2021

Narrating the Movement: a Rhetorical Analysis on the Digital Mobilization, Remix, and Hijack of #metoo

Rocky Roque
Illinois State University, roqueroger14@gmail.com

NARRATING THE MOVEMENT: A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS ON THE DIGITAL

MOBILIZATION, REMIX, AND HIJACK OF #METOO

ROCKY ROQUE

129 Pages

The Me Too movement garnered digital disclosures after Alyssa Milano's initial tweet in October 2017. Over the period of two years, different remixes of #MeToo surfaced which led to the subsequent hijack of the hashtag. Furthermore, Boyle (2019) argued that the movement can be studied as a "moment" or a "discourse." Scholars have examined Me Too as a moment, or a singular occurrence that emerged due to mainstream popularity. However, this analysis will study the movement as a discourse, to reveal the intricate interactions present with each remixed hashtag. Through Fisher's narrative paradigm, an in-depth analysis was conducted to examine how Twitter disclosures contain narrative coherence and fidelity. Additionally, Bowers et al.'s *The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control,* a social movement framework, will be applied to examine how members of the Me Too movement use disclosures as a means to recruit members, petition their goals, and protest assaulters. Remixing a hashtag was identified as a strategy utilized by survivors to recontextualize their argument and mobilize the movement. Further implications will be discussed to examine the direction of the Me Too movement.

KEYWORDS: Me Too movement, hashtag activism, narratives, narrative paradigm, social movements, rhetoric of agitation and control, remixing

NARRATING THE MOVEMENT: A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS ON THE DIGITAL

MOBILIZATION, REMIX, AND HIJACK OF #METOO

ROCKY ROQUE

A Thesis Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

School of Communication

ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY

2021

NARRATING THE MOVEMENT: A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS ON THE DIGITAL

MOBILIZATION, REMIX, AND HIJACK OF #METOO

ROCKY ROQUE

COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Joseph P. Zompetti, Chair

Lauren Bratslavsky

Aimee E. Miller-Ott

Lindsey Thomas

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people that I am thankful for helping me throughout my thesis experience. First, I want to thank my rhetoric buddy, Maura Freeman. Wow! Thank you for being my best friend in our program. You have always been a wonderful support system and I am forever grateful for all your advice and our dinner nights. You are the example of what a good human should be, and I strive to be just like you. Dr. Zompetti, thanks for being the best advisor a guy can ask for. You have truly helped me become a strong future scholar. From taking your rhetoric courses, to our zoom debriefs, I have enjoyed every interaction. I feel much more prepared and confident going into a PhD program because of you. To my awesome committee: Dr. Miller-Ott, Dr. Thomas, and Dr. Bratslavsky, thank you for all your feedback, insightful discussions, and encouraging words throughout this process. Y'all have really expanded my knowledge of interpersonal interactions, narratives, and digital communication. Next, to my parents. I would not have been here without y'all, both academically and physically of course. But all my work will forever be dedicated to the sacrifices y'all have made for me. I love y'all so much and sorry for the student debt that I am sure y'all are so kindly going to help me pay off. Finally, shout out to my dog, Bruiser Allen Woods-Roque, for being the best puppy in the entire world.

R.R.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The Me Too movement celebrated a victory in February 2020, when former Hollywood

Producer Harvey Weinstein was convicted of sexual assault and rape in the 1st and 3rd degree

(Dwyer & Romo, 2020). The movement has experienced a tumultuous journey with survivors

receiving criticism from friends, family members, and politicians, while simultaneously facing

defamation claims from their assaulters (Weisbrot, 2020). However, survivors remained resilient

and continued to disclose their narratives online. Founder of the Me Too movement, Tarana

Burke, expressed the dire need to reframe the narrative of the movement to focus on survivors

rather than accused individuals (Wagmeister, 2018). She argued that the movement was given a

unique opportunity of mainstream popularity; therefore, people should center survivors'

narratives to optimize the likelihood of them receiving resources, support, and justice.

Additionally, Burke furthered this sentiment in her interview with *Variety:*

> Me Too is about what happens after you say the words, so it is about making sure that the
>
> survivors know there is hope. It sounds cheesy, but hope saves lives, so when people
>
> realize that healing is possible and that the journey is long and arduous, but it is possible,
>
> even just the knowledge of that is healing (Wagmeister, 2018).

In conjunction with her plea, I engage this larger conversation in this thesis by exploring

#MeToo disclosures. I argue these disclosures function as healing narratives because survivors

disclose their assault to heal from their trauma, while also advocating for the justice of other

survivors, and mobilizing the Me Too movement. Critiquing #MeToo disclosures will reveal

how survivors wrote coherent and fidelitous narratives on social media to persuade their

audience. Additionally, I will explain how the movement remained resilient after receiving

1

criticism from people against the movement. I hope this thesis will validate individual narratives and the effectiveness of the Me Too movement.

Narratives were vital to the mobilization of the Me Too movement. Gallagher et al. (2019) analyzed 2,500 tweets and found over half (54%) of Me Too posts were not disclosures, but rather posts to incite a wider discussion of sexual violence and its impact on society. Me Too followers used social media platforms, primarily Twitter and Facebook, to recruit members into the movement, petition the movement's goals, and protest known assaulters. The physical mobility of the movement could be observed through the number of likes, comments, and shares a narrative collected, which could be used to argue the effectiveness of a Me Too post.

A "like" acknowledged a post; therefore, an effective post would garner many likes on Twitter because a high number of people acknowledged a user's narrative. Furthermore, Facebook introduced different reaction options, so users could understand how people reacted to their posts in addition to acknowledging their post (Ross et al., 2018). Facebook users had the option to "like," "love," "care," "express anger," or "express shock" by an individual's narrative. "Likes" garnered the opportunity for survivors to receive an indicator of whether their narrative was seen, and their social media friends' reactions.

A "comment" garnered messages of encouragement or criticism. Zell and Moeller (2018) found that people valued receiving likes more than comments; however, positive comments were associated with a higher sense of well-being. People showed their support by writing positive comments on a survivor's narrative. Alternatively, some criticisms also questioned a person's narrative. Individuals also criticized survivors for many reasons including holes in their narratives, waiting too long to report, or failure to provide evidence (Clarke, 2019). Comments

elicited discourse and debates over a person's narrative. Therefore, comments were indicators of whether a person believed a survivor's narrative.

A "share" garnered the opportunity for more individuals to see a person's narrative by allocating a person's original post to another person's timeline. Effective narratives were shared by many individuals, which contributed to the possibility of a post to become viral. Subsequently, the movement's virality became a discursive topic among the public, politicians, and scholars who criticized the effectiveness, purpose, and implications of these disclosures (Boyle, 2019). Much Me Too research focused on the effects, mobility, and implications of the movement holistically; however, more work should be conducted to examine individual narratives that mobilized the movement.

The public primarily had positive reactions to survivor's disclosure. Bower (2019) stated the general reaction was celebratory, with more women benefiting from the exposure. Studies found 74% of women said they would be more willing to speak out against harassment, and 77% of men anticipated more careful consideration about inappropriate behavior. The discourse surrounding inappropriate behaviors in the workplace made many organizations rethink normalized practices in their field. However, criticism also ensued with individuals such as Terry Gilliam claiming the movement was a modern-day witch hunt against men (Helmore, 2020). Furthermore, Twitter users criticized the public for believing allegations at face value without due process, which created discourse surrounding the rights of alleged individuals. Additional criticism addressed the exclusion of women of color (Subedar, 2018), male survivors (Lowenstein-Barkai, 2020), and members of the LGBTQ community (Ison, 2019) from the narrative.

Finally, the movement was the center of discourse among scholars. Boyle (2019) argued the Me Too movement was one in which, "feminism was notably absent as a continuing presence, a body of knowledge, and a social movement" (p. 35). In other words, the novelty of the movement interested scholars because existing feminist theories and social movement frameworks have not been integrated with digital activism as a primary area of study prior to the movement's conception. Boyle furthered this meant that the history and framework of feminism was still being written as the movement endures and adapts. Therefore, studies regarding the Me Too movement was vital to furthering digital feminism, and digital activism.

I argue that the Me Too movement will also further notions of social movements. Many, if not all, social movement frameworks are tailored for in-person social movements. The public (Christensen, 2011) and scholars (Palczewski, 2001) have discredited the effectiveness and potential of digital activism. However, the defense for digital social movements, specifically the Me Too movement, is needed after the novelty of social media integrating with news outlets in the 2010s, the development of hashtag activism, and the real world consequences Me Too and other digital movements have caused. Therefore, integrating an existing in-person social movement framework into the Me Too movement will garner the possibility of creating a new framework for digital movements, while simultaneously validating the Me Too movement as a social movement. In this thesis, I will examine individual social media narratives within the Me Too movement and rhetorically critique how survivors utilized them to holistically mobilize the movement. This will provide insights to how survivors frame their narratives to be believable and counterargue criticism. As such, this thesis will address relevant literature in chapter two, an explanation of the methods in chapter three, a careful and thorough analysis in chapter four, and finally I will share implications and concluding thoughts about the significance of the analysis.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will explore the relevant studies that exist pertaining to the topic area. First, I will introduce the core principles of computer-mediated communication to contextualize the fundamentals of digital communication and digital disclosures. Next, I will examine hashtag history, hashtag activism, and hashtag hijacking to provide context for how people digitally connected their narratives, advocated for a social movement, and interacted with hashtags to disrupt a movement's goal. Finally, I will examine the history, narratives, criticisms, and remixes of the Me Too movement to obtain a better understanding of the movement and its location in our contemporary cultural conjuncture. I will create a foundation to provide insights to the future direction of the Me Too movement.

Computer-mediated Communication

Computer-mediated communication (CMC) was the rudimentary form of digital communication. CMC was defined as communication that took place via computers (Herring, 1996). Furthermore, CMC garnered interest from communication and sociology researchers after discovering people used the Internet to build interpersonal relationships (Kraut et al., 2000). Early scholars debated the effects that the media might have on a person's communication. Short et al. (1976) developed social presence theory and argued the fewer cues a person has from the media, the less they will engage their personal feelings. Simply, people would not develop interpersonal relationships with messages or imagery from the media because they were not perceived as real individuals. However, Walther (1996) argued that the absence of social cues was the reason computer-mediated communication could be hyper-personal, because message receivers will interpret a sender's message favorably. Their research assumed that receivers would perceive a trusted sender to have created a message that was credible and trustworthy.

Researchers also predicted CMC would produce aggressive and "flaming" behaviors because of its anonymity and text-focused communication (Kiesler et al., 1984). However, CMC was studied to have positive interactions too by arguing some of these computer-mediated interactions resulted in long-term and quality relationships or even marriages (Parks and Floyd, 1996). Walther (1996) argued these hyperpersonal relationships were formed through self-disclosures. Joinson (2001) found that people disclosed more information about themselves by CMC than through face-to-face communication. Self-disclosures were important to form trust with individuals who were interested in committing to a relationship (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). Thus, self-disclosing online was vital for establishing trust and furthering relationships with people online.

Additionally, researchers argued that CMC led to direct questioning which produced more self-disclosure (Schouten et al., 2009). In other words, people were more comfortable to ask a person questions regarding their disclosure online than if they were in person. Peace and Sharp (1973) understood that public disclosures risked receiving negative reactions, so a common strategy people utilized for self-disclosing was to evaluate their rewards to risk ratios and create boundaries with trusted recipients. Therefore, individuals who self-disclosed on their social media posts also evaluated their rewards-to-risk ratios. Selective disclosures minimized a discloser's risk of receiving consequences by many people. Pearce and Sharp furthered that people were more comfortable disclosing information with strangers because no future interaction would ensue. However, social media posts functioned as private and public disclosures. Bazarova and Choi (2014) argued people disclosed on their public social media posts for validation and self-expression, while private messaging was used for more intimate and relational developments. Public posting was a form of self-expression. Tufekci (2008) found that

6

early Twitter users posted without strong privacy concerns. Additionally, audience members could detect accurate personality traits from text information alone (Küfner et al., 2010), which garnered the possibility that viewers will accurately establish their perception of a person and their narrative online. Additionally, being initially perceived positively online predicted positive social consequences (Human, et al., 2013). Simply, people who disclosed their narratives online would attempt to be favorably perceived to garner more believability and respect from people reading their posts.

Hashtag History

Developers created a system that organized social media posts as more people communicated online. Modern hashtags were words or short phrases that could be posted (Bruns & Burgess, 2011). The modern hashtag was first used in 2009 after early Twitter users were frustrated that their Twitter feed was congested with repetitive, monotonous stories (Pandell, 2017). Google developer Chris Messina proposed using the "pound" symbol to connect Twitter posts that used the same tagline. Messina adopted "hash," a common computer science term, to name these channels, "the hashtag." In 2007, Messina posted the first hashtag to ask early Twitter users their thoughts on using a hashtag to create groups (Seward, 2013). In the same year, #sandiegofire became the first hashtag used to report news to a larger audience (Piatek, 2007). By 2009, half of Twitter subscribers used the platform to receive their news (George Washington University & Cision, 2009). Hashtags were essential to collect news sources, and they had several purposes including informing an audience, providing commentary, and having political discourse (Small, 2011). Additionally, researchers studied the narratives present in hashtags. Giaxoglou (2018) argued hashtags were sources for "narrative stance-taking" and for storytellers to frame events, which were essential for the development of social movements.

Hashtag Activism

Hashtags allowed individuals to post and connect their narratives to create a coherent story of an event. Additionally, the convenience of hashtags allowed members of social movements to state their purpose, recruit people, and show the magnitude of people affected (Saxton et al., 2015). Hashtags became a predominant symbol for social media users to contribute to trends; therefore, hashtags were utilized by members and supporters to contribute to trending social movements. Hashtag activism was defined as using hashtags to initiate social change (Dadas, 2017). People negatively criticized the form as generating no substantial impact in the real world (Schwartz, 2014). However, others defended hashtag activism as a quick, mainstream awareness of an issue that had the power to influence politics and organizations (Carr, 2012). Furthermore, Saxton et al. (2015) argued that hashtags had other functions beneficial to social movements including the quick spread of information such as the time and location for protests. Common purposes of hashtag activism included underlining discriminatory policies, inciting political discourse, and advocating for marginalized groups.

#ArabSpring

The Arab Spring movement was generated through social media. The movement included pro-democracy uprisings in Yemen, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Bahrain, Oman, and Saudi Arabia (Al-Rawi, 2014). One key event occurred in December 2010, when protester Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire in front of a government building after police arrested him for not having a permit to run his business. Bouazizi's act of self-immolation ignited street protests in Tunisia after his death. Protesters utilized Facebook and Twitter to document footage from the rallies which caused widespread media attention. Hermida (2010) applied ambient journalism to describe protesters' use of social media. In other words, the events of Arab Spring

were continuously broadcasted because people were distributing their narratives asynchronously and synchronously online. Twitter hashtags such as #egypt and #libya began trending, which brought foreign political news outlets to cover the events. Protesters used Twitter as an additional tool for activism rather than the prominent form of protesting (Gladwell, 2010). During the uprisings, Libyan and Egyptian governments blocked citizens from Internet access, but protestors used workarounds to post on social media. Consequently, people from other nations reposted their videos on YouTube (York, 2011). Protestors spread information with hashtags for people to receive a cohesive narrative of the events. Discourse surrounding #arabspring ended with the rise of the Islamic Brotherhood in Egypt, but the hashtag was instrumental to produce beneficial, as well as problematic governing transitions, depending on the country.

#Kony2012

Kony 2012 was a short American documentary that turned into a viral campaign asking for the arrest of Joseph Kony, the leader of an African militant group in Uganda. According to Kony 2012's official website, the goal of the organization was to make Joseph Kony infamous to raise international support for his arrest. As a result, the documentary garnered 100 million viewers by the end of the year (Time, 2012). The movement's primary audience were American teenagers who shared the documentary and viral memes using #Kony2012 to generate online discourse, provide information, and advocate for the "invisible children" (Milner, 2013). Bailyn (2012) criticized the campaign as insufficient online activism. However, soon after the viral campaign, members of the African Union announced they would send troops to find Kony (Muhumuza, 2012). Unfortunately, Kony evaded arrest and is still yet to be captured.

#OscarsSoWhite

In 2016, the Academy Awards (The Oscars) received widespread attention after releasing their 20 nominees for their best actor award, and all the nominees were white for the second year in a row. The nomination sparked a heated debate over racial bias in Hollywood (Syed, 2016). #OscarsSowhite was created to highlight the lack of diversity in the Oscar's top categories (Anderson, 2016). #OscarsSowhite also expanded to advocate for the inclusion of marginalized groups in all aspects of the entertainment industry as 5% of top-grossing films in the United States were directed and produced by people of color between 2006 and 2016 (Smith et al., 2017). Consequently, the hashtag garnered responses from Cheryl Boone Isaacs, Spike Lee, and Barry Jenkins (Ugwu, 2020). Celebrities of color used the hashtag to voice their concern and support.

#BlackLivesMatter

The morning after George Zimmerman's acquittal for Trayvon Martin's murder, American activist Alicia Garza wrote a letter to Black Americans articulating her frustration. Garza ended the letter with the phrase, "Black Lives Matter" (King, 2015). Another activist, Patrisse Cullors, responded to the letter with #BlackLivesMatter on Facebook (Ross, 2015). #BlackLivesMatter was then used to address civil unrest and police brutality in the United States, primarily after Michael Brown's murder in Ferguson, Missouri (Anderson & Hitlin, 2016). The hashtag included narratives from Black Americans who experienced racism. Additionally, the hashtag was used to address other law enforcement-related murders black individuals, including Breonna Taylor and George Floyd. Freelon et al. (2016) argued hashtag activism on Twitter perpetuated the development of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. Discourse surrounding BLM strengthened during the Ferguson protests when people used the hashtag to

provide counter-narratives to news-media outlets that portrayed the protest in a negative manner (Anderson & Hitlin, 2016). Gallagher et al. (2018) discovered #BlackLivesMatter amplified criticism regarding police murders while initiating more rich conversations than #AllLivesMatter. BLM narratives gave members agency to tell their narratives on their own accord (Blevins et al., 2019). Moreover, these narratives disrupted power held by mainstream news outlets by redirecting the conversation from basic story elements to meaningful, personal, and more reflective narratives.

#WhyIStayed

Hashtag activism was also used to address violence against women. In 2014, thousands of Twitter users responded to Baltimore Raven's Ray Rice's domestic violence controversy. Rice was filmed assaulting his wife on camera, which caused an online discussion addressing why women stay in abusive relationships. #WhyIStayed united narratives from people who justified why other women stayed in their abusive relationships. #WhyIStayed generated a new category of hashtag activism titled "hashtag feminism." Clark et al. (2014) argued that hashtag feminists disrupted oppressive and sexist discourse created by the news and entertainment media. In patriarchal societies, women altered their communicative styles to fit discursive styles of the hegemony (Kramarae, 1981). Women disrupted this notion by writing narratives on Twitter to disclose their experiences (Odine, 2013). In other words, social media narratives gave women the platform to write narratives in their own words and entitled them to disclose on their own time.

Slacktivism

Criticism regarding hashtag activism has also occurred. Many critics deemed hashtag activism as "low risk." Rotman et al. (2011) defined slacktivism as low-risk social media awareness. Slacktivism is a portmanteau of "slacker" and "activism." Moreover, researchers

argued that slacktivism hurts real activism because people will substitute civic action with online participation, and then become satisfied with their low participation in the social movement. Additionally, slacktivism does not involve any financial and physical risk, so participants would use hashtags to commit lightly to a social movement in order to raise awareness, rather than protest in person for real change (Gladwell, 2010). Some examples of slacktivism included changing profile pictures to banners, resharing a hashtag without context, or posting pictures of oneself while protesting (Golsborough, 2011). The implication of slacktivism was that hashtags alone did not have much power to create social change, garnering the possibility of easily manipulating a hashtag to recontextualize its meaning.

The definition of slacktivism is important to understand how the concept does not apply to the Me Too movement. Slacktivism is best summarized as a low-risk, performative form of awareness, whereas the Me Too movement had survivors publicly disclosing their traumatic narratives for various reasons. People who disclosed their narratives made themselves vulnerable to public criticism and retaliation but furthered the possibility of their disclosure receiving justice, closure, or support.

Hashtag Hijacking

People capitalized on the popularity of a trending hashtag by manipulating the text for their own benefit. VanDam and Tan (2016) defined hashtag hijacking as the use of trending hashtags to promote a different message for political or satirical use. Individuals who hijack a hashtag use the original hashtag to remix a message, rather than the hashtag itself. Xanthopoulos et al. (2015) explained how hashtag hijackers would tag messages with undesirable content and would then target an audience. They identified three types of hashtag hijacking: spam hijacking,

hijacking as a response to certain actions of the content creator, and hijacking by organized Internet groups.

Xanthopoulos et al. (2015) defined spam hijacking as a type of, "hijacking performed by automated bot computer programs with the goal of taking advantage of a popular hashtag in order to communicate spam messages" (p. 355). These forms of hashtag hijacking were also referred to as "hashtag spam" because bots (artificial users, or robots) would recognize a trigger phrase and associate the hashtag with spam advertisements and content. For this type of hashtag, a person would have intentionally created the codes for the bot to hijack a hashtag. *The Guardian's* Activate NYC conference and *The Wired's* Business Conference were overwhelmed with hashtag spam when their hashtags, #ActivateNYC and #newtsnextact, were spammed with pornographic images (Greenfield, 2012). Moreover, spam hijacking was an automated response from bots to cause disorder with an existing hashtag.

Next, Xanthopoulos et al. (2015) identified hashtag hijacking as, "a response to certain actions of the content creator" (p. 356). Hijackers who utilized this form of hashtag hijacking published critical and satirical narratives with an existing hashtag to voice their disapproval of the actual hashtag or person. For example, news anchor Diane Sawyer planned an interview with former GOP presidential nominee, Mitt Romney, and asked Twitter users to utilize #AskRomney if they wanted to ask Romney questions during his interview. #AskRomney was hijacked by people asking inappropriate, irrelevant, and satirical questions making the questions connected to #AskRomney unusable for a professional interview (Sconce, 2012). Additionally, the far-right organization Proud Boys gained popularity after Donald Trump stated, "Proud boys, stand back and stand by" at a rally in Oregon (MacFarquhar et al., 2020). Proud boys are a physically violent group, and Donald Trump received criticism by both political parties for his comments.

Subsequently, #ProudBoys trended on Twitter. However, the LGBTQ community reclaimed the hashtag by posting photos of gay couples, shirtless men, and pride parades with the hashtag so individuals would associate the #ProudBoys with LGBTQ pride rather than a far-right organization (Peiser, 2020). Finally, DiGiorno's pizza experienced criticism when their marketing team hijacked #WhyIStayed to market their pizza (Stampler, 2014). DiGiorno's marketing team was not aware of the hashtag's purpose to address domestic violence, and they unintentionally added a satirical narrative as a marketing ploy to capitalize on the trending hashtag. DiGiorno deleted the tweet ten seconds after posting on Twitter. However, the tweet caused an outrage, and DiGiorno spent time apologizing to their critics.

Finally, Xanthopoulos et al. (2015) identified hashtag hijacking as, "hijacking by organized Internet groups" (p. 355). People would hijack an existing hashtag to disrupt a social movement's hashtag's message. They argued this type of hashtag hijacking occurs when a large group of individuals deliberately coordinate provocative messages or counter-narratives to hinder the message of a countermovement from becoming effective to an audience. Examples of this type of hashtag were individuals criticizing the Me Too movement by utilizing the #MeToo hashtag. Rather than using the hashtag to disclose their status as a sexual assault survivor, some politicians used the hashtag to argue (Leah, 2018). While Xanthopoulos et al. examine hashtag hijacking by centering the narratives, I argue that more work should be done to center the hijack of the hashtag itself. Hashtag hijacking was critical to examine how people redirected a social movement's progress.

History of the Me Too Movement

In 2006, Tarana Burke created the Me Too movement when she formed a group on Myspace for female sexual assault survivors of color (Garcia, 2017; Ohlhesier, 2017). Burke's

intention was for survivors to have a space to disclose their narratives, provide resources, and support other survivors. Dawson (2020) argued the Me Too movement was founded on storytelling, in which survivors shared narratives of their personal experiences. These narratives garnered empathy from other survivors. However, the Myspace group did not experience "virality," but within days the group received many comments from survivors thanking Burke for creating the group (Snyder & Lopez, 2017). With the receding engagement of Myspace, the Me Too group was forgotten, but the movement received momentum eleven years later.

