

Time's Up Now & #MeToo Denmark

Christina Jakobsen
AALBORG UNIVERSITY 31/5-18

Abstract

This comparative study examines the Time's Up Legal Defense Fund initiative from the US and the #MeToo initiative from Denmark, discursively, to uncover differences between the two, and in the contexts, they were created. To do this, the project uses the principles of Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model – the text dimension, the discourse practice dimension, and the social practice dimension – in combination with multimodal analysis, intersection theory, and stereotypes on the male and female gender. This is done with a social constructivist ontological stance, and an interpretivist epistemological stance. In terms of structure, the project is focused on three primary points of analysis; the first was the text, examining the vocabulary, metaphors, and intertextuality, the second point on interdiscursivity, and the third on the social practices and contexts.

To sum up, in the depictions on almost all accounts analysed, the Time's Up Legal Defense Fund and the Danish #MeToo initiatives are different, if in varying degree. Beginning with gender portrayals, Time's Up portrays women as being victims and survivors, while at the same time encouraging change in the current state women have in the workforce. The #MeToo website, however shows women as victims only. Both sites depict men as being the perpetrators, but the #MeToo initiative also blames the culture in Denmark. Looking at intersection, Time's Up uses intersection, when discussing the higher risk some women face as a consequence of ethnicity, gender, sexuality, immigrant status etc., while #MeToo is not, however, very concerned with intersection.

These different areas of concern for Time's Up and the #MeToo website, is a result of the different contexts, they were created in. The United States has a long history of race conflicts, and a current situation, where race is a heated topic as well, and in terms of the actor world, there have in the past few years been a strong focus on creating a diverse industry, making room for people of colour, women, disabled people, etc. Furthermore, the US actor world is for the most part

a liberal world, which goes against the current administration of the country. As such, Time's Up is also concerned with subjects (sexuality, gender, and sexual assault) that has been cause for debate during and since the 2016 election.

The Danish #MeToo was created with Danish actors in the publicising of it. Denmark has not in the same way as the US had many problems due to demography, which seen in the lack of focus on it. However, the same could be said of many of the other categories mentioned in the paragraphs above. Another reason for the lack of diversity on the #MeToo website, besides that of demography, could be that people of colour and immigrants in Denmark have a bad reputation in political discourse, and mentioning either of these topics could remove focus from the sexual violations that are the main issue of the #MeToo website. In addition to this, the binary depiction of gender and sexuality with #MeToo, especially, could be seen as an attempt to pre-empt any criticism, it could have received in including diversity more, because of the ambiguous news coverage of the #MeToo movement in general.

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Introduction

On October 5th 2017, actor Ashley Judd accused Harvey Weinstein of sexual harassment in an article in the New York times (Twohey, 2017), and a week later, on Oct. 12th head of Amazon Studios, Roy Price, resigns after allegations of sexual harassment (James, 2017), and on Oct. 15th, came the tweet that sparked the #MeToo movement. In the tweet written by actor Alyssa Milano, was the words “If you’ve been sexually harassed or assaulted write ‘me too’ as a reply to this tweet” (Hawbaker, 2018). Shortly after her tweet, others began sharing their stories of sexual assault, and especially the experiences of celebrities received attention (Davis, 2018).

The movement has gained a lot of ground globally, but in the entertainment business, especially. In this study, the main concern is the reactions from within the entertainment industry, and in particular from the actors. This is because many stories of sexual abuse have come from exactly this segment of the population in the United States (Davis, 2018). Furthermore, the reason for looking to the actors in the US, is the amount of media coverage of the movement in relation to the entertainment industry, and then actors. In addition to this, it has gained so much ground that the movement was even named as Time Person of the Year 2017, despite only beginning in October that year, and, of course, not being an actual person (Edwards, 2017). On January 1st a group of actors in the US formed the Time’s Up Legal Defense Fund as response to #MeToo, and to provide legal aid for people nationwide, who have been sexually victimized.

In Denmark’s actor circles, the #MeToo movement has received some traction as well, and here the unions in different fields have come together to respond to the movement in collaboration with one hundred Danish actors. The Danish initiative related to #MeToo is a website with experiences of sexual violations. Individually, Time’s Up and the Danish #MeToo initiative, have interesting features. However, looking at them against one another, gives the opportunity to examine the contexts of each of them, while comparing these contexts. *As such, this comparative study*

examines the initiatives Time's Up Legal Defense Fund from the US and the #MeToo website from Denmark, discursively, to uncover differences between the two, and in the contexts, they were created.

