



LUND
UNIVERSITY

Catcalling – ‘It is not illegal’

- A survey-based content analysis study regarding experiences of catcalling in Sweden

Emilie Naesgård

Lund University
Sociology of Law Department

Master Thesis (SOLM02)
Spring 2019



Supervisor: Måns Svensson

Examiner: Reza Banakar

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Måns Svensson, for being a rock throughout this thesis and for continuously having time to help me untangle my thoughts when stuck in my writing. Secondly, I would like to especially thank my dear friend and roommate, Dolly Singh, for pushing me all the way to the finish line and putting up with my, sometimes not so charming, stress throughout the spring of 2019. I would also like to thank my friends and family for believing in me and supporting me during my time here in Lund.

Tack!

Abstract

An article written by the Swedish Government in 2018 outlines that they are working towards a more equal society and describes how they are conducting prevention work regarding men's violence towards women. Although recently media has portrayed street harassment and catcalling as something that has become an increasing problem for young women in Sweden. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore the degree to which people express that they have experienced catcalling, and the way in which catcalling is affecting those who have been exposed to it, i.e. the consequences of catcalling. Furthermore, the purpose of this study was to explore how people believe that the legal system is able to manage the type of problems that catcalling may bring about; and how they do view the need for a new or changed legislation in the area. With the help of a national survey study and interviews, this paper has been able to explore these matters further. The participants were a total of 1043 with a rather even division between men and women (N = 500/537). Besides the main subjects mentioned above, focus will also be on discussing the Swedish penal code and how the media portrays the issue of catcalling in Sweden. This paper furthermore discusses the complexity of what behaviors catcalling cover. The theoretical standpoint includes both system justification theory and feminist legal theory, which has helped with the analytical part of the result. The result discloses that a total of 67,7 percent of N = 1043 had been exposed to catcalling in Sweden and 78,4 percent of them were women. The result also shows that more women than men find catcalling very unpleasant or threatening (82,8 percent vs 17,2 percent). The study concludes that there is a wish for a new law or a change in an already existing law in the Swedish penal code concerning catcalling, although there are issues about how it would operate in a more practical issue such as evidence demonstration and how it instead could create word-against-word cases that would not get solved.

Key words: Catcalling, Street harassment, Sexual harassment, Sweden, Swedish penal code, Law, Content analysis study

Table of content

1.0 Introduction	6
1.1 The Swedish penal code and government work against harassments	7
1.2 The French law (2018:703) regarding catcalling	8
1.3 Purpose and research question	9
1.4 Delimitations	10
1.5 Limitations of the law	10
1.6 Disposition	10
2.0 Previous research	12
2.1 Sexual harassment in Sweden	12
2.2 Street harassment and catcalling	14
2.3 Public space and transportation	17
2.4 Women's self-objectification and coping mechanisms	18
2.5 Law and justice	21
2.6 Statistical findings	22
2.7 Conclusion of previous research	23
2.7.1 Concluding the research gap	24
3.0 Interviews	25
3.1 Interviewee one	25
3.2 Interviewee two	27
4.0 Theoretical framework	31
4.1 System justification theory	31
4.2 Feminist legal theory	38
4.3 The interplay between System justification theory and Feminist legal theory	41
5.0 Methods	42
5.1 Method selection	42
5.2 Research design	42
5.2.1 Content analysis study	43
5.2.2 Thematic analysis	43
5.2.3 Descriptive analysis	44
5.3 Sampling technique & Data collection	45

5.3.1 Survey	45
5.3.2 Interviews	47
5.4 Online platforms	47
5.5 Ethical considerations	49
6.0 Empirical findings and analysis	50
6.1 Survey	50
6.2 Participant's standpoints of the law regarding catcalling	59
6.2.1 For a new law prohibiting catcalling	61
6.2.2 Against a new law prohibiting catcalling	63
6.3 Participants own catcalling illustrations and statements	66
6.3.1 Statements for catcalling	66
6.3.2 Statements against catcalling	68
7.0 Conclusion and discussion	70
7.1 For future research	74
Bibliography	75

1.0 Introduction

Catcalling can be specified as "A loud, sexually suggestive call or comment directed at someone publicly (as on the street)" (Merriam-Webster, 2019). "Hello gorgeous", "Nice ass" or "Come over here" are used as catchphrases in public spaces toward women. Certain behaviors such as whistles, gestures and intensive looks are different forms of catcalling behaviors (Fileborn and Vera-Gray, 2017). Several newspapers are describing how catcalling is a growing problem around the world, including Sweden (Svenska Dagbladet, 2018). Studies show that more than 90 percent of all women have been harassed in the street at least one time in their lifetime (Fileborn, 2019; Fileborn and Vera-Gray, 2017; Fisher et al., 2017; Jabeen et al., 2017; Lea et al., 2017; Saunders et al., 2017). Harassment is defined in the Swedish national survey, made by The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå), as a series of less or more serious situations where certain actions do not always have to be criminalized or classified as crimes in the penal code. In some cases where the actions are seen as criminal offenses, it can be categorized as such, for example; gross violation of peace (gross violation of women's rights, molestation, violation of domicile or stalking) (Brå, 2016).

In the beginning of 2018, a law against catcalling was voted for in France after a case in France where a man kept catcalling a student, Marie Laguerre, even though she had told him to stop several times. This led to attention in the media around the world and in the news in Sweden (Lough, R., Balmforth, R., 2018; Johansson, E., 2018). This further led to the realization that there is no law against this kind of harassment in Sweden and therefore the cases that 'only' includes the verbal harassments, in other words catcalling, are not brought up in the media or in the legislation in the same way as cases of sexual harassments, which are illegal acts. Most harassment acts, like those included in catcalling, do not exist in the Swedish penal code, but in the discrimination act, the Swedish constitution describes harassment as such:

[...]4 § Harassment: conduct that violates a person's dignity and that is associated with one of the grounds of discrimination sex, transgender

identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation or age. 5. Sexual harassment: conduct of a sexual nature that violates someone's dignity. [...] (Swedish Discrimination act 2008:567)

In other words, for behaviors such as catcalling to be classified as harassments these classifications mentioned above are the grounds. Although the problem with catcalling is that the reason behind it must be proven to match one of these grounds.

1.1 The Swedish penal code and government work against harassments

Women do not likely wish to report harassments to the police because they find it 'meaningless' or that it is even seen as an accepted 'cultural atmosphere' given that there is no law against that kind of harassment. Despite this, the Swedish government has posted an article regarding their work against this kind of behavior, although it is addressed mainly towards men's violence against women rather than specific behaviors of catcalling. Furthermore, the article is stating that the government is working with creating awareness concerning sexual violence, harassment and violations. In this article, they also present the preventive work that is being done, with initiatives involving the law enforcement (Swedish Government, 2018).

The #metoo movement in Sweden strongly demonstrates that more needs to be done to combat sexual harassment and sexual violence in workplaces and society at large.

- Swedish Government, 2018

It is stated that after the #metoo-movement there is a need for work to be done towards a more equal society and to combat sexual harassments, not only in workplaces, but also the rest of society. Despite this, there has still not been a discussion about the issues regarding catcalling. Moreover, there is no specific paragraph regarding behaviors of catcalling, although the Swedish law SFS 2005:90 states: "According to the Swedish penal code regarding chapter 6 about sexual molestation 10§ anyone who reveals himself in a way that is apt to create discomfort

or else through words or actions toward a person in a way intended to violate the person's sexual integrity". Which could cover some of the behaviors regarding catcalling that creates discomfort for another individual. Or as in chapter 5 regarding defamation 3§ which states that: "Anyone who, otherwise than referred to in section 1 or 2, directs accusation, derogatory statement or humiliating behavior against another person, is condemned if the act is intended to violate the other's self-esteem or dignity, for insult to fines. If the crime is severe, fines or imprisonment are sentenced to a maximum of six months" (SFS 2018:1745). Last but not least in chapter 4 regarding crime against violation of integrity 7§ it is stated: "Anyone who physically harasses another person or subject another person for disturbing contacts or other ruthless action is sentenced, if the act is apt to violate the peace of the victim in a sensible manner, for harassment to fines or imprisonment for a maximum of one year." (SFS 2017:1136). These are the only grounds in the Swedish penal code which could possibly be used to punish catcalling in Sweden.

1.2 The French law (2018:703) regarding catcalling

The recent implemented law in France (2018:703) was adjusted with a more specific paragraph regarding harassments such as catcalling which concerns illustrations of upsetting sexist behavior. The law is amplifying the fight against sexual and gender-based violence with a new crime: The sexist indignation. This to implement certain sexist behaviors or connotations which earlier have remained unpunished, since the behaviors did not cover any of the already existing crimes. The new founded law regarding catcalling in France is further presented in English: The law defines sexual acts that occurs in a way where someone tries to levy a sexual or sexist expression or behavior toward another person: It is harmful to a person's dignity due to a humiliating act or creates a situation which is seen as frightening, hostile or offensive.

The definition of sexist contempt is directly inspired by the criminal act of sexual harassments. It is specified that one single statement or a certain behavior can characterize the crime. The sexist indignation can for example be: Sexual

propositions, but also certain non-verbal attitudes such as gestures that imitates or suggests a sexual act, wolf-whistles or obscene sound-effects, derogatory comments about the victims clothing or physical appearance. The qualification of acts of sexual contempt should be retained only if facts cannot be used as an object for any other more serious criminal acts (violence, sexual display or sexual harassments). For example, there must be a repeated pattern of the actions presented above to be qualified as harassments by the Swedish penal code (SFS 2018:703).

1.3 Purpose and research question

The purpose of this study is to explore the degree to which people express that they have experienced catcalling, and the way in which catcalling is affecting those who have been exposed to it, i.e. the consequences of catcalling. Furthermore, the purpose of this study is to explore how people believe that the legal system is able to manage the type of problems that catcalling may bring about; and how they do express their thoughts on a new or changed legislation in the area. This approach assists for better understanding of people who have been exposed to catcalling but chooses not to report it to the authorities.

Given the fact that Sweden currently lacks a specific legislation concerning behaviors that can be described as catcalling, the overarching research question is: In which degree do people express that they have experienced catcalling and how do their experiences look like, and how do people believe that the legal system is able to manage the type of problems that catcalling may bring about and how do they express their thoughts on a new or changed legislation in the area?

This will be explored with the help of three sub-research questions;

- How many individuals have experienced catcalling in Sweden and how do they describe their experiences?
- How many individuals feel that there is a need for a new or changed legislation in the area regarding catcalling?
- What do the discussions regarding a new or changed legislation look like?

1.4 Delimitations

This study will explore individuals in Sweden aged 16-35 years old, due to the focus on the younger generation and accessibility to survey participants. It will not explore experiences of catcalling outside of Sweden, since the purpose is to look into how catcalling in specifically Sweden is experienced, and also due to the fact that regarding a change of law in the Swedish penal code, it would not be of relevance to have individuals experiences outside of Sweden. Furthermore, the purpose is to present both women and men's experiences of catcalling, regarding both being exposed and subjecting others to it. Although it will not make a comparative study other than presenting the results of differences between men and women of certain answers. There will be previous research presented that has its focus on other countries than Sweden, where sexual harassment, street harassment and catcalling has been researched further and chosen because of the insufficient previous research regarding catcalling in Sweden.

1.5 Limitations of the law

Anastasia Powell & Nicola Henry (2016) explains how the law is not given to be consistent with the social norms and social values due to the slow process of implementing a new law. Although the law is supposed to be a representation of power because of how it seeks justice and truth by its construction of knowledge, which in itself is constructed by the social norms, morals and principles. Moreover, the law exists to empower people, but it can also to the opposite by helping the interests of powerful actors, silence or even suppress peoples' stories. With this, it has the power to either cover or duplicate dominating relations (Powell & Henry, 2016).

1.6 Disposition

In the first chapter of this study, the introduction is presented with a definition of catcalling, the recent implemented law regarding catcalling in France along with the purpose and research questions of this study. Furthermore, the introduction also presents a quote from the Swedish discrimination act regarding harassments along with how media in Sweden have been discussing the increased street harassment

and catcalling among young girls in Sweden. Previous research on the topic is subsequently presented with different categories found in the articles with the help of a systematic thematic analysis. The third chapter is presenting the two interviews. The fourth chapter presents the theoretical framework of this study: system justification theory and feminist legal theory. This to further help explain the complexity of the chosen topic of this study. It also consists of a discussion explaining how these two theories are linked. Thereafter, in the methods-chapter the methodological approach is presented and explained along with research design, ethical considerations, digital platforms and sampling techniques. Chapter six consists of the empirical result and an analysis is presented along with tables from the survey-study, with an additional analysis of a representative number of quotes from participants answers to the open questions in the survey. This done with the help of previous research and theories presented in the study. The final chapter consists of the conclusion and discussion regarding the empirical findings and results of the study. It also presents examples for future research.

2.0 Previous research

In this chapter, previous literature is presented regarding street harassment, sexual harassment and catcalling. It is presented with the help of four headlines concerning different issues on the topic. The previous research consists mostly of studies conducted in other countries than Sweden due to the lack of previous research concerning these topics in Sweden, although the first part is presenting a study regarding sexual harassment in Sweden. The literature has been chosen to give the reader an overview on how catcalling can be perceived and the effect these kinds of behaviors can have on people being exposed to it.

2.1 Sexual harassment in Sweden

A study by Mellgren et al. (2018) shows that 81 percent of women in Sweden have been sexually harassed at least once after the age of 15. This might come as a surprise since Sweden is, according to the UNDP's (The United Nations Development Programme) Gender Inequality Index, in the top of being one of the most gender-equal societies in the world (Mellgren et al., 2018, p. 263). Although, the reporting rates are very low as many victims do not feel it is beneficial to report to the police given how much time and effort that it could cost to report a crime, and that many times there is a lack of evidence, which means that the case will not lead to a successful prosecution (ibid). Besides, the amount of energy being put into a prosecution and then not leading to a conviction is seen as far too much trouble for a victim to go through. Even though Sweden is having a high report-rate compared to other countries, it is still very low regarding sexual harassments. In addition, not only is the reason for not reporting a crime the fear of that report to not lead to prosecution, the fear of not being believed is also one of many reasons why women choose not to report (Mellgren et al., 2018). Some women state that it is perceived by others as overreacting to report a sexual harassment, especially in the club- or pub-environment where harassments have become normalized. Even though it might have become normalized in such places, it still leads to an increased feeling of example fear, anxiety, stress and lowered self-esteem among the victims.