In 2017, actress Alyssa Milano asked her Twitter followers to respond to her post with #MeToo if they have been sexually harassed or assaulted in their lives. Milano's tweet sparked the existing Me Too movement (*Chicago Tribune*, 2020). Milano's intention was to expose the magnitude of existing sexual assault survivors on the Internet (Sayej, 2017). Additionally, Milano posted the tweet after reading articles concerning Harvey Weinstein's allegations. Her tweet garnered over 1.7 million tweets within the first week (Park, 2017). Consequently, Milano's tweet led to the public ostracization of infamous celebrity assaulters in the film, sports, and entertainment industry. Comedian Louis C.K., actor Dustin Hoffman, singer Nick Carter, filmmaker Brett Ratner, and President Donald Trump were some of the first celebrities to be reported for sexual assault (*The Morning Call*, 2018). By the end of 2017, 6.5 million tweets contained #MeToo (Chou, 2018).

Subsequently, the Me Too movement had memorable milestones. Immediately after Milano's tweet, #MeToo was translated internationally for survivors to use in their respective countries. *#BalanceTonPorc* began trending on Twitter (Donadio, 2017). *Balance Ton Porc* was French for "rat out your pig." Additionally, *#Ana_kaman* was used in Middle Eastern countries (Alfatlawi, 2017). In December 2017, *Time Magazine* commemorated sexual assault survivors

15

by making individuals who disclosed their narratives that year as "people of the year" (De Maria, 2017). Additionally, The Times Up initiative was created in January 2018, after celebrities participated in a red carpet "black-out" where they dressed in black to address sexual harassment in the film industry (Romero, 2018). On May 18, 2018, Weinstein turned himself in to the New York authorities to face sexual assault and rape charges (McKinley et al., 2018). Additionally, Asia Argento, one of the first female survivors to testify against Weinstein, was reported of assaulting her former male co-star, which then prompted Tarana Burke to reiterate that sexual violence was about power and privilege, regardless of sex and gender (Burke, 2018). The following month, Dr. Christine Blasey Ford was revealed to be the survivor who reported Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh of sexual assault. Subsequently, three more survivors reported Kavanaugh for assaulting them (Segers, 2018). Days later, Bill Cosby was sentenced for sexual assault, making him the first celebrity convicted since the Me Too movement's conception. In November 2018, Google employees staged a walk out to address sexual assault and misconduct by their senior employees within the company (Abbruzzese et al., 2018). Consequently, Google announced they were eliminating forced non-disclosure agreements and changing their policies to allow women and other survivors to seek legal action (Martinez, 2018). In 2019, sexual assault cases surged within churches (Downen et al., 2019), the Boy Scouts (Kelly, 2019), and the military (Phillips, 2019), when survivors disclosed their narratives online. Additionally, organizers from the initial Google walkout disclosed they experienced retaliation from the company when they were dropped from projects, demoted, and forced to leave (Tiku, 2019). On February 24, 2020, Harvey Weinstein was convicted of criminal sex act in the first degree and rape in the third degree (Pilkington, 2020) and faced six more charges in October

2020 (Levensen, 2020). Moreover, the surge of survivors disclosing their narratives were accredited for the movement's success.

Narratives of the Me Too Movement

Researchers have examined the Me Too movement holistically; however, examining the independent structure of #MeToo narratives were just as important. Digital storytelling combined narratives with digital media (Lambert, 2006). Digital storytelling integrated a mixture of images and texts. Lambert furthered that these narratives were customizable and interactive by their audience. Additionally, Gubrium (2009) argued narrators of digital stories had agency in assessing and deciding how their narrative would interact with images, narration, and the platform provided. In other words, digital storytellers were in control of devising their stories using the tools their social media platforms provided.

Robin (2006) identified three main types of digital storytelling. The first type of digital storytelling was narratives that served as historical documentation. These narratives included historical information to add context to the story. Additionally, Robin identified informative and instructional narratives as the second type of digital storytelling, that reflected instructional materials such as math, science, and history. The final digital storytelling type was personal narratives. Robin argued these types of narratives were the most popular narrative because of its many purposes. Personal digital narratives involved intimacy and were easily accessible, so they constituted the possibility to be used as coping mechanisms for people to disclose their hardships and trauma.

Brison (1999) argued that trauma survivors found creative ways to reconstruct themselves and carry on with their reconfigured lives (p. 39). In other words, trauma survivors utilized various coping mechanisms to overcome a traumatic event to continue with their lives.

17

Brison furthered that distressful memories were traumatic in themselves, and survivors explicitly narrated these memories as an event that was inflicted on them rather than chosen. Narrating traumatic events to others who were strong enough to listen, empowered survivors to gain more control of their traumatic experiences. Additionally, Culbertson (1995) noted how traumatic memories were somatic memories because individuals had distorted recollection of events. Therefore, distorted memories resulted in distorted traumatic narratives. Herman (1997) advised that trauma survivors received "demands to be certain" or they would be easily ostracized. Relatedly, Roeder (2018) articulated that sexual assault survivors experienced similar pressure to narrate linear stories if they made them public.

In a juridical context, sexual assault and rape survivors were required to disclose cohesive and linear narratives to be believed in the courtroom. This was evident by existing research that proved narratives were more likely to be believed if they were linear and concise (Baesler, 1995). This notion hindered survivors who could not recall events due to trauma. Roeder (2018) furthered that the demands of legal, political, and hegemonic structures also negatively impacted survivors who were forced to tell concise versions of complex narratives. Due to the complexity of these narratives, some researchers preferred to examine "rape narratives" along a continuum. Boyle (2019) argued that a spectrum like this allowed readers to examine how individual acts of sexual aggression were embedded within existing relationships and power structures (p. 54). In other words, people should focus on these narratives as a normalized and structured script rather than a singular experience. Additionally, researchers explored how sexual assault trauma narratives were used to support people silenced by fear, and create stories that contained hope, connection, and calls for justice (Schaffer & Smith, 2004). Schaffer and Smith also argued these narratives had "rhetorical alterings" in which survivors who testified witnessed their narratives as

a vehicle for social change. Disclosing narratives also gave survivors a sense of empowerment (Gay, 2018). However, Roeder (2018) argued that rape narratives were both personal and collective traumas, and that cohesive narratives privileged by the legal system had potentially harmful effects on survivors individually and collectively. Subsequently, #MeToo narratives invoked both personal and collective traumas.

Yang (2016) argued that survivor agency in the digital social movements was not confrontational but rather invitational. Additionally, Campbell (2005) identified five criteria for narratives to obtain agency: the text must be communal, must be invented by authors, must be artful, must have narrative form, and could be perverted. Wolfe (2018) applied invitational rhetoric and the criteria of agency to MeToo narratives to criticize the agency in the narratives. Me Too narratives were communal by utilizing social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook to connect narratives. Wolf furthered that the narratives were invented by the authors, and they articulated their experiences using *pathos* to engage support among survivors. Me Too narratives were "artful" because survivors creatively devised their narratives with the tools their social media platforms provided. Examples included using images to post narratives on Instagram, using Facebook's endless word count to provide detailed narratives, and working around Twitter's limited word count to tell concise disclosures. Additionally, Yang (2016) argued that narratives were coherent by having a beginning, middle, and end. Wolfe (2018) stated that social media posts established coherence or being able to tell a narrative linearly. which made them have narrative form. Finally, Wolfe argued Me Too narratives could be perverted or open to criticism. Having agency allowed for the Me Too movement to be an organization that responded when experiencing criticism, proving the Me Too movement had narrative agency.

Criticism of the Me Too Movement

The overwhelming number of #MeToo posts had instantaneous and visceral effects on assaulters. Boyle (2019) argued the extent to which survivors' narratives were heard made the Me Too movement successful. However, the movement attracted criticism from researchers and participants alike (Bower, 2019; Levy & Mattsson, 2020; North, 2019). Some researchers criticized the movement as a moment or a discourse. Researchers who criticized Me Too as a moment critiqued how the limitations of Twitter and Facebook influenced how disclosures were written online. Researchers who criticized Me Too as a discourse were more critical of #MeToo's exclusivity, purpose, and implications. For example, womanists and antiracist activists raised concerns over the erasure and exclusion of women of color in the Me Too movement (Burke, 2017). More researchers argued that the movement dismissed the heightened vulnerability of women of color, creating racial tension within the movement.

Racial Criticism

The movement has been criticized for being racially biased. Onwuachi-Willig (2018) reported that immediately after Milano posted her tweet, women of color were upset that a white woman received credit for an idea originated by a Black woman. As a result, Crenshaw (2010) argued that this was another example of the longstanding marginalization of women of color's experiences in the feminist movement. Additionally, Hollywood celebrities and high-profiled personalities in the U.S. were credited for whitewashing the Me Too campaign (Maule, 2020). Me Too founder, Tarana Burke, denounced the predominant marginalization of the movement and stated women of color, trans women, and queer people's narratives were undermined and never prioritized (Chan, 2019). There have also been more direct examples of racial discrimination in Hollywood-related #MeToo campaigns. Harvey Weinstein responded

differently to women of color who reported him for sexual assault than he did against his white accusers (Garber, 2017). Weinstein remained silent after receiving many allegations; however, he broke this silence when Kenyan-Mexican actress Lupita Nyong'o disclosed her harassment (Wang 2017). Additionally, Weinstein similarly dismissed Mexican actress Salma Hayek's statements (Moniuszko, 2017). Additionally, many undocumented women do not report their assault in fear of deportation (Constante, 2018). Gloria Steinem recognized the erasure of people of color in the movement and credited Black women for starting the Me Too movement and the movement's success (Fessler, 2017). In addition to racial bias, the movement has also been accused of having a sex and gender bias.

Excluding Men

The Me Too movement has also impacted men's roles in the movement. Male survivors were difficult to account for during the movement because male survivors had the added pressure of disclosing their assault while experiencing stigma (Du Mont et al., 2013). Researchers have argued that male sexual victimization was incomprehensible for certain cultures because of normalized beliefs that men were inherently strong, powerful, and self-sufficient, and sexual assault against men can be perceived as emasculating (Hlavka, 2017). Therefore, male survivors were viewed as failures in protecting their masculinity and risked tarnishing their hypermasculine identity (Turchik, 2012). This notion caused difficulty for male survivors to participate in the Me Too movement because they had the added stigma of being a survivor as well as a male survivor (O'Neill, 2018). Additionally, Bohr (2019) argued that the media primarily painted men as the villains of the Me Too movement, and some men distanced themselves from #MeToo, and instead supported #MenToo or #HimToo. Additionally, Figo (2017) argued that groups were inherently exclusive, and that exclusivity did not equate to being

bad or problematic; therefore, excluding men from the movement was a valid concern. However, Burke (2018) reiterated that the Me Too movement was for all survivors, regardless of gender or sex.

False Accusations

The Me Too movement was criticized for quickly ostracizing people reported for sexually assaulting another person. Discourse ensued to address whether assaulters should be exonerated before a trial. Stephens (2017) questioned whether the reported individuals were being punished without due process. However, research indicates that 2-10% of all rape allegations are falsified (Lisak et al., 2010). Therefore, the number of false allegations were low compared to the number of unreported cases or number of assaulters facing prosecution. Despite this number, Stephens (2017) believed reported individuals should have a fair trial. These criticisms have impacted the Me Too movement, as some individuals quickly dismissed survivors' narratives to empathize with the possibility of a reported assaulter's innocence. However, members of the movement were persistent and continued to advocate for the ostracization of their assaulters.

<div align="center">

#MeToo Remixes

</div>

There were many additional remixes of #MeToo that were generated after each remix received criticism. Mina (2019) defined "remixing" as reusing and recreating digital images, content, and commentary. I argue that hashtags themselves can be remixed to change its political commentary. Mina furthered that recreating digital images involved editing existing visual and textual content to reproduce new content which captured socio-cultural views and events. Remixing content reflected political references and different conversations. Additionally, Sobande (2019) argued that digital remix culture entailed forms of self-disclosure by people,

who would not have expressed their sentiments without digital platforms. In other words, certain remixed content made disclosures easier for some individuals because the new content garnered the opportunity to post relatable content. Additionally, remixing provides some victims the ability to engage anonymously without fear of direct backlash. However, Sobande warned that digital remix culture had the potential to dilute, decontextualize, and recontextualize the original message. Individuals could recontextualize a content's meaning for oppositional motives, similar to hashtag hijacking. Finally, digital remixing could be a platform for under-reported and erased counternarratives (Bamberg, 2004). Hence, people could communicate an underrepresented issue by remixing and recreating content.

There was little research documenting "hashtag remixing" or remixing hashtags regarding narratives that cater to an individual's experience. However, #MeToo has produced individual remixes that encapsulate survivors' sexual assault narratives in a particular context. There were certain remixes that were noteworthy to include in this research because of the impact they have made in the movement.

#ChurchToo

Researcher addressed that narratives regarding sexual assault survivors and their religious institutions were prominent, with 44% of women and 23% of men reported experiencing sexual violence during their childhood or adulthood in some sort of religious context (Breiding et al., 2014). Discussion of sexual assault within someone's childhood was imperative for some studies because of the myriad negative mental, physical, and social problems people would develop in their adulthood (Briere & Runtz, 1993). Religious organizations were perceived to improve the spiritual wellness of those who participated in their events (Lindgreen et al., 2009). Therefore, individuals who perpetuated abuse within these

institutions were often protected so that institutions could maintain and protect their image (Smith & Freyd, 2013). News media have covered reports of sexual abuse within churches for years (Dressing et al., 2017). However, with the popularity of #MeToo, #ChurchToo was used to address pedophilic scandals, primarily from Alabama Senate Candidate Roy Moore, an evangelical Christian (Abedi, 2017). #ChurchToo was remixed from #MeToo. The purpose of #ChurchToo was for survivors who were sexually assaulted to disclose normalized sexual abuse within their churches (Burton, 2017). Survivors who utilized #ChurchToo addressed privilege and hierarchy, religious manipulation, lack of accountability, and the silencing of survivors to protect altar boys (Bogen et al., 2020).

Furthermore, responses were primarily positive with Twitter audiences supporting survivors. In January 2018, #ChurchToo was remixed into #SilenceIsNotSpiritual which addressed a call to action for how sexual misconduct was dealt within the church because of #ChurchToo (James, 2018). Additionally, Pastor Andy Savage admitted that many years ago he sexually assaulted a teenage girl, which led to his resignation at Highpoint Church (Johnson, 2018). Much of the public has argued that #ChurchToo played a significant role in one of the biggest crisis Catholic churches have historically experienced, with people disclosing their assaults when they were children (Inglis, 2014). Therefore, #ChurchToo created a platform for more individuals to disclose their experiences online.

International Translations

#MeToo has been translated internationally for French, Spanish, and Chinese speaking countries and possibly even more since 2017 (Lekatch, 2017). These hashtags included #BalanceTonPorc, #YoTambien, and #WoYeShi. These hashtags addressed issues pertaining to sexual harassment, assault, and rape in their respective countries.

Balance Ton Porc is the French translation of "denounce your pig." France has not been as supportive with the Me Too movement compared to U.S. celebrities (Erickson, 2019). French Actress Catherine Deneuve argued, "insistent or clumsy flirting is not a crime, nor is gallantry a chauvinist aggression" (Safronova, 2018). France also had stronger defamation laws, which discouraged survivors from reporting their assaulters because they feared facing consequences and backlash from friends, family members, and the general public (Breeden, 2018). Additionally, French culture was problematic by classifying sexual harassment as a form of seduction, and #BalanceTonPorc was created to rebuttal this notion (Rubin, 2017). Erickson (2019) discovered that French narratives focused more on the power struggle between bosses and employees; however, #MeToo and #BalanceTonPorc were ridiculed, and the success of the movement was stagnant because a majority of individuals undermined #MeToo narratives as forms of seduction rather than sexual harassment. However, Deneuve denounced her statements a week after her interview (Codrea-Rado, 2018), and a petition that demanded sexual assault to be declared as a national emergency was sent to French President Emmanuel Macron, which received over 100,000 signatures within a few days (Rubin, 2017). However, the culture persisted, and the hashtag continues to be used by French survivors to disclose their narratives.

Yo Tambien is the Spanish translation of "me too." In October 2017, Spanish actresses reported their sexual harassment in Spanish cinema. Celebrities included Maru Valdivieso, Aitana Sánchez-Gijón, Carla Hidalgo, and Ana García (Alcelay & Escalona, 2017). Not much research has been conducted to observe #YoTambien. However, Guadalupe (2019) revealed the complexities of machismo culture in Spanish countries, which has complicated the process of sharing English-language media to expand and be translated into Spanish-speaking cultures, especially if the media addressed violence and assault against women. Guadalupe argued that

machismo and assault were normalized in Latinx countries. #YoTambien was used to address these issues and provided a space for Latinas to disclose their narratives.

Wo Ye Shi is the Chinese translation of "me too." Mukkamala and Suyemoto (2018) stated Asian American women often encountering discrimination regarding their perceived lack of leadership skills by being viewed as small, submissive, and invisible. Sun (2019) argued these stereotypes have contributed to the marginalization of Asian women. During the early stages of the Me Too movement, Qianqian Luo reported her former Chinese instructor of sexual harassment on a blogging website which led to the professor's removal from his job (Reuters, 2018). Consequently, when other Chinese women disclosed their assaults online, they were censored by authorities (Hernandez & Mou, 2018). Furthermore, Sun (2019) claimed that this cultural turmoil led to heated political debate around the issue, which prompted the creation of #RiceBunny, a Chinese homonym for Me Too. Mi tu, pronounced in Mandarin, was translated as "rice bunny," which was then used to connect sexual assault narratives in China. #RiceBunny and #WoYeShi pioneered sexual assault discourse, a largely western phenomenon, into many Asian countries where women were expected to quietly normalize sexual assault (Sun, 2019). Perceptions of survivors in China were polarizing. Sun also argued that Internet users were sympathetic to "real victims," but the overall attitude of the Chinese diaspora online community was discouraging because people believed the Me Too movement was a conspiracy against men in power and that survivors engaged in mendacious allegations because they simply wanted attention. U.S. Secretary of Transportation Elaine Chao, a member of the Chinese diaspora, disclosed her assault online, but was followed with criticism for taking too long to report her narrative (Rhodan, 2017). Hernández (2019) reported the narrative of Zhou Xiaoxuan. Xiaoxuan was a screenwriter in Beijing who disclosed that Chinese television anchor Zhu Jun assaulted her

while she was his intern in 2014. Police urged her to drop her report, and Xiaoxuan suppressed her narrative until she saw a #MeToo post. As a result of being exposed to the #MeToo post, Xiaoxuan shared her narrative which became viral over the Chinese online community. The Chinese government then banned state-run media from covering the story. Therefore, the failure of survivors to receive justice was undoubtedly the response to Chinese government censorship of Internet content. However, Sun (2019) alluded that despite the hashtag's negative criticism and #WoYeShi's tumultuous journey, the hashtag continues to advocate for sexual assault survivors in China.

#TimesUp

The Times Up movement was created in January 2018 by Hollywood celebrities in response to Weinstein's effect on the industry and the Me Too movement (Langone, 2018). After Weinstein's presence, the Times Up initiative was created to help change culture, companies, and laws by creating a society free of gender-based discrimination in the workplace (Time's Up, 2020). Actresses Halle Barry and Reese Witherspoon were accredited for meeting and developing a plan to eliminate future abuse in the industry (Shannon-Karasik, 2019). Soon after, a petition circulated around Hollywood, asking for the support of powerful women, which garnered over 400 signatures (Buckley, 2018). The movement was then presented at the 2018 Golden Globes ceremony, where attendees were asked to dress in black (Whittaker, 2018). Additionally, Oprah Winfrey uttered the famous words "Time's up" (Calfas, 2018). Months later, *Scandal* actor Tony Goldwyn called for Hollywood male celebrities to participate in the Time's Up Initiative (Goldwyn, 2018). David Schwimmer, Justin Baldoni, David Arquette, and Matt McGorry soon followed Goldwyn's plea and created #AskMoreofHim to encourage powerful men to use their platform to support survivors (HWR Staff, 2018). Consequently, the

Time's Up Legal Defense Fund was created which connected celebrities to over 800 attorneys (Langone, 2018). The movement protects future actors from sexual abuse while auditioning or filming a production.

#WhyIDidntReport

Months after Milano's initial post, the news media covered Dr. Christine Blasey Ford after she reported Brett Kavanaugh for sexually assaulting her in the 1980s (Ojha, 2018). Controversy ensued when former President Donald J. Trump (2018) tweeted, "I have no doubt that, if the attack on Dr. Ford was as bad as she says, charges would have been immediately filed with local Law Enforcement Authorities by either her or her loving parents." Trump's message criticized Dr. Ford for waiting years to report her assault. #WhyIDidntReport trended on Twitter after his condescending tweet. Millions of Twitter users utilized the hashtag to disclose reasons for why they did not initially report their assault (Schneider et al., 2020). Additionally, the tweet connected people who supported and believed Dr. Ford. Garrett and Hassen (2019) identified eight reasons for why survivors did not report their assault: shame, denial or minimization, fear of consequences, hopelessness or helplessness, drugs/disassociation, lack of information, protecting assailant, and young age. Additionally, college students who did not report their assault reported feeling shame and embarrassment, while others were concerned, they might be subjected to victim-blaming (Zinzow & Thompson, 2011). Consequently, discourse ensued over believing survivors.

#BelieveWomen

Shortly after #WhyIDidntReport, Twitter users defended Dr. Ford and utilized the #BelieveWomen hashtag to campaign for women's rape narratives to be believed on face value (Ferzan, 2020). Doyle (2017) clarified that the phrase means "do not assume women as a gender

are especially deceptive or vindictive and recognize that false allegations are less common than real ones." However, Traister (2020) argued that the phrase was compelling but flawed because people will misinterpret the phrase as "believe all women" rather than "believe women." Traister further criticized that "believing all women" was problematic and clumsy because people will dismiss any arguments made by those protesting.

#IEToo

Forensics is a competitive, extracurricular public speaking activity at the middle school, high school, and collegiate level (Charles, 2019). Forensics is divided into individual events (speech) and debate. In 2018, hundreds of collegiate individual events competitors joined in Colorado to compete in the American Forensics Association National Individual Events National Tournament (AFA). AFA was held the first weekend of every April and prided itself to be, "the most competitive speech tournament by having stringent qualifying procedures" (Bartanen & Littlefield, 2014, p. 107). National Champion Adelina Mitchell performed her speech addressing sexual assault in the forensics community (Kitchener, 2019). Mitchell performed selections that were "open secrets" within the community. Additionally, she ordered 500 buttons with the phrase #IEToo and distributed the buttons throughout the entirety of the AFA national tournament.

The I.E. Too movement was created for sexual assault survivors in the forensics community to disclose their narratives of assault involving former and current teammates and coaches. Researchers reported that sexual harassment has been prevalent in forensics; exemplifying that female competitors were more likely to be harassed and receive inappropriate comments from competitors and judges (Stepp, 2001). Consequently, two directors of forensics, resigned after receiving numerous reports from competitors (Larimer, 2018; Buedel, 2018).

Universities, students, and alumni expressed their solidarity with survivors using the #IEToo hashtag.

#HimToo

After receiving criticism for excluding men, the #MeToo was remixed to include male survivors. Ellis (2018) reported #HimToo was first used to support Tim Kaine and Hillary Clinton during the 2016 presidential election. People tweeted #ImWithHer and followed the post with #HimToo. During the first months of Donald Trump's presidency, Trump supporters used #LockHerUp and #HimToo to attack and challenge Clinton and Kaine (Morris, 2018). Additionally, Ellis (2018) claimed that after Terry Crews disclosed his assault, individuals used #HimToo to support male survivors and empower male rape narratives.

Subsequently, Ellis (2018) argued that #HimToo was hijacked. #HimToo was recontextualized to sympathize with men who were falsely reported of sexual assault. Flynn (2018) reported #HimToo went viral after Navy veteran Pieter Hanson's mom created a post that addressed her son was falsely reported of rape. The tweet was shared and ignited the modern Him Too movement. People used #HimToo to support Brett Kavanaugh and ostracize Dr. Christine Ford (Morris, 2018). Furthermore, #HimToo was used to support Johnny Depp after reports of his alleged abuse of ex-wife Amber Heard (Day, 2020). #HimToo faced changing ideologies, but the most common use of the hashtag was to empower assaulters by excusing their reports until they were found guilty.

