violence against women in close relationships. Besides, I believe that with this new legislation, it becomes more and more difficult to show evidence of rape. Moreover, several cases of rape that will be reported to police could be without continuation because of the lack of evidence. Another point that I find worrying is the dehumanization of intercourse, that is to say the man could require a form of agreement to woman in order to avoid be accused of rapist after intercourse. A possible, written agreement where both man and woman could sign, to show that intercourse was based on consent. In other words this would be a form of evidence in case of accusing of rape. Nevertheless, a man must be careful before having intercourse with a woman. To be sure that there is consent, through words and body language of the woman, she has to show that she wants to have intercourse. That is to say, all should be defined in advance.

This thesis has revealed the complexity to determine the profile exact of the violent men against women in close relationships in Sweden. Since, one find violent men from all social classes, ethnicities and of all ages. Furthermore, factors as alcohol cannot be the only cause of men’s violence against women. This thesis has also showed that despite the number of legislations voted by the Swedish parliament to combat men’s violence against women after the publication of the report Captured Queen in 2001, there are always cases of sexual assault against women reported to police each year. According to National council for Crime Prevention (Brå) victims and offenders were or had been related by a relationship in 26 cases of the reported cases of fatal violence in 2018, which accounted for nearly a quarter (24\%) of all cases of fatal violence.\textsuperscript{163} Whereas, in 2017, the corresponding number was 11 cases (10\%). The number of cases of fatal violence against women in a couple relationship


amounted to 22 cases in 2018, which corresponded to 67 per cent of all cases of fatal violence against women. Of all cases of fatal violence against men during the year, 4 cases (5%) related to fatal violence in a partner relationship.\textsuperscript{164} This illustrates that the majority of victims of violence in close relationships, are women. Thus, the Swedish government is to invest SEK 45 million in the spring change budget for 2019 in order to strengthen work on violence in close relationships.\textsuperscript{165} As a reminder, every fourth woman has at some time during her life been subjected to violence by a close relative. The initiative also includes a strengthening of the National Centre for Knowledge on Men’s violence against Women (NCK).\textsuperscript{166} The goal is to know more about the real situation of violence that is an extensive and a crucial social problem, in order to give better assistance to those subjected to violence.\textsuperscript{167} “Every woman who is subjected to violence in the home is too much, every child who is afraid that her father is going to kill her mother is too much. Society needs to do more to reach out to those who are exposed and give them protection and support, but also make efforts that aim to stop the violence,”\textsuperscript{168} says Minister of Gender Equality Åsa Lindhagen.

The most important results in this research are that men’s violence against women in close relationships remains today, a real social problem in Sweden and it can be explained by the result of inequalities between men and women in social structures. As a result, it is this social and collective domination of women by men that facilitate the individual domination of a man over his partner. Furthermore, the latest Swedish sexual assault legislation based on consent entered in force the first July 2018 cannot significantly reduce the extent of this social phenomenon, since social structures in Sweden are based on patriarchal considerations where men dominate over women. Social constructions of masculinity are accordingly at the origin of the majority of physical violence perpetrated by men against women.\textsuperscript{169}

Finally, I would like to give some proposals for future research in the area of concerns that, I dealt with in this thesis. To avert dark zones in the analysis of the causes of the men’s violence against women by different feminism perspectives, thus I suggest that feminism


\textsuperscript{166}Ibid


\textsuperscript{169}Paul J. Fleming, Sofia Gruskin, Florencia Rojo and Shari L.Dworkin. Men’s violence against women and men are inter-related: Recommendations for simultaneous intervention. Social science& medicine.2015. P.249
approaches include researches on the causes of women’s violence against men as well as violence within homosexual relationships, in order to get a global even detailed understanding of the violence in close relationships. It would have been interesting and relevant to look at, how sociology and psychology can explain the reasons why not all men are violent against women.
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