Even changes in the behavior can occur, such as being limited in where to feel safe when being in a public space (Mellgren et al., 2018).

A total number of 98,5 percent stated that they did not report to the police when being sexually harassed, this based on analyzed statements such as that the crime was not seen as serious enough by the victim, that it was not a criminal offence and therefore the police could/would not do anything about it or that sometimes the victim did not think that the perpetrator meant any harm (Mellgren et al., 2018). This can be linked to the normalization that this is part of being a woman. Some victims even said that they often handled the situation themselves, individually or with help from friends and that sometimes they did not think that the perpetrator meant any harm.

Because it is totally meaningless. This is something that happens to a woman all the time and in most cases the man thinks that the woman is exaggerating. But, sure, it is important to report it because of the statistics.

- (Mellgren et al., 2018, p. 273)

The quote above is an answer from the question why a female student chose not to report a sexual assault that she had been exposed to, to the police. The unwillingness for this can further be explained by how the variations between countries in prevalence of sexual harassment and other sexual offenses may be different in propensity to report such offenses. This, in combination with the level of trust in authorities, level of tolerance of these behaviors, and level of awareness of the illegality of these actions are factors that can influence the willingness to report a crime (Mellgren et al., 2018, p. 263). Another quote that describes the complexity with catcalling is stating that many of these actions that are included in the catcalling-phenomenon are not illegal in Sweden.

Even though many of the incidents that women are exposed to in public places, such as looks, comments, and wolf whistling, would probably not be classified as a crime according to the penal code they create a “cultural

atmosphere” where unwanted sexual attention becomes accepted as a normal part of being in public places.

- (Mellgren et al., 2018 p. 262)

The quote above describes how women are being exposed to these behaviors and how these actions are creating a cultural atmosphere where a woman will have to accept it because the stigma of it has decreased and the unwanted sexual attention is becoming normalized. Although this does not mean that women are not affected by it (Mellgren et al., 2018).

2.2 Street harassment and catcalling

Catcalling is a form of street harassment where the perpetrator either whistles, comment or even stare at a victim to create discomfort which takes place in a public space. Street harassment can also be described as stranger harassment because the perpetrator and victim are strangers (Fileborn, 2019; Fisher et al., 2017). Bowman (1993, p. 519) describes it as where there is “both verbal and nonverbal behavior, such as wolf-whistles, leers, winks, grabs, pinches, catcalls, and street remarks; the remarks are frequently sexual in nature and comment evaluatively on a woman’s physical appearance or on her presence in public”. Street harassment is a “diffuse array of practices” (Fileborn and Vera-Gray, 2017, p. 205) and is many times seen as something “trivial” or something that just exists in nature and that with a woman’s silence it is allowing the street harassment to be an invisible act (Fileborn, 2019). Women who did speak out against the harasser felt like they were ridiculed and therefore chose not to speak out the next time it occurred (Neupane and Chesney-Lind, 2014). As silence often is seen as the absence of a voice, that a woman does not care or even that the woman is accepting the catcalls, there are studies presenting that silence is something that can be used to mark the discomfort of the act. The silence can in ways be more dominant than raising one’s voice or talking back to the perpetrator giving them the attention they seek (Chubin, 2014).

Studies further shows that women rather avoid and ignore the catcallers instead of confronting them actively (Saunders et al., 2017).

Farmer and Smock Jordan (2017) are discussing how catcalling has become normalized and that, as mentioned earlier, is seen as trivial and something that women have come to expect when walking in the street. Although stranger- or street harassment are different compared to sexual harassment, this because the stranger- and street harassment takes place in a public space between two strangers and not between two people who are known to each other and something that often happens without a specific plan of the outcome (Saunders et al., 2017). Studies show that many women have experienced street harassment, whether they are from The United States, India, Iran or Morocco (Chafai, 2017; Farmer and Smock Jordan, 2017; Lahsaeizadeh and Yousefinejad, 2012; Lea et al., 2017; Neupane and Chesney-Lind, 2014). Women have reported that the perpetrators are, to them, unknown men whom they pass in the street, sit next to on the bus, on the train and that feel the right to comment or even in some cases feel the right to touch a woman's private parts. The act of street harassment is not an act of sexual attraction, it is an act of showing dominance and power over the target (Hutson and Krueger, 2018). Neupane and Chesney-Lind (2014) are talking about the public spaces as a sort of 'hunting ground' for the harassers, where they can roam free in the chaos of crowded public spaces. This could lead to women changing their public transportation routines and in worst case avoid public transportation altogether, avoiding going out alone when its dark out and avoid specific areas (Fisher et al., 2017). Lahsaeizadeh and Yousefinejad (2012) are further discussing that street harassment against women is against their fundamental rights when it comes to being able to be free to choose where in the public sphere women want to go, and this because of the avoidance of being harassed in the street.

In a study by Farmer and Smock Jordan (2017) it was shown that women actively chose to look less attractive to not get unwanted attention by unknown men in the street. This could be a range of things from wearing sunglasses to changing their

postures. This because a woman's attractiveness and appearance are the basis for reactions among men (Farmer and Smock Jordan, 2017, p. 207). According to Farmer and Smock Jordan (2017) women figured out ways to seem less accessible for the perpetrators in the street by for example avoiding eye contact, using headphones, looking through their purses or looking at their phones. Fairchild (2010) describes stranger harassment as something that is common in a woman's everyday life, it also depends on the socio-economic factor women are a part of. In not being able to avoid public transportation and therefore being more exposed to the risk of being catcalled or sexually harassed (Fileborn and Vera-Gray, 2017). And in these class-differences it must be recognized that not every woman is harassed alike. There are still hierarchies in the aspect of being a woman such as class, race and sexuality, which influences the risk of being sexual harassed, and in what way (Vera-Gray, 2016).

Women who travel to certain countries, ex. India, are constantly advised to be careful and not to use public transportation or a taxi by themselves, especially at night. Even if women are travelling in groups, they must use extra caution (Lea et al., 2017). This because of the increased sexually harassment cases, and even rape cases in India where it in some cases has led to the death of the victim. The risk increases, according to a survey based on men's interpretations, if a woman is wearing the "wrong" clothes at the "wrong" place at the "wrong" time (Lea et al., 2017). The woman being assaulted can in these cases even be blamed for the assault, because she "brought the assault on herself" (Lea et al., 2017). This is clear evidence of gender inequality, which brings the picture of how women are subordinate while men are often seen as dominant, and therefore get a 'free pass' for being men since the woman is a provocateur (Neupane and Chesney-Lind, 2014). In Morocco, women are seen as male property and frequently judged, not only by men but also other women in public areas. Women are for example not supposed to be alone in the street, and especially not after dark because of the increased risk of sexual assault or rape (Chafai, 2017).

The fear in women is based on similar experiences of street harassment where they have felt as that the men have been too close (physically), shouting after them or staring at them. Which has led women to feel like they have become some sort of object which men can declare their power over (Hutson and Krueger, 2018). A study conducted by LaRocca and Kromrey (1999) shows how the attractiveness of the harasser has an impact on how the victim feels about the harassment. If the harasser is seen as attractive, the victim is more likely to perceive the catcalling as a compliment rather than a harassment (Fairchild, 2010). A study by Fairchild and Rudman (2008) shows that sexual harassment in the street is something that occurs on a monthly, weekly and in some cases even daily for women and bring a lot of unpleasant feelings in women's daily lives (Fairchild, 2010). There is not one right answer for how a woman is to respond or react to street harassment, and according to Saunders et al. (2017), since the street harassment is unpredictable and often shocking, it tends to be worse psychologically than sexual harassments by someone they know or know of. As Farmer and Smock Jordan (2017) states; the reason why women question themselves when they have been harassed is because they many times think that it did not cause any physical harm or any immediate psychological harm, and therefore it cannot have been *that* bad. This is one of the symptoms of the regular occurrence of catcalling, the minimizing of it (Farmer and Smock Jordan, 2017).

2.3 Public space and transportation

Being able to walk freely in the street or use public transportation to work as a woman is something many might think is granted, but recent studies show that that is not the case. For example, women in Nepal are still stuck in traditional roles where they should not be outside their houses alone, yet alone use public transportation. Although the modern lifestyle that requires women to get to work is colliding with the traditional views (Neupane and Chesney-Lind, 2014), this is a risk for women having to use public transportation, because they are breaking the traditional roles, and therefore risking being punished or shamed. Two very

common public spaces where sexual harassment takes place are on trains and buses, all over the world. In Japan, 48,7 percent of women aged 20 years < stated that they had been sexually harassed at least once on their way to school or work on a train.

Another kind of public harassment occurs when the perpetrators are in their cars or trucks, following their victims and sexually harassing them by shouting out sexual suggestions. By having their vehicles as protection to their anonymity and being able to leave the site in a quick manner, they are often able to avoid consequences from bystanders (Neupane and Chesney-Lind, 2014). Although, even if a woman is sexually harassed in the street in front of witnesses, there is still the bystander effect which could lead to many people witnessing the assault, but no one intervening. The bystander effect is confusing, and people often tend to think that someone else will intervene and therefore no one intervenes (Neupane and Chesney-Lind, 2014). The harasser often uses this to gain power and uses harassment as a game or challenge where there are many people in a crowded area. Many times, the harasser is in a vehicle, being able to follow the victim without the victim having a chance to leave the area (Neupane and Chesney-Lind, 2014).

2.4 Women's self-objectification and coping mechanisms

As mention earlier, many women report that while the harasser has been in a vehicle, they have been on foot, not being able to escape the situation, which is a terrifying situation for those who are in it. The feeling of victimization is connected to great fear and anxiety of the thought that they can be overpowered any minute (Neupane and Chesney-Lind, 2014). Not only that women are feeling fear and anxiety, the feeling of not being safe can cause psychical problems, several emotional reactions and also different psychological symptoms. Women have described feeling muscle tension, trouble with their breathing and nausea (Farmer and Smock Jordan, 2017).

Recent studies show that women are affected by street harassment, not only when it occurs, but also in the long-term. It affects them in a way where they might feel

objectified, have feelings of shame and embarrassment, and not wanting to go out alone become standard (Saunders et al., 2017). Nonetheless, women cope differently depending on their system-justifying ideologies, uncertain sexism, and their self-esteem (Saunders et al., 2017). Saunders et al. (2017) describes how street harassment can lead to body shame, objectifying oneself as a sex-object, and thinking more about what to and what not to wear. The woman can start to blame herself for the harassment and therefore being less empowered to speak up against the harasser when it occurs or even to report it to the police with the fear of not being taken seriously or not being believed (Lea et al., 2017). Fisher et al. (2017) also agrees with the statement that a woman's self-image, body image and well-being such as anxiety and an increased level of fear can be influenced by street harassment.

Shame is one of the major reasons why a woman is not willing to report such a violation, many times because women are being told that they have been dressed in a provocative way (Lea et al., 2017). According to Lea et al. (2017, p. 231) some women have even used their handbags as a cover to hide an ongoing assault, because of the embarrassment. This is not unusual, but since many women keep quiet as an assault takes place, it is hard to know what is going on for a bystander. It is taboo to break social norms and it could bring shame on women who are speaking up against the harasser. For example, when being harassed in the street they are taking the blame for it themselves as a consequence of the 'scene' they may have caused if they speak up against the harasser. Feeling shame is a consequence, or mechanism, that is deeply rooted in humans maintaining the social order and to the values that lies in a culture and is often shared with feelings of guilt (Chubin, 2014). The victim's feelings of shame are based on how other external parts have made the victim feel. The harasser's main goal is to make the target feel ashamed for something they did not do, but for something someone else did to them (Neupane and Chesney-Lind, 2014). Reports from Neupane and Chesney-Lind (2014) show that in those cases, victims did not know how to react or how to handle the situation. In the aftermath of street harassment, it does not matter if the harassment went on for a shorter or longer period of time, or if it is verbal or

physical. It still affects the victim in such a way that it can affect their economy and their emotional well-being (Hutson and Krueger, 2018).

Although catcalling is a form of street harassment, not all women perceive it as harassment, for example if the perpetrator has more attractive traits (Fairchild, 2010; LaRocca and Kromrey, 1999). If a man is seen as attractive by a woman he is catcalling, she might take it as a compliment. This is argued to be based on the sexual objectification that is based in certain cultures and how being beautiful as a woman is connected to being happy. Even though some women do take some catcalls as compliments, the overall consequence of this kind of sexual objectification is still not positive (Fisher et al., 2017). It also has to do with how women perceive themselves, if they perceive themselves as more sexualized, they might be likely to be flattered, whereas the women who do not share the same sexual morals themselves might take it negatively and offensive. Although Fisher et al., (2017) are pointing out that there is no specific group of women that this can be applied to. Fairchild (2010) is also stating that this may not be applicable to all women around the world, because catcalling can sometimes be seen as a compliment for some women that are enjoying getting the attention. These individual differences in perceiving the catcallers intention is a difficult area to study.

Furthermore, a study where Fisher et al. (2017) compares videos where a woman is being catcalled and one where she is not being catcalled while walking in the street to see if the woman experienced changes in her self-image, the results show that there was no difference in how the participants saw their body image after watching the second video with catcalling (Fisher et al., 2017). Although self-blaming is a big issue when it comes to catcalling, women are taking some responsibility for it when it happens to them and reflect on what they could have done differently (Farmer and Smock Jordan, 2017). Fairchild (2010) describes how women, after being harassed by a stranger, have feelings of frustration, disgust and anger. The women also felt that the harassment was scary, unpleasant and disruptive. Lahsaeizadeh and Yousefinejad (2012) states that the unsafety a woman feels in the public areas

is also affecting her ability to feel free to move around where she feels like. This because of how it might make her feel uncomfortable, dishonored, angry and helpless in certain places in the public. Although a woman might feel more threatened in a place where there are few people, it does not mean that she is protected from any harassments in the crowded places (Lahsaeizadeh and Yousefinejad, 2012). Additionally, factors such as being alone in one place can increase the feeling of fear (Fileborn, 2019). As the woman often is in shock over what is happening, since it is an act of surprise, she may feel like she does not want to leave the safety of being inside of their own house (Lahsaeizadeh and Yousefinejad, 2012). According to Jabeen et al., (2017) women are suffering from nervousness when street harassment occurs, and not only that they feel nervous, they feel a great amount of anxiety for their daughter's safety when they must leave the house.