In June 2020, the Me Too Movement experienced another remixed hashtag. #IWas was created in France, and individuals in the United States began to adopt the hashtag to disclose their age when they were assaulted (France 24, 2020). The movement attracted unique narratives with survivors only posting their ages rather than disclosing an explicit narrative. #IWas revealed

the detailed evolution of Me Too narratives, with survivors finding creative ways to disclose their assault while simultaneously emphasizing the prevalence of sexual assault. The Me Too movement has continued to remain resilient, and I argue that the movement is still ongoing and developing.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I reviewed the literature to create a foundation for understanding sexual assault narratives. Furthermore, I introduced the principles of computer-mediated communication with the intent to contextualize digital communication and discloses. Next, I built the purposes of hashtags within the context of advocacy by articulating hashtag history, hashtag activism, and hashtag hijack. This review helps explain the purposes of digital narratives, how they are connected, and how people use them to disrupt and sustain a digital social movement. Finally, I provided a general overview of the Me Too movement by addressing its history, narrative-type, criticisms, and subsequent remixes.

This review suggests that literature on this subject is incomplete because much of it has focused on the Me Too movement holistically, rather than individually. Boyle (2019) argued that the Me Too movement can be studied as a "moment" or a "discourse" (p. 8). Studying the Me Too movement as a moment implies that Me Too was a singular occurrence that emerged due to mainstream popularity. Consequently, this belief caused much research to examine Me Too as a "bubble." Much quantitative research examined Me Too as a moment because researchers would examine how the movement functioned, the number of people that were affected, or the types of messages that were present at a given time. However, studying the movement as a discourse reveals the intricate interactions present with hashtags, the qualitative narratives created between survivors and their supporters, and the emergent micro-movements or remixes within Me Too. I

argue that the Me Too movement is still ongoing and will continue to develop until assaulters are prosecuted or new regulations are implemented; therefore, examining the movement as a discourse, using rhetorical and qualitative methods, is appropriate to understand how the movement functioned to predict how the movement will continue.

I hope to validate survivors' narratives by revealing how they individually contributed to the mobilization of the movement. Furthermore, I chose a rhetorical approach to examine Me Too narratives because Me Too disclosures are inherently persuasive. Survivors were encouraged to write persuasive messages to be believed and persuade others to join the movement. Furthermore, rhetorical criticisms have been conducted on the Me Too movement. Bloomfield (2019) used Burke's concept of consubstantiality to explore the media's accountability of framing and reporting the Me Too movement. Lanius (2019) applied Fairclough's analytical framework for critical discourse analysis to critique Reddit responses to Me Too disclosures and create a table for common claims made about the movement. Wolfe (2018) used Karlyn Kohrs Campbell's model for identifying agency in text to argue narrative agency in Me Too narratives. Wolfe's research was important to validate Me Too narratives and their effectiveness; however, they claimed that Me Too narratives used invitational rhetoric rather than confrontational (p. 12). I disagree with this notion. I argue that the Me Too movement uses both invitational and confrontational rhetoric. Very little research has applied social movement models and their rhetorical strategies on the Me Too movement, primarily because digital social movements have not been a focus of study for scholars, and it is a relatively new phenomenon. Applying a social movement framework to the Me Too movement will provide insights to how members digitally frame their messages for recruiting members, petitioning their goals, and confronting their aggressors. Therefore, much work is needed to rhetorically critique

narratives to examine how narratives mobilize digital social movements. This research is important to further concepts of digital activism and this thesis will suggest a framework for digital activism and defend digital social movements.

CHAPTER III: METHODS

The previous chapter explores the development of hashtag activism, the history of the Me Too movement, and the different remixes of the movement. Social media is a platform for survivors to disclose their assault, advocate for the movement, and incite discourse over sexual assault norms. The changing remixes of #MeToo suggest that members of the Me Too movement are recontextualizing their arguments. To analyze this phenomenon, this chapter will explain the methods through which narratives will be collected and address the framework I used to critique each remix. I will use Gallagher et al.'s definition of descriptive narratives to identify narratives for this analysis. Additionally, I will use Fisher's narrative paradigm to analyze a text's coherence and fidelity. Finally, I will use Bowers et al.'s *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, which will provide a framework that addresses how members of a social movement will use strategies to mobilize their movement.

Descriptive Narratives

First, discourse surrounding the language people use to address rape culture is important. MacKinnon (2018) argued that the norm was to say "survivors allege" or "claim" they were sexually assaulted. The accused individual would then deny their allegation. This normalized script implies that a survivor's narrative has a chance of falsehood. However, MacKinnon insists that survivors "report" sexual violation, and the accused "alleges" or "claims" the incident did not occur. For the purpose of this thesis, I will be identifying individuals who were sexually assaulted as "survivors" and individuals who assaulted a person as "assaulters." Additionally, when referring to narratives, I will say survivors "reported" an event and assaulters "alleged" that the incident was incorrect. I value this language choice to give the power back to survivors by eliminating any sense of non-believability and referencing them as empowered individuals.

Gallagher et al. (2019) applied network-level reciprocal disclosure (NLRD) into social media narratives. NLRD predicts that disclosing narratives will create a chain reaction of other survivors disclosing their narratives. Their criteria for what constituted an experience of sexual violence was broad, deferring to how the user defined their own experience and their choice to use the hashtag. Some Me Too posts had narratives, memes, or resources for the National Sexual Assault Hotline. However, researchers labeled tweets as disclosures if they contained the Me Too hashtag, was a response to Milano's initial tweet, or if the tweet included discussion of the individual's personal experience of assault or harassment.

Gallagher et al. (2019) stated that tweets containing any amount of detail beyond #MeToo were labeled as descriptive disclosures. Descriptive disclosures fell into a number of inductively created subcategories, the most common of which was "Disclosing Multiple Experiences." In approximately 25% of descriptive disclosures, individuals opted to discuss multiple personal experiences, highlighting that sexual violence has been an ongoing reality or recurrent experience in their lives. Therefore, I will collect descriptive disclosures from Twitter for my thesis. The texts I will be choosing must contain #MeToo or a form of its remix and a disclosure or a call to action. These criteria will help siphon descriptive disclosures from social media posts that solely contain images, poetry, or solely the hashtag itself.

I will select public Twitter posts to respect a survivor's privacy. Public Twitter posts will be determined by whether a post has the "retweet" button available. The presence of the "retweet" button verifies that the narrator made their post public to people who are not in their friend list. Next, I will only be analyzing Twitter posts. I acknowledge that the MeToo movement is present on Facebook, Instagram, and there have been in-person protests too; however, I chose to focus on Twitter because the modern Me Too movement started on the

35

platform, and I want to keep this analysis concise. I will collect at least one #MeToo tweet that

represents a strategy from the agitation and the control; therefore, at least 25 tweets will be

analyzed for the agitation, and at least five will be analyzed for the control. However, some

remixes may utilize multiple strategies from the control, which will garner more tweets that

exemplify that strategy.

Finally, I will not take the number of likes, comments, and shares a post receives into

consideration. If I am making the argument that every narrative contributed to the movement as a

whole, then I must be open to any narrative despite the number of engagements the post

received.

Narrative Paradigm

Walter Fisher is accredited for developing the narrative paradigm. Fisher (1984) argued

that meaningful communication occurs through storytelling and narratives. Essentially, humans

process complex information through narratives. Along these lines, Fisher (1989) elaborated that

the paradigm can be used with various methods and genres including poetry, philosophy, and

sciences. Finally, Fisher argued that the paradigm insists that human communication should be

examined historically and situationally to determine competing narratives' good reasons.

Therefore, a test of coherence and fidelity should be conducted. Baesler (1995) constructed a

model that determined a narrative's coherence and fidelity. The model contained a set of criteria

to establish narrative coherence which included: structural, material, and characterological

coherence. Furthermore, the model identified the following criteria to establish fidelity: factual

values, relevance, consistency, consequence, and transcendental. Baesler's model is interpretive

because the model required researchers to identify parts of a narrative that fit each criteria. Their

justification of a narrative's coherence and fidelity were rooted in a researcher's interpretation of

the narrative and their belief of what exemplified the criteria. The model had sufficient predictive validity and reliability to warrant the test's use to evaluate speeches and short written narratives. Therefore, I will use Baesler's model to justify my interpretation of a #MeToo Twitter narrative's coherence and fidelity.

Coherence

The first component determined a narrative's coherence. Coherence is the degree to which a narrative makes linear sense. Coherent stories are consistent, have sufficient detail, and strong characters. Baesler identified three subcomponents of narrative coherence. Structural coherence examined the organization and sequencing of ideas. In other words, determining whether the narrative has a beginning, middle, and end. Next, material coherence determines if important ideas are missing or distorted. I will be using material coherence to argue whether a part of the narrative is incomplete. Finally, characterological coherence was represented by the believability, consistency, and trustworthiness of the story and narrator. In summary, coherence focuses on the story's characters, setting, and plot. I will use each subcomponent to determine a narrative's coherence. I am aware that my analysis will be interpretive, but I will argue my stance with evidence provided in the narrative.

Fidelity

The next component determines a narrative's fidelity. Fidelity is the degree to which a story fits into the observer's experience with other accounts. In other words, a reader will evaluate a narrative with their perception of what they know to be correct. Baesler (1995) identified five subcomponents of narrative fidelity: factual, relevance, consistency, consequence, and transcendental. Factual values provide the explicitness of the story's moral message. Relevancy asks whether the character in the narrative learns a lesson or contributes to the overall

lesson. Consistency concerns the "truth" of the narrative when compared with an audience's personal experience and knowledge of others. Consequence applies the narrative to the reader and other relationships. Finally, the transcendental fidelity value argues goodness of the narrative. I will judge fidelity by assuming that individuals who wrote these posts are exhibiting good-will. Walther (1996) argued that the absence of social cues in computer-mediated messages made narratives hyper-personal. Essentially, readers will interpret a #MeToo message favorably because they will trust that a person's disclosure, especially if there was risk associated with the narrative, was an indicator that they were honest. However, this notion assumes that fidelity is present in the narrative.

I will also critique a narrative's fidelity if they contain empirical evidence to support the coherency of their narrative, such as disclosing details in their narratives. Colbertson (1995) argued that individuals recalling traumatic memories will have a distorted recollection of events. I will consider this notion by addressing missing coherence and fidelity elements from a survivor's narrative. Despite how trauma can cause delayed and missing components in stories that might seem like a reduction in coherence, this analysis will consider how the online posting of survivor narratives of #MeToo provides a notion of coherence based on the overall discourse of such stories, as opposed to viewing them individually. Additionally, by exploring how online activism can be remixed, we will note how additional iterations of these narratives, as they exist in remixed hashtags, can potentially heighten a narrative's coherence.

Some #MeToo posts, typically criticisms, are more argumentative rather than interpretive. These narratives use claims, evidence, and warrants to criticize a survivor's disclosure; therefore, there is a possibility that narrative coherence and fidelity will not be present with criticisms. Additionally, some #MeToo narratives will lack coherence and fidelity

because a survivor's narrative may have some inconsistencies regarding their recollection of their assault, or they may choose not to disclose this information at all. I will still utilize these narratives regardless of any missing coherence or fidelity to examine how critics made sense of these narratives when writing their response.

The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control

Numerous social movement frameworks exist; however, I wanted to use one that provided strategies for how individuals protested within a movement rather than examining a movement as a whole. The *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control* focused on the interactions between individuals arguing for social change (agitation) and the response of the establishment or hegemony who were opposing the change (control) within a social movement (Bowers et al., 2010). This framework is appropriate to examine the individual narratives Me Too survivors post on social media because the framework will help me provide insights to how the agitation and the establishment will tailor their narratives.

The Rhetoric of Agitation

The first part of the framework examines the strategies of the agitation. Bowers et al. (2010) defines the agitation as, "people outside the normal decision-making establishment advocating significant social change and encountering a degree of resistance within the establishment; requiring more than the normal discursive means of persuasion" (p. 3-4). In other words, the agitation is a group of people who do not hold legitimate power in a public space, whether the power is legislative or enforced; they are the so-called "margins," or the subaltern, or the disempowered and disenfranchised in a society. Therefore, the agitation will alter the way society regulates itself by using more than the normal discursive means of persuasion to call attention to their grievances and to achieve their goals (p. 5). I identify members of the MeToo

movement who disclose their narratives and advocate for sexual assault awareness as agitation, because they advocate for the social change of normalized sexual harassment, believing survivors' narratives, and incarcerating individuals who committed the assault. Additionally, I argue that survivors disclose their narratives before advocating for the movements as a normal discursive means of persuasion. As mention previously, narratives are more convincing than arguments. Therefore, I will use five strategies of agitation: promulgation, solidification, polarization, nonviolent resistance, and escalation/confrontation. These strategies may have overlap because there is no determined sequence (Bowers et al., 2010, p. 22). These strategies are meant to be cumulative and progressive; therefore, how I use this framework will be up to my discretion.

Promulgation

The first strategy identified in this social movement framework is promulgation, which involved agitators publicly proclaiming their goals to win public support for their positions (p. 23). During this stage, agitators will attempt to recruit members into the movement, one tactic being an exploitation of the mass media. Additionally, Bowers et al. argue that agitators will adapt their messages in order to attract the attention of the media (p. 27). I will use promulgation to analyze how people recruited members into the Me Too movement.

Solidification

The stage of solidification unites followers to create a sense of community that may be vital to the success of the movement (p. 29). During this stage, agitators will also create cohesiveness with its members, which increases responsiveness to group beliefs, values, and ideologies. Bowers et al. further that members may utilize rituals, songs, and slogans. I will use solidification to examine how survivors narrate their experiences to unify other survivors.

Polarization

　　The next strategy identified is polarization. This strategy assumes that any person who has not committed to the agitation was instead supporting the establishment (p. 40). During this stage, agitators shame individuals to choose between the agitator or establishment. Essentially, agitators create a "you are part of the problem or solution" mentality. Bowers et al. argue that this strategy is valid as agitators are predominantly seeking individuals who are committed to the movement (p. 40). This strategy will be used to examine how narratives are directed at individuals not involved with the movement.

Nonviolent Resistance

　　Bowers et al. identify nonviolent resistance as the next strategy. They further said that members will use two tactics: physical presence and physical absence to create tension with the establishment (p. 42). During this stage, agitators will violate laws, customs, or norms to be destructive. Moreover, this strategy requires persistence (p. 46). Non-violent resistance does not pose any real, physical threat to the establishment; however, the response is excessive to ignore. I argue that "physical presence" cannot be exemplified through digital movements, because narratives are online; however, I will use the persistence of seeing a certain post or type of post on a person's newsfeed as a physical presence, because these posts are essentially congesting a person's newsfeed. This strategy will be used to examine unique tactics survivors used to obtain a response from assaulters.

Escalation & Confrontation

　　The last strategy to consider is escalation and confrontation. During this stage, agitators potentially escalate the tension until the establishment responds with violent suppression (p. 47). Bowers et al. identify a series of tactics agitators utilize such as leading the establishment to

expect the participation of a large number of agitators, using rumors and allegations to disrupt the establishment, using nonnegotiable demands, being nonverbally offensive, and using verbal obscene deprecation. This strategy, in the context of this thesis, will help me examine how survivors publicly address their assaulters online.

For the purpose of this thesis, I will be excluding two other strategies of the agitation: Gandhi & Guerilla and Revolution. Bowers et al. identified these strategies as the in-person physical confrontation of the control. These strategies are exemplified through in-person protests and riots. The Me Too movement has protested in marches; however, I want to focus on the digital narratives of the movement rather than physical marches to abide with my research and keep my thesis concise. Additionally, I will be collecting Twitter posts to critique each strategy that the Me Too movement used. Additionally, I note that strategies of the agitation are framed as steps whereas people in the control can select which strategy to use.

The Rhetoric of Control

The next part of the framework helps us examine the strategies of the control. Bowers et al. (2010) defined the control as individuals or the establishment who resist the change from the agitation (p. 4). Simply, the establishment embodies the hegemony because they hold power in the space the agitation is disrupting. When the establishment is confronted, they may use one of the following three rhetorical strategies: avoidance, suppression, and adjustment.

Avoidance

The first strategy used by the control is avoidance. Bowers et al. defined this strategy as using counter persuasion and evasion to convince the agitators they were incorrect (p. 55). During this strategy, the establishment will attempt to use counter persuasion and convince the agitators that they are incorrect and will gaslight them into believing their proposals will not

work. The establishment will also gravitate toward evasion or avoid dealing with the agitation entirely (p. 56). Moreover, researchers argue this tends to be the most successful tactic. I will use avoidance to examine how the establishment avoids Me Too narratives and redirects the conversation when addressed personally.

Suppression

Bowers et al. also argue the establishment will use suppression strategies to remain in power. Suppression requires an extensive understanding of the agitation and their ideology as well as actively committing to confront the agitators and their movement (p. 61). During this strategy, the leaders of the opposing movement are usually attacked because of how crucial they are to the movement. The agitation will attempt to weaken or remove the leader through harassment or denying their demands. This strategy will be used to examine critics' and assaulters' responses to leaders of the Me Too movement.

Adjustment

The last strategy the control may utilize is adjustment. Bowers et al. define adjustment as, "adapting, modifying, or altering the establishment's structures, goals, and personnel" (p. 68). In this strategy, the control will begin to cater to the demands of the agitation; however, they will frame the decision as their own, so they are not perceived as weak. Moreover, the control will achieve adjustment through sacrificing personnel, accepting some of the means of the agitation, and incorporating parts of the dissident ideology such as tokenism (p. 69-71).

For the purposes of the analysis, I excluded the last strategy of the control: Capitulation. Bowers et al. defined capitulation as the complete surrendering to the agitation's demands (p. 72). I excluded this strategy because as of April 2021, the Me Too movement is an ongoing movement. Their first milestone was reached with the prosecution of Weinstein; however, many

other assaulters addressed in the literature review have not been arrested, which insinuates that members of the movement will continue to seek justice.

Conclusion

I will collect #MeToo Twitter narratives from five top-trending Me Too remixes. The number of tweets present in each remix that fit each strategy were in the hundreds; however, I will categorize each of the tweets and then choose exemplars that represent a strategy from the agitation and the control. Finally, I will elaborate how the narrative contains coherence and fidelity. This process will highlight the discursive elements of a social movement and defend the Me Too movement as a legitimate social movement by examining how narratives are framed and how they incite responses that will consequently prompt a remix.

Furthermore, this analysis is both critical and interpretive. I created a process to examine how members of the Me Too movement use hashtags to petition a #MeToo remix, recruit new members, and protest the hegemony. However, this critical approach is based on my interpretation of the narratives I collected. I will never know a survivor's true intention of writing a post, unless I ask each individual myself; therefore, I will justify the perceived intention with how they framed their posts and my understanding of trauma narratives.

In this chapter I explained the methods through which narratives will be collected and the framework I will be using to critique each remixed Me Too hashtag. The next chapter will analyze these narratives and show the mobilization and subsequent hijacking of the Me Too movement.

CHAPTER IV: ANALYSIS

The previous chapter explores the methods I will use to conduct the analysis. This chapter will analyze four #MeToo remixes and one #MeToo hijack. The remixes I will analyze are #MeToo (2017), #TimesUp, #WhyIDidntReport, and #BelieveWomen. I argue that these are the most prominent hashtags in the Me Too movement because they garnered the greatest Twitter engagement. I identify #HimToo as the prominent hijack due to the hashtag's virality and engagement as well. Within each movement I will apply *The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control* to examine the strategies used by members of Me Too to further the movement and by the establishment attempting to disrupt the movement. Additionally, I gathered Twitter narratives that best exemplified these strategies.

The Agitation of #MeToo (2017)

There were many uses of the words, "Me Too." Individuals used the term to address the Me Too movement as a whole, or to address the hashtag itself. For the purpose of this analysis, I have identified "#MeToo (2017)" as the hashtag that was used during the period that began on October 17, 2017 with Alyssa Milano's initial post and continued through January 1, 2018 with the announcement of the Time's Up Initiative. I argue that the goal of #MeToo (2017) was to raise awareness of the prevalence of sexual assault among women.

Promulgation

The first strategy members of the Me Too movement used to achieve their goal was promulgation. Bowers et al. (2010) defined promulgation as agitators proclaiming their goals to win public support for their positions (p. 23). Additionally, agitators will recruit members into the movement by utilizing mass media. Alyssa Milano's initial tweet was the example of promulgation within this period.

Milano (2017) tweeted, "If you have been sexually assaulted write 'me too' as a reply to this tweet." The tweet was posted with a picture of text stating, "Suggested by a friend: If all the women who have been sexually harassed wrote 'me too' as a status, we might give people a sense of the magnitude of the problem." Milano publicly proclaimed the goal of replying to her tweet with "me too" to show the magnitude of women who have been sexually assaulted, which was also addressed in the picture present with her tweet. Furthermore, Milano utilized mass media by posting this goal on her Twitter page to her thousands of followers. Her tweet was public, so any individual was capable of liking, commenting, and sharing her post. In other words, Milano was recruiting members to participate by inviting them to disclose they were a sexual assault survivor by commenting "me too" on her post.

Narrative coherence was briefly present in the picture rather than Milano's tweet. Milano identified her friend as the central narrator by stating, "suggested by a friend." Her narrative had credibility and was good-willed because she truthfully accredited someone else for the idea rather than claiming the idea herself. No other substantial coherence or fidelity was present in the tweet as Milano was just inviting her large fan base to disclose their status as a survivor, rather than disclosing her narrative in detail herself. Subsequently, this initiated more people to disclose their status created a community for survivors.

Solidification

The second strategy members used was solidification, or uniting followers to create a sense of community (Bowers et al., 2010 p. 29). This stage encourages agitators to create cohesiveness with its members by sharing the group's beliefs, values, and ideologies. Bowers et al. furthered that members may utilize slogans to accomplish this unity. I argue that the disclosures in the comment section of Milano's initial tweet exemplified solidification.

Individuals who replied to Milano's post with #MeToo were united because they were connected in a comment thread with other survivors. Consequently, survivors were validating each other's narratives. Marrichi (2017) tweeted, "Me too, he was my stepfather." Her tweet garnered 85 likes and a response from Milano. Milano (2017) responded with, "I'm sorry anyone ever hurt you." Her post received 115 likes. Milano's response validated Marrichi's tweet by expressing her sympathy to Marrichi's experience. Furthermore, Milano's popularity helped Marrichi receive more support, further uniting survivors to support each other. Twitter user Real Miss Morgue (2017) responded with, "I am so sorry you had to have this happen." I argue that she is expressing sympathy to show her solidarity with the survivor. Additionally, Jenn_30.8 (2019) responded years later with, "I'm so sorry, it happened from a person who was supposed to protect you. Instead, he was the person who hurt you. I say person because he is no man." Marrichi's narrative had linear coherence. Her tweet disclosed her identity as a survivor and her assaulter. The structure of her tweet implied that her stepfather sexually assaulted her. Some fidelity was present with Jenn_30.0's replies. We culturally associate paternal figures to have masculine characteristics such as authority, power, and strength; therefore, Jenn_30.0's comment addressed this notion by criticizing Marrichi's stepfather and then emasculating his identity for violating his paternal role. Furthermore, Milano's post unintentionally created a slogan that survivors utilized. Survivors added #MeToo in their disclosures. Consequently, #MeToo connected sexual assault narratives to Milano's initial post.

Polarization

The third strategy agitators used was polarization. Bowers et al. (2010) defined the strategy as any person who was not committed to the agitation was supporting the establishment (p. 40). During this stage, agitators will seek individuals who are committed to the movement.

Following Milano's post, CNN (2017) reported producer Russel Simmons was stepping down from his position after receiving a report of sexually assaulting a person. Common tweets criticizing Simmons's decisions were, "Okay: this is getting crazy. How much of this is just hysteria at this point" (Spalding, 2017). Spalding was making a general claim that reported individuals were being accused without reason. Simultaneously, BearsGrl80 (2017) shared the same CNN article with, "…and it's about freaking time we hold people accountable for their behavior. If you are still out there wondering why this matters, you are part of the problem. #MeToo."