2.5 Law and justice

Despite the commonness of street harassment and catcalling, it is not something that is well addressed by criminal and restorative approaches in western justice systems. It is a subject that is very belittled, under-reported and often hard to prove (Fileborn and Vera-Gray, 2017, p. 204). This is a major problem due to the different laws that exists across the different jurisdictions, which also includes the differences in all kinds of different forms of street harassments there are and how they are legislated. Therefore, it is a subject that in ways can be disappointing to women that, through these legislations, feel excluded when it comes to sexual violence. Within this lack of law concerning street harassment, the criminal justice system does have an opportunity to change and develop new laws accordingly with the starting point of victim's justice interests (Fileborn and Vera-Gray, 2017, p. 204).

The punishments for these actions are very low, due to the uncertainty of the criminalization of street harassment. And because of this, the perpetrators know very well that the chances of getting caught and leading to punishment are very low

(Farmer and Smock Jordan, 2017). Although there are laws in certain countries that can bring on severe punishment for these kinds of acts according to the article 619 of the Islamic penal code, that says that a person who harasses a woman or child in public can be sentenced to prison from 2 to 6 months or 74 lashes (Lahsaeizadeh and Yousefinejad, 2012). Even though this law exist it is very rare that a man gets convicted because of the lack of complaints from women to the criminal justice system. And this could be because that the women do not know about the laws, that the complaint and filing charges are time-consuming and also the fact that street harassment is a frequently occurring phenomenon, women have become used to this and are afraid of that they might seem like they brought it on themselves or guilty for the man's behavior (Lahsaeizadeh and Yousefinejad, 2012, p. 19).

2.6 Statistical findings

Statistical findings show that more than 56 percent of those who have been victimized of harassments in Sweden are stating that the perpetrator has been, to them, an unknown person (Brå, 2016). During 2016, both men and women stated that the perpetrator that conducted the harassment was someone they did not know or was an acquaintance. According to statistics, women are more likely to report when being harassed by someone they know, compared to men (17 percent vs 8 percent) (Brå, 2016). The harassments can measure in what way the victim is perceiving these actions. According to a national report, it was 15 percent that reported that these times had been very frightening, while 35 percent reported that these happenings was a bit frightening, while the rest, around 50 percent, reported that these happenings was not particularly frightening or frightening at all. Another way to measure how serious the feelings of fright are is to look at the number of events a person has been victimized. Around every fourth person (23 percent) reported to have been victimized of catcalling more than 11 times, and around 12 percent reported that they had been victimized more than 100 times (Brå, 2016).

National surveys from 2015 in Sweden show that harassment is higher among people with education no higher than of 9th grade compared to people with a

college-education, where the numbers are 7,1 percent and 4,7 percent. And it is also more common with harassments against single-people, with or without children (12,8 vs 7,7 percent) compared to people living together with another person, also with or without children (3,3 vs 3,7 percent) There are some differences between groups in the society, but that does not have to mean that there is any direct causality. For this, NTU (2015) used special statistical analyses to measure the vulnerability amongst different groups (Brå, 2016). For example, according to the national survey, women are exposed to harassment more frequently than men, where the statistics show 6,1 percent compared to 4,8 percent. Although the amount of harassment cases decreased year 2010, and after that, it has increased once again. It shows that the youngest group (16-19-year-olds) are the ones most vulnerable for harassments (9,3 percent). Least exposed to harassments is the group between 65-74-year-olds (3,7 percent). The latest reports from 2016 shows that the numbers are aligned with the numbers that have been after the year of 2010, with the most vulnerable among the youngest and least exposed among the elderly. Although year 2016, the category of most exposed to harassments were women in the age of 16-24 (11,5 percent). Even among men, where there is 5,6 percent in the same age (16-24).

2.7 Conclusion of previous research

Sexual harassments have become normalized, although it does not mean that it is not affecting people who are being exposed to it, but rather that the ones being exposed are affected in both physical and psychological ways. Ranging from feeling anxiety to change of clothing, or even changing routines getting to work is just a few of the ways that sexual harassments can change a person's well-being and life. Previous studies have also shown that the chances for, especially a woman, to report a sexual harassment that occurs is very low, although this do contradict with the rates in Sweden, where there is a high report-rate compared to other countries (Mellgren et al., 2018). To note is that it is still low compared to other crimes in Sweden. This because there is some disbelief that the legal system will

help or can be able to help due to the lack of jurisdictional support when it comes to sexual crimes. Although sexual harassment is not allowed to take place in Sweden, there are still grey areas such as catcalling, which is not in fact an illegal act. As for example in France, where it has since last year (2018) become illegal to catcall. Nevertheless, there is a complexity between sexual harassments and catcalling and therefore sexual harassments are brought up as previous research. Sexual harassment is, according to the Swedish law, more physical acts while catcalling tend to 'only' be about vocal discrimination or vocal harassments, the grey-area between where the sexual harassment begin and where catcalling end is apparent.

2.7.1 Concluding the research gap

There have not been many studies made regarding the situation about catcalling in Sweden. Although there is a grey-area in the reports of street harassment in Sweden since catcalling is not included in the sexual harassment reports, it might be why it is important to study how people in Sweden feel regarding a need for a new or changed legislation in the area of catcalling. It is necessary to find out about how people in Sweden perceive catcalling, if it is an issue, and if it is, what could be done about it. It is clear that citizens of a certain country and the effects of media can have a role in the change of law and the legal jurisdiction, which makes this an interesting matter to explore in the field of Sociology of Law.

3.0 Interviews

The two interviews conducted are presented below to provide the reader information about what work is being done regarding unlawful discrimination and sexual harassments and how a new law would be implemented practically.

3.1 Interviewee one

When speaking with an earlier Equal Opportunities Ombudsman (JämO in Swedish), we discussed what work has been done regarding catcalling in Sweden. When asked what work she had done earlier, she said that she had been working mostly with discrimination and that a lot of the work that she had recently done was involving working against discrimination in the work-field and not at all about harassment in the street. She stated that she has worked a lot with bringing the discussion forward about equal pay and sexual harassment, and has Canada as her biggest role model, since a lot of what she has learned is coming from Canada. When asked about how the complaints regarding discrimination have looked like, if they have decreased or increased, since the #metoo movement, she stated that the numbers of complaints received by the Discrimination Ombudsman (DO) are approximately on the same level as they were 2016/2017. She states that it might be that perpetrators are less likely to commit these discrimination acts. But at the same time victims have been encouraged to report harassment. She explains that it is very hard to measure the commonness of these discrimination acts since there likely is a big number of unknown and unreported cases. Although, the area where these harassments have increased is in the educational area, where students seem to be exposed in a higher level, according to the reports-statistics. Regarding the unions and also some employer organizations prevention work and new routines due to #metoo are in the making. We have however no figures on the number of complaints that organized employees report to their unions. The unions – not the DO (Discrimination ombudsman) - are the ones investigating these reported discriminations as they, according to the law, have the right to represent their members in disputes with the employer. The interviewee is also describing how complaints on discrimination, sent to DO, are not investigated by DO as DO invests

most of its resources in information campaigns and considers complaints, not as the call for help as they really are, but as information that DO could use applying its own direction. The interviewee is further stating how it is a tragedy that these reports are not investigated because there is an effective way to change bad and inappropriate norms by investigations and demands for change. But there are no signs of this happening, which might also be a reason to why neither sexual harassments nor discrimination in Sweden seem to be decreasing. The interviewee stated how, given these problems, there is not a well-functioning supervisory administrative authority.

When she was asked if a new law regarding catcalling were likely to take place in Sweden, and where it would be best incorporated, in the discrimination act or in the Swedish penal code, the interviewee states that it would probably be best to clarify already existing criminal law, for example in the section regarding sexual harassment and maybe add a paragraph specifically about catcalling. The interviewee stated that these acts, catcalls, might already be covered by the sexual harassment law, although it would be much simpler to have a specific rule against this particular behavior. And this is because it is something that mostly occurs in groups and is more of a collective happening. The Discrimination Act (civil law) states that sexual harassment is a form of discrimination but does not cover the kind of harassment that is typical for catcalling which occurs in the streets and is performed by individuals against individuals. The Discrimination act has a structure that makes it very difficult to include catcalling.

To better capture what catcalling refers to I consider it more likely that one would try to clarify any of the already existing paragraphs in the criminal law than try to extend the Discrimination Act.

The quote above is her describing why she think it is more likely that an already existing law should be modified. Furthermore, when asked if such a law would be welcomed in Sweden, the interviewee cannot answer. Laws are, according to her, here to change behaviors and therefore it is important to really make sure they do. That persons committing these crimes do get consequences for their actions,

otherwise it will give the opposite effect and cementer that behavior. For example, “Well this was nothing, I’m not getting convicted, well, I guess it is okay then”, that is a dangerous thing, she states.

When asked if the interviewee had ever been exposed for any of the behaviors that is referred to as catcalling, the answer was yes. And it had happened in both Southern European countries and in Sweden. Although in Sweden she could only recall it happening once or twice when she was very young and mentions that she was born in 1943. The interviewee points out that there is likely a big range between being uncomfortable and flattered when it comes to being catcalled. The interviewee mentioned that she had friends reacting very strongly to it and her herself not care that much, instead she saw it as flattery. Although, my interviewee states that is was very uncomfortable when the ones catcalling were in a group and did not leave her and her friends alone. Despite this, she does point out, that she did not ever felt physically scared. Though one time when she and her friends were in Italy, they wanted to go camping in a tent and one of these friends’ husband, whom was Italian, got very upset and indirectly stated that it would ‘be like an invite for a rape to occur. The information was a bit shocking, as tenting in Sweden was not perceived to be dangerous for women. In addition to that they had blonde hair, which she said that one really was not supposed to have if one did not want any attention in Italy. When asked where a person should turn to report if being exposed for catcalling, she said the police, but adds that may be successful only if there are witnesses. If catcalling occurs in a school environment the offence should be reported to the school staff. If it would occur at a big festival, then she says an adequate step should be to speak with the arrangers or people who works there.

3.2 Interviewee two

The second key-informant I chose to interview was a police officer. He graduated as a police officer the year of 2017 and is now working in a medium-sized city in Sweden. When asked if he wanted to participate in an interview regarding catcalling, his first response was “what the heck is catcalling?”. When I asked him

to do some research himself before the interview, he agreed to it and further on, once the interview was conducted, he said that “of course I know what Catcalling is, I have just never heard it being called catcalling”. He also said that it is something that he comes across from time to time in his daily job, although the notifications of it usually occurs in nightclubs when people are under the influence of alcohol. He states that it has never happened that a person has wanted to report any kind of catcalling to him or his colleague during broad daylight. When in the nightlife-area, it is usually girls that report things such as if a man has been making gestures or does not leave them alone when being asked to. These gestures, the interviewee states, could consist of everything between gestures such as “cock-sucking”, “pussy-licking”, “fuck you” to whistles and calls. It has happened that they detain a person overnight, although not only for catcalling, but for how much that person had had to drink. He has seen several of these cases, although this being reported by the person who is being victimized are slim. He says that many of those who have been victimized also has had much to drink and therefore do not dare to report with the fear of being detained themselves, or in other cases, that they do not see any point in reporting because “nothing is going to happen”.

Although this might be true, he states, it is important to report these things because in a case like the one discussed, a person who otherwise behave in such a manner will not have any recording of his/her behavior and therefore have no evidence to support other cases if it would happen again. The only thing that will be recorded is that he got a LOB which is a Swedish law called Care of Intoxicated Persons Act (SFS 1976:511) which allows the police to detain a person overnight because of intoxication. The interviewee is therefore expressing the importance of reporting these happenings, for the sake of evidence in a latter matter. When further discussing if a law that focused more on the specifics of catcalling and if it would make a difference regarding the willingness to report such actions, he stated the following:

It is the same with any kind of law, in the beginning nothing would happen, but as soon as people start to get more conscious about the law, I think that

these kinds of actions would be reported more, especially now after the #Metoo movement.

The interviewee believes that with the #metoo-campaign, it has brought a lot focus on similar issues and that nobody in their right mind would consider the kind of behaviors such as catcalling as a normal thing to do. He is also stating that girls that gets catcalled in a club can report it as sexual harassments, although he is not sure that it would change anything more than the fact that the persons behavior would be archived. And if there would have been a law specifically against catcalling in a case where catcalling occurred in a nightclub, he does not believe that it would have led anywhere either, or as a maximum, that the person would have been thrown out of the club. The interviewees thoughts regarding a law concerning specifically catcalling, he states that some of the people in Sweden might think it is great and others might be against it and think it is just pure “bullshit”. As a police officer, he says that he, in his job, would be working to retain the law which is his purpose with his job. But he cannot really say if he would think it would simply be another task or if it would be a good thing that would change things. He believes that, in the case mentioned earlier, that many police-officers might find it bothering if they would have to show up every time something like that occurs. Furthermore, since the police already have a lot to do, the risk is that they would not be able to show up. He is talking about how it would be difficult to prove that catcalling has occurred, and with the already extremely high level of demands of evidence in court for a case to lead to a conviction, he thinks that it probably would not lead to a conviction in these cases.

Think for example that someone catcalled you and you are stating that this and that has happened but the person who did it says it did not happen. Then you will have one person against one person. Nobody can say exactly what happened, except if you might have had a friend with you, but then this friend would be biased.

When asked if a law can make people feel safer in public spaces, he answered that unfortunately he believed that men, especially drunk men would tend to continue

these actions, but women on the other hand may feel more secure and feel like they have the law on their side. Although he says that he cannot stress enough how important it is to report anything that makes a person feel threatened or uncomfortable. It is much better to report one too many times, he says. The interviewee is also recommending informing guards about these things too, they are also there to help you and to make you feel safer.

4.0 Theoretical framework

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of this study: system justification theory and feminist legal theory. This to further help to explain the complexity of the chosen topic of this study. It also consists of an explaining discussion to how these two theories are linked to the purpose of this study and moreover why these two theories have been chosen as a theoretical framework.

4.1 System justification theory

The difficulty to differentiate the behaviors that a person is showing because of different factors, and how to compare these to the effects that the system justification theory is claiming, is something that occurs frequently. In other words, it is difficult to know which behaviors a person is showing as a consequence to specific factors. And therefore, it is difficult to know which of these behaviors that can be explained with the system justification theory. For it to be possible to compare these two and to recognize what effects are caused by other factors rather than the factors presented in the system justification theory is for researchers to make control-variables. According to Blasi and Jost (2006) psychologists and uneducated people share a belief that people tend to prefer others who are more like themselves rather than unlike them. Although in later research it has been shown that members of less desirable groups tend to prefer people of other more desirable groups. This was shown in an experiment that included students from three ethnic backgrounds and how most participants chose to have a “white” studying partner. This can point to that people from disfavored groups choose members of more privileged and dominant groups over their own groups (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1121). Furthermore, Blasi and Jost (2006) describes how stereotypes at many times can be helpful when it comes to maintaining hierarchal social arrangements. When the social systems or the legitimacy of these systems are under any sort of threat, people tend to rely more on stereotypes to reinforce the status of their hierarchical place in the system they belong to (Blasi and Jost, 2006).

In one widely observed phenomenon, people begin to shift preferences toward future social and political arrangements as those arrangements become increasingly likely.

- (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1121)

The system justification theory has, ever since it advanced, been supported by a large amount of studies with the focus on the status quo and how people tend to support and defend it (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1123). Although they are also pointing out that it is always a matter of how these different motives, such as ego-justification and group justification, are expressed depending on each individuals' attitude and behavior and also in what context. What is important to know is that, the well-known motives of ego justification, as well as group justification, were not enough when it came to the observed phenomena's in both real life and in tests by psychologists, but it can help with categorizing. For example, Blasi and Jost (2006) are discussing how there are many ways for these kinds of systems to be manifested, they explain that stereotypes can simplify and also help to justify the systems that exist by putting people into different boxes, where for example the intelligent and hardworking people are in the higher social latter of the society meanwhile the people at the lower social latter are the lazy and irresponsible ones.

Stereotypes and ideologies supply ready-made justifications, explanations, and excuses for the system.

- (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1123)

Blasi and Jost (2006) are stating that even though the ego justification motives become more distinct when we feel threatened, the system justification theory is showing how the motives become more obvious when we sense that there is a threat to the validity of the system that we are a part of. To be noted here is that research shows that people from disadvantaged groups in society are more likely to ratify the existing system-justifying ideologies, and therefore they also have an outgroup favoritism for the more advantaged groups of society. This is explaining how people's reasoning and motivational processes are affecting their behavior, without being aware of it and in that way not being able to control it.

According to Blasi and Jost (2006) people are willing to obey the already existing social system, even if it is doing them injustice. Nevertheless, that does not apply for all, since the different justification motives can be changed when it comes to some circumstances. Blasi and Jost (2006) are stating, that radical changes are very rare and people are more likely to accept the structure of the system that they are in with the belief that it is a fair system and that it is the belief that people get what they deserve that many times makes us accept the system we are in (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1124).

The societal status quo is constantly, in various factors, being defended by the public and this is because, according to Blasi & Jost (2006, p. 1127), of ideological belief systems that supply expedient rationalizations. The role of system justification motive is important when it comes to supporting ideologies shared among the public, such as political conservatism and capitalism and the division of labor in families among women and men. The system justification theory therefore helps to explain why people choose to vote for parties that, instead of being beneficial to them, are instead non-beneficiary. Blasi and Jost (2006) are further stating that the system justification processes are being used when measuring the explicit level of conscious awareness and also the unconscious level of awareness and with this, stating that people are not always aware of how they are benefitting the status quo, and therefore are fighting change. This because individuals realize that they must adjust to it, and even if it is hard for an individual to adjust to a new system, it is likely that it will change and become more appealing when the chances for success increase. It is important to point out that change often comes with resistance, at least in the beginning, and eventually people will start to accept what once was seen as unsustainable (Blasi and Jost, 2006). This happens when people come to realize that they will not get anything out of resisting the old system, and therefore not gain any psychological benefits. When it is finally set, people will begin to justify its characteristic structures, both willfully and unconsciously which is explained by the quote below.

SJT predicts that social change will either come not at all or all at once, the way that catastrophic change occurs in dynamic systems and in "tipping point" phenomena.

- (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1143)

Stereotypes, especially concerning the disadvantaged, can in some ways serve the goals of system justification. This because stereotypes have an important role in the process of system justification with focus on disadvantaged groups, as the “victim-blaming” and “complementary stereotypes” (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1134). Although, what is important to know here is that it is not always that the stereotyping or discrimination against disadvantaged groups are accepted in the social norms, it may even be suppressed. People from these groups might even get additional negative outcomes from acknowledging that their group is inferior. Although, the outgroup favoritism is more likely to come forward subtly, rather than openly (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1128).

The behaviors that both the disadvantaged and advantaged groups show when it comes to system justification theory is that they will behave accordingly to the behaviors previously explained, except that they will not take the same form. Although there have been previous research showing that three different types of justification inclinations are probable to be against one another. First, the ego justification has got a propensity to uphold or increase an individual’s confidence, to serve oneself. The second one is the group justification where the tendency to favorize and articulate a more liking attitude towards a group which the person itself belongs to, or identifies with, also known as the ingroup. The third motive is where people defends and justifies the systems which they belong to, even though the system they identify with are contradictive within the ego-, group- and the system justification motives (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1129).

Furthermore, Blasi and Jost (2006) discusses how it is more likely for advantaged groups to be more positive towards the status quo compared to the less advantaged groups in society. Although, there are still unambiguous forms of inequality that

can create a difference amongst the necessity for justifying the system and also the necessity to be pleased with oneself and the group a person belongs to. In these cases, the difference between reality and a person's beliefs about the system creates a cognitive dissonance, according to Blasi and Jost (2006, p. 1131), and cannot be easily fixed by justifying a person's own actions. Instead, they are stating, that there must be an ideological rationalization rather than rationalizing one's own behavior. An example is presented below:

The system is legitimate and works well because it rewards education, ability, and motivation. Unfortunately, I never did well in school.
- (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1130)

They do point out though, that there must be a realization that people often do have a motive to look for rationalizations no matter what facts there are. Blasi and Jost (2006) explains it by saying that there are cases where people from disadvantaged groups defend and believe in the system and the hierarchal structure that is keeping the disadvantaged groups stronger than some people from advantaged groups do. They are also stating that they believe that this has something to do with the disadvantaged people's needs to minimize the conflict it can lead to by mitigating their own suffering and that they in that way are participants in the status quo (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1131).

According to the system justification theory, all individuals belong to a social system, or several social systems. These systems can be everything from family, work, religion etc. It is likely that this individual will rationalize these different social systems even though some may collide with others. For an individual to choose between these different systems, it can be justified and determined by several factors which includes dispositional factors. For example, which values one person has, or how reliable institutions might be, all this based on previous experiences. There are also other factors, situational factors, that include perceptions of different circumstances and the surrounding environment, although is difficult to see which one of these behaviors comes from the effects of system justification, when there are likely to be many other factors involved.

In the system justification response, both personality and environment are seen as two significant moderators. As mentioned earlier, there are several variables regarding psychological tendencies, where two of those are dispositional and situational sources (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1137). Individuals do not like uncertainty, people like to be around what is familiar and known, therefore there are psychological needs that do reduce the uncertainty. According to Blasi and Jost (2006) people prefer being threatened by people they know rather than being threatened by people that they do not know. This has to do with the fact of *knowing* what the other person is capable of and therefore being familiar with it and seeing it as something more legitimate, compared to be around uncertainty. When a person wants to find meaning in their life, they have to manage certain forms of threats and distress, this can be done by accepting and justifying the status quo and with that satisfy needs that includes the need for consistency, coherence and certainty (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1138). Although when a big change in society, for example a regime change, is inevitable, it is shown that people do conform to these changes rather quickly (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1140).

Studies with an experimental take has shown that individuals likely use stereotyping to respond to threats towards the social system for them to justify the inequality-gap that exists in society. These threats can lead to a resistance of the current system and, in some cases even revenge against individuals who threaten it (Blasi and Jost, 2006). Although, it can also go the other way, by having the society's desire to revenge the perpetrators that have caused these threats, and this to defend and protect the current social order. Studies have shown that people find crimes that are quite common but unpunished as a higher threat to the social order, they also show that people wanted stricter punishments for those who threatened the social order (Blasi and Jost, 2006). For example, men feel an increased guilt and feelings of decreased well-being if they are reminded of their gender privilege. For them to ease their guilt and conscience it is believed that, as all people do, start to rationalize their own advantages and start to minimize the people who are being less advantaged in society. Those who do feel, or are, disadvantaged often feel frustration and anger regarding their position in society. For this anger and

resentment to decrease, people tend to lower their own ambitions and start adapting to the status quo (Blasi and Jost, 2006). System justification is operating as a coping mechanism for both disadvantaged and advantaged groups in society, which helps with anxiety, uncertainty and distress. Instead, it can have a positive effect instead of a negative one. Research also shows that people who blame themselves for, example being poor, feel less guilt and are more satisfied with their lives, compared to those who blame the system (Blasi and Jost, 2006).

When it comes to reporting a crime, an individual is less likely to report it if the crime is seen as something “normal”, even if it is not seen as suitable by the victim. Restrictive effects of offences and criminal law managements are dependent on what is being alleged and reporting of crimes. The continued orderings in the social systems are often by class, gender, religion etc. It can also be certain expectations that the society has got on an individual depending on its expected role or social power. About discrimination claims, it is always about a certain protest to a social order, which can take place in the public, school, or any other social context (Blasi and Jost, 2006). System justification theory is suggesting that the claiming rates, or also known as ‘system implicating claims’, are to be affected by whether these claims can be interpreted as a possible challenge to the existing social system and if they can be a challenge to the social status quo.

Why victims many times chooses not to press charges against discrimination cases, is because they fear that they will have to go through yet another process of discrimination and victimization. Many people who have been discriminated are also seen as troublemakers, where people around them likely will punish those who are complaining about discrimination, which is suggesting that they are holding on to system justification motives (Blasi and Jost, 2006). People who are in a disadvantaged group can on the other hand be more motivated to defend the systems legitimacy and integrity (Blasi and Jost, 2006), which further will be explained below.

4.2 Feminist legal theory

Feminist legal theory has its roots in feminism and comes in many varieties which begin with observations and thereafter continues with an aspiration. The first thing that feminists focused on, or believed, was that the world has been shaped by men and therefore men have more power, and with that power comes privilege (Levit et al., 2016). Although many times, feminism has preceded feminist legal theory, the feminist legal scholars highlight that all history of the current civilization has been written by men, and that the women of the feminist legal scholar believe that the equality between men and women should be covering all fields, such as the political, social and economic field. Nevertheless, feminists are likeminded when it comes to what goal of equality they want to reach, but there are different thoughts about what that equality stands for and how to get there.

In the 60's, the suffrage movement was developed and stood for equal rights between men and women. This was the first wave of this sort of feminism; today known as legal theory feminism. The theory was referred to as a theory that was liberal and demanded sameness between women and men. The philosophy of this equal treatment theory was that the law should treat men and women the same, and not make any differentiations on either side, and therefore it should not individualize or generalize women (Levit et al., 2016). The efforts for equal treatment consisted of two goals, to attain both social and political opportunities where both men and women were to have the same rights, for example equal wages, equal employment and equal access to government benefits. When feminists were not working on equal rights, they were working to dismantle legislation aimed at protecting them, which in fact isolated them. In other words, the legislation that had been intended to protect women instead ended up isolating them from the public sphere, leading to the second goal; getting rid of this kind of legislation (Levit et al., 2016, p. 13).

Ruth Bader Ginsburg's work included pointing out that many differences between men and women in the legal context was socially constructed. She also stated that social norms helped with maintaining the different roles that existed between men

and women (Levit et al., 2016, p. 14). Carol Smart (2002) discusses how the law is putting itself before several other sciences and claims to, unlike psychology, sociology or common sense, to have a method which is able to generate the truth of events, where the trials are seen as a secure scene for the truth to come out, and to find if an individual is guilty or innocent. Although there are cases that can be overruled and given a different sentence by another jury or judge, which shows that the system does not always share the same view when it comes to criminal offenses. Smart (2002) is further discussing how the law and its claim to truth is working as an ideal of the law and not in a bigger sense in its practical space and also how it, if practitioners would fall short, would not matter. This because people act like the legal system and the decisions being made always are the correct ones and believe the judges sentence of a guilty sentence compared to a defendant's state of innocence (Smart, 2002).

Smart (2002) further states how law does not only act in its judgements; it does also make a claim to what the truth is and is also invisible in its own way. Not only does it have the power to disqualify knowledges and experiences that is not included in the law itself, but law sees all knowledge that is non-legal as secondary. Therefore, everyday experiences must be changed to another form of discourse for it to be accepted and become 'legal' issues (Smart, 2002). With this change of discourse, it is being said that law is what has helped women to gain equality, and that the law is engaging outside the social frame. The law becomes more powerful given how it is a discipline that only responds to its centered logic (Smart, 2002). It also exists to support us as an example when there are difficult times. Although the impression of that law itself has enough power to right wrongs is prevalent, it should be seen as something for extending rights and not only for finding and righting wrongs. Furthermore, two problems with this exists; that one side of the law is seen as a force doing good or bad, and the other is that it is seen as a force on both sides. And only then we can see the law, not as a force for either good or bad, but simply as a force. This is when we also can begin to confront and question the allegedly rightful place which makes this the most necessary aspect of the project (Smart, 2002).