Polarization created an ingroup and an outgroup. The agitation established themselves as embracing the morally correct ideology and ostracized individuals with opposing views. BearsGrl80's tweet was an example of polarization because she identified individuals who were questioning male celebrities' ability to be accountable for their behaviors as being part of the problem. In other words, BearsGrl80 shamed individuals into believing they were contributing to the persistence of sexual abuse, if they were ignorant to Simmons's actions. BearsGirl80's narrative had minimal coherence and fidelity. Her full tweet read:

> 2016 was the year of Celebrity Deaths. 2017 is the year of Career Destruction. And it's about freaking time we hold people accountable for their behavior. If you are still out there wondering why this matters, you are part of the problem. #MeToo (BearsGirl80, 2017).

Coherence was difficult to establish when she made the claim "2016 was the year of celebrity deaths," because she did not address the relevance of comparing the number of celebrity deaths with the number of assaulters who were losing their jobs. However, some fidelity was present when she argued, "If you are still out there wondering why this matters, you are part of the

problem." BearsGirl80 was using the cultural script that remaining complacent to issues pertaining to violence assists assaulters because no action is taken to stop the abuse. People were encouraged to support #MeToo because they had a moral obligation to help survivors who experienced trauma and injustice. Furthermore, polarization identified individuals who were against the movement, which drew criticism and online confrontations.

Nonviolent Resistance

The fourth strategy identified was nonviolent resistance. Bowers et al. (2010) defined nonviolent resistance as using physical presence and persistence to create tension (p. 46). During this stage, agitators will violate laws, customs, or norms to be destructive without posing a real, physical threat. Additionally, members will use one of two tactics: physical presence or physical absence to create tension with the establishment (p. 42). I argue members of the Me Too movement created tension by using the trending #MeToo in their disclosures, openly disclosing their assault online, and reporting an assaulter.

Editor Kallie Plagge's November 10, 2017 narrative exemplified nonviolent resistance. Plagge (2017) tweeted, "After hearing everyone else's sexual harassment stories, I feel like it's finally time to share my own. #MeToo." However, the real resistance was present in the picture she posted with her narrative, which detailed her experience working with the entertainment website, IGN. Plagge reported former editor Vince Ingenito for sexually harassing her and her colleagues. Plagge disclosed comments Ingenito made and then addressed that the growing number of survivors disclosing their narratives motivated her to tell her narrative. Her narrative ended with thanking the reader for "listening" to her narrative.

Plagge's narrative had high coherence and high fidelity. Coherence was present through how she structured her disclosure. The narrative had a clear beginning, middle, and end. Plagge

also established the setting of her harassment by disclosing her position and where she worked. Additionally, she identified her assaulter and his transgressions. She ends her narrative by reflecting on her experience and commenting on the impact survivors by disclosing their #MeToo narratives. Plagge's disclosure displayed material coherence because she provided examples of the transgressions, she experienced with each claim she made. She reported that Ingenito made uncomfortable compliments, manipulative comments, and overtly sexual comments by disclosing him saying, "guys don't like skinny girls," "you need a real man," and "When I was your age, I could go all night." Finally, her narrative revealed characterological coherence because she used first-person language to describe her assault and used 2nd-person language to talk to her supporters, which created consistency by helping readers understand who she was addressing.

Fidelity was present in Plagge's narrative through some comments she made that validated our perception of trauma victims. She stated, "The harassment was a major factor in my leaving IGN. I have carried the disgust, fear, and disrespect… as more and more victims and survivors come forward with their stories, the sick feeling in my stomach has returned." Plagge was alluding that she carried her trauma until the trending number of survivors disclosing their sexual assault narratives gave her the confidence to share her narrative for other survivors to heal. The script present was that a mass number of survivors disclosing their narratives garnered supportive messages, which encouraged more survivors to disclose their stories. Consequently, Plagge also received supportive comments. Her narrative was an example of "physical presence" on Twitter because these types of posts were overwhelming people's social media news feeds when they were shared, which prompted responses from assaulters.

Escalation and confrontation

The fifth strategy was escalation and confrontation. Bowers et al. (2010) defined the strategy as escalating the tension until the establishment responded with violent suppression (p. 47). This strategy used rumors and allegations to disrupt the establishment.

Plagge received supportive comments from her followers. Josh (2017) stated, "Thanks for sharing your side of the story. I look forward to hearing from @IGN and the man that you accused for their perspectives, too." Josh's comment was reflective of confrontation when he tagged IGN and encouraged the company to respond. Additionally, a number of IGN employees stood in solidarity with Plagge by refusing to work, which prompted IGN representatives to issue a statement condemning Ingenito's actions (Williams, 2017). Furthermore, some comments tagged Ingenito personally. Consequently, he issued a comment denying Plagge's reports. Narratives such as Josh's tweets had low coherence and low fidelity because he was not disclosing a narrative. The purpose was to engage the establishment to respond with their own narratives. Some fidelity may be present with the expectation that the person who was reported for assault will use their platform to plead their case.

The Control of #MeToo (2017)

I identify people who criticize #MeToo (2017) as the control. Additionally, I argue the goal of #MeToo (2017) was to raise awareness of the prevalence of sexual assault among women; therefore, the establishment was invalidating narratives by redefining definitions of "sexual assault" to undermine the prevalence of sexual assault. Therefore, I argue that the establishment utilized avoidance strategies to disrupt #MeToo (2017) narratives.

Avoidance

The primary strategy used by the control for #MeToo (2017) was avoidance. Bowers et al. defined this strategy as using evasion to convince the agitators they were incorrect (p. 55). Tweeden (2017) disclosed her narrative on Twitter, and she received criticism from men and women. Her narrative was linked to a news source and displayed a photo of Senator Al Franken groping her while she was asleep. The comments that Tweeden received in her narrative were common examples of individuals using avoidance.

Bunky (2017) stated, "He is not groping her. He is posing for the camera. It's a joke. Bullet proof vest, and shadows under his fingers- not groping." Bunky argued that the photo was staged for humorous purposes and addressed that Franken's finger shadow was visible; therefore, the image did not constitute sexual harassment. Bunky was using an avoidance strategy by invalidating Tweeden's report by creating his own criteria of assault to justify Franken's actions. Next, Marie (2017) argued, "Must have been so damaging to her. Look what she was forced to endure 5 years later." Marie also posted photos of Tweeden when she posed for *Playboy* magazine. Marie was using the cultural script that women who were open with their sexuality were not valid when speaking against sexual abuse. Marie used counter persuasion by invalidating Tweeden's pain of being sexually assaulted by providing photographic evidence that she was open with her sexuality. Her rhetoric was rooted in shaming Tweeden.

Finally, Wilson (2017) argued, "Her #MeToo hashtag is such a slap in the face to the rest of us who actually have been molested. @LeeannTweeden." Wilson invalidated Tweeden's narrative by redefining the definition of sexual assault. #MeToo has been collecting narratives from rape, sexual assault, and sexual harassment survivors. These definitions were convoluted with each other, and individuals were comparing traumas to see who was more worthy of

receiving justice. Wilson compared Tweeden's incident to individuals who were molested. She used counter persuasion to undermine Tweeden's groping incident to contest it as a valid form of sexual assault.

Comments from the control did not have much coherence or fidelity because they focused on argumentation by using evidence to invalidate a survivor's experience rather than narratives. Therefore, I argue that many criticisms this period received was to establish a definition of sexual abuse and create direction for the movement. This prompted members of the Me Too movement to establish direction and goals for the movement.

The Agitation of #TimesUp

I identify "#TimesUp" as the period that began on January 1, 2018, with the development of the Time's Up Initiative and continued through September 21, 2018, with Trump's tweet over the Kavanaugh hearings. Buckey (2018) reported that the Time's Up Initiative was an open letter that was signed by three hundred A-list celebrity women. The initiative included a legal defense fund of $13 million for less privileged women, legislation to penalize companies that tolerate harassment, discourage the use of nondisclosure agreements, gender parity in talent agencies, and a request for celebrities to wear black at the Golden Globes to show solidarity with survivors. Celebrities used their high-profile statues and fan bases to perpetuate the movement. Therefore, I argue that the goal of #TimesUp was to provide the Me Too movement with direction and garner participation from prominent celebrities to further the movement.

Promulgation

The first strategy members of #TimesUp used was promulgation. Bowers et al. (2010) defined promulgation as agitators proclaiming their goals to win public support for their positions (p. 23). Furthermore, agitators will utilize mass media to recruit members.

Unlike #MeToo, Time's Up was a leaderless movement. Halle Berry and Reese Witherspoon created the initiative; however, the mobilization of the moment was a collective effort with multiple celebrities using their platforms to encourage their fans to engage with the movement. Therefore, I argue that the inciting incident of #TimesUp happened when *The New York Times* published their article articulating the initiative's demands on January 1, 2018. *The New York Times* (2018) tweeted, "A group of 300 Hollywood women have formed a sprawling initiative to fight systemic sexual harassment." Additionally, editors provided the demands in the comment section, which exemplified them publicly proclaiming their goal. *The New York Times* also used Twitter, a mass media platform, to post their article and garner high participation from their followers.

The New York Times' post had some coherence, but no fidelity, because their post was continuing the Me Too narrative by addressing that action will being done to fight systemic sexual harassment, however they were not disclosing a narrative themselves. This post established linear coherence because the transgression that was highlighted in #MeToo now had a plan to stop the transgression. *The New York Times'* post received 13,000 likes and 4,300 retweets. The high number of retweets spread the initiative's message to other people's news feeds.

Solidification

The second strategy members of #TimesUp used was solidification, or uniting followers to create a sense of community (Bowers et al., 2010 p. 29). Additionally, this stage has agitators creating cohesiveness with their members by sharing the group's beliefs, values, and slogans.

A common example of solidification was exemplified when Justin Timberlake (2018) posted, "No more accepting sexual harassment and inequality at work as normal. It's not normal.

#TIMESUP timesupnow.com." Additionally, his post was followed by a picture that read, "Time's up on silence. Time's up on waiting. Time's up on tolerating discrimination, harassment, and abuse. #timesup." Timberlake was addressing the demands that were reflective of Time's Up's values. Additionally, he created unity by utilizing #TimesUp, which connected narratives from other celebrities too. The comment section garnered support from his fans who praised Timberlake's commitment, and some retweeted his post onto their timelines. The hashtag served as the slogan, similarly to #MeToo. More community was established when co-founder of the initiative, Reese Witherspoon (2018), validated his post by stating, "Right on, JT!" Witherspoon's comment alluded that Timberlake's post matched her values with the Time's Up Initiative.

Timberlake's comment had both coherence and fidelity. Material coherence was present in the narrative when he followed a claim with an example. For example, he stated, "no more accepting sexual harassment and inequality at work as normal." He then followed this statement with examples of unacceptable behaviors in the picture such as, "silencing, waiting, and tolerating discrimination, harassment, and abuse should not be tolerated anymore." No characterological coherence was present as Timberlake did not disclose any form of assault happening to him, but rather he addressed general behaviors that were normalized in the workplace. Next fidelity was present when Timberlake specifically chose to address "silence, waiting, and tolerating abuse in the workplace." He addressed scripts that have been normalized for women in the workplace, meaning that we have grown accustomed to accepting these behaviors in the environment. Timberlake's narrative was effective as the post received 15,000 likes, and 2,800 retweets. Furthermore, other celebrities such as Kamala Harris (2018), Kerry Washington (2018), and Rosario Dawson (2018) had similar narratives exemplifying

solidification by uniting their fans to support the movement. Criticism ensued shortly after their narratives were posted, which prompted fans to debate ideologies.

Nonviolent Resistance

The next strategy identified was nonviolent resistance. Bowers et al. (2010) defined nonviolent resistance as using physical presence and persistence to create tension (p. 46). During this stage, agitators will violate norms to be destructive without posing a real, physical threat. Nonviolent resistance was the least utilized strategy as celebrities were actively demanding for change in Hollywood and calling out assaulters. However, the most notable example of nonviolent resistance was a demand made by some of the vocal celebrities who were supporting the Initiative: to wear black at the Golden Globes ceremony. *Vanity Fair* (2018) reported that, "Designers will auction off their black Golden Globes dresses for #TimesUp." The Golden Globes was a success with almost every celebrity dressed in black to raise awareness of the Time's Up Initiative. Additionally, designers who made dresses for celebrities auctioned off the dresses and donated the money to the Initiative. This tweet was an example of nonviolent resistance because the tweet highlighted the number of celebrities supporting the movement which exemplified their commitment and persistence. This post did not have coherence and fidelity as a disclosure was not present. However, tension escalated when celebrities reported well-known celebrities as assaulters in their narratives.

Escalation and confrontation

The next strategy was escalation and confrontation. Bowers et al. (2010) defined the strategy as escalating the tension until the establishment responded with violent suppression (p. 47). Similar to #MeToo (2017), this strategy used rumors and allegations to disrupt the

establishment. #TimesUp escalated and confronted the establishment by addressing assaulters in their narratives. Kathy Griffin's tweet exemplified this strategy in the following narrative:

> For 20 years we've been reading about credible accusations against R Kelly. For 20 years we've known that he has settled multiple claims of sexual misconduct. For 20 years we have known he is a sexual predator. Enough! I stand with the women of #timesup #MuteRKelly (Griffin, 2018).

The direct example of confrontation was present when Griffin disclosed R. Kelly's name in her narrative. Additionally, she utilized #MuteRKelly which was a hashtag that trended on Twitter. Griffin also disclosed that Kelly received multiple reports for more than 20 years and that his "time was up," alluding that R. Kelly should now be held responsible for his actions.

Griffin's post presented coherence and fidelity. Her narrative contained structural coherence because she used repetition strategies to organize the sequence of her narrative. She provided evidence after each "for 20 years" statement. Furthermore, Griffin's post had material coherence because her examples were claims of problematic behaviors that followed Kelly for 20 years. Additionally, her narrative has fidelity because the post has good intentions. Griffin made these claims not to be defamatory, but rather to contribute to the prosecution of a known assaulter. Additionally, there was fidelity when Griffin followed the script that there were men in Hollywood who have been abusing their power for years, knowledge that "was known." Griffin's narrative was one of many that reported Kelly as a predator. Eventually, Kelly would go on television to defend himself.

Polarization

The final strategy agitators used was polarization. Through observation, polarization was not present much within the #TimesUp movement. I argue polarization was the least utilized

strategy because fans already assumed that if people disagreed with the demands of #TimesUp,

they were actively working against the movement. However, I noticed some polarization after R.

Kelly's accusation. Ava DuVernay's tweet was an example of polarization. DuVernay (2018)

stated the following:

> We join the call to #MuteRKelly and insist on the safety and dignity of all women. We
>
> demand investigations into R. Kelly's abuse allegations made by women of color and
>
> their families for two decades. We call on those who profit from his music to cut ties.
>
> #MuteRKelly #TimesUp #WoC.

Additionally, DuVernay posted a picture that stated, "Together, we call on corporations and

venues with ties to R. Kelly, to join us and insist on safety and dignity for women of all kinds."

DuVernay's tweet was one of many that demanded R. Kelly to be held accountable for

his actions after being reported for assaulting a woman during the #TimesUp period. DuVernay's

narrative first established unity by using "we" language; she was speaking for a group of

individuals who wanted to empower the narratives of women of color. Additionally, her

narrative exemplified polarization because she called individuals to join them and insist on the

safety and dignity for women. DuVernay's post was inviting members to adopt the movement's

values, because the alternative would position the audience member against the narratives of

women of color.

DuVernay's narrative had little to no coherence and fidelity as her post was a call to

action, and she did not disclose an assault. Her post was one of many that addressed assaulters in

their narratives. Others publicly criticized Bill Cosby, Donald Trump, and Brett Kavanaugh for

reports they had received. Consequently, these narratives were criticized by individuals who

supported the accused, reported individuals.

The Control of #TimesUp

I identify people who criticize #TimesUp as the control. Additionally, I argue the goal of #TimesUp is to further their initiative, which consequently called out assaulters. Therefore, people in the establishment were invalidating narratives by criticizing posts that identified assaulters. Therefore, I argue that the establishment utilized avoidance strategies to disrupt #TimesUp narratives.

Avoidance

An avoidance strategy uses evasion to convince the agitators they were incorrect (Bowers et al., 2010, p. 55). The first example of avoidance was redirecting the narrative to be the fault of the survivor. AD (2018) argued, "They should stop sleeping with people in exchange for money and jobs first." He was shifting the blame to survivors and used the common narrative that women were sleeping with men in exchange for money or a promotion. However, Pegs (2018) challenged this narrative by stating, "No. Men should stop raping and assaulting women first. What a nonsense tweet." Essentially, she shifted the blame back to men who would withhold promotions until they received sexual favors and to men who somehow believe the woman is culpable for such power disparities.

However, a common argument made by the establishment was to criticize the time lapse from the initial assault to reporting the assault. Jmsully (2018) stated, "So funny how the actresses and actors knew for years and did absolutely nothing. Now they expect everyone to feel bad for them. Sorry no can do." and Dernhelm the coffee-slayer (2018) furthered, "I'm always skeptical of the stars involved in this. Why is now suddenly #timesup? Why didn't they call it out before? Are they only standing up against these abusers because someone else did it first?" These narratives also redirected the fault to the survivor. Jmsully was criticizing the notion that

soliciting unwanted sexual favors was common knowledge in Hollywood, and survivors should not receive sympathy because they waited so long to report the assault. Dernhelm also criticized the timing of these disclosures, by arguing the timeliness of addressing assault at the given moment. This notion was the basis for the development of the next #MeToo remix.

The Agitation of #WhyIDidntReport

I identify "#WhyIDidntReport" as the period that began on September 1, 2018, with Trump's tweet criticizing Dr. Christine Blasey Ford's testimony and continued through the end of September 2018 with the emergence of the "Believe Women" slogan. Donald Trump's Twitter account was permanently suspended on January 8, 2021, so I could not access his tweets. However, news articles screenshotted his old tweets, and I used their screenshot to quote Trump with the following:

> I have no doubt that, if the attack on Dr. Ford was as bad as she says, charges would have been immediately filed with local Law Enforcement Authorities by either her or her loving parents. I ask that she bring those filings forward so that we can learn date, time, and place. (Bonos, 2018)

Trump's tweet was credited for igniting the Why I Didn't Report movement (Melendez, 2018). Many #WhyIDidntReport disclosures incorporated narratives with argumentation. Therefore, I argue that the goal of #WhyIDidntReport was to use narratives to justify why survivors did not initially report their sexual assault. Furthermore, I argue that polarization, nonviolent resistance, and confrontation and escalation strategies of the agitation were not used as steps in a process, but rather were different approaches to answer why they did not report their assault.

Solidification and Promulgation

One strategy members of the agitation used in their #WhyIDidntReport narratives was solidification, or uniting followers to create a sense of community (Bowers et al., 2010 p. 29). Similar to #MeToo (2017) and #TimesUp, #WhyIDidntReport encouraged survivors to disclose their narratives with a hashtag. In turn, the hashtag collected similar narratives which created a community for individuals who used the hashtag.

Additionally, another strategy survivors used in their #WhyIDidntReport narratives was promulgation. Bowers et al. (2010) defined promulgation as agitators publicly proclaiming their goals to win public support for their positions (p. 23). I argue every narrative used promulgation because their disclosures answered the question, "why did you not report your assault?" The hashtag was a goal by serving as a prompt to be answered. This was exemplified in the following narrative:

> #WhyIDidntReport. I've always have had really bad sleep paralysis at first. I tried to convince myself it was that. I confided in an adult once and was instantly asked if I was lying. I was 12. I sometimes still have to interact with the person and pretend it never happened (Ynindia, 2018).

Ynindia's narrative had high coherence and high fidelity. Structural coherence was present by how Ynindia's structured her narrative. She begins by disclosing that she had sleep paralysis, she then included "at first," which implied that the issue persisted. She then organized her narrative by disclosing more information. She then disclosed her age and that she continuously interacted with the person. Her narrative had room for interpretation, but readers can summarize that Ynindia was assaulted when she was asleep, which mirrored actions of a person experiencing

61

sleep paralysis. Her narrative has characterological coherence because Ynindia disclosed enough information to set up her narrative, and she identified herself as the survivor in the narrative.

Fidelity was present through consistency. Her narrative was consistent because Ynindia used a metaphor to disclose her assault that was consistent with the narrative of a person who experiences sleep paralysis. Individuals who experience sleep paralysis are in a state of waking up during a sleep; furthermore, the person is aware of their surroundings, but they are unable to move or speak as a hallucination overcomes them (Felson, 2020). Ynindia established fidelity by alluding that her assault was a similar experience.

Polarization

Another strategy the agitators of #WhyIDidntReport used was polarization. Bowers et al. (2010) defined polarization as the assumption that any person who was not committed to the agitation was supporting the establishment (p. 40). Chan (2018) tweeted, "If you are still unsure why women and men who've been abused might not speak up please take a moment to read #WhyIDidntReport. The culture of victim blaming has to end." Chan's post exemplified polarization because she addressed individuals who were ignorant as to why survivors did not report their assault. She deliberately used the word "still," which addressed people who were not informed of the hashtag at the given moment. Furthermore, her last sentence was, "the culture of victim blaming has to end." She suggested that arguments made by ignorant individuals were blaming the victim rather than understanding their narrative. Her post argued that a person's ignorance to the situation was contributing to the culture of victim-blaming. Chan's post did not have coherence or fidelity as no disclosure was present, and she was just formulating an argument. However, some survivors were more direct with their narratives.

Nonviolent Resistance

The fourth strategy identified was nonviolent resistance. Bowers et al. (2010) defined nonviolent resistance as using physical presence and persistence to create tension (p. 46). During this stage, agitators will violate norms to be destructive without posing a real, physical threat. I argue that members of #WhyIDidntReport used physical presence similarly to #MeToo (2017) and #TimesUp. Nonviolent resistance was present by the overwhelming and subsequently trending use of the Why I Didn't Report hashtag. The persistence of this hashtag was congesting people's timelines.

Escalation and confrontation

The fifth strategy was escalation and confrontation. Bowers et al. (2010) defined the strategy as escalating the tension until the establishment responded with violent suppression (p. 47). This strategy included using allegations to disrupt the establishment. Since Donald Trump's initial tweet, survivors have been tagging him and counterargued his claims with their own narratives. Milano (2018) responded to Trump with the following post:

> Hey, @realDonaldTrump, Listen the fuck up. I was sexually assaulted twice. Once when I was a teenager. I never filed a police report, and it took me 30 years to tell me parents. If any survivor of sexual assault would like to add to this, please do so in the replies. #MeToo.

Additionally, Milano commented #WhyIDidntReport under her narrative. Milano's narrative had coherence and fidelity. Characterological coherence was present because Milano disclosed her status as a survivor, the number of times she had been assaulted, and her reaction. She established herself as the central focus of the narrative. Additionally, material coherence was present when she disclosed her age as a reason for why she did not initially report her assault.

63

The only information that was not provided was the reason why Milano waited to disclose her assault, which hindered structural coherence. We can assume she did not disclose due to the nature of the trauma and fear of disappointing her parents, especially since she was a teenager, but this was not explicitly stated. However, I have already established that some survivors who experience trauma were likely to disclose broken narratives due to bris flaws as a result of their trauma, which can reinforce fidelity. Milano's post was liked by 59,000 users and shared over 14,000 times, which garnered negative criticism from opposing parties.

The Control of #WhyIDidntReport

I identify people who criticize #WhyIDidntReport as the control, also known as hegemony. Additionally, I argue that the goal of #WhyIDidntReport is to use narratives to justify why survivors did not initially report their assault. The nature of #WhyIDidntReport produced sophisticated narratives with evidence and reasoning; therefore, I argue the control created arguments that criticized the nature of these narratives rather than the content of the narrative itself. The control achieved this by using avoidance and suppression.

Avoidance

The primary strategy used by the control was avoidance. Bowers et al. defined this strategy as using evasion to convince the agitators they were incorrect (p. 55). During this strategy, the establishment may use counter persuasion to convince the agitators that they are incorrect, or the control will simply ignore efforts at agitation. A common argument addressed the well-being of Kavanaugh, and men who might be falsely accused of sexual assault. Suzie (2018) replied to Milano's post with the following comment:

I know 2 people falsely accused. Both parties admitted it. Some people r sick & need

help. I believe Kavanaugh. Do you know what it's like to be falsely accused when you

are innocent? Imagine the terror of losing everything you've built. U r a phony.