According to Mary Jane Mossman (1986) the system might be resistant to the feminist challenge, and she further explains how there are three different elements. The first element, also called 'boundary definition', consists of certain concerns that are not included in the legal jurisdiction, but the political or moral standpoints. It is also important to keep in mind that these boundaries can move. She is stating that the boundaries are important for judges and lawyers to interpret the law, and not to focus on what issues might exist outside the law. This is of great importance for the legally trained to keep an objective mindset. The second element of the legal method is how relevant certain information around a case is. Take for example rape-cases, if it really is of relevance to know if the accused and the victim have had a sexual relationship, or how the victim's sexual history has looked like. According to Mossman (1986), it is because that if you are a 'good' lawyer, you will be able to use this information and more or less learn how to oppress women. Although the law is resistant to this kind of critique since its formulation of rules regarding rape cases are making cases hard to solve after a certain amount of time. The third element of the legal method is to define the relevance of specific information regarding a case. And this is where people with a legal background have to either establish an example of a legal decision, by following the 'good law' or ignoring the 'bad law' (Smart, 2002).

These laws claim that truth is important to recognize since it is going both ways outside the theoretical sphere, looking at the practical use. This is because most of the legal methods that are having a lot of focus on judges, will in practice only a few times get close to a judge (Smart, 2002). Meanwhile, law might make a claim to the truth and lawyers are devaluing this kind of interpretation of law and does not state that law is making a claim to the truth. Although this is not always seen as a legitimate extension in the field of law, since it is a mutual understanding amongst many people that more law means more money for lawyers. Which shows that many people do not accept how the law is constructed or even accept any extension of the legal field and in some cases, could start an opposition to the power that law has (ibid). Although, Smart (2002) is also stating that it is obvious that for women, especially feminists, to distinguish the power of law, they cannot see themselves as

incapable. With this said, it is crucial for feminists to endure challenges when it comes to the legal-field and the power that comes with it, for there to be an effect in the power-positions in the legal field (Smart, 2002).

4.3 The interplay between System justification theory and Feminist legal theory

These theories may seem as two very opposite theories at first sight, although with a closer look, they do work very well together as a theoretical framework for this study. Take for example how the system justification theory's explanation of people's behavior and what resistance that may occur when new rules regarding the laws of society takes place. Then add the feminist legal theory that explains how the law is socially constructed and that it through history have been beneficial for men. Feminist legal theory is also how, in the judicial world, there are some contradictions of what is right and wrong in the eyes of law when a case is being retried in court. Which points to the fact that the law is not always as objective as it portrays itself to be. To conclude, if there is a wish to see a change in the law, especially if you are a part of the undermined group of society, you must stand your ground due to the resistance that most likely will occur, although, being a part of an undermined group could also function as a motivation for the undermined group when facing resistance. To conclude, in this study these theories will help to explain how people justify certain behaviors, sometimes as long as they are not illegal, and sometimes when they have become illegal. The theories will also help to explain what beliefs people have regarding the law and the changes it can make.

5.0 Methods

In this chapter, the methodological approach is presented and further explained. Furthermore, this chapter is discussing the choices made for the research design, in other words the methods used to analyze the data and the sampling techniques used. The chapter is also presenting the ethical considerations made for the research.

5.1 Method selection

The purpose of this study was to explore the degree to which people express that they have experienced catcalling, and the way in which catcalling is affecting those who have been exposed to it, i.e. the consequences of catcalling. Furthermore, the purpose of this study was to explore how people believe that the legal system is able to manage the type of problems that catcalling may bring about; and how they do view the need for a new or changed legislation in the area. The study was conducted via both a national survey and 2 interviews with key informants to get an insight in what work is being done in Sweden today to prevent catcalling. According to Sema A. Kalaian (2011, p. 7) survey research is a method that is used frequently to help collect data and is seen as one of the most significant research designs.

5.2 Research design

The research began with mainly looking for relevant literature at several search engines, such as 'ebSCO host' and 'lUBsearch'. The keywords that were used to find the relevant literature were: 'Women', 'Sweden', 'Harassment', 'Street harassment', 'Catcalling', 'Law' and 'Policies'. A total of 26 articles were found and further analyzed and thereafter thematized accordingly. The findings were sorted into columns based on similar data. I also reduced the number of articles I chose to use to a total number of 16 because of relevance issues. Furthermore, previous studies were searched for regarding street harassment in Sweden, although most of the earlier studies had only been done in smaller matters such as bachelor

theses with focus on interviews or articles that focused more on sexual harassments and not looking into the issues of catcalling. I did not want to be restrained to the previous research I first found, which allowed me to have an open mind about finding new information for this study to become as abundant as possible. Along the previous literature research, I used a tool called Zotero where it was possible to download the articles and simplify the quotations and finding information quickly. The Swedish legal texts were translated with the help of a dictionary from the Swedish courts (2016).

5.2.1 Content analysis study

The content analysis was used for the analysis of the open-ended questions to help with further thematizing the answers. The content analysis study is frequently used to study statements, especially two categories: direction and standards (Franzosi, 2008). Accordingly, the standard category is referring to a certain topic or theme being discussed by a statement, meanwhile the direction is referring to either positive, negative or neutral reference to the standard. With other words, in what way a certain topic is being discussed (Franzosi, 2008). As of this case, how the participants of the survey are addressing the phenomenon catcalling and how they are addressing and discussing the question if there is a need for a change in the legislation or not. Therefore, I chose to thematize them as: ‘Positive’ and ‘Negative’.

5.2.2 Thematic analysis

A thematic analysis described by Guest et al. (2012) was used to thematize and analyze the result of the open-ended questions. The first step was to collect the answers and thereafter go through the answers and seek reappearing contents of the answers, this to separate these into themes where these different answers were similar. The analysis of these themes was conducted with the help of previous research and theories. For the text to be thematized, some rules had to be followed to first find repetitions in the text, where the analyst chooses which themes are interesting to thematize for the sole purpose of the study and analyze further (Guest et al., 2012). The goal here was to find themes relevant for the objectives of the

study. The next step was to look for categories that stood out, and did not have any relevance to the study, although these were not brought up in the analytic part. The third step was to look for metaphors or analogies, and in this case, what was found was for example “I do not like being whistled at, I am not a dog”, here because dogs are usually whistled at for their attention. The fourth step was transitions, although this was not very frequent in the data collected because of the possibility for the participants to answer the question only once, some of the participants were split in what they thought concerning different questions. Step number five in this method was to look for constant comparisons or similarities in the text, note that differences between different parts also is something that is taken into account. The sixth step in the thematic analytic process was to look for connections in the language, where describing words (e.g. ‘because’, ‘since’ and ‘if’) can be an indicator to how the participant reason in different topics. The last step in the process was to pay attention to if there was any missing data that the participants should have brought up after such questions, although important to note is this is a complex thing to do with this kind of study, since it was mostly focused on the survey and only had a few open-questions for the participants to answer in it.

5.2.3 Descriptive analysis

The descriptive research designs, also known as nonexperimental research designs, have the goal to create a ‘detailed quantitative description of phenomena’ (Lavrakas, 2008, p. 731). It aims to map the identity factors and how the relationships among them look. It also presents a picture of what feelings, opinions, practices, attitudes, behaviors etc. that the people being studied have in the moment while answering the questions. Furthermore, it is mentioned how nonexperimental survey research can be used as a tool for collecting data from a representative sample of individuals using instruments composed of closed-ended and/or open-ended questions, observations, and interviews (Lavrakas, 2008). The descriptive analysis research design is helpful when collecting large amounts of data, especially from surveys that have a target population which represents the findings of the

survey. This kind of method can be used for web-based surveys as well, such as the one being used in this study. What is important to note is that every different way to collect data has got its own advantage and disadvantage, although for this study, a web-based survey was used to reach out to as many as possible under a short period of time.

5.3 Sampling technique & Data collection

5.3.1 Survey

A pilot study with 15 participants was carried out to perfect the final survey. The participants contributed with suggestions of improvement, asked questions about issues that were unclear. After this, a so-called soft launch was conducted and sent out to 100 participants to make sure that it would work properly. Once this was done, the rest of the survey was submitted to the remaining sample group, which was a representative for a national cross-section people in Sweden between 16-35 years-of-age in terms of gender and geography. The reason the respondent group was confined to the above-mentioned group was because of a wish to see how the younger generation in Sweden perceive catcalling due to the medias presentation of how young girls are being harassed. The survey study was a part of another research project and the data was collected with the help of Questback Essentials, which is an online application. It should be noted that the research project was led by Måns Svensson from the Sociology of Law department at Lund University, although the questions presented and analyzed in this study were formulated by me. Questback did in turn administer the survey via Easyresearch and was sent out by email to all the respondents in early April 2019 to April 24th when the survey respondents had reached a number of 1043. The goal was to reach 1 000 respondents, which this survey exceeded to reach. The data for this study was collected through a survey which was sent out to respondents in the beginning of April 2019 and was throughout April 24th when enough respondents had answered the survey. The number of respondents was 1043 which was a satisfying number

for this to become a representative study regarding people, both in sex and regional space, in Sweden in the ages between 16-35. The age was limited between 16-35 for the desire to target the younger generations insight in how they describe their experiences regarding catcalling. The goal was to have an age-span of 15-35-year-old, but the panel that was answering the survey had the age limited to lowest 16 and therefore the age-span ultimately was 16-35.

For respondents who had not experienced catcalling, a screening question was asked: “Have you ever experienced catcalling in Sweden?”. This in order to filter out respondents whom had not experienced catcalling and therefore could not answer the upcoming questions regarding experiences with catcalling. Although they did answer the remaining questions regarding if they ever had subjected another individual to catcalling, if they did want a change in the law and also how they believed that the law would help someone who got catcalled today. This was decided because of the interest in finding information about people’s experiences of catcalling, and with these people not having any experiences, they had to skip several questions regarding experiences with catcalling. It was also decided to not include those who had not been exposed to catcalling due to lack of space in the thesis.

Except for the criteria’s mentioned above, the respondents were selected randomly from CINT CPX (Cint Panel eXchange). The Cint Panel exists of 500 000 individuals in Sweden and, as mentioned earlier, represents a cross-section of the Swedish population. Since they have registered for the CINT CPX, they have also agreed on participating in survey-studies such as this one, and therefore also receive a small compensation for their participation. The reason for having a national survey was to get a more extensive understanding in how people in Sweden in the ages between 16-35 perceive catcalling and moreover what their thoughts are about implementing a new law or maybe an already existing law to prevent catcalling. The sampling informants for the survey was crucial for this study to represent the people in Sweden. These people were chosen because they represent the Swedish

population regarding both sex and habitat (e.g. Big cities or countryside) in that specific age-span.

5.3.2 Interviews

The informants were chosen based on their work in different areas regarding discrimination and law. The first choice was to use key-informants, although it was very difficult to get in touch with any experts in the specific area regarding catcalling in Sweden, and therefore I chose two informants whom I believed would help me as a writer and the reader to better understand how the law operates practically. Moreover, in that way get an insight in how a new law regarding catcalling would operate. They were used as a supplement for the survey study by providing information of the work being done against unlawful discrimination and sexual harassment in Sweden. For the study to represent two different informants in two different areas, I chose informants who did not work with the same thing. The interviews were conducted as semi-structured interviews and allowed me to have follow-up questions and therefore get a deeper understanding of the subject being talked about. It also allowed the informants to get more time to think and reflect on their own experiences and inputs to the interview although it is good to have face-to-face interviews, only one of the interviews were possible to be due to geographical reasons and was therefore conducted as a telephone-interview. The interviews were audio-taped and transcribed for further analysis. Furthermore, all interviews were conducted in Swedish, as well as the transcripts, and was later translated into English by me.

5.4 Online platforms

Using online platforms when gathering data has become more universal and is now a part of social, profitable, constitutional and academic practices. This growing method increases the availability of digital traces which are endorsing a computer-based social science (Ruppert et al. 2013). This method relies on vast amounts of data and for manipulation being aided by computers. These methods are used to

learn more about social and other relations, although there have been several discussions about the challenges that comes with digital data and methods. Now, data that is gathered by previously more traditional methods of gathering, for example surveys, are now digitalized. Ruppert et al. (2013, p. 32) are discussing how these different forces can develop into mediators that function in and form social worlds, which earlier are embedded in those specific worlds. They further discuss how the previous work regarding digital platforms shows that the digital methods have not replaced affective human relations. It has rather modified devices that existed before it.

It is clear that the gathering of data through digital devices differ from natural social sciences, mainly for being very simple physically. The methods are not taking place in laboratories, but instead consisting of statistical procedures with help of ex. interviewers or surveyors that are are relying on a series of interrelated and flowing apparatuses (Ruppert et al. 2013). The more ordinary ways of social methods with the use of sheets of paper, clips boards, laptops have now begun to be, if not replaced by, challenged by the digital methods. They further discuss how these methods are profoundly concerned with the development of areas studying people. The information gathering, as well as surveys, both assume but at the same time let the individual pass to account for him or herself because of the knowledge and being a self-aware individual. The methods of social sciences have been dependent on human infrastructure and certain strategies to produce suitable social data. For this to apparatus to be possible, there had to be interviewers, survey instruments and census enumerators (ibid).

In this survey, it can be linked to what Ruppert et al. (2013) are describing as whole populations where a small sample is collected to further generalize and represent a social group, in this case people in Sweden in the ages between 16-35. The problem here is that the new digital data sources function on different records, which makes the group less important than the individual. And therefore, does not provide enough information about these groups of those specific social worlds, but exists to

mainly understand how the information can be used and further analyzed and intervene.

5.5 Ethical considerations

The ethical guidelines of the Swedish research council (2018) were used for there to be a transparency in my work and for the respect for the wish for anonymity. Due to the CINT CPX the participants of the study had already agreed on conducting surveys and promised to be kept anonymous. The interviewees in this study were to choose if they wanted to be anonymous or not, and they chose to be anonymous. The interviewees were sent the final transcript and text from the interviews for approving and/or to come up with further alterations and adding information. This to make sure that nothing that they did not want to be a part of the information was to be in the final text. The interviewees were contacted via email and phone and thereafter gave their consent after being asked to participate. The interviewees also agreed with that they did not have to answer any question that they did not feel comfortable with and were to cancel the interview at any time they wanted.

6.0 Empirical findings and analysis

In this chapter, the results are presented along with the analytical part. The results from both closed survey-questions and open-ended questions from the survey is presented in two categorized themes, where the closed answers are presented in percent and analyzed. The open answers are categorized and further analyzed along the way.

6.1 Survey

The different ages of the participants in the survey were ranged between 16-35 and a total of 1043 people, where 51,5 percent were 'female', 47,9 percent 'men', 0,4 'do not want to answer' and 0,2 'other'. The participants were spread out over different sized cities, although the participants from big cities (e.g. Stockholm, Gothenburg or Malmö) was a total of 39,5 percent and participants from the countryside was a total of 8,9 percent. The table below is presenting how many people in Sweden have experienced catcalling in Sweden.

Have you ever experienced catcalling in Sweden?

Answer	Percent
Yes	67,7
No	32,3
N	1043

Table 1.

The difference between men and women is presented below.

Have you ever experienced catcalling in Sweden?

Answer	Women in percent	Men in percent
Yes	78,4	56,6
No	21,6	43,4
N	537	500

Table 2.

When the participants answered if they ever had experienced catcalling in Sweden a total of 67,7 percent out of 1043 answered that they at least once had experienced catcalling. The people who answered yes to the first question were furthermore asked if they had ever been catcalled by a group of more than one person at the same time, a total of 65,6 percent of 706 people answered that they had. When further asked what type of catcalling they had been exposed to, the most regular form of catcalling was wolf whistles (67,6 percent). The different forms of catcalling and the participants answers are presented below.

Which form of catcalling (of sexual nature) have you experienced?

Form of catcalling	Percent
A stare	61,2
Gesture or grimace	45,0
Wolf-whistle	67,6
Comments about your look	58,9
Invite	30,0
Intrusive closeness (someone standing too close)	46,3
Honking or yelling from car or other vehicle	45,5
Other, please specify:	1,7
N	706

Table 3.

As presented in the table above, only 706 participants answered this question. This is because a sorting was made in the first question “Have you ever experienced catcalling in Sweden?”, which directly sent those who answered “No” to the question at table 13.

How often have you experienced this type of behavior/catcalling?

Occurrence	Percent
At some occasional time	38,2
A several times	45,3

Every month	9,6
Every week	4,7
Daily	2,1
N	706

Table 4.

The table above is presenting how often the participants have been exposed to catcalling, and there is a clear majority of participants who have been exposed several times. Moreover, there are participants that get exposed to catcalling every month, week and day. The respondents perceived catcalling differently, below is a presentation of how these participants perceive the catcalling.

People can perceive catcalling differently. How would you describe your experiences? You may choose more than one alternative.

Perception	Percent
Flattering	18,6
I do not care	36,5
A bit unpleasant	42,2
Unpleasant	27,6
Very unpleasant or threatful	9,1
N	706

Table 5.

The table is showing how there is a fine line with a difference between 5,8 percent between people who state that they do not care and with participants that states that it is a bit unpleasant to be catcalled. Although what is important to have in mind here is that the participants could choose more than one of the statements, which could be the reason for the presented numbers, since it depends on who the catcaller is and that it could be perceived as both flattering or unpleasant, and even threatening. This is something that is brought up in the study by LaRocca and Kromrey (1999) which demonstrates how the attractiveness of the harasser could have an impact on how the victim feels about the harassment depending on if the

victim sees the harasser as attractive or not. In the cases where the victim perceives the harasser as more attractive, there is a likelihood that the victim sees the catcall as a compliment (Fairchild, 2010).

People can perceive catcalling differently. How would you describe your experiences? You may choose more than one alternative.

Perception	Women in percent	Men in percent
Flattering	44,3	55,7
I do not care	41,1	58,1
A bit unpleasant	67,1	32,9
Unpleasant	86,2	13,8
Very unpleasant or threatening	82,8	17,2
N	537	500

Table 6.

The main occupation for the participants in this survey were employed people and the next largest was students, compared to unemployed or looking for jobs, self-employed, other and homemakers as presented in the table below.

What is your main occupation at the moment?

Occupation	Percent
Employed	51,7
Self-employed	4,3
Student	30,1
Unemployed/Seeking jobs	7,6
Homemaker	2,5
Other, please specify:	3,8
N	1043

Table 7.

Why this was interesting to investigate was because people who either must go to school or commute to work are exposed to catcalling at a higher degree than people

who do not. This is also mentioned by Fairchild (2010) where she explains how socio-economic status has an impact on whether you will be exposed more or less of catcalling. This has to do with the fact that some people must use public transportation to get to example work every day (Fileborn and Vera-Gray, 2017). Which can also be presented in this study, where people who do have jobs or go to school regularly are more exposed to catcalling (see below).

Have you ever experienced catcalling in Sweden?

Occupation	Yes in percent
Employed	55,1
Self-employed	4,8
Student	26,9
Unemployed/Seeking jobs	5,7
Homemaker	1,8
Other, please specify:	3,0
N	1043

Table 8.

As Table 7 and Table 8 are presented above, they correlate quite well according to what occupation they have and if they have experienced catcalling. Now, this does not say that if you are a homemaker, you do get catcalled less, even though this shows that. It could mean that you do not risk being catcalled in the same way as someone who has to commute several days a week from/to work or school. Catcalling can take place in many different areas, and therefore the participants were asked to answer in which environments they have been exposed to catcalling.

In which environment have you experienced catcalling? You may choose more than one alternative.

Environment	Percent
In the street	77,1
Running trail	8,4

Public transportation	41,1
At the park or recreational environment	25,4
During an event such as a festival and concert	46,0
At a restaurant	20,4
In connection with your work or your studies	24,1
Other, please specify:	3,8
N	706

Table 10.

A total of 77,1 percent of the participants states that they have been exposed to catcalling in the street. Although, as mentioned above, they were also allowed to choose more than one of the statements. Which means that someone who has been catcalled in the park might as well have been catcalled at a restaurant too and that catcalling is not limited to one single space. The participants were also asked if they had changed any of their own behaviors for the sake of not being exposed to catcalling. The table below is presenting in what ways the participants did, or did not, change their behavior. This result can also be confirmed by the study made by Farmer and Smock Jordan (2017), where it was presented that women changed their looks by trying to look less attractive to avoid getting attention in the street. A couple of examples were used in this survey, that was brought up in the study by Farmer and Smock Jordan (2017) that the women avoided eye contact or for example using headphones and changing their body language in form of body-postures (Farmer and Smock Jordan, 2017, p. 207).

Do you feel that the risk of being catcalled affects your behavior in any of the following ways? You may choose more than one alternative.

Behavior	Percent
I change my body-language	21,6
I change my facial expression	20,0
I change the way I dress	14,2
I avoid looking people in the eye	27,5

I use headphones to mark that I cannot be reached by comments	23,5
I talk on the phone	18,2
I avoid being alone in public areas	14,1
I do not change anything	42,8
Other, please specify:	2,0
N	1043

Table 11.

The participants stated that the most usual way to change their behavior due to avoid getting unwanted attention and risk being catcalled was to avoid eye contact and that the least usual way was to change the way they dress, although 42,8 percent stated that they did not change anything when being in a public space. Thus, some participants stated that they had changed things such as avoiding people in groups during nighttime or start to walk faster. The study of Saunders et al. (2017) confirms this, as it states that women do prefer to avoid and ignore the perpetrators. As Lea et al. (2017) is explaining how the woman could be blaming herself for the assault if she has been at the “wrong” place at the “wrong” time, such as being alone during nighttime. One important note is that these behavioral changes are not equal between men and women, as table 12 below is presenting.

Behavior	Women in percent	Men in percent
I change my body-language	71,6	28,0
I change my facial-expression	68,9	31,1
I change the way I dress	64,2	34,5
I avoid looking people in the eye	77,4	22,6
I use headphones to mark that I cannot be reached by comments	76,3	23,7
I talk on the phone	78,4	21,6
I avoid being alone in public areas	72,8	27,2
I do not change anything	31,8	68,6
Other, please specify:	52,4	38,1

N	537	500
---	-----	-----

Table 12.

In the table above, there is a remarkable difference in the changes of behavior between men and women to avoid getting catcalled. For example, as many as 68,6 percent of the men stated that they do not change anything, while for women the number is at 31,8 percent. As many as 78,4 percent of women stated that they talk on the phone to avoid being catcalled and only 21,6 percent of the men stated the same thing. As the result shows, these differences are immense. Lahsaeizadeh and Yousefinejad (2012) mentions that this is a problem that affect women more than men, and that this type of street harassment is going against the fundamental human rights. These kinds of behaviors are affecting the women’s choice of where to be in public and when due as a prevention cause.

The questions in this survey was not only to map if people had been exposed to catcalling, but also if they ever had subjected another person of any form of catcalling. The table below presents the different forms of catcalling, the same as table 3 with an additional alternative statement “No, I have not done any of these things”.

**Have you ever subjected another person of the following forms of catcalling?
You may choose more than one alternative.**

Form of catcalling	Percent
A stare	22,8
Gesture or grimace	9,9
Wolf-whistle	9,1
Comments about your / their appearance	10,7
Invite	5,4
Intrusive closeness (standing too close)	5,8
Honking or yelling from car or other vehicle	4,5
No, I have not done any these things	62,0
Other, please specify:	1,0

N	1043
---	------

Table 13.

Some of the participants stated that they had participated in some form of catcalling, whether it was a stare, a comment or an invitation. Moreover, a total of 62 percent stated that they had not participated in any forms of catcalling. A total of 69,2 percent stated that they had participated in some sort of catcalling, although 62,0 percent stated that they never had participated. The table below is presenting the differences between men and women of catcalling subjected towards another person.

**Have you ever subjected another person of the following forms of catcalling?
You may choose more than one alternative.**

Form of catcalling	Women in percent	Men in percent
A stare	51,5	47,9
Gesture or grimace	41,2	58,8
Wolf-whistle	35,9	64,1
Comments about your / their appearance	35,8	64,2
Invite	38,4	59,8
Intrusive closeness (standing too close)	44,6	53,6
Honking or yelling from car or another vehicle	43,3	56,7
No, I have not	48,9	51,1
Other, please specify:	58,4	41,4
N	537	500

Table 14.

As the table above is presenting, there is not a very big difference if you are a man or a woman, you are just as likely to have catcalled another person. Although

women are less likely to comment someone's appearance compared to men, and women are more likely to stare.

6.2 Participant's standpoints of the law regarding catcalling

In this chapter, the participants standpoints regarding a possible change in legislation or a new legislation concerning catcalling is presented. First, two tables are presented with the participants beliefs, if a woman who got exposed to catcalling would get help from the legal system and if they think that there is need for a new legislation regarding catcalling in Sweden. The question below is investigating the beliefs that the participants have about to what extent a woman would get help by the judiciary, the results are presented below.

Imagine that a woman encounters a situation where e group of five people wolf-whistles and utters sexual comments in a way which the woman comprehends as criminal harassments. To which extent do you believe that the legal system will help that woman and investigate the possible crime?

To which extent	Percent
Not at all	35,7
To a limited extent	33,2
Quite well	17,1
Very well	7,9
Do not know	6,2
Other, please specify:	6,2
N	1043

Table 15.

As is shown in the table, there is a disbelief that the legal system regarding catcalling would help and to investigate an occurrence of catcalling towards a woman. This, even if the woman comprehended it as something criminal because of the sexual comments. As one of the interviewees stated, was that laws are here to change behaviors and therefore important to make sure they do. That there are

consequences, otherwise it will give the opposite effect and cementer that behavior. The study by Fileborn and Vera-Gray (2017) also show that catcalling is not well addressed in the western countries justice systems regarding these criminal and restorative approaches. Instead, the topic of catcalling is something that is belittled and therefore under-reported as a consequence. One factor could also be that it is hard to prove, and the victims know it (Fileborn and Vera-Gray, 2017, p. 204). Many of the participants, do not believe that it will change anything with a law either and that it will not make any difference. Although this is not what the majority of the participants think. Many of the participants do believe that there should be a specific law against the behavior that catcalling imply. The table below presents the question and answers.

Do you think that in Sweden there should be a specific law that prohibits the kind of behavior that catcalling imply?

Answer	Percent
Yes	45,0
No	20,7
Do not know	34,3
N	1043

Table 16.

This might mean that these people, 45,0 percent, also think that a law will make a difference, but looking at the open-questions below - they think that yes, there should be a law against this, but the law might not change anything. Which makes this a very complex subject. Presented below is some of the discussions regarding both for- and against a new law that prohibits these certain behaviors of catcalling. This is because people many times rely more on stereotypes that supports the hierarchal place of the belonging system when the social system which that person identify with is under threat (Blasi and Jost, 2006).

6.2.1 For a new law prohibiting catcalling

Below are the participants who were expressing that they are for a new law to be founded or for an existing law regarding harassments to be specified. The first quote is from a female participant who believes that there should be a law against catcalling because of the way those types of behaviors makes her feel. And she is also stating how a law would make her feel obligated to report these behaviors.

I think that there absolutely should be a law because it is very unpleasant, and you feel insulted. If it was criminal, at least you would not have to feel so powerless since you can actually do something (report).

- Female, age 16-20.

It can also be interpreted that she at this moment, since there is no law against the behavior which catcalling stands for, does not report when being subjected to these behaviors, even if they make her feel unpleasant and insulted. As found in Mellgren et al. (2018) study about sexual assault, women chooses not to report because some of them find it meaningless, although at the same time stating that is important to report because of the statistics, since this is a phenomenon that occurs ‘all the time’. The quote above is stating, that she would report if catcalling was criminal, but that right now she feels powerless because it is not illegal to catcall someone. Other participants stated that catcalling is a form of power-exercise for men to make a woman feel insecure. Hutson and Krueger (2018) found in their research, that many of the participants stated in this study, that men uses the act of harassment to show dominance and power over the target, and that it usually is unknown men in the street that are exposing them to this. The quote below is discussing how the victim of this kind of behavior is the one who should decide whether it is uncomfortable or not.