Suzie is part of the establishment because she is criticizing Milano's post which hindered the

progression of the movement. She also criticized the nature of Milano's post by alluding that her

narrative will further silence men who may be falsely accused because of the #WhyIDidntReport

movement. Additionally, Suzie empathized with falsely accused men by coming out with her

support for Kavanaugh. She painted the narrative that falsely-accused men were experiencing the

terror of losing the work they have built, a criticism that was common regarding the Me Too

movement. She avoided a survivor's narrative by redirecting the focus of the narrative to men

rather than survivors.

Suppression

The next strategy I identified was suppression. Bowers et al. (2010) also argued

suppression requires an extensive understanding of the agitation and their ideology as well as

actively committing to confront the agitators' leader and their movement (p. 61). The control

primarily used suppression when they were counterarguing a prominent celebrity's

#WhyIDidntReport narrative because they were arguing with a representative of the movement.

Sharon (2018) replied to Milano's post and stated, "Let's face it @alyssamilano... if

Kavanaugh was a Democrat this wouldn't be happening... look at @keithellison...why aren't you

#mentoring for his victims? Because you're all leftist liars." Much like Suzie, Sharon is also part

of the establishment because she hindered the progression of the movement. Sharon's post did

not have coherence or fidelity as she formulated an argument. However, Sharon understood the

agitation's strategy because she argued that if the person targeted was a Democrat, then they

would not endure the attacks that Kavanaugh is experiencing. Sharon had knowledge that #WhyIDidntReport was garnering effective criticism. Furthermore, she confronted Milano by tagging her Twitter handle. She was confronting Milano's intention to argue that she was biased because Kavanaugh is a Republican.

Finally, a few survivors expressed how they wanted to disclose their #WhyIDidntReport narratives; however, due to the personal and intimate nature of disclosures, some survivors feared their narratives would not be believed (SofaKingCutee, 2018). This notion prompted survivors to hijack an existing hashtag and turn it into a remix of #MeToo.

The Agitation of #BelieveWomen

Narratives containing the hashtag "#BelieveWomen" were the hardest to analyze. Prior to #WhyIDidntReport, the phrase "Believe Women" was already prominent on Twitter. #BelieveWomen addressed survivors of domestic violence. However, the hashtag was hijacked by people who utilized the hashtag to congest #BelieveWomen narratives with arguments that advocated for men who were falsely accused of sexual assault (BiasedGirl, 2018). Essentially, tweets were using the same hashtag to address their different arguments. Through observation, #BelieveWomen did not garner many narratives either. Most individuals who posted with the hashtag created arguments for The Me Too movement. Some narrative elements were present, but not many descriptive disclosures. However, not addressing this short-lived remix of #MeToo would be an injustice to the effective arguments made that would eventually lead to the hijacking of #MeToo. Therefore, I included #BelieveWomen in this analysis.

I identify "#BelieveWomen" as the period that began September 1, 2018, with the emergence of the Believe Women slogan and continued through October 6, 2018, with the rise of the trending #HimToo hashtag. Members of #WhyIDidntReport used #BelieveWomen to further

their argument of believing female narratives at face value. Additionally, this time frame was deliberately chosen to coincide with #WhyIDidntReport because both hashtags were responses to the Kavanaugh hearings, and some tweets even utilized both hashtags to further their arguments. I argue that the goal of #BelieveWomen was to create arguments that justified why women's sexual assault narratives should be believed at face value.

Promulgation and Solidification

Similar to #WhyIDidntReport, #BelieveWomen did not have an assigned leader. The movement was furthered by survivors who collectively posted their narratives. Therefore, each narrative or social media post contained promulgation and solidification. Bowers et al. (2010) defined promulgation as agitators publicly proclaiming their goals to win public support for their positions (p. 23). Members of #BelieveWomen used promulgation each time they used the hashtag, #BelieveWomen. The phrase essentially served as a prompt for survivors to use narratives and arguments to justify their answers. Additionally, solidification was present by uniting #BelieveWomen tweets when individuals clicked on the hashtag.

Carissa (2018) posted a narrative exemplifying this strategy the best by stating, "I was a victim, and I support all women who have come forward to talk about their stories. #MeToo #BelieveWomen." Additionally, she posted a picture that disclosed her assault in detail. The picture read:

> I never thought I would be posting about my story because I was terrified and
> embarrassed because of it for years. But I am disgusted in how men are being turned into
> the victims of the me too movement, and women aren't being believed just because their
> incidents happened to them years ago. I was 12 when it happened to me, and it happened
> multiple times by the same person. I was asleep in my bed in the safety of my own home.

67

It wasn't until last week when I finally told someone, because for all this time I was too

scared to admit to what happened to me. You will never understand it until it happens to

you, but for right now we need to support women and their choice to speak out about

issues like this. Sexual assault is very real and very serious, and any woman who is able

to talk opening about their story is brave and deserving of respect. If it weren't for these

women, I would have never told anyone about what happened to me. Believe Women.

(Carissa, 2018)

Carissa's narrative was well-articulated and had high coherence and high fidelity. Additionally,

she incorporated narrative and arguments to create a persuasive post. First, she used the

#BelieveWomen and #MeToo hashtag together which connected her narrative to both hashtags.

Next, by using the #BelieveWomen hashtag, her audience knew she was creating an argument

that would justify why we should believe women at face value. Carissa furthers her argument by

stating, "I am disgusted in how men are being turned into the victims of the Me Too movement,

and women aren't being believed just because their incidents happened to them years ago." She

was addressing arguments that she saw by individuals who were advocating for falsely-accused

men and criticizing #WhyIDidntReport. Next, Carissa disclosed her assault which established

characterological coherence. She identified herself and the central character in her narrative.

Next, structural coherence was present when she structured her assault linearly. She disclosed

when the assault happened, how the events occurred, and how the events affected her life, which

establishes a sequential narrative with a beginning, middle, and end. Additionally, material

coherence was present when she provided details of the assault in depth to justify the experience

that happened to her.

Furthermore, her narrative had fidelity because it followed the same script used by individuals who did not initially report their assault. She mentioned that the assault occurred in a situation that was too pressing for her to report. She waited years to disclose, but then found courage to speak up after witnessing other survivors disclose their narratives online. Her narrative had good faith. Carissa mentioned she was disclosing her narrative to support other women. She was using her platform to encourage and support other people. Her narrative presented disclosure, argumentation, and advocacy. However, most survivors used #BelieveWomen to create arguments and did not disclose as much.

Polarization

The third strategy agitators of #BelieveWomen used was polarization. Bowers et al. (2010) defined polarization as the assumption that any person who was not committed to the agitation was supporting the establishment (p. 40). During this stage, agitators will shame individuals to choose between the agitator or establishment. Rose (2018) posted the following narrative:

> Hi, if this whole Kavanaugh - Dr. Ford drama has made you scared for your son, then you do not fucking understand what is happening. A women was a victim and men somehow found a way to make themselves the victim instead. #IBelieveSurvivors #BelieveWomen #VOTE

Her post exemplified polarization because she was addressing the priorities some individuals had when they criticized posts regarding Kavanaugh's hearings. She argued, "if the drama has made you scared for your son, then you do not fucking understand what is happening" (Rose, 2018). Rose implied that people who centered their concerns over the male figures in their lives where undermining the trauma and turmoil survivors were experiencing. Rose's narrative exemplified

polarization by calling out people who centered men who would be falsely accused of rape over women who disclosed their assault.

Nonviolent Resistance

The fourth strategy identified was nonviolent resistance. Bowers et al. (2010) defined nonviolent resistance as using physical presence and persistence to create tension (p. 46). Agitators will violate norms to be destructive without posing a physical threat. Similar to #MeToo (2017), #TimesUp, and #WhyIDidntReport, I argue that members of #BelieveWomen created tension through physical presence. Nonviolent resistance was present by the overwhelming, and subsequent trending use of the Believe Women hashtag. The persistence of this hashtag congested people's timelines and prompted opposers to respond.

Escalation and confrontation

The final strategy #BelieveWomen members used was escalation and confrontation. Bowers et al. (2010) defined the strategy as escalating the tension until the establishment responded with violent suppression (p. 47). This strategy included using rumors and allegations to disrupt the establishment. Similar to #WhyIDidntReport, #BelieveWomen used allegation or reports, and tagged assaulters to incite a response.

Company Mindful Majority (2018) posted on Twitter, "Here's a little context for 'he said, she said' situations. Based on these odds alone, it's highly likely that Kavanaugh is lying. #SundayMorning #BelieveSurvivors #BelieveWomen #MeToo #StopKavanaugh." Additionally, the company posted a picture titled, "The truth about false accusation," and showed a graph chart mapping the number of assaulters, the number of assaulters who were estimated to be reported, the number of assaulters who faced trial, and the number of assaulters who would be convicted. Each category drastically reduced the initial number.

Mindful Majority's post was an example of escalation and confrontation through their claims and tagging Kavanaugh in their post. They explicitly argued that Kavanaugh was a blatant liar and justified their argument by using a graph that depicted how Kavanaugh would statistically be part of the majority of assaulters who were exonerated of their report. Additionally, Mindful Majority tagged Kavanaugh by using the hashtag #StopKavanaugh to contribute to a pool of narratives that made arguments against him. Individuals who addressed Kavanaugh or Trump personally received negative criticism. I argue that the temporary control of #BelieveWomen was one of the last strategies used by the establishment before hijacking #MeToo.

<div align="center">

The Control of #BelieveWomen

</div>

I identify people who criticized #BelieveWomen as the control. Additionally, I argue the goal of #BelieveWomen was to create arguments to justify believing women's sexual assault narratives at face value; therefore, people in the control were arguing why believing these narratives at face value was detrimental. I argue that the establishment utilized avoidance and suppression strategies to disrupt #BelieveWomen narratives.

Avoidance

The first strategy used by the control is avoidance. Bowers et al. defined this strategy as using counter persuasion and evasion to convince the agitators they were incorrect (p. 55). The establishment created arguments to direct the focus of the movement towards men. Gracelynn (2018) stated in the following Twitter post:

> #meninist. I'm out here supporting our good men, husbands, boyfriends, fathers, and sons who's lives could be ruined by rape allegations at any point because of a dumb #BelieveWomen movement. Believe evidence! I stand with the great men of America!

Her narrative exemplified avoidance, because she undermined the #BelieveWomen movement to focus on the prominent male figures in her life who might be affected by a falsified rape allegation. Gracelynn used counter persuasion and attempted to argue that #BelieveWomen was a misandrist movement. Furthermore, she was evading the agitation by undermining the meaning behind #BelieveWomen narratives. Her post did not have coherence or fidelity as she was creating an argument against #BelieveWomen.

Suppression

The last strategy used by the establishment was suppression. Bowers et al. explained how the establishment will use suppression strategies to remain in power. Suppression requires an extensive understanding of the agitation and their ideology (p. 61). Essentially, critics of #BelieveWomen had a thorough understanding of the movement and used similar strategies to confront agitators, such as appropriating strategies from #MeToo. Smith (2018) argued, "The #MeToo and #BelieveAllWomen created the Him Too movement by accepting all accusations as evidence of guilt and denying due process to the accused." In other words, Smith's post argued that the Him Too movement was created after people were concerned that #MeToo and #BelieveWomen were not accepting men into the movement. Members of Him Too also believed that falsely accused men needed a platform to address their narrative. The establishment understood the strategies of the Me Too movement and appropriated the same strategies to create their own movement.

<div align="center">

The "Agitation" of #HimToo

</div>

I argue that Me Too narratives strengthened as descriptive disclosures after #MeToo (2017), #TimesUp, #WhyIDidntReport, and #BelieveWomen. Narratives became more sophisticated as survivors were tailoring their disclosures with advocacy and argumentation to

the point that the control establishment struggled to produce cohesive counterarguments to refute their claims. Therefore, the establishment's next strategy was to hijack #MeToo.

In this context, members of the Him Too movement established themselves as the agitators, because they were arguing for the social change of advocating for falsely accused men. I will apply the strategies of the agitation to extensively examine how members of the Him Too movement hijacked #MeToo. This decision will be justified with #HimToo narratives to show how members framed themselves as the victims and appropriated #MeToo's model to achieve their goals.

Additionally, much like #MeToo (2017), the "Him Too" hashtag has been used in different contexts. Some individuals use #HimToo to advocate for male sexual assault survivors and male allies. However, I will identify "#HimToo" as the hashtag that served as the antithesis to #MeToo, because the most popular use of the term was to address falsely accused men. Additionally, I identify "#HimToo" as the period that began on October 6, 2018, with BlueStarNavyMom3's twitter post and continued through November 17, 2018, with the #HimToo rally in Portland, Oregon. I argue that the goal of #HimToo was to raise awareness of the prevalence of men who would be falsely accused of sexual assault, while simultaneously criticizing the Me Too movement.

Promulgation

The first strategy members of the Him Too movement used to achieve their goal was promulgation. Bowers et al. (2010) defined promulgation as agitators proclaiming their goals to win public support for their positions (p. 23). I argue that the Him Too movement utilized two posts as their promulgation strategy. One post was the inciting incident and the other gave the movement direction.

The first tweet was the initial post that incited the movement. BlueStarNavyMom3 (BlueStar) was a Twitter user who posted a narrative regarding concerns over the safety of her son. Her account was deleted; however, User America's Lounge Singer (2018) posted a screenshot of BlueStar's post which contained the following text:

> This is my son. He graduated #1 in boot camp. He was awarded the USO award. He was #1 In A school. He is a gentleman who respects women. He won't go on solo dates due to the current climate of false sexual accusations by radical feminists with an axe to the grind. I vote. #HimToo.

BlueStar's viral tweet was cited as the post that started the Him Too movement. Her narrative had high coherence and high fidelity. First, her post had characterological coherence because she claimed the man in the photo to be her son, who was confirmed by Hanson, the man in the photo, himself (Hanson, 2018). She centered Hanson as the central character in the narrative. Additionally, BlueStar's post had structural coherence because she organized the narrative by addressing her relationship with her son and then listing his accomplishments that could be taken away if he were ever falsely accused. The structure was established so the reader would empathize with Hanson. Additionally, her narrative expressed some material coherence. She listed Hanson's accomplishments which we cannot validate; however, the photo depicted him in a Navy uniform which added to the narrative's credibility by confirming the individual was in the Navy.

Furthermore, BlueStar's post had fidelity, primarily through consistency values. Consistency concerns with the "truth" of the narrative when compared with an audience's personal experience and knowledge of others. BlueStar's message was consistent by using the narrative that her son's accomplishments were at stake by a false accusation. This made her

narrative fidelitous because readers could identify Hanson as the victim and the person who

could falsely accuse him as the villain who is attempting to tarnish his hard work.

BlueStar's post received 600 likes and 1,700 retweets within the first two days. The

virality of the post caused Far-Right activist Haley Adams to create the Him Too movement

website and mission statement. Adams (2018) proclaimed on their now deleted website that the

purpose of the movement was to interrupt the stigma of false accusations, and provide accurate

research, data, and education behind false accusations of sexual assault. Adams also used

prominent male figures in people's lives as an emotional appeal for recruiting new members. Her

narrative did not have coherence or fidelity, as the mission statement was an action to unify

members.

Solidification

The second strategy members used was solidification, or uniting followers to create a

sense of community (Bowers et al., 2010 p. 29). Additionally, this stage has agitators creating

cohesiveness with its members by sharing the group's beliefs, values, and ideologies. Bowers et

al. add that members may utilize slogans to further unity. Similar to #MeToo (2017),

solidification was present when individuals utilized #HimToo to disclose their narratives. Tweets

that contained #HimToo would connect narratives and arguments pertaining to the false

accusation of men within the Me Too movement.

Big Johnson Media (2018) tweeted, "Be sure to check out Haley Adams new Website

dedicated to the #HimToo movement, surrounding False Allegations against Men! Please Share!

Himtoo.com." Big Johnson Media's tweet was a prime example of solidification because he was

uniting followers by asking them to share a post that addressed the Him Too movement's values.

However, his tweet did not contain any narrative coherence and fidelity as he did not disclose a

narrative. His post was meant to raise awareness of the movement. #HimToo created a community for men who supported the idea for an anti-Me Too movement.

Polarization

The third strategy agitators used was polarization. Bowers et al. (2010) defined polarization as the assumption that any person who was not committed to the agitation was supporting the establishment (p. 40). During this stage, agitators may shame individuals to choose between the agitator or establishment to seek individuals who are committed to the movement. Artemisia's (2018) tweet exemplified polarization with the following post:

> Wow, I had no idea all men were bad/guilty while all women are good/innocent. I feel so much better knowing only women are capable of judging right from wrong. When do we formally condemn all men to a life of servitude & adherence to our rules? #HimToo

Artemisia made a general claim that the Me Too movement was arguing that "all men were bad/guilty while all women are good/innocent." This claim polarized members of the Me Too movement as misandrist because Artemisia claimed only women in the Me Too movement had agency to determine morality, implying that the movement excluded men.

Artemisia's narrative did not have coherence and fidelity because she made a general argument regarding the movement without disclosing a narrative herself. Supporters of #HimToo argued women who accused men of sexual assault were being believed without any evidence. Newer posts accused members of the Me Too movement as a hypocritical movement with the goal of hurting men (Quinn, 2020). Some individuals took another approach to disrupt Me Too narratives.

Nonviolent Resistance

The fourth strategy identified was nonviolent resistance. Bowers et al. (2010) defined nonviolent resistance as using physical presence and persistence to create tension (p. 46). During this stage, agitators will violate norms to be destructive without posing a physical threat. #HimToo was similar to #MeToo (2017) by utilizing a hashtag to congest a person's Twitter feed. Additionally, some members of Him Too used #HimToo and tagged #MeToo in their narratives to hijack #MeToo narratives with #HimToo narratives. Twitter user and Men's rights activist, Oneiorosegrip (2019), stated in the following tweet:

> Most men don't commit rape. And he's right about the #MeToo movement. It's a piece of
> shit. It hasn't helped rape victims. It was about exploiting the thought of us to do what he
> said, and it did it. That's why so many of its proponents objected to #HimToo & its
> variations.

Oneiorosegrip generalized the movement by arguing, "It's a piece of shit… it has not helped rape victims." He also argued that the movement is exploiting survivors; therefore, #HimToo is the better alternative. His narrative also exemplified polarization as his tweet established #HimToo as the righteous movement. Nonviolent resistance was present because arguments made that established #HimToo as the righteous movements were overtaking #MeToo narratives when he tagged both hashtags on the post. This created tension – polarization – among survivors who would disclose their narrative, but then read oppressing arguments that invalidated their experiences. Oneiorosegrips's narrative does not have coherence or fidelity as his post is criticizing the movement and he centered argumentation to justify the Him Too movement. Members of the Him Too movement used their physical presence on Twitter by writing

77

arguments and tagging both #HimToo with #MeToo. Subsequently creating tension from Me Too supporters.

Escalation and confrontation

The fifth strategy was escalation and confrontation. Bowers et al. (2010) defined the strategy as escalating the tension until the establishment responded with violent suppression (p. 47). Members of the Him Too movement utilized this strategy by tagging Tarana Burke in their arguments to incite a response. Moran (2018) replied to Burke's post with the following narrative:

> I'm telling the truth when I say a woman grabbed my crotch at a party once. What difference does it make if I can't prove it? Should I run to the media and ruin her life over something I can't prove? Does anyone really care anyway? #HimToo

Moran took a different approach to his narrative. He was not making the argument that he was falsely accused of rape; he wrote the narrative to disclose his assault and made the argument that the Me Too movement was not helping male survivors. He confronted Milano and Burke and used his unique narrative to elicit a response. Moran's narrative expressed coherence and fidelity. There was characterological coherence because he identified himself as a survivor by disclosing his assault. Additionally, there was some structural coherence when he disclosed his assault and then asked follow-up questions that suggested how he was unsure of his next steps. Finally, fidelity was present depending on the reader's interpretation of his narrative. If the reader assumed that Moran was a survivor and he was genuinely unsure of how to seek justice for his assault, then there was some fidelity in his narrative because he had the good intentions to seek help. However, if Moran wrote the narrative to be condescending, then no fidelity was present.

Tarana Burke consequently responded to the Him Too movement by stating, "For every single troll I see, there's 10 women in the street marching and demanding and organizing, and I would rather just put my energy there" (*The Hollywood Reporter*, 2018). She was addressing the overall reaction to advocate for falsely accused men. Burke's comment against the Him Too movement was one of many that members of the Me Too movement made.

<div align="center">

The "Control" of #HimToo

</div>

I identify members of the Me Too movement as the control in this context. #MeToo supporters were disrupting #HimToo's goal of showing the prevalence of falsely-accused men. Multiple arguments were made; therefore, I argue that the Me Too movement used all three strategies of the control to counterargue #HimToo narratives.

Avoidance

The first strategy members of the Me Too movement used was avoidance. Bowers et al. (2010) defined this strategy as using evasion to convince the agitators they were incorrect (p. 55). These were the most common arguments made again #HimToo. The control would persuade #HimToo members that their rhetoric was false by redirecting and narrative toward survivors and justifying their own arguments with evidence. Sarlacc_Attack (2018) exemplified this strategy in the following tweet:

> The organizers of #HimToo are Quincy Anatello and Haley Adams. They are Christian Fundamentalists who believe in curtailing women's rights and LGBTQ rights and they think false rape accusations represent a problem of greater magnitude than rapists mostly walking free.

Their tweet redirected the blame to Anatello and Adams. Furthermore, Sarlacc addressed the problem of #HimToo by arguing these two individuals were framing the movement with

misconstrued statistics so that members mistakenly believed false rape accusations were prevalent. Sarlacc then provided articles from the National Crime Victims Resource Center in the comment section to validate their claims. No coherence and fidelity were present as Sarlacc was formulating arguments. Essentially, Sarlacc was avoiding #HimToo arguments by invalidating their narratives with credible statistics.

Suppression

The next strategy I identified was suppression. Bowers et al. (2010) argued the establishment will use suppression strategies to remain in power. Suppression requires an extensive understanding of the agitation and their ideology as well as actively committing to confront the agitators and their movement (p. 61). In other words, member of the Me Too movement must have a thorough understanding of #HimToo's rhetoric to create their arguments.

GirlGurl26 (2018) argued, "Not to mention the #HimToo hashtag was originally meant for male assault survivors to share their stories without co-opting #MeToo, now trolls have hijacked #HimToo." GirlGurl26 was part of the "control" because she was stopping the progression of the Him Too movement; however, her tweet exemplified suppression because she validated #HimToo by using the hashtag in her post, but recontextualized the meaning by alluding to the original meaning of the hashtag. GirlGurl26 understood how hashtag activism functioned. She addressed that the original #HimToo was used by male survivors to receive a platform to disclose their narratives. She claimed that "trolls", or members of the Him Too movement hijacked the original #HimToo, which suggested that these members were disrupting both male and female survivors from disclosing their narratives in the movement. GirlGurl26's narrative did not have coherence or fidelity as she formulated an argument, and no disclosure was present.

Adjustment

The last strategy Me Too members used was adjustment. Bowers et al. (2010) defined adjustment as, "adapting, modifying, or altering the establishment's structures, goals, and personnel" (p. 68). In this strategy, the control will begin to cater to the demands of the agitation; however, they will frame the decision as their own to not be perceived as weak. Moreover, the control will achieve adjustment through sacrificing personnel, accepting some of the means of the agitation, and incorporating parts of the dissident ideology such as tokenism (p. 69-71). To begin, I argue that the Me Too movement never "gave in" to the rhetoric of the Him Too movement. They began to use #HimToo as an attempt to reframe the narrative to the favor of survivors. For example, Hanson (2018) disclosed the following:

> That was my Mom. Sometimes the people we love do things that hurt us without realizing it. Let's turn this around. I respect and #BelieveWomen. I never have and never will support #HimToo. I'm a proud Navy vet, Cat Dad and Ally. Also, Twitter, your meme game is on point.

Hanson was the son that BlueStar addressed in her initial narrative that ignited the Him Too movement. Hanson came out to address his support of #BelieveWomen and denounced the Him Too movement. He was the temporary face of a #HimToo "victim" by publicly becoming the subject of discussion and ridicule. Hanson's decision to come out to support the Me Too movement caused him to be removed as the face of #HimToo and used as a tool to be a face for #MeToo. Members of the Me Too movement tokenized Hanson by setting him as the example of a male ally supporting the movement. Some comments applauding Hanson included, "Thank you Pieter Hanson for having the courage to step up for women (as the military taught you) as well as your mom even when she tried to use you to start a movement" (Wilson, 2018). Additionally, he

received comments regarding his involvement with the Me Too movement. Longacre (2018) exemplified these comments by arguing, "Handled like a gentleman. This is exactly how we can ditch toxic masculinity and replace it with something better." Longacre was validating Hanson's behavior as the correct way to approach these narratives to dismiss toxic masculinity.