It is enough that the person who receives the catcalling thinks it is uncomfortable because it should be something that should or can be punished. It is important that people feel comfortable being outside

themselves when they want and how they want. It should feel safe for everyone regardless of gender and age to be out.

- Female, age 21-25.

This quote can also be linked with the earlier quote, that with a law, a person will feel safer by knowing that what is being done towards them is not legal. Smart (2002) is writing about how people believe that judges sentences are always correct, which could help people who have been exposed to catcalling if it would exist a law against it. Furthermore, participants stated catcalling is a form of sexual harassment and therefore should not be legal. According to Blasi and Jost (2006) they found that people tend to think that the worst thing about street harassment and catcalling is that it comes as a surprise and that it is someone that is unknown, and therefore the victim has no idea of what the perpetrator might be capable of. The participants are further discussing how people can feel things in a range from discomfort to insecurity, and therefore it should not be legal to treat another person in that way. Furthermore, it should not be ok to violate or intentionally make another individual feel discomfort. Moreover, some participants stated that it would be difficult to prove that catcalling has occurred, but that it still should not be ok to subject another individual for this kind of behavior for just because there is no existing law stating that it is illegal, as is explained by the quote below:

It should regulate what is perceived to be intimidating / unpleasant, but it can be difficult to prove and difficult to prove that it has been intentionally intolerant / unpleasant. It should nevertheless be legal support that counteracts this type of privacy violation or discomfort in the individual. It should not be okay just because there is no legal support that prevents the individual from being offended or feeling uncomfortable.

- Man, age 21-25.

This type of behavior that he is explaining, whether the fact that catcalling is illegal or not, can be explained further by Ruth Bader Ginsburg's work which found that

the legal context was socially constructed and how social norms did help to keep the existing roles between men and women (Levit et al., 2016). With that said, something that is disturbing or unpleasant for another person should not be stated as ok just because it is not illegal. Although according to Ruth Bader Ginsburg's work, the legal context is socially constructed and therefore if something is not illegal, people will not stop doing these things (Levit et al., 2016). Although this survey consisted of many participants who believed that a new law or a revision of an existing law was positive, there were also participants who were against a change of legislation.

6.2.2 Against a new law prohibiting catcalling

Below are the participants who are expressing against a new law to be founded or for an existing law regarding harassments to be specified. Some participants believed that a law regarding catcalling would be far too subjective to be functional. This quote below is a man who is showing a similar kind of reasoning.

Do not know how it would be possible to apply such a law. Feel like it would be word against word.

- Man, age 21-25.

He does not know how this law would help in the sake of that it would be one individuals' word against other individuals' words. This could be because an individual exposed to either sexual harassment or catcalling do not feel that it would lead to any prosecution due to lack of evidence. And by knowing that, many victims do not feel that it is worth the process (Mellgren et al., 2018). Some participants explained that there are bigger problems for the police to deal with, such as drugs, death shootings and MC-gangs. Participants further explained how there are enough laws regarding this problem already and if a new law was to be implemented, it must be insured that the new law is followed. These are examples of an individual who are defending the status quo and uses rational explanations to what they think should be the focus for the police instead of things such as catcalling (Blasi and

Jost, 2006, p. 1127). The system justification process can further explain how there is a level of awareness of the problem being discussed, but instead of focusing on a new system that is beneficial for people exposed to higher risks of being victimized, instead are fighting change. As Blasi and Jost (2006) are stating, is that, changes do not always happen overnight, and they will almost certainly be followed by resistance until they can accept the new changes. Furthermore, the participants were worried about the amount of bureaucracy, and that the money should be spent on things such as prisons for the courts to be able to judge more criminals. This can be interpreted that there is a belief that too many people do not get their rightful conviction because of the lack of space in Swedish prisons. The woman below is stating a similar thing regarding the 'word against word'-situation that would occur in a catcalling-case. She is stating, that it therefore will be hard to prove that any crime has occurred, even if the woman would feel discomfort and uneasiness.

As long as those who do the catcalling do not do anything physical that can harm the woman or threaten her in a way that may be associated with danger, I think it is difficult to legislate on such. Even if the woman (I am a woman myself and can imagine just how it feels to be exposed) feel discomfort and uneasiness, it will only be words against words in the law, and it will therefore be hard to prove.

- Female, age 21-25.

With this quote of the woman above, it explains how she is fighting the change and maintaining the status quo, even though she will not benefit from keeping the status quo. And because she is a woman, she is also supporting something that is non-beneficiary for herself (Blasi and Jost, 2006). Furthermore, she is stating that if there is no physical harm being done against another individual, there is no threat or harm that can make her feel that she is in danger. As mentioned earlier in the previous research, Blasi and Jost (2006) stated that even if an already existing system is doing people injustice, people will be willing to obey it. Important to note is that catcalling is not a system, but a form of sexual harassment. With that said, it

could be interpreted that she believes that a person can say anything to another individual as long as there is no physical harm done. Other participants had similar thoughts about how it should be ok to speak in any way to anyone, for the right to free speech to be limited as little as possible. They also stated that catcalling is not something that is harmful, even if it may be unpleasant. It could be interpreted that the participants believe that catcalling can only be unpleasant and therefore it cannot be illegal, because unpleasant is not illegal. Moreover, some participants were strongly against a legislation because they thought it was too subjective, regarding what words you cannot use or if a look could be illegal too. The problems with setting specific limits regarding a legislation against catcalling are discussed below by another participant.

It is difficult to set specific limits when people perceive things in such different ways. Although we would have set a strict standard, it would not have helped so much, and it would have been difficult to prove a lot of it during a trial.

- Female, age 26-30.

The problem that she is discussing is how subjective catcalling can be because people perceive things in different ways. She is also arguing that, as other participants, it will be a difficult thing to prove in court. This brings up the problems being discussed in the next chapter, how to prove that a crime has been committed and people's different experiences of catcalling. The woman is further stating that it is difficult to have a prohibition when people perceive things in a different way and even if there was a strict standard, it would not help because it would have been difficult to prove what happened in a trial. This goes along well with what Blasi and Jost (2006) are discussing about even if something is not ok by the victim but is seen as less of a problem by others, the victim is less likely to report this (Blasi and Jost, 2006).

6.3 Participants own catcalling illustrations and statements

When asked to describe how they perceived and to illustrate it with their own examples of the phenomenon catcalling, there were both answers consisting of participants stating that they are against or for catcalling. They are categorized in “statements against catcalling”, “statements for catcalling” where the “statements against catcalling” refers to the participants that are against it. The “statements for catcalling” are referring to the participants that are for catcalling.

6.3.1 Statements for catcalling

The quote below is from a man who one can interpret thinks that catcalling is something that is ok because it is not illegal. This kind of thinking can be related to the system justification theory where people tend to support the status quo and also defending it (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1123).

Not illegal

- Man, age 16-20.

It can also relate to how some people will have a hard time to let go of certain behaviors or actions that earlier have been accepted. The quote below quote for example, is stating that it is something that people do to show interest in one another and that we are all human. He is also writing that people should not feel abused when this kind of behavior occurs. This is a sign of an ego-justification where this person wants to uphold its own confidence and uses the explanation like ‘this is how we show interest in each other’ for his own purpose of serving himself. And when referring to ‘we’, he could be referring to men and how they show interest in women. Although that shows an identifying of the group he belongs to and favors, in other words, the ingroup (Blasi and Jost, 2006).

We are human. This is how we show interests in one another. Stop feeling abused.

- Man, age 26-30.

Another participant is stating that catcalling is not a problem, but rather something that have always been and now due to media it is “fashionable” to be following rules and supporting people. Research have shown that people from less desirable groups (in this case women) tend to have an outgroup favoritism for more advantaged groups of society (men). This could happen when the person feels threatened and therefore the ego justification motives become more diverse. This could also point to the fact that this woman is favorizing the more advantaged group of society because she feels that there is a threat to the validity of the system, although this occurs without the person realizing this her/himself (Blasi and Jost, 2006).

Doesn't look like a problem. More like a phenomenon that has been imposed due to popular media and that it is "fashionable" now to be as "good" as possible, so that it goes like a 180 spin and turns over and overturns more than it helps.

- Female, age 21-25.

The participants are also stating that due to how people are trying to be as good as possible, it has the opposite effect and instead of helping, it has become an overturning effect. Furthermore, participants stated that Sweden is a safe country and that people who live here do not have the right to complain about problems such as catcalling. This because there are countries around the world that have citizens that experience ‘real’ abuse, and that people in Sweden have not gotten the same experience as where most people live. Further experimental studies have proved that people tend to use stereotyping in a way of responding to, for them, are threats to the social system, with the purpose for them to justify the inequality-gap existing in society. Blasi and Jost (2006) are moreover discussing how these threats in some cases can lead to revenge against individuals that threaten the current system (Blasi and Jost, 2006). Moreover, participants stated that catcalling is nothing to care about, but to ignore instead and not to take it personally.

6.3.2 Statements against catcalling

The quote below is discussing how catcalling is making a person who gets exposed to it feel like 'shit' and affects a person's self-esteem by making that person insecure and how catcalling can lead to certain consequences.

I think catcalling is so unnecessary, so unpleasant, so immature and just shit, you feel shit when it happens, you get insecure, and you'd rather never be out by yourself.

- Female, age 16-20.

The consequences in this quote that the participant states are the fact that catcalling makes her not wanting to go out by herself. According to her, it is a very unnecessary thing to do. Here, studies do show that women get affected in both short-term and long-term after being harassed in the street. It affects how they see themselves, bringing up feelings of shame and even embarrassment. Some women have even stated that they do not want to go out alone because of this (Saunders et al., 2017). Even though catcalling can be seen as a joke to some people, some people use it as a form of power and some participants describes catcalling as something that can go from innocent jokes to go to the absolute worst, based on that it is that unknown therefore participants are afraid of. This can be related to the system justification theory, that you are afraid of the unknown because you are not aware of what it might do to you (Blasi and Jost, 2006), such as where you do not know the purpose of the people who are catcalling and what their next move could be. The participant below is describing a similar case where a group that catcalls and know that they are doing so with bad intentions, with the mere fact to impress each other in who can be the boldest.

I feel that usually, when it comes to a group that does, it is because they know that they behave in a bad way and do it because of it and to impress each other how 'bold' and disruptive they can be, more so than they actually

think the girl is good looking. Personally, I think that type of catcalling is more difficult than when it is a lone person because then it is usually a little thought behind, although it may not always be well-meaning.

- Female, age 21-25.

The participant above is stating that when it is a group that catcalls, it is much worse than if it is only one person that catcalls. Catcalling, as mentioned above, can bring out fear and feelings of insecurity for women. The woman below is describing how she is feeling angry because of the lack of respect for her. She is describing how it is hard to know how to react in the moment but that the main thing she does is to avoid the catcaller or leave the area.

For me, catcalling is a feeling of discomfort / fear but also anger because I do not feel respected. It can be difficult to know in the moment how to react, but usually, I try to avoid the person or go from there. First, I get scared but afterwards I feel more provoked / angry ...

- Female, age 21-25.

Catcalling is waking a sense of fear in people, mostly women, and an uncertainty of what is next to come. Furthermore, the participants are discussing the importance of respect towards one another and stating how people have become 'bad' and 'selfish'. Studies show that women who speak out against harassments often feel ridiculed and stay quite the next time something similar occurs. Given that many participants stated that they did not speak up against catcalling was due to the fact that they had been called taunting terms and felt ridiculed, which is confirmed by the study by Neupane and Chesney-Lind (2014).

7.0 Conclusion and discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the degree to which people express that they have experienced catcalling, and the way in which catcalling is affecting those who have been exposed to it, i.e. the consequences of catcalling. Furthermore, the purpose of this study was to explore how people believe that the legal system is able to manage the type of problems that catcalling may bring about; and how they do view the need for a new or changed legislation in the area. The reason for this was to expand the field's knowledge regarding catcalling by providing information on how the younger generation of Sweden, that is the group that is exposed mostly to catcalling, perceive it.

Moreover, the results of the question 'How many individuals have experienced catcalling in Sweden and how do they describe their experiences?', was that that 67,7 percent of the participants reported that they had been exposed to catcalling at one or more times in their lives and a total of those exposed were 78,4 percent women. Furthermore, the results showed that 45,3 percent of both women and men had been exposed to catcalling several times, where 9,6 percent reported being exposed to catcalling monthly. The result showed that a total of 82,8 percent of the women perceived catcalling as very unpleasant or threatening, and a total of 86,2 percent of the women perceived catcalling as unpleasant. Although an amount of 44,3 percent of the women stated that they perceive it as flattering as well, which can be explained by the fact that catcalling is perceived differently based on whether the person being exposed to catcalling finds the catcaller attractive. Furthermore, the results showed that there was a 5,8-percentage difference between how many that stated that they felt catcalling as unpleasant and participants who stated that they did not care. Although, as previous research demonstrates, it is the attractiveness of the harasser that could have an impact on how the victim perceives the catcall (LaRocca and Kromrey 1999; Fairchild, 2010).

Interestingly enough, what Farmer and Smock Jordan (2017) mentions in their study could be implemented on the results from this study. It showed that many of the participants, especially women, did change their behavior when being in public

places. Such as avoiding eye-contact, changing body-languages and trying to look less attractive to not get unwanted attention. Important to note here is that the differences between men and women regarding changed behavior to avoid catcalling was apparent. A total of 68,6 percent of the women stated that they changed their behavior in some way and for the men it was 31,8 percent who stated that they changed their behavior in some way. This is confirming Lahsaeizadeh's and Yousefinejad's (2012) study where they mention that catcalling is a problem that affect women more than men and that because of the fact that this turns in to some sort of prevention-behavior for women, it also affects the women's choices of where to be in public areas. This demonstrates that women in Sweden (68,6 percent) have to change their behavior or the way they look due to the fact to try and avoid getting catcalled, because it is something that they state could be very unpleasant or threatful (82,8 percent).