Furthermore, Hanson's narrative had coherence and fidelity. Characterological, structural, and material coherence were present when he disclosed his mom was the person who ignited the Movement. He validated his identity by posting a photo of himself recreating the initial photo his mom posted. Additionally, Hanson addressed him mom, renounced her claims, and redirected the narrative to validate survivors. The structure ends by him speaking about his views. Hanson provided examples to his claims. Additionally, his narrative had fidelity because he had good intentions with the post by advocating for survivors. He used a public platform to reverse damages his mom made. Hanson's tweet received 158,000 likes and 25,000 retweets. He used social media to create a viral post, similar to his mother. While I argued that #MeToo was the control in this context, I believe this analysis is relevant to address that the movement was still disrupting #HimToo, the hegemony, from taking over survivor's narratives.

Conclusion

The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control exemplified how members of the Me Too movement utilized their narratives to further their strategies. Each strategy led to the response from the establishment, which subsequently led to a remix of a Me Too hashtag. The time periods highlighted the various remixes that led to the subsequent hijack of the movement. The next chapter will address implications to summarize the main ideas and future direction of the Me Too movement.

CHAPTER V: IMPLICATIONS

The previous chapter suggests that survivors must disclose their narratives and the establishment must criticize their narratives for a remixed Me Too hashtag to occur. Remixing is essentially a strategy survivors use to mobilize the movement and uphold sexual assault awareness. Additionally, research suggests that both survivors and the establishment obtain a thorough understanding of hashtag activism which allows the establishment to copy #MeToo members' strategies which subsequently led to the hijack of #MeToo. This chapter will summarize the implications to address the meaning of my research and address the future direction of digital social movements, men's roles in the Me Too movement, and hashtag activism.

Distinguishing Digital Social Movements from Slacktivism

This analysis serves to defend the Me Too movement as an authentic social movement. Some critics argue that the movement is a form of slacktivism; however, this argument is dangerous because it invalidates the effectiveness, weight, and impacts survivors' narratives have in the movement. Rotman et al. (2011) defined slacktivism as the low-risk and low-cost social media awareness. However, the Me Too movement garners narratives that are not low-risk or low-cost. Me Too disclosures have negative repercussions on survivors. Some survivors may lose their jobs, have assaulters confront them, and face ridicule from friends, family members, and the public. Therefore, I created two criteria that distinguishes slacktivism from digital social movements.

Low-risk vs. High-risk

I argue that the distinction between slacktivism and digital social movements are the risks present with the type of advocacy a person is addressing. For example, slacktivism is present

within the Me Too movement. Some narratives are shared without any context, some individuals can like a post by leaving a survivor encouraging messages or actively working to confront their assaulters. These types of advocacy establish recognition, but there is no risk present to the person interacting the post. A person will need to support, argue, and create a defense which can be high-risk if they are supporting a survivor on a platform with people that will attack their ideology and beliefs. Essentially, there needs to be an active approach to the movement which is the second criteria.

Passive vs. Active approach

Slacktivism is a passive approach to raise awareness because a supporter's actions will not have any substance in mobilizing a social movement. For example, the Black Lives Matter movement garnered Instagram users to post a black square on their social media platforms to raise awareness of police brutality for #BlackOutTuesday (Willingham, 2020). However, many users posted the photo with no consequent involvement with the movement. Furthermore, the performative act was detrimental when individuals utilized the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter, rather than #BlackOutTuesday which caused important resources for protestors to obtain to be congested with black squares. Passive approaches can hinder movements; therefore, digital social movements require active recruitment, remixing, argumentation, and protesting. Their goal is for real world change rather than just raising awareness. That is why I use the rhetoric of agitation to analyze the Me Too movement. The in-person social movement framework provided strategies that were also present within the Me Too movement. I use the model to deconstruct how people recruit members, petition their goals, and protest the establishment in the Me Too movement, which effectively defends Me Too as a valid social movement. However, I should address that the development of new theories and frameworks surrounding digital social

84

movements is needed. I use the *Rhetoric of Agitation and Control* to examine how Me Too functioned similarly to an "in-person" social movement; however, this can become a problem because not everything in the book translated into the movement. I chose to remove a couple agitation strategies that addresses guerrilla and revolution acts of physical violence, but physical violence is not possible online. I can make the argument that harassment and slander would the "translation" of physical attack, but then further development would be needed for the escalation and confrontation strategy, which already uses slander. Additionally, a digital social movement model should address the intricacies narratives function within the movement.

Narrating Digital Social Movements

The next implication examines narratives within digital social movements. Twitter and Facebook both have different functions that influences how survivors write their posts. Additionally, both platforms validate a survivor's post through their interactions.

Twitter Narratives

Twitter played an integral role in the mobilization of the Me Too movement. The platform was the most popular in garnering participation, presumably because Alyssa Milano's initial post was on Twitter. Twitter's platform created "obstacles" when survivors wrote their narratives. The platform has a 280 character limit. Research suggests that individuals should simplify their language and remove prepositions in their narratives to utilize all characters (Boot et al, 2019). Simplifying a narrative's language had the possibility of hurting the narrative's coherence and fidelity because individuals may have a hard time reading the narrative and relating to the narrative. However, through observation I did not see individuals criticizing a survivor's grammar. I predict this may be a result of Twitter encouraging users to simplify their narratives to fit the character count, which normalizes the notion that Twitter posts do not need

proper grammar. Essentially, a narrator must know their platform and use that knowledge to their strengths. I argue that the future direction of Twitter narratives in social movements will examine how survivors frame cohesive narratives and arguments despite this character limit.

Additionally, the number of likes influences a narrative. I chose not to consider the number of likes a post garnered when collecting narratives for analysis because I believe that every narrative had some influence in the movement. Additionally, I do not have agency to critique what constitutes as an effective narrative based on what I believe was an effective number of likes. However, through observations, narratives that had more likes were acknowledged more and garnered more engagement. Additionally, I argue that the mobilization of a digital social movement was present when a narrative was retweeted. This argument is valid as retweeting a narrative would take a person's tweet and then transferred to another person's newsfeed, which then encourages a new audience to interact with the narrative. However, there was no way for me to determine whether a person read a specific narrative and then disclosed their own narrative without interacting with the original post. While they did not share the post, the original narrative still influenced a survivor to disclose their narrative, causing mobilization. Perhaps more quantifiable research is needed to garner people's reactions of Me Too disclosures. Twitter was not the only platform that garnered Me Too disclosures.

Facebook Narratives

Facebook narratives also had an integral role in the mobilization of the Me Too movement. CBS (2017) reported within the first 24 hours of Milano's tweet, Facebook garnered 12 million posts, comments, and reactions. The platform functions similarly to Twitter. Users can post their narratives and readers can interact with the narrative by reacting, commenting, and sharing the post. Additionally, Facebook uses hashtags to connect narratives together. There are

two major differences that could have affected how a narrative was written. Facebook gives

users the option to react to a post with five different reactions and the platform has a 63,000

character count limit, which is essentially a limitless character count.

Twitter only gave users the option to "like" a post. However, liking a post does not

provide any information regarding a user's reaction to the post. All it does is signify that the post

was acknowledged by a person. However, Facebook gives people the option to like, love, wow

react, angry react, and sad react a post. A survivor can have an indicator of how individuals who

read their post are feeling which can influence how they feel about their post. Future directions

can examine how different reactions in a post affect a survivor. For example, these reactions can

be interpreted differently. An angry react can signify that a person is angry that someone

assaulted them, or they can be angry and the narrator themselves. Examining the context of the

post and why people react a certain way should be studied as indicators for what is an effective

post.

Facebook also has a 63,000 character count limit, which makes the post "limitless." The

limitless word count gave survivors the creative freedom to write their narratives with as much

detail and information they wish. This was important to further a post's coherence and fidelity.

Future directions of this research can examine what information will survivors disclose or further

because of their limitless character count. For example, I argue that Twitter survivors are

required to write more direct narratives to meet the character count, but Facebook survivors can

articulate their emotions, reactions, and thoughts. These two platforms are different, but they

both validate survivors' narratives through the interactions their posts receive.

Discourse Surrounding Men's Involvement in the Me Too movement

Throughout this analysis, men's involvement in the Me Too movement was one-sided. The relevance of the Him Too movement depicted men as the establishment attempting to disrupt Me Too narratives and advocating for other men who would be falsely accused. However, further research is needed to address notions of male survivors, queer male survivors, male allies, and their relationship with the Me Too movement.

Male Survivors

Little research has been conducted to address male sexual assault survivors. Davies et al. (2001) found that less than 15% of men have experienced forced sexual contact at least once in their lives. Additionally, Larimer et al. (1999) found that more than 20% of collegiate men experienced a form of unwanted sexual contact. Having a preconceived notion that only women can be survivors may be a contributing factor to the lack of research surrounding this topic. Male sexual assault is still considered a taboo topic, and men are culturally pressured to uphold masculine qualities. Cultural scripts still exist that argue men cannot get raped, male sexual assault is not as severe as female sexual assault, and sexual assault is violence specific to women. However, conversations regarding advocacy for male survivors is still needed. Additionally, these studies examine the prevalence of sexual assault among men, but they do not address the gender of the assaulter.

Both men and women are capable of assaulting men. Furthermore, research has addressed the possible affects male victims of female perpetrators experience after their assault. Struckman-Johnson (1992) argued that men will internalize these cultural scripts when processing their assault. Some will question the validity of their assault and not report, leading to long term mental and physical effects. Additionally, men experience the same cultural scripts

and female survivors (Struckman-Johnson, 1991). Close friends, lovers, and strangers can deliberately assault men with verbal coercion or violent attacks. Furthermore, evidence suggests that men are not taken seriously by the police when they report their assault (Mezey & King, 1989). Male survivors have similar experiences as female survivors, and their experiences are much different than men who are falsely accused.

Me Too hashtag remixes existed to support male survivors such as the original #HimToo and #MenToo. However, survivor scripts are primarily centered around women, using a hashtag can lead to giving a voice to individuals who are attempting to discredit survivors. #HimToo was a predominant example of this hijack. #HimToo originally addressed male survivors, but the hashtag was subsequentially hijacked to advocate for falsely accused men. Similarly to #MenToo, there is a need for a hashtag remix that will specifically focus on male assault narratives; however, close moderation will be needed so not all male voices are addressed as this could lead the possibility of giving aggressors a voice to criticize #MeToo.

Furthering Hashtag Activism

This analysis examined how individuals would interact with hashtags as a tool to further their movements. I argue that hashtags are the prime example of solidification because they develop unity and gather values, statistics, arguments, and disclosures. Hashtag activism or advocating with a hashtag is an integral tool for digital social movements, and I identify three ways to use a hashtag.

Hashtag Remixing

I use "hashtag remixing" throughout my analysis; however, defining the term can assist researchers to use the term correctly in their future projects. Mina (2019) defined "remixing" as reusing and recreating digital images, content, and commentary. She applied the term when

89

recreating and editing digital memes to recontextualize the image and reproduce new content. Remixing and hashtags have a long relationship. Many of these remixed images would have a hashtag to create political commentary (Dadas, 2017). However, an argument can be made that hashtags themselves can be remixed. My analysis establishes that a hashtag itself is a form of political content and commentary. #MeToo implies that a user is disclosing their status as a sexual assault survivor, #TimesUp suggests that normalized rape culture should not be accepted anymore, #WhyIDidntReport invites survivors to justify why they did not report their assault, and #BelieveWomen encouraged survivors to justify reasonings for believing women at face value. The word choice of the hashtag is political content and commentary. Therefore, editing the word choice can recontextualize the meaning of the hashtag and reproduce new content. I define "hashtag remixing" as editing a hashtag to recontextualize its meaning to reproduce new content. Furthermore, there were two types of hashtag remixing that arose: direct hashtag remix and indirect hashtag remix.

Direct hashtag remixing

I define direct hashtag remixing as editing a word in a hashtag to recontextualize the hashtag's meaning. The purpose is to change the hashtag so that it is similar enough for a person to recognize it is a remix of the original hashtag but changes the entire context of the hashtag. For example, #ChurchToo is a direct hashtag remix of #MeToo. The word "church" replaced the word "me", which recontextualized the meaning of #MeToo to address the prevalence of sexual assault in the Catholic church.

Indirect hashtag remixing

I define indirect hashtag remixing as editing the entire hashtag to recontextualize its meaning; however, the hashtag is still furthering the same political commentary. For example,

#WhyIDidntReport is an indirect hashtag remix of #MeToo. All the words in the Me Too hashtag has been replaced with "Why I Didn't Report." While no words are similar, both hashtags have the same political commentary, which in this case is to advocate for sexual assault survivors.

Hashtag Hijacking

Hashtag hijacking is already a well-known concept. VanDam and Tan (2016) defined hashtag hijacking as the use of trending hashtags to promote a different message for political or satirical use. Xanthopoulos et al. (2015) identified three reasons for hashtag hijacking: spam hacking, hijacking as a response to certain actions of the content creator, and hijacking by organized Internet groups. VanDam, Tan, and Xanthopoulos' definitions addressed the messages that were used to disrupt an existing hashtag.

However, my definition of hashtag hijacking is remixing a hashtag to disrupt an existing digital social movement by creating an alternative movement. For example, #HimToo was a direct hashtag remix of #MeToo, because the word "Him" replaced the word "Me". This recontextualized the hashtag by changing the political commentary from advocating for sexual assault survivors to addressing men in the movement. However, the hashtag is a hijack because #HimToo was a movement that attempted to hinder and invalidate the Me Too movement.

Similar strategies were examined with the #BlackLivesMatter. Gallagher et al. (2018) argued #AllLivesMatter hijacked strategies used by the Black Lives Matter movement. Members of the All Lives Matter movement shared their narratives on Twitter, similarly to Black Lives Matter members who shared their narratives to spread awareness of police brutality. While at the time of this writing no research has been conducted on #BlueLivesMatter, I am confident that it

provides another example of hashtag hijacking, but it may be a more specific type of hijacking, such as appropriation.

Hashtag Appropriation

Hashtag hijack is a remix that hinders the movement of the original hashtag; however, I define hashtag appropriation as the act of a hashtag remix utilizing the same strategies of an existing hashtag's rhetoric to further their movement. #HimToo appropriated #MeToo because members of the movement remixed #MeToo and used similar strategies to further their movement, which was exemplified in the analysis when the rhetoric of the agitation could have been used for both #MeToo and #HimToo. Gersh-Nesic (2019) argued that appropriation deliberately took possession of an item. Artists who appropriated an item wanted the audience to recognize the copied item to associate their prior beliefs into the new context. Essentially, Him Too appropriated Me Too by remixing a similar hashtag and using the Me Too movement's agitation strategies to further their movement. More discourse is needed for movements that appropriated strategies of an existing hashtag to further their movements. For example, #KidsLivesMatter appropriated strategies from #BlackLivesMatter to further the safety of children. Additionally, more discourse is needed for the same hashtag that uses multiple variations such as #BlackTransLivesMatter, #BlackChildrensLivesMatter, #BlackWomensLives matter, and the subsequent saturation of the "Lives Matter" hashtag.

Conclusion

I argue that the Me Too movement was mobilized through survivors' narratives. Survivors wrote narratives that fulfilled Bowers et al.'s strategies of the agitation to petition the movement, recruit members, create polarization, create tension, and confront the establishment. Additionally, the establishment used strategies of the control to hinder the progression of the

movement. When the establishment created effective arguments, survivors would remix a Me Too hashtag to create a new sub-movement, which started the process all over again. However, after #BelieveWomen, I argue that the establishment had a thorough understanding of Me Too survivor's rhetoric and strategies, so they resorted to their final strategy which was to hijack #MeToo and create their own movement, #HimToo. This was primarily exemplified in the #BelieveWomen movement when their arguments utilized their own hashtag and tweets criticized the movement itself rather than a survivor's narrative (Gracelyn, 2018). However, survivors remained resilient and served as the establishment in that context to stop the Him Too movement.

This analysis advances the field of rhetoric by incorporating old methods into the novelty of digital communication. Additionally, a new framework is needed to deconstruct how social movements function after the COVID-19 pandemic and George Floyd protest garnered individuals to socialize, protest, and argue online. Digital social movements differ from in-person protest by highlighting unrecognized narratives. Many digital disclosures reveal personal accounts of events that are not portrayed on mainstream news or presented at protests; therefore, social media platforms become platforms for anyone who utilizes a hashtag, to voice their opinion. Social media narratives can further in-person social movements. Narratives encourage people to comfortably disclose their experience without the risk of face-to-face aggression. Narratives encourage individuality and understanding how they work within a digital social movement can help people, survivors in this context, to create an effective narrative on their own.

The Me Too movement has been misinterpreted as a form of slacktivism. Through this analysis, I validated the effective of survivor's narratives. Additionally, I applied a social

movement framework to examine how individuals use similar strategies to further their

movement which subsequently defends The Me Too movement as a valid social movement.

Harvey Weinstein, the original aggressor of the movement, was convicted of sexual assault. It

was through survivors' courage to disclose their narratives, while remaining resilient and

persistent through criticism, that they were able to collectively accomplish this feat. While the

movement has every right to celebrate, this analysis proves that we have a long way to go.

REFERENCES

Abbruzzese, J., Holmes, A., Martinez, D., & Ingram, D. (2018, November 1). Google

    employees stage walkout over handling of sexual misconduct by executives. *NBC.*

    Retrieved from https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/tech-news/google-employees-begin-

    walkout-over-handling-sexual-misconduct-executives-n929696

Abedi, M. (2017, November). #ChurchToo: Hashtag explains sexual assault goes beyond politics

    and Hollywood. *Global News.* Retrieved from https://globalnews.ca/

    news/3877228/churchtoo-hashtag-sexual-assault/

AD. [@dchrncn]. (2018, January 1). They should stop sleeping with people in exchange for

    money and jobs first. [Tweet]. https://twitter.com/dchrncn/status/947919504599863298

Adams, H. [RealHaleyAdams]. (2018, October 9). How to trigger a feminist. [Twitter].

Al-Rawi, A.K. (2014). The Arab Spring and online protests in Iraq. *International Journal of*

    Communication, 8, 916-942. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/1765/97737

Alcelay, C. & Escalona, M. (2017, October 25). Arias actrices denuncian acoso en el cine

    español. *El Mundo.* Retrieved from

    https://www.elmundo.es/yodona/celebrities/2017/10/25/59f07b3d22601d7f7d8b4646.htm

    l

Alfatlawi, R. (2017, October 17). Harvey Weinstein scandal and #MeToo hit a nerve with Arab

    women. *Albawaba.* Retrieved from https://www.albawaba.com/loop/harvey-weinstein-

    scandal-and-metoo-hit-nerve-arab-women-1035238

Anderson, M., & Hitlin, P. (2016, August 15). Social media conversations about race. *Pew Research Center.* Available, file:///C:/Users/Joseph/OneDrive%20-%20IL%20State%20University/Desktop%20Files/Desktop/PI_2016.08.15_Race-and-Social-Media_FINAL.pdf

Anderson, T. (2016, January 14). #OscarsSoWhite creator on Oscar noms: Don't tell me that people of color, women cannot fill seats. *Los Angeles Times.* Retrieved from https://www.latimes.com/entertainment/envelope/la-et-mn-april-reign-oscars-so-white-diversity-20160114-story.html

Artemisia [@venomxox]. (2018, December 6). Wow, I had no idea all men were bad/guilty while all women are good/innocent. [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/venomxox/status/1070773091440062464

Auchter, J. (2018). Narrating Trauma: Individuals, communities, storytelling. Millennium: *Journal of International Studies,* 47(22), 273-283. doi: 030582981880838.

Baesler, E. J. (1995). Construction and test of an empirical measure for narrative coherence and fidelity. *Communication Reports,* 8(2), 97–101. https://doi.org/10.1080/08934219509367615

Bailyn, E. (2012). The difference between slacktivism and activism: How 'Kony2012' is narrowing the gap. *Huffington Post.* Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/evan-bailyn/kony2012-activism_b_1361791.html

Bamberg, M. (2004). Considering counter narratives: Narrating, resisting, making sense. *Studies in Narratives,* 4, 351-371. https://doi.org/10.1075/sin.4.43bam

Bartanen, M. D., & Littlefield, R. S. (2014). Forensics in America: A history. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bazarova, N. N., & Choi, Y. H. (2014). Self-Disclosure in social media: Extending the functional

    approach to disclosure motivations and characteristics on social network sites. *Journal of*

    Communication, 64(4), 635–657. doi:10.1111/jcom.12106

BearsGrl80. [@BearsGrl80]. (2017, November 30). 2016 was the year of Celebrity Deaths. 2017

    is the year of Career Destruction. And it's about freaking time we hold people

    accountable for their behaviour. If you are still out there wondering why this matters, you

    are part of the problem. #MeToo. [Tweet]. Twitter.

    https://twitter.com/BearsGrl80/status/936269055819890688

Berger, C. R., & Calabrese, R. J. (1975). Some explorations in initial interaction and beyond:

    Toward a developmental theory of interpersonal communication. *Human Communication*

    Research, 1, 99-112. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.1975.tb00258.x

BiasedGirl. [@BiasedGirl]. (2018, September 29). Woman who made false rape claim sentenced

    to prison [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/BiasedGirl/status/1046209276459528194

Big Johnson Media. [@BigJohnsonMedia]. (2018, October 20). Be sure to check out Haley

    Adams new website dedicated to the #HimToo movement, surrounding False Allegations

    against Men! [Tweet]. Twitter.

    https://twitter.com/BigJohnsonMedia/status/1053813060161409024

Blevins, J. L., Lee, J. J., McCabe, E. E., & Edgerton, E. (2019). Tweeting for social justice in

    #Ferguson: Affective discourse in Twitter hashtags. *New Media & Society,* 21(7), 1-18.

    doi:10.1177/1461444819827030

Bloomfield, E. F. (2019). Rhetorical Constellations and the Inventional/Intersectional

    Possibilities of #MeToo. *Journal of Communication Inquiry,* 43(4), 394-414.

    doi:10.1177/0196859919866444

Bohr, J. R. (2019, May 13). #MeToo mustn't ignore that men can be on receiving end of

    harassment. *HR Daily Advisor.* Retrieved from

    https://hrdailyadvisor.blr.com/2019/05/13/metoo-mustnt-ignore-that-men-can-be-on-

    receiving-end-of-harassment/

Bogen, K. W., Haikalis, M., Meza Lopez, R. J., López, G., & Orchowski, L. M. (2020). It

    Happens in #ChurchToo: Twitter discourse regarding sexual victimization within

    religious communities. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence,* 0(0), 1-29.

    doi:10.1177/0886260520922365

Bonos, L. (2018, September 24). Trump asks why Christine Blasey Ford didn't report her

    allegation sooner. Survivors answer with #WhyIDidntReport. *The Washington Post.*

    Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/soloish/wp/2018/09/21/trump-

    asks-why-christine-blasey-ford-didnt-report-her-allegation-sooner-survivors-answer-

    with-whyididntreport/

Boot, A. B., Sang, E. T. K., Dijkstra, K., & Zwaan, R. A. (2019). How character limit affects

    language usage in tweets. *Palgrave Communications,* 5(76). Retrieved from

    https://www.nature.com/articles/s41599-019-0280-

    3#:~:text=On%20November%208th%202017%2C%20Twitter,character%20limit%20ch

    ange%20(CLC).

Bower, T. (2019). The #MeToo backlash. *The Harvard Board Review.* Retrieved from

    https://hbr.org/2019/09/the-metoo-backlash

Bowers, J. W., Ochs, D. J., Jensen, R. J., & Schulz, D. P. (2010). The rhetoric of agitation and

    control. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press

Boyle, K. (2019). #MeToo, Weinstein, and feminism. Palgrave Pivot.

Boyle, K., & Rathnayake, C. (2019). #HimToo and the networking of misogyny in the age of #MeToo. *Feminist Media Studies,* 1–19. doi:10.1080/14680777.2019.1661868

Breeden, A. (2018). Crude, yes, but not like Weinstein: French man sues MeToo accuser. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from www.nytimes.com/2018/01/18/world/europe/france-brion-mullerbalance-ton-porc.html

Breiding, M. J., Smith, S. G., Basile, K. C., Walters, M. L., Chen, J., & Merrick, M. T. (2014). Prevalence and characteristics of sexual violence, stalking, and intimate partner violence victimization—National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey, United States, 2011. *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report Surveillance Summaries,* 63(8), 1–18.

Briere, J., & Runtz, M. (1993). Childhood sexual abuse: Long-term sequelae and implications for psychological assessment. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 8(3), 312–330. https://doi.org/10.1177/088626093008003002

Brison, S. J. (1999). Trauma narratives and the remaking of the self. In M. Bal, J. Crewe, & L. Spitzer (Ed.). *Acts of memory: Cultural recall in the present.* (pp. 38-54). Hanover and London: University Press of New England.

Bruns, A., & Burgess, J. E. (2011). The use of Twitter hashtags in the formation of ad hoc publics. Paper presented at the *6th European Consortium for Political Research General Conference*, 25 - 27 August 2011, University of Iceland, Reykjavik.

Buckley, C. (2018, January 1). Powerful Hollywood women unveil anti-harassment action plan. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/01/movies/times-up-hollywood-women-sexual-harassment.html?auth=login-google

Buedel, M. (2018, October 26). Director of Bradley's star speech program resigns after

    allegations of sexual assault. *Journal Star*. Retrieved from

    https://www.pjstar.com/news/20181026/director-of-bradleys-star-speech-program-

    resigns-after-allegations-of-sexual-assault

Bunky. [@bunkyResists]. (2017, November 16). He is not groping her. He is posing for the0

    camera. It's a joke. Bullet proof vest, and shadows under his fingers- not groping.

    [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/bunkyResists/status/931189192444563456

Burch, A. (2017). The #MeToo moment: After Alabama, Black women wonder, what's next?

    The New York Times. Retrieval from https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/14/us/themetoo-

    moment-after-alabama-black-women-wonder-whats-next.html

Burke, T. [TaranaBurke]. (2018, August 20). Sex violence is about power and privilege. [Tweet].

    Retrieved from https://twitter.com/TaranaBurke/status/1031498904158855170

Burton, T. (2017, November 22). #ChurchToo: Abuse survivors speak out about harassment in

    their religious communities. *Vox*. Retrieved from

    https://www.vox.com/identities/2017/11/22/16690384/churchtoo-abuse-survivors-

    harassmentreligious-communities

Calfas, J. (2018, January 14). Oprah interviewed Reese Witherspoon, America Ferrera and other

    stars about Time's Up. *Time*. Retrieved from https://time.com/5102698/oprah-times-up-

    cbs-sunday-morning/

Campbell, K. K. (2005). Agency: Promiscuous and protean. *Communication and*

    Critical/Cultural Studies, 2(1), 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1080/1479142042000332134

Carissa. [@carissawayman]. (2018, October 7). I was a victim, and I support all women who

      have come forward to talk about their stories. [Tweet]. Twitter.

      https://twitter.com/carissawayman/status/1049132112874524673

Carr, D. (2012, March 25). Hashtag Activism, and its limits. *The New York Times.* Retrieved

      from https://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/26/business/media/hashtag-activism-and-its-

      limits.html

CBS. (2017, October 17). More than 12M "Me Too" Facebook posts, comments, reactions in 24

      hours. *CBS*. Retrieved from https://www.cbsnews.com/news/metoo-more-than-12-

      million-facebook-posts-comments-reactions-24-hours/

Chan, G. [@gemma_chan]. (2018, September 21). If you are still unsure why women and men

      who've been abused might not speak up please take a moment to read

      #WhyIDidntReport. [Tweet]. Twitter.

      https://twitter.com/gemma_chan/status/1043302915090407425

Chan, M. (2019, April 23). Our pain is never prioritized. #MeToo founder Tarana Burke says

      we must listen to 'untold' stories of minority women. *Time*. Retrieved from

      https://time.com/5574163/tarana-burke-metoo-time-100-summit/

Charles, T. (2019, April 19). What is forensic competition? *Chron.* Retrieved from

      https://smallbusiness.chron.com/forensic-competition-827.html

Chicago Tribune. (2020, March 11). #MeToo: A timeline of events. *Chicago Tribune.* Retrieved

      from https://www.chicagotribune.com/lifestyles/ct-me-too-timeline-20171208

      htmlstory.html

Chou, S. (2018). Millions say #MeToo. But not everyone is heard equally. *Public Radio International.* Retrieved from https://www.pri.org/stories/2018-01-23/millions-say-metoo-noteveryone-heard-equally.

Christensen, H. S. (2011). Political activities on the Internet: Slacktivism or political participation by other means? *First Monday,* 16(2). https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v16i2.3336

Clark, R. (2014). #NotBuyingIt: Hashtag feminists expand the commercial media conversation. *Feminist Media Studies,* 14 (6): 1108–1110. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2014.975473

Clarke, J. A. (2019). The rules of #MeToo. *The University of Chicago Legal Forum,* 2019(3). Retrieved from https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol2019/iss1/3

CNN. [@CNN]. (2017, November 30). Producer and entrepreneur Russell Simmons is stepping down from his companies following a sexual assault allegation. [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/CNN/status/936266384685830145

Culbertson, R. (1995). Embodied memory, transcendence, and telling: Recounting trauma, establishing self. *New Literary History.* 26(1) 69-96.

Constante, A. (2018, January 28). Hollywood is having a #MeToo moment. Women of color have fought this battle for decades. *NBC News.* Retrieved from https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/hollywood-having-metoo-moment-women-color-have-fought-battle-decades-n841121

Codrea-Rado, A. (2018, January 15). Catherine Deneuve apologizes to victims after denouncing #MeToo. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/15/arts/catherine-deneuve-me-too.html

Crenshaw, K. W. (2010). Close encounters of three kinds: On teaching dominance feminism and

    intersectionality. *Tulsa Law Review,* 46(151). Available at:

    https://digitalcommons.law.utulsa.edu/tlr/vol46/iss1/13

Dadas, C. (2017). Hashtag activism: The promise and risk of "attention". In Douglas M. Walls,

    & Stephanie Vie (Eds.), Social writing/social media*: Publics, presentations, and*

    pedagogies, 17-36. Retrieved from

    https://wac.colostate.edu/books/perspectives/social/

Davies, M., Pollard, P., & Archer, J. (2001). The influence of victim gender and sexual

    orientation on judgments of the victim in a depicted stranger rape. *Violence and Victims,*

    16, 607–619. PMID: 11863061

Dawson, P. (2020). Hashtag narrative: Emergent storytelling and affective publics in the digital

    age. *International Journal of Cultural Studies,* 23(6), 1-16*.*

    https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877920921417

Dawson, R. [@rosariodawson]. (2018, January 1). Times Up on Silence. Times Up on Waiting.

    Times Up on tolerating discrimination, harassment and abuse. #timesup [Tweet]. Twitter.

    https://twitter.com/rosariodawson/status/947921044244905984

Day, T. (2020, February 2). Johnny Depp and #HimToo: Society's failure to recognize female

    aggressors. *CD Media.* Retrieved from

    https://creativedestructionmedia.com/analysis/2020/02/02/johnny-depp-and-himtoo-

    societys-failure-to-recognize-female-aggressors/

De Maria, M. (2017, December 26). Time's 2017 person of the year ss "The Silence Breakers."

    Refinery 29. Retrieved from https://www.refinery29.com/en-us/2017/12/184071/time-

    person-of-the-year-2017-silence-breakers

Dernhelm, coffee-slayer. [@Eowyn_the_Fair]. (2018, March 1). I'm always skeptical of the stars

involved in this. Why is now suddenly #timesup? Why didn't they call it out before? Are

they only standing up against these abusers because someone else did it first? [Tweet].

https://twitter.com/Eowyn_the_Fair/status/969248847854817281

Donadio, R. (2017, October 18). #BalanceTonPorc is France's #MeToo. *The Atlantic.* Retrieved

from https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/10/the-weinstein-scandal-

seen-from-france/543315/

Downen, R., Olsen, J., & Tedesco, J. (2019, February 10). Abuse of faith. *Houston Chronicle.*

Retrieved from https://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/investigations/article/Southern-

Baptist-sexual-abuse-spreads-as-leaders-13588038.php

Doyle, S. (2017, November 29). Despite what you may have heard, "Believe Women" has never

meant "ignore facts." *Elle*. Retrieved from https://www.elle.com/culture/career-

politics/a13977980/me-too-movement-false-accusations-believe-women/

DuVernay, A. [@ava]. (2018, April 30). We join the call to #MuteRKelly and insist on the safety

+ dignity of all women. We demand investigations into R. Kelly's abuse allegations made

by women of color + their families for two decades. We call on those who profit from his

music to cut ties. #MuteRKelly #TIMESUP #WOC. [Tweet]. Twitter.

https://twitter.com/ava/status/990935166603448321

Dressing, H., Dolling, D., Hermann, D., Horten, B., Kruse, A., Schmitt, E., € Bannenberg, B.,

Whittaker, K., & Salize, H. J. (2017). Sexual abuse of minors within the Catholic Church

and other institutions. *Neuropsychiatries,* 31(2), 45–55.

Dwyer, C. & Romo, V. (2020, February 24). Harvey Weinstein found guilty of rape, sexual

abuse in mixed verdict. *NPR.* Retrieved from

https://www.npr.org/2020/02/24/805258433/harvey-weinstein-found-guilty-of-rape-but-

acquitted-of-most-sexual-assault-charg

Du Mont, J., Macdonald, S., White, M., & Turner, L. (2013). Male victims of adult sexual

assault: A descriptive study of survivors' use of sexual assault treatment services. *Journal*

of Interpersonal Violence, 28, 2676–2694. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260513487993

Ellis, E. G. (2018, September 27). How #HimToo Became the Anti #MeToo of the Kavanaugh

Hearings. *Wired.* Retrieved from https://www.wired.com/story/brett-kavanaugh-hearings-

himtoo-metoo-christine-blasey-ford/

Erickson, K. (2019). Framing feminism: How U.S. and French media frame #MeToo and

#BalanceTonPorc from a feminist perspective. *WWU Honors Program Senior Projects.*

Retrieved from https://cedar.wwu.edu/wwu_honors/119

Felson, S. (2020, October 17). Sleep paralysis. Web MD. Retrieved from

https://www.webmd.com/sleep-disorders/sleep-paralysis

Ferzan, K. K. (2020, May 4). #BelieveWomen and the presumption of innocence: Clarifying the

questions for law and life. V*irginia Public Law and Legal Theory Research Paper No.*

2020-39. Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=3592545

Fessler, L. (2017, December 8). Gloria Steinem says black women have always been more

feminist than white women. *Quartz.* Retrieved from https://qz.com/1150028/gloria-

steinem-on-metoo-black-women-have-always-been-more-feminist-than-white-women/

Fido, J. (2017, November 2). There is good reason to exclude men from the #MeToo narrative. *Feminist Current.* Retrieved from https://www.feministcurrent.com/2017/11/02/good-reason-exclude-men-metoo-narrative/

Fisher, W. R. (1984). Narration as a human communication paradigm: The case of public moral argument. *Communication Monographs,* 51(1), 1–22. doi:10.1080/03637758409390180

Fisher, W. R. (1989). Clarifying the narrative paradigm. *Communication Monographs,* 56(1), 55–58. doi:10.1080/03637758909390249

Flynn, M. (2018, October 19). This is MY son': Navy vet horrified as mom's tweet miscasts him as #HimToo poster boy — and goes viral. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2018/10/09/this-is-my-son-navy-vet-horrified-as-moms-tweet-miscasts-him-as-himtoo-poster-boy-and-goes-viral/?noredirect=on

France 24. (2020, July 9). 'Not your sexual object': Corsicans harness the #IWas movement to challenge a culture of silence. *Yahoo! News.* Retrieved from https://uk.news.yahoo.com/not-sexual-object-corsicans-harness-185747201.html

Freelon, D., McIlwain, C. D., & Clark, M. D. (2016). Beyond the hashtags: #Ferguson, #BlackLivesMatter, and the online struggle for offline justice. *Center for Media and Social Impact*, School of Communication, American University, Washington, DC. Retrieved from http://cmsim pact.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/beyond_the_hashtags_2016.pdf

Gallagher, R.J., Reagan, A.J., Danforth, C.M., & Dodds, P.S. (2018) Divergent discourse between protests and counter-protests: #BlackLivesMatter and #AllLivesMatter. *PloS ONE* 13(4): e0195644. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0195644

Gallagher, R. J., Stowell, E., Parker, A. G., & Foucault Welles, B. (2019). Reclaiming

    Stigmatized Narratives. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction,*

    3, 1–30. doi:10.1145/3359198

Garber, M. (2017, October 23). Harvey Weinstein's statements have taken a striking turn. *The*

    Atlantic. Retrieved from: https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2017/10/the-

    evolutionof-harvey-weinsteins-statements/543690/

Garcia, S. E. (2017). The woman who created #MeToo long before hashtags. *The New York*

    Times. Retrieved from https:// www.nytimes.com/2017/10/20/us/me-too-movement-

    tarana-burke.html

Garrett, A. & Hassen, N. (2019). Understanding the silence of sexual harassment victims through

    the #WhyIDidntReport movement. *Association for Computing Machinery*. Proceedings

    of the 2019 IEEE/ACM International Conference on Advances in Social Networks

    Analysis and Mining,649-652. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1145/3341161.3343700

Gay, R. (2018). Not that bad: Dispatches from rape culture. New York: Harper Perennial.

George Washington University & Cision (2009). 2009 Social media and online usage study.

    Retrieved from http://insight.cision.com/content/GWUrequest

Gersh-Nesic, B. (2020, February 11). What is appropriation art? *ThoughtCo.* Retrieved from

    https://www.thoughtco.com/appropriation-appropriation-art-183190

Giaxoglou K (2018) #JeSuisCharlie? Hashtags as narrative resources in contexts of ecstatic

    sharing. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 22, 13–20. DOI:

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2017.07.006

Gladwell, M. (2010). Small change: Why the revolution will not be tweeted. *The New Yorker.*

> Retrieved from https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/10/04/small-change-
> malcolm-gladwell

Gladwell, M. (2010, October 4). Twitter, Facebook, and social activism: Small change—Why

> the revolution will not be tweeted. *New Yorker.* Retrieved from http://www.newyorker.
> com/reporting/2010/10/04/101004fa_fact_gladwell?printable=true#ixzz10vnpdC2p

Goldwyn, T. (2018, May 9). What men should (and 100% shouldn't) do to support #TimesUp,

> according to Scandal's Tony Goldwyn. *In Style.* Retrieved from
> https://www.instyle.com/news/tony-goldwyn-men-times-up

Goldsborough, R. (2011). "Slacktivism" is becoming the new activism. *Community College*

> *Week.*

Gracelynn. [@GraceEliJohnson]. (2018, October 31). #meninist I'm out here supporting our

> good men, husbands, boyfriends, fathers, and sons who's lives could be ruined by rape
> allegations at any point because of a dumb #BelieveWomen movement. [Tweet]. Twitter.
> https://twitter.com/GraceEliJohnson/status/1057690159431475200

Greenfield, R. (2012, May 3). Twitter is torturing social media nerds with hashtag spam. *The*

> *Atlantic.* Retrieved from
> https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2012/05/twitter-torturing-social-media-
> nerds-hashtag-spam/328581/

Griffin, K. [@kathygriffin]. (2018, April 30). For 20 years we've been reading about credible

> accusations against R Kelly. [Tweet]. Twitter.
> https://twitter.com/kathygriffin/status/991026616389300224

Guadalupe, P. (2019). Yo tambien. *Latino Magazine.* Retrieved from

    http://latinomagazine.com/spring2019/yo-tambien.html

Gubrium, A. (2009). Digital storytelling: An emergent method for health promotion research and

    practice. *Health Promotion Practice,* 10(2), 186-191. DOI: 10.1177/1524839909332600

Hanson, P. [@Thatwasmymom]. (2018, October 8). That was my Mom. [Tweet]. Twitter.

    https://twitter.com/Thatwasmymom/status/1049518834972020737

Harris, K. [@KamalaHarris]. (2018, January 1). I stand with women across every industry to say

    #TIMESUP on abuse, harassment, marginalization, and underrepresentation. Join me:

    timesupnow.com. [Tweet]. Twitter.

    https://twitter.com/KamalaHarris/status/947951074597621760

Helmore, E. (2020, January 4). Terry Gilliam faces backlash after labeling #MeToo a 'witch-

    hunt'. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from

    https://www.theguardian.com/film/2020/jan/04/terry-gilliam-metoo-witch-hunt-backlash

Herman, J. (1997). Trauma and recovery. New York: Basic Books

Hermida, A. (2010). From TV to Twitter: How ambient news became ambient journalism. *M/C*

    Journal, 13(2). Retrieved from http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/

    article/view/220

Hernandez, C., & Mou, Z. (2018, January). "Me Too," Chinese women say. Not so fast, say the

    censors. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from

    https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/23/world/asia/ china-women-me-too-censorship.html

Hernández, J. C. (2019, January 4). She's on a #MeToo mission in China, battling censors and

    lawsuits. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from

    https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/04/world/asia/china-zhou-xiaoxuan-metoo.html

Herring, S. C. (1996). Computer-mediated communication: Linguistics, social, and cross-cultural perspectives. *John Benjamins Publishing.* Amsterdam: The Netherlands.

History. (2020, January 17). Arab Spring. *History.* Retrieved from https://www.history.com/topics/middle-east/arab-spring

Hlavka, H. R. (2017). Speaking of stigma and the silence of shame: Young men and sexual victimization. *Men and Masculinities,* 20(4), 482–505. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X16652656

HWR Staff. (2018, March 2). David Arquette, David Schwimmer join Hollywood men and activists to launch #AskMoreOfHim campaign. *The Hollywood Reporter.* Retrieved from https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/david-arquette-david-schwimmer-join-hollywood-men-activists-launch-askmoreofhim-campaign-1090121?utm_source=twitter

Human, L. J., Sandstrom, G. M., Biesanz, J. C., & Dunn, E. W. (2013). Accurate first impressions leave a lasting impression: The long-term effects of accuracy on relationship development. *Social Psychological and Personality Science,* 4, 395-402. https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550612463735

Inglis, T. (2014). Are the Irish different? Manchester University Press.

Ison J. (2019). It's not just men and women: LGBTQIA people and #MeToo. In: Fileborn B., Loney-Howes R. (eds) #MeToo and the Politics of Social Change. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-15213-0_10

James, C. C. (2018, January 3). The silence breakers: A kairos moment for the church. *The Huffington Post.* Retrieved from https://www.huffpost.com/entry/the-silence-breakers-a-kairos-moment-for-the-church_b_5a4bb0b3e4b0d86c803c79a7

Jenn_30.8. [@jenn5629]. (2019, December 4). I'm so sorry, it happened from a person who was

    supposed to protect you. Instead he was the person who hurt you. *I say person because

    he is no man*. [Tweet]. Twitter.

    https://twitter.com/Jenn5629/status/1202463145240997888

Johnson, J. (2018, January 16). #ChurchToo: Apology of evangelical pastor accused of sexual

    assault shows why sorry isn't enough. *Religious Dispatches.* Retrieved from

    https://religiondispatches.org/churchtoo-apology-of-evangelical-pastor-accused-of-

    sexual- assault-shows-why-sorry-isnt-enough/

Joinson, A. (2001). Self-disclosure in computer-mediated communication: The role of self-

    awareness and visual anonymity. *European Journal of Social Psychology,* 31, 177-192.

    https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.36

Josh. [@Robitussum]. (2017, November 10). Thanks for sharing your side of the story. I look

    forward to hearing from @IGN and the man that you accused for their perspectives, too.

    [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/Robitussun/status/929208596050710528

Josh. [@Robitussum]. (2017, November 10). And Vincent Ingenito @Vincogneato has replied

    with his perspective, and some screengrabs. [Tweet]. Twitter.

    https://twitter.com/Robitussun/status/929208596050710528

Jmsully. [@jmsully09]. (2018, March 19). So funny how the actresses and actors knew for

    years and did absolutely nothing. [Tweet].

    https://twitter.com/jmsully09/status/975853727495180289

Marrichi, R. [@marrichirapha]. (2017, October 23). Me too, he was my stepfather. [Tweet].

    Twitter. https://twitter.com/marrichirapha/status/922666008007016448

Kelly, C. (2019, April 24). Hundreds of former Boy Scouts reveal new sexual abuse claims,
exposing 150 alleged pedophiles. *USA Today.* Retrieved from
https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/investigations/2019/04/24/boy-scouts-face-
hundreds-new-sexual-abuse-claims/3547991002/

Kiesler, S., Siegal, J., & McGuire, T.W. (1984). Social psychological aspects of computer-
mediated communication. *American Psychologist,* 39(10), 1123-1134.
https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.39.10.1123

King, J. (2015, March 1). How three friends turned a spontaneous Facebook post into a global
phenomenon. *California Sunday*. Retrieved from https://stories.californiasunday.com/
2015-03-01/black-lives-matter/

Kitchener, C. (2019, March 26). A #metoo nightmare in the world of competitive college speech.
The Atlantic. Retrieved from
https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2019/03/students-accuse-gmu-forensics-
coach-sexual-harassment/585211/

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

Kraut, R., Mukhopadhyay, T., Szczypula, J., Kiesler, S., & Scherlis, B. (2000). Information and
communication: Alternative uses of the Internet in households. *Information Systems
Research,* 10(4), 287-303. doi:10.1287/isre.10.4.287

Küfner, A. C. P., Back, M. D., Nestler, S., & Egloff, B. (2010). Tell me a story and I will tell you
who you are! Lens model analyses of personality and creative writing. *Journal of
Research in Personality,* 44, 427-435. doi:10.1016/j.jrp.2010.05.003

Lambert, J. (2006). Digital storytelling: Capturing lives, creating community. Berkeley, CA:
Digital Diner Press.

Langone, A. (2018, March 22). #MeToo and Time's Up founders explain the difference between

    the 2 movements — and how they're alike. *Time.* Retrieved from

    https://time.com/5189945/whats-the-difference-between-the-metoo-and-times-up-

    movements/

Lanius, C. (2019). Torment Porn or Feminist Witch Hunt: Apprehensions About the #MeToo

    Movement on /r/AskReddit. *Journal of Communication Inquiry,* 0(0) 1-22.

    doi:10.1177/0196859919865250

Larimer, M. E., Lydum, A. R., Anderson, B. K., & Turner, A. P. (1999). Male and female

    recipients of unwanted sexual contact in a college student sample: Prevalence rates,

    alcohol use, and depression symptoms. *Sex Roles,* 40(3-4), 295-308.

    https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1018807223378

Larimer, S. (2018, August 18). George Mason professor retires amid sexual harassment

    allegations. *The Washington Post.* Retrieved from

    https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/george-mason-professor-retires-amid-

    sexual-harassment-allegations/2018/08/18/683e60d8-9055-11e8-bcd5-

    9d911c784c38_story.html

Leah, R. (2018, September 26). Tomi Lahren claims #MeToo turned "ugly" with "Democrat-

    driven," "politically convenient allegations". *Salon.* Retrieved from

    https://www.salon.com/2018/09/26/tomi-lahren-claims-metoo-turned-ugly-with-

    democrat-driven-politically-convenient-allegations/

Lekatch, S. (2017, October 19). #MeToo hashtag has spread to #YoTambien, #أنا_كمان,

    #QuellaVoltaChe. *Mashable.* Retrieved from https://mashable.com/2017/10/19/me-too-

    global-spread/

Levensen, M. (2020, October 2). Harvey Weinstein faces six additional sexual assault charges in

    Los Angeles. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from

    https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/02/us/harvey-weinstein-sexual-assault-charges.html

Lindgreen, A., Swaen, V., & Johnson, W. J. (2009). Corporate social responsibility: An

    empirical investigation of U.S. organizations. *Journal of Business Ethics,* 85, 303–323.

Levy, R. & Mattsson, M. (2020). The effects of social movements: Evidence from #MeToo.

    doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3496903

Lisak, D., Gardinier, L., Nicksa, S. C., & Cote, A. M. (2010). False allegations of sexual assault:

    An analysis of ten years of reported cases. *Violence Against Women,* 16(12), 1318–1334.

    doi:10.1177/1077801210387747

Longacre, J. [@justin_longacre]. (2018, October 9). Handled like a gentleman. [Tweet]. Twitter.

    https://twitter.com/justin_longacre/status/1049618800956637186

Lonsway, K.A., & Fitzgerald, L.F. (1994). Rape myths. *Psychology of Women Quarterly,* 18,

    133-165.