Furthermore, the results on 'How many individuals feel that there is a need for a new or changed legislation in the area regarding catcalling?', a total of 45,0 percent expressed a wish for a change in the law regarding catcalling, 20,0 percent did not and 34,3 answered that they did not know. From this result, and what the participant stated in the open-answer questions was that many of the participants did wish to see a change in the law, although they were hesitating about what difference it would make. They stated that it would be hard to prove such a crime, and for catcalling to be included in the Swedish penal code, it would have to be very well-formulated what catcalling is and not to use diffuse behaviors such as 'staring' when referring to catcalling. Mellgren et al., (2018) study discussed how people felt like it does not matter whether you report to the police when being sexually harassed, because it is 'meaningless'. This could be the reason to why so many of the participants answered that they do not know or that they do not want to see a change in the legislation because they do not believe that it would make a difference.

To further present how people resonated around the subject if there was a wish for a new or a change in the legislation, the results of 'What do the discussions regarding a new or changed legislation look like?' consisted of many different

opinions and discussions on why it would be a positive or a negative thing to change the legislation. The participants that were against a change in the law explained that catcalling is not illegal, there are worse crimes to focus on, it is too diffuse to ban and that it would be a subjective-oriented law. As Blasi and Jost (2006) states, it will be hard for people to accept a new law in the beginning and that change often comes with resistance, but with time people will start to accept what once was seen as unsustainable. The system justification theory is further explaining the status quo and how people tend to support and defend it (Blasi and Jost, 2006, p. 1123), which can explain why people are against a change in the law. A reoccurring topic regarding participants who were against a new legislation was that it is subjective because some may take catcalling as a compliment and some may feel unpleasant, and therefore it cannot become a legislation against catcalling. Although, the fact that people may perceive catcalling differently is true, according to both Fairchild (2010) and LaRocca and Kromrey (1999). A change of the existing legislation should still be something to reconsider since this study, among previous studies (Mellgren et al., 2018) shows a great number of people that do find catcalling unpleasant and even threatening. Although, this can be a problem, because if a victim knows that others do not perceive a criminal act in the same way as the victim of the crime, the victim is also less likely report it (Blasi and Jost, 2006). Moreover, Ruth Bader Ginsburg's work is stating how the legal context is socially constructed, but that people still would commit crimes even if a change of law occurred. Although, Levit et al. (2016) states that certain behaviors should not be considered as acceptable simply because they are not illegal, which makes this a very complex topic.

Participants that stated that they were positive regarding a change in the law frequently used the explanation that catcalling made them feel unpleasant, threatened, uncomfortable, sexually harassed and that with a new legislation there would be a law that would support the victim if the victims chooses to report. Mellgren et al. (2018) study about sexual harassment, shows that women choose not to report when being harassed because they find that it is 'meaningless' and that it is reoccurring, which points to the fact that it has become normalized for young

women. Despite this, they also feel that it would be good to report these crimes because of statistics. Since there is no law against catcalling in Sweden, individuals choose not to report when being catcalled because it would not lead anywhere because of a lack of support by the law regarding the behaviors of catcalling. Like one of the respondents stated how she would report catcalling if it was illegal, but because of the fact that it is not illegal, she feels powerless. Powerless in the sense that men are using catcalling as a way to show dominance and power over the person being catcalled (Hutson and Krueger, 2018).

This study shows that people in Sweden have a lack of trust in the justice system when it comes to helping a woman being catcalled. The measure on how the participants believed that the legal system would help a woman being catcalled and feeling threatened, the result showed that 35,7 percent believed that the judiciary would not help the woman at all, and a percentage of 7,9 believed that the legal system would help the woman very well. This is a problem for people being exposed to these kinds of behaviors, because there is a distrust among, not only victims, but the society as a whole that the police and the law would be able support them in a case like this (Mellgren et al., 2018). As mentioned earlier, participants that stated that they have been exposed to catcalling did not feel like they had anything to say in the matter, and this was because of a non-existing law regarding catcalling. As the results further shows, is that this leads to women who have been exposed to catcalling feel exposed and vulnerable when being alone in public places. Many of the participants do get exposed but have no say in the matter because of lack of a law protecting them from catcalling. Which leads to many, especially young women, feeling exposed and threatened when alone in public places. To be noted is that even if many of the respondents did express a wish for a new legislation to prohibit catcalling, it cannot be counted as a certain motive for the introduction of such a law. It does not concern the other ways of changing the behavior such as other social measures, except for some respondents' own suggestions, ex. teach kids about respect for one another in a young age in a profound way.

The study concludes that there is a wish for a new or a change of an already existing law regarding catcalling, although there are issues about how it would operate in a more practical issue such as evidence that catcalling has occurred and how it would create word-against-word cases that would not get solved. Which makes this a very complex issue that needs more research. As Fileborn and Vera-Gray (2017) states, is that catcalling is not a topic being addressed very often in the western countries justice systems and could therefore be a reason to why it is belittled and under-reported. In additional thought, as mentioned previously in this chapter, is that a woman hardly sees any reason to report if she has been subjected to a sexual harassment. This because of the belief that the report will not lead anywhere and there will be no prosecution, why would she believe that it will make a difference by reporting something that is not, in fact, illegal?

7.1 For future research

As long as people, in this case young women, do not feel safe walking alone in the street, there has to be more research done concerning catcalling. To further understand the reason behind catcalling and how it affects women in the long term, it would be satisfactory to have more in-dept interviews with individuals who subject others to catcalling and with individuals who get catcalled for a more comprehensive research. It would also be satisfactory to interview judges and policymakers to get a better understanding on why Sweden has not implemented a law regarding catcalling and how they would welcome a new or changed law. The phenomenon of catcalling must be further discussed with the purpose of solving the underlying factors that might contribute to the reason for the behaviors that have to do with catcalling.

Bibliography

Blasi, G., Jost, J.T., 2006. System Justification Theory and Research: Implications for Law, Legal Advocacy, and Social Justice. *California Law Review*. 94, 1119-1168. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20439060>

Bowman, C.G., 1993. Street Harassment and the Informal Ghettoization of Women. *Harvard Law Review*. 106, 517. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1341656>

Brå (2016). Hot och trakasserier. Available at: <https://www.bra.se/statistik/statistik-utifran-brottstyper/hot-och-trakasserier.html> [Accessed 20190305]

Chafai, H., 2017. Contextualising street sexual harassment in Morocco: a discriminatory sociocultural representation of women. *The Journal of North African Studies* 22, 821–840. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2017.1364633>

Chubin, F., 2014. You may smother my voice, but you will hear my silence: An autoethnography on street sexual harassment, the discourse of shame and women's resistance in Iran. *Sexualities* 17, 176-193. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460713511097>

Dahlberg, A., 2015. Därför hatar jag killar som visslar. *Nyheter 24*, [online] 30 November. Available at <https://nyheter24.se/debatt/820016-darfor-hatar-jag-killar-som-visslar> [Accessed 2019-04-03]

Definition for catcalling accessed 2019-03-29 Available at: <https://www.merriamwebster.com/dictionary/catcalling>

Fairchild, K., 2010. Context Effects on Women's Perceptions of Stranger Harassment. *Sexuality & Culture*. 14, 191–216.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119010-9070-1>

Farmer, O., Smock Jordan, S., 2017. Experiences of Women Coping With Catcalling Experiences in New York City: A Pilot Study. *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy* 29, 205–225. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08952833.2017.1373577>

Fileborn, B., 2019. Naming the Unspeakable Harm of Street Harassment: A Survey-Based Examination of Disclosure Practices. *Violence Against Women* 25, 223–248. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801218768709>

Fileborn, B., Vera-Gray, F., 2017. “I Want to be Able to Walk the Street Without Fear”: Transforming Justice for Street Harassment. *Feminist Legal studies*. 25, 203–227. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10691-017-9350-3>

Fisher, S., Lindner, D., Ferguson, C. j., 2017. The Effects of Exposure to Catcalling on Women's State Self-Objectification and Body Image. *Current Psychology*. 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-017-9697-2>

Franzosi, R., 2008. *Content Analysis*. SAGE Publications Ltd, London.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446271308>

French law regarding catcalling (2018-703) Accessed 2019-04-15 at:

<https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000037284450&dateTexte=&categorieLien=id>

Guest, G., MacQueen, K., Namey, E., 2012. *Applied Thematic Analysis*. SAGE Publications, Inc., 2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks California 91320 United States. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483384436>

Henry, N., Powell, A., 2016. Sexual Violence in the Digital Age: The Scope and Limits of Criminal Law. *Social & Legal Studies*. 25(4) 397–418:

DOI: 10.1177/0964663915624273

Hutson, A.C.F., Krueger, J.C., 2018. The Harasser's Toolbox: Investigating the Role of Mobility in Street Harassment. *Violence Against Women*

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801218804100>

Jabeen, T., Sunbal, M., Taj, N., 2017. Relationship Between Women Mobility and Sexual Harassment: Empirical Study of Metropolitan City of Lahore. *Pakistan Journal of Criminology* 9, 90–102. ISSN: 20742738

Johansson, E., 2018. Viralklippet visade övergreppet – nu godkänns ny lag i Frankrike. *Sveriges television*, [online] 2 August. Available at:

<https://www.svt.se/nyheter/utrikes/ny-lag-i-frankrike-efter-viral-video-dar-en-kvinna-star-upp-mot-sexuella-trakasserier-och-blir-slagen>

[Accessed 2019-03-18]

Kalaian A. Sema., 2011. Research Design. In: Paul. J. Lavrakas ed. 2008. *Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods*. Thousand oaks: Sage publications.

Page: 725-731. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412963947>

Lahsaeizadeh, A., Yousefinejad, E., 2012. Social Aspects of Women's Experiences of Sexual Harassment in Public Places in Iran. *Sexuality & Culture*. 16, 17–37. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-011-9097-y>

Lavrakas, P.J. (Ed.), 2008. *Encyclopedia of survey research methods*. SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks, Calif.

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412963947>

Lea, S.G., D'Silva, E., Asok, A., 2017. Women's strategies addressing sexual

harassment and assault on public buses: an analysis of crowdsourced data. *Crime Prevention and Community Safety* 19, 227–239.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41300-017-0028-1>

Levit, N., Verchick, R.R.M., Minow, M., 2016. Feminist Legal Theories, in: *Feminist Legal Theory (Second Edition), A Primer*. *NYU Press*, pp. 11–40.

Lough, R., Balmforth, R., 2018. France outlaws lewd catcalls to women in public amid attack uproar. *Reuters*, [online] 2 August. Available at:

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-politics-sexcrimes/france-outlaws-lewd-cat-calls-to-women-in-public-amid-attack-uproar-idUSKBN1KN18T>

[Accessed 2019-03-18].

Majlard, J., 2018. Så utsatta är unga kvinnor i världen. *Svenska Dagbladet*, [online] 31 October. Available at: <https://www.svd.se/rapport-sa-utsatta-ar-unga-kvinnor-i-varlden>. [Accessed at 2019-03-25]

Mellgren, C., Andersson, M., Ivert, A.-K., 2018. “It Happens All the Time”: Women’s Experiences and Normalization of Sexual Harassment in Public Space. *Women and Criminal Justice* 28, 262–281.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/08974454.2017.1372328>

Mossman, Mary Jane. 1986. Feminism and Legal Method: The Difference It Makes. *Australian Journal of Law and Society*, Vol. 3, pp. 30-52.

ISSN: 1052-3421

Neuman, W.L., 2014. *Social research methods: qualitative and quantitative approaches*, 7. ed. ed. Pearson.

Neupane, G., Chesney-Lind, M., 2014. Violence against women on public transport in Nepal: sexual harassment and the spatial expression of male privilege.

International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice 38, 23–38.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01924036.2013.794556>

Ruppert, E., Law, J., Savage, M., 2013. Reassembling Social Science Methods: The Challenge of Digital Devices. 30(4) *Theory, Culture & Society*, 22-46.

DOI: 10.1177/0263276413484941

Saunders, B. a., Scaturro, C., Guarino, C., Kelly, E., 2017. Contending with Catcalling: The Role of System-justifying Beliefs and Ambivalent Sexism in Predicting Women’s Coping Experiences with (and Men’s Attributions for) Stranger Harassment. *Current Psychology* 36, 324338.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-016-9421-7>

SFS 1962:700. The Swedish Penal Code

SFS 1976:511 Care of Intoxicated Persons Act

SFS 2018:1745. Defamation

SFS 2017:1136. Violation of integrity

SFS 2005:90: Sexual molestation

Smart, C., 2002. Feminism and the Power of Law, *Sociology of Law and Crime*.

Routledge, London. ISBN: 978-0-203-20616-4

Svenska Domstolarna, 2016. *Glossary for the Courts of Sweden. Swedish/English English/Swedish* [online] Jönköping: Domstolsverket (Sweden). Available at:

http://www.domstol.se/Publikationer/Ordlista/svensk-engelsk_ordlista.pdf

[Accessed 13 May 2019]

Svensson, M., Björkenfeldt, O., 2019. New environmental zones for passenger cars. In: *Sociology of Law Research*. Lund University

Swedish Discrimination act 2008:567

The Government Takes Action Against Sexual Violence and Harassment (2018)

Accessed at :<https://www.government.se/articles/2018/01/the-government-of-sweden-takes-action-against-sexual-violence-and-harassment/>

The Swedish Research Council Website (2018). *Good Research Conduct*.

Available at: <https://publikationer.vr.se/en/product/good-research-practice/>

Vera-Gray, F., 2016. Men's stranger intrusions: Rethinking street harassment.

Women's Studies International Forum 58, 9–17.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2016.04.001>

Wärnelid, G., 2016. Det här händer alla tjejer. *Nerikes Allehanda*, [online] 18

January. Available at <https://www.na.se/artikel/orebro/det-har-hander-alla-tjejer>

[Accessed 2019-04-03]