Lowenstein-Barkai, H. (2020, March 5). #Me(n)Too? Online social support toward male and

    female survivors of sexual victimization. Journal of Interpersonal Violence. DOI:

    https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520905095

MacFarquhar, N., Feuer, A., Baker, M., & Frenkel, S. (2020, September 30). Far-right group that

    trades in political violence gets a boost. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from

    https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/30/us/proud-boys-trump.html

MacKinnon, C. (2018, February 4). #MeToo has done what the law could not. *New York*

    Times. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/04/opinion/metoo-law-legal-

    system.html

Marie. [@Merrirrro]. (2017, November 18). Must have been so damaging to her. Look what she

      was forced to endure 5 years later. [Tweet]. Twitter.

      https://twitter.com/Merrirrro/status/932001949637017601

Martinez, D. (2018, November 12). Facebook, Airbnb and eBay join Google in ending forced

      arbitration for sexual harassment claims. *NBC News.* Retrieved from

      https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/tech-news/facebook-airbnb-ebay-join-google-ending-

      forced-arbitration-sexual-harassment-n935451

Maule, R. (2020). Not just a movement for famous white cisgendered women: #Me Too and

      intersectionality. *Gender and Women's Studies*, 2(3), 4. doi:

      10.31532/GendWomensStud.2.3.004

McKinley, J. C., Mueller, B., & Rashbaum, W. K. (2018, May 24). Harvey Weinstein will be

      arrested and charged with rape, officials say. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from

      https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/24/nyregion/harvey-weinstein-arrest-new-york.html

Melendez, L. (2018, September 21). Trump's tweet on Christine Blasey Ford sparks outrage

      from some women. *ABC News.* Retrieved from https://abc7news.com/dr-christine-blasey-

      ford-tweets-tweet-on-donald-trump/4306375/

Mendes, K., Keller, J., & Ringrose, J. (2019) Digitized narratives of sexual violence: Making

      sexual violence felt and known through digital disclosures. *New Media & Society,* 21(6):

      1290–1310. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818820069

Mendes, K., Ringrose, J., & Keller, J. (2019). Digital feminist activism: girls and women fight

      back against rape culture. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Mezey, G., & King, M. (1989). The effects of sexual assault on men: a survey of 22 victims.

      Psychological Medicine, 19, 205-209. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0033291700011168

Milano, A. [@Alyssa_Milano]. (2017, October 23). I'm sorry anyone ever hurt you. [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/Alyssa_Milano/status/922667244785750017

Milano, A. [@Alyssa_Milano]. (2017, October 15). If you've been sexually harassed or assaulted write 'me too' as a reply to this tweet. [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/Alyssa_Milano/status/919659438700670976

Milano, A. [@Alyssa_Milano]. (2018, September 21) Hey, @realDonaldTrump, Listen the fuck up. [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/Alyssa_Milano/status/1043162625733849089

Milner, R. M. (2013). Pop polyvocality: Internet memes, public participation, and the Occupy Wall Street movement. *International Journal of Communication,* 7: 2357–2390.

Mina, A. X. (2019). Memes to movements. [video]. *Berkman Klein Center for Internet & Society at Harvard University*. Retrieved from https://cyber.harvard.edu/story/2019-01/xiao-mina-memes-movements

Mindful Majority. [@MindfulMajority]. (2018, September 30). Here's a little context for "he said, she said" situations. [Tweet].
Twitter. https://twitter.com/MindfulMajority/status/1046437195874103296

Moniuszko, S. M. (2017, December 13). "Harvey Weinstein responds to Salma Hayek calling him her 'monster'." *USA Today.* Retrieved from https://www.usatoday.com/story/life/people/2017/12/13/salma-hayekharvey-weinstein-my-monster-too/948605001/

Moran, M. [@Mickey_Elvis]. (2018, October 7). I'm telling the truth when I say a woman grabbed my crotch at a party once. [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/Mickey_Elvis/status/1048952014049353729

Morning Call. (2018, September 25). The list: Celebrities accused of sexual misconduct. *The Morning Call.* Retrieved from https://www.mcall.com/entertainment/mc-harvey-weinstein-impact-list-of-men-accused-of-sexual-misconduct-20171129-story.html

Morris, A. (2018, October 11). #HimToo: Left and right embrace opposing takes on same hashtag. *NPR.* Retrieved from https://www.npr.org/2018/10/11/656293787/-himtoo-left-and-right-embrace-opposing-takes-on-same-hashtag

Muhumuza, R. (2012, March 23). Kony 2012: African Union ramps up hunt for Uganda rebel leader in wake of viral video. *The Star.* Retrieved from https://www.thestar.com/news/world/2012/03/23/kony_2012_african_union_ramps_up_hunt_for_uganda_rebel_leader_in_wake_of_viral_video.html

Mukkamala, S., & Suyemoto, K. L. (2018). Racialized sexism/sexualized racism: A multimethod study of intersectional experiences of discrimination for Asian American women. *Asian American Journal of Psychology,* 9(1), 32–46. doi:10.1037/aap0000104

New York Times. [@nytimes]. (2018, January 1). A group of 300 Hollywood women have formed a sprawling initiative to fight systemic sexual harassment. [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/nytimes/status/947864010573172736

North, A. (2019, August 27). #MeToo's latest critics say they want to help the movement. Why are they shaming women? *Vox.* Retrieved from https://www.vox.com/2019/8/27/20833421/me-too-sexual-misconduct-al-franken-kaiman

O'Neill, T. (2018). "Today I speak": Exploring how victim-survivors use Reddit. *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy,* 7, 44–59. https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcjsd.v7i1.402

Odine, M. (2013). Arab women use media to address inequality. *Journal of International Communication,* 19, 167–181. doi: 10.1080/13216597.2013.833537

Ohlhesier, A. (2017, October 17). Meet the woman who coined 'Me Too' 10 years ago — to help women of color. *Chicago Tribune.* Retrieved from https://www.chicagotribune.com/lifestyles/ct-me-too-campaign-origins-20171019-story.html

Ojha, S. (2018, September 23). After #MeToo, #WhyIDidntReport proves sexual abuse victims are rarely believed. *News Bytes.* Retrieved from https://www.newsbytesapp.com/timeline/world/32568/144685/whyididntreport-is-uniting-sexual-assault-victims-after-metoo

Oneiorosgrip. [@Oneiosgrip]. (2019, January 1). Most men don't commit rape. [Tweet]. https://twitter.com/Oneiorosgrip/status/1080215583973670918

Onwuachi-Willig, A. (2018). What about #UsToo: The invisibility of race in the #MeToo Movement. *Yale Law Journal Forum,* 128, 105-120.

Palczewski, C.H. (2001). Cyber-movements, new social movements, and counter-publics. In: Brouwer, D., & Asen, R. (eds) Counterpublics and the State. New York: SUNY Press, 9–27

Pandell, L. (2017, May 19). The hashtag: An oral history of the #hashtag. *Wired.* Retrieved from https://www.wired.com/2017/05/oral-history-hashtag/

Park, A. (2017, October 24). #MeToo reaches 85 countries with 1.7M tweets. *CBS News.* Retrieved from https://www.cbsnews.com/news/metoo-reaches-85-countries-with-1-7-million-tweets/

Parks, M. R., & Floyd, K. (1996). Making friends in Cyberspace. *Journal of Computer-mediated Communication,* 1(4). https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.1996.tb00176.x

Pearce, W. B., & Sharp, S. M. (1973). Self-disclosing communication. *Journal of Communication,* 23, 409–425. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1973.tb00958.x

Pegs. [@Miss_Peg]. (2018, January 1). No. Men should stop raping and assaulting women first. What a nonsense tweet. [Tweet]. https://twitter.com/Miss_Peg/status/947920612932116480

Peiser, J. (2020, October 5). The Proud Boys were emboldened by Trump's words. Then, LGBTQ couples reclaimed the group's hashtag. *The Washington Post.* Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2020/10/05/proudboys-twitter-lgbtq-takei/

Phillips, D. (2019, May 2). 'This is unacceptable.' Military reports a surge of sexual assaults in the ranks. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/02/us/military-sexual-assault.html

Piatek, S. (2007, September 7). #sandiegofire – the first successful example of hashtag in news context. *S. J. Piatek.* Retrieved from https://sjpiatek.com/2016/09/07/sandiegofire-the-first-successful-example-of-hashtag-in-news-context/

Pilkington, E. (2020, February 24). Harvey Weinstein convicted of rape at New York trial. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/film/2020/feb/24/harvey-weinstein-guilty-trial-charges-verdict

Plagge, K. [@inkydojikko]. (2017, November 10). After hearing everyone else's sexual harassment stories, I feel like it's finally time to share my own. #metoo. [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/inkydojikko/status/929158341942583296

Quinn, C. [@pocketrocket07]. (2020, February 13). This is the hypocrisy of the #metoo
movement on full display. [Twitter]. Retrieved from
https://twitter.com/pocketrocket07/status/1227910041505632256

Real Miss Morgue [@realmissmorgue]. (2017, October 29). I am so sorry you had to have this
happen [Tweet]. Twitter.
https://twitter.com/realmissmorgue/status/924574662423728128

Reuters. (2018, January 14). China revokes academic title of professor accused of sexual
harassment. *Reuters.* Retrieved from https://www.reuters.com/post/us-china-
harassment/chinarevokes-academic-title-of-professor-accused-of-sexual-harassment-
idUSKBN1F30I4

Rhodan, M. (2017, December 5). Transportation secretary Elaine Chao shares 'MeToo' moment.
Time. Retrieved from http://time.com/5049938/elaine-chao-sexual-harassment/

Robin, B. (2006). The Educational Uses of Digital Storytelling. In C. Crawford, R. Carlsen, K.
McFerrin, J. Price, R. Weber & D. Willis (Eds.), Proceedings of SITE 2006--Society for
Information Technology & Teacher Education International Conference (pp. 709-716).
Orlando, Florida, USA: Association for the Advancement of Computing in Education
(AACE).

Roeder, T. (2018). You have to confess: Rape and the politics of storytelling. *Journal of
Feminist Scholarship,* 9 (Fall): 18-29. Retrieved from
https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/jfs/vol9/iss9/3

Romero, A. (2018, January 7). Oprah makes instantly iconic #TimesUp speech while accepting
Golden Globe. *Refinery 29.* Retrieved from https://www.refinery29.com/en-
us/2018/01/187176/oprah-winfrey-golden-globes-speech-inspiring-quotes

Rose, M. [@BoutonMary]. (2018, October 7). Hi, if this whole Kavanaugh - Dr. Ford drama has

    made you scared for your son, then you do not fucking understand what is happening.

    [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/BoutonMary/status/1049063190191980544

Ross. B., Potthoff., Majchrzak, T. A., Chakraborty, N. R., Ben Lazreg, M., & Stieglitz, S. (2018).

    The diffusion of crisis-related communication on social media: An empirical analysis of

    Facebook reactions. *Proceedings of the 51st Hawaii International Conference on System*

    Sciences. http://hdl.handle.net/10125/50207

Ross, J. (2015, August 19). How Black Lives Matter moved from a hashtag to a real political

    force. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-

    fix/ wp/2015/08/19/how-black-lives-matter-moved-from-a-hashtag-to-a-real-

    politicalforce/?utm_term=.9aa5f9b3c9b4.

Rotman, D., Vieweg, S., Yardi, S., Chi, E., Preece, J., Shneiderman, B., Pirolli, P., & Glaisyer,

    T. (2011). From slacktivism to activism: participatory culture in the age of social media.

    Ext. Abstracts CHI 2011, ACM Press.

Rubin, A. J. (2017, November 17). 'Revolt' in France against sexual harassment hits cultural

    resistance. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from

    https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/19/world/europe/france-sexual-harassment.html

Safronova, V. (2018). Catherine Deneuve and others denounce the #MeToo movement. *The New*

    York Times. Retrieved from www.nytimes.com/2018/01/09/movies/catherine-deneuve-

    and-others-denounce-the-metoo-movement.html.

Sarlacc_Attack. [@SnarlakAttack]. (2018, November 21). Fundamentalists who believe in

    curtailing women's rights and LGBTQ rights and they think false rape accusations

    represent a problem of greater magnitude than rapists mostly walking free. [Tweet].

    Twitter. https://twitter.com/SnarlakAttack/status/1065159217307250688

Saxton, G. D., Niyirora, J., Guo, C., & Waters, R. (2015, July 31). #AdvocatingForChange: The

    strategic use of hashtags in social media advocacy. *Advances in Social Work,* 16(1), 154-

    169. doi:10.18060/17952

Sayej, N. (2017, December 1). Alyssa Milano on the #metoo movement: "We're not going to

    stand for it anymore". *The Guardian.* Retrieved from

    https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2017/dec/01/alyssa-milano-mee-too-sexual-

    harassment-abuse

Schaffer, K., & Smith, S. (2004). Human rights and narrated lives: The ethics of recognition.

    New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Schouten, A. P., Valkenburg, P. M., & Peter, J. (2009). An Experimental Test of Processes

    Underlying Self-Disclosure in Computer-Mediated Communication. *Cyberpsychology:*

    Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace, 3(2), Article 3. Retrieved from

    https://cyberpsychology.eu/article/view/4227

Schneider, K. T., George, A. R., Marvin, L., & Carpenter, N. J. (2020). Sexual objectification in

    #MeToo and #WhyIDidntReport tweets: Links to sentiment and emotions. *Self and*

    Identity, 1–8. doi:10.1080/15298868.2020.1831587

Schwartz, I. (2014, May 11). George Will: Hashtag activism "not intended to have any effect on

the real world." *Real Clear Politics*. Retrieved from

https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2014/05/11/george_will_hashtag_activism_not_i

ntended_to_have_any_effect_on_the_real_world.html

Sconce, J. (2012, April 12). Romney hashtag hailstorm. *Ludic Despair*. Retrieved from

http://ludicdespair.blogspot.com/2012/04/romney-hailstorm.html

Segers, G. (2018, September 26). A rundown of the allegations against Brett Kavanaugh. *CBS*.

Retrieved from https://www.cbsnews.com/news/a-rundown-of-the-allegations-against-

brett-kavanaugh/

Seward, Z. M. (2013, October 15). The first-ever hashtag, @-reply and retweet, as Twitter users

invented them. *Quartz*. Retrieved from https://qz.com/135149/the-first-ever-hashtag-

reply-and-retweet-as-twitter-users-invented

Shannon-Karasik, C. (2019, January 1). A brief timeline of the Time's Up movement. *In Style*.

Retrieved from https://www.instyle.com/celebrity/times-up-movement-timeline

Sharon. [@MaitresseKat]. (2018, September 26). Let's face it @alyssamilano... if Kavanaugh

was a Democrat this wouldn't be happening. [Tweet]. Twitter.

https://twitter.com/MaitresseKat/status/1045086734185353216

Short, J., Williams, E., & Christie, B. (1976). The social psychology of telecommunication.

London: Wiley.

Small, T. A. (2011). What the hashtag? A content analysis of Canadian politics on Twitter.

Information, Communication & Society, 14(6), 872–895.

https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2011.554572

Smith, C. P., & Freyd, J. J. (2014). Institutional betrayal. *American Psychologist, 69*(6), 575–587. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037564

Smith, R. [@MUGGER1955]. (2018, November 22). The #MeToo and #BelieveAllWomen movements created the #HimToo movement by accepting all accusations as evidence of guilt and denying due process to the accused. [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/MUGGER1955/status/1065621367301783554

Smith, S. L., Pieper, K., & Choueiti, M. (2017, February). Inclusion in the director's chair? Gender, race, & age of film directors across 1,000 films from 2007-2016 (Brief). Retrieved from http://annenberg.usc.edu/pages/~/media/MDSCI/Inclusion%20in%20the%20Directors%20Chair%202117%20Final.ashx

Sobande, F. (2019). Memes, digital remix culture and (re)mediating British politics and public life. *IPPR Progressive Review.* doi:10.1111/newe.12155

SofaKingCutee. [@SofaKingCutee]. (2018, September 29). Wanting to participate in #MeToo or #WhyIDidntReport for empowerment and to support but I still feel ashamed. [Twitter]. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/SofaKingCutee/status/1046226807257812997

Spalding, R. [@theamazingMrS]. (2017, November 30). Okay: this is getting crazy. How much of this is just hysteria at this point?!?. [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/theamazingMrS/status/936267277741240320

Stampler, L. (2014, September 9). DiGiorno used a hashtag about domestic violence to sell pizza. *Time.* Retrieved from https://time.com/3308861/digiorno-social-media-pizza/

Stephens, B. (2017, December 20. When #MeToo goes too far. *New York Times.* Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/20/opinion/metoo-damon-too-far.html

Stepp, P. L. (2001). Sexual harassment in communication extra-curricular activities:

    Intercollegiate debate and individual events. *Communication Education,* 50(1), 34–50.

    doi:10.1080/03634520109379230

Struckman-Johnson, C., & Struckman-Johnson, D. (1992). Acceptance of male rape myths

    among college men and women. *Sex Roles,* 27, 85-99.

Subedar, A. (2018, August 16). Has #MeToo divided women? *BBC.* Retrieved from

    https://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-44958160

Sun, W. (2019). Rice Bunny and #WoYeShi: Online Reactions of Overseas Chinese to the

    #MeToo Movements in China and the West. *Howard Journal of Communications,* 1–19.

    doi:10.1080/10646175.2019.1666069

Suzie. [@Pray_4Truth]. (2018, September 25). I know 2 people falsely accused. [Tweet].

    Twitter. https://twitter.com/Pray_4Truth/status/1044567268737372160

Syed, J. (2016, January 29). Oscars so white: An institutional racism perspective. *CounterPunch.*

    Retrieved from https://www.counterpunch.org/2016/01/29/oscars-so-white-an-

    institutional-racism-perspective/

The Hollywood Reporter. [@THR]. (2018, October 16). @TaranaBurke in response to the

    #HimToo movement:. [Tweet]. Twitter.

    https://twitter.com/THR/status/1052264420741734401

Tiku, N. (2019, April 22). Google walkout organizers say they're facing retaliation. *Wired.*

    Retrieved from https://www.wired.com/story/google-walkout-organizers-say-theyre-

    facing-retaliation/

Timberlake, J. [@jtimberlake]. (2018, January 1). No more accepting sexual harassment and

    inequality at work as normal. It's NOT normal. #TIMESUP timesupnow.com. [Tweet].

    Twitter. https://twitter.com/jtimberlake/status/947939373428953095

Time. (2012). Top 10 everything of 2012. *Time.* Retrieved from

    entertainment.time.com/2012/12/04/top-10-arts-lists/slide/kony-2012/

Traister, R. (26 February 2020). "'You Believe He's Lying?' The latest debate captured

    Americans' exhausting tendency to mistrust women". *The Cut.* Retrieved from

    https://www.thecut.com/2020/02/chris-matthews-elizabeth-warren-believe-women.html

Trump, D. J. [realDonaldTrump]. (2018, September 21). I have no doubt that, if the attack on Dr.

    Ford was as bad as she says, charges would have been immediately filed with local Law

    Enforcement Authorities by either her or her loving parents. [Tweet]. Retrieved from

    https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1043126336473055235?lang=en

Tufekci, Z. (2008). Can you see me now? Audience and disclosure regulation in online social

    network sites. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society,* 28, 20-36.

    https://doi.org/10.1177/0270467607311484

Turchik, J. A. (2012). Sexual victimization among male college students: Assault severity,

    sexual functioning, and health risk taking behaviors. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity,*

    13, 243–255. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0024605

Tweeden, L. [@LeeannTweeden]. (2017, November 16). I've decided it's time to tell my story.

    #MeToo. [Tweet]. Twitter.

    https://twitter.com/LeeannTweeden/status/931176738586890241

Ugwu, R. (2020, February 6). The hashtag that changed the Oscars: An oral history. *New York Times.* Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/06/movies/oscarssowhite-history.html

VanDam, C., & Tan, P.N. (2016). Detecting hashtag hijacking from Twitter. In proceedings of the 8th ACM Conference on Web Science. 370–371.

Vanity Fair. [@VanityFair]. (2018, January 17). Designers will auction off their black Golden Globes dresses for #TimesUp. [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/VanityFair/status/953628026499227648

Walther, J. B. (1996). Computer-mediated communication: Impersonal, interpersonal, and hyperpersonal interaction. *Communication Research,* 23, 3-4. doi: 10.1177/009365096023001001

Wagmeister, E. (2018, April 10). Tarana Burke on Hollywood, Time's Up and Me Too backlash. *Variety*. Retrieved from https://variety.com/2018/biz/news/tarana-burke-times-up-me-too-backlash-1202748822/

Wang, A. B. (2017, October 21). Harvey Weinstein, accused by dozens, specifically disputes Lupita Nyong'o's harassment claims. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/arts-and-entertainment/wp/2017/10/21/harvey-weinsteinaccused-by-dozens-specifically-disputes-lupita-nyongos-harassment-claims/?noredirect=on

Washington, K. [@kerrywashington]. (2018, January 1). Yes. Thank you all for joining us! #TimesUp. [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/kerrywashington/status/947926141352005634

Weisbrot, S. (2020). The impact of the #MeToo movement on defamation claims against

      survivors. City University of New York Law Review, 23(2). Retrieved from

      https://academicworks.cuny.edu/clr/vol23/iss2/7

Whittaker, A. (2018, January 8). Ashley Judd and other stars react to the Time's Up fashion

      choices at the Golden Globes. *In Style.* Retrieved from

      https://www.instyle.com/news/times-up-golden-globes-fashion

Williams, M. (2017, November 13). IGN responds after employees walk out over sexual

      harassment allegations. *USG.* Retrieved from https://www.usgamer.net/articles/ign-

      responds-after-employees-walk-out-over-sexual-harassment-allegations

Willingham, A. (2020, June 2). Why posting a black image with the 'Black Lives Matter' hashtag

      could be doing more harm than good. *CNN.* Retrieved from

      https://www.cnn.com/2020/06/02/us/blackout-tuesday-black-lives-matter-instagram-

      trnd/index.html

Wilson, P. [@PenneeDesigns]. (2017, November 23). Her #MeeToo hashtag is such a slap in the

      face to the rest of us who actually have been molested. #LeeannTweeden

      @LeeannTweeden. [Tweet]. Twitter.

      https://twitter.com/PenneeDesigns/status/933663316039397376

Wilson, S. [@maudemanilla]. (2018, October 10). Think you Pieter Hanson for having the

      courage to step up for women (as the military taught you) as well as your mom even

      when she tried to use you to start a movement. [Tweet]. Twitter.

      https://twitter.com/maudemanila/status/1050079621016932353

Witherspoon, R. [@ReeseW]. (2018, January 1). Right on, JT! [Tweet]. Twitter.

      https://twitter.com/ReeseW/status/947947693279776769

Wolfe, K., (2018). Narrative Form and Agency in #MeToo". *Student Research Submissions,* 227.

    https://scholar.umw.edu/student_research/227

Xanthopoulos, P., Panagopoulos, O. P., Bakamitsos, G. A., & Freudmann, E. (2015). Hashtag

    hijacking: What it is, why it happens and how to avoid it. *Journal of Digital and Social*

    Media Marketing. 3(4), 353-362.

Yang, G. (2016). Narrative agency in hashtag activism: The case of #BlackLivesMatter. *Media*

    and Communication, 4(4), 13. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.17645/mac.v4i4.692

Ynindia [@ratrubbish]. (2018, September 29). I've always have had really bad sleep paralysis at

    first I tried to convince myself it was that I confided in an adult once and was instantly

    asked if I was lying. [Tweet]. Twitter.

    https://twitter.com/realmissmorgue/status/924574662423728128

York, J. C. (2011, February 1). Egypt: A voice in the blackout, thanks to Google and Twitter.

    Global Voices. Retrieved from http://globalvoicesonline.org/2011/02/01/egypt-a-voice-

    inthe-blackout-thanks-to-google-and-twitter/

Zell, A. L., & Moeller, L. (2018). Are you happy for me… on Facebook? The potential

    importance of "likes" and comments. *Computers in Human Behavior,* 78. 26-33.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2017.08.050

Zinzow, H. M., & Thompson, M. (2011). Barriers to reporting sexual victimization: Prevalence

    and correlates among undergraduate women. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment, and*

    Trauma, 20(7), 711–725. https://doi.org/10.1080/10926771.2011.613447