Theory

Gender and Sex

Gender and sex are often used interchangeably, but the two are different. Where sex usually refers to biological characteristics, gender is used as an explanatory towards the sociocultural characteristics (Sanchez). As such, there are a continuous discussion between theorists about how to draw the lines between the two different categories. This difficulty is for example seen when looking at women taking care of children. Some theorists (evolutionary) argue that women care for the children to a larger degree than men, because having to bear children (or merely the ability), connects the mothers to the child, and drives the women “to invest more in the care of their offspring than man do (Sanchez). However, other theorists (social role) argue that it is the social structures which cause women to more often take care of the children than the men. One way to explain it from this view, is to look at the division of labour, where “those who historically have been primarily expected to work (men) and those expected to take care of children (women)” (Sanchez). Because of this division of labour, each gender has attained traits fitting to the social structure that is division of labour. As such, it is not also so easy to determine whether a trait should be attributed to sex or gender, and this differentiating is often dependant on the stance of the individual theorist’s ontological and epistemological stances.

In understanding gender comes gender identity, which is a “multidimensional construct encompassing a person’s knowledge of his or her membership in a gender collective, felt compatibility with that collective, quality of motivation to fit in with it, and evaluation of the collective” (David G. Perry). This means that gender identity is concerned with the collective of gender, and how the members see themselves in the collective, and whether they would be more suited in a collective other than the one, they are in. As such, the gender identity is individual, and in maany ways constantly evolving.

Gender stereotypes

Gender stereotypes are ideas and, often inaccurate generalizations regarding male and female attributes. The generalizations are simplistic because they do not consider the individual person's feeling, dreams, or thought. As such, the generalizations on entire genders cannot take the individual attributes into account. According to Brewer, "most people realize that stereotypes are untrue, [but] many still make assumptions based on gender", while attempting to remove themselves from the very same stereotypes in one way or the other (Brewer, 2011).

Gender roles are expressions of how people, according to society, are expected to "act speak, dress, groom, and conduct ourselves based upon our assigned sex" (Planned Parenthood, n.d.), and "every society, ethnic group and culture has gender role expectations, but they can be very different from group to group" (ibid.). As such, the expected gender roles, and in relation to this, the gender stereotypes are not only an indicator of how society expect a person's attributes are supposed to be, but also how a person is supposed to behave. According to Planned Parenthood, there exist four basic stereotypes; personality traits (emotional, confident), domestic behaviour (taking care of children, mowing the lawn), occupations (teacher, fireman), and physical appearance (thick, thin) (Planned Parenthood, n.d.). Furthermore, both gender roles and gender stereotype can change over time, in the same society.

According to the United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner "A gender stereotype is harmful when it limits women's and men's capacity to develop their personal abilities, pursue their professional careers and make choices about their lives and life plans" (n.d.). As such, gender stereotypes should not always be considered positive, because they can have serious ramifications for the individual's opportunities to go beyond the stereotypical perceptions of a person's assigned gender.

Female Gender Stereotypes

From as young as age 5, girls are aware that they are supposed to stay at home with the children and take care of dinner so it is ready for when their husbands come home from work (Brewer, 2011). This is just one of many female stereotypes in western societies. Some stereotypes may be more outspoken in some societies and essential to the perception of women in another society, while they are non-existent or outdated in other societies.

Stereotypes about women (Brewer, 2011)

- Should have "clean jobs"
- Are nurses, not doctors
- Are weak
- Should not make the most money in a relationship
- The best kind of women stay at home, do the cooking, the cleaning, and taking care of children
- Do not need college educations
- Do not play sports
- Should be quiet and submissive
- So not have technical skills
- Should look pretty and be looked at
- Women do not enjoy video games

Women have through many decades been seen as the nurturing and emotional gender, which also is expressed in the textbox. Another note of female stereotype is revolving around women as victims of violence, domestic and otherwise. However, as mentioned, stereotypes vary in accuracy. World Health Organization states that "Violence against women – particularly intimate partner violence and sexual violence- is a major public health problem and a violation of women's human rights" (2017), which indicates that violence against women is more than an inaccurate stereotype.

Male Gender Stereotypes

According to Brewer, most American parents

“admit that they do not teach their sons how to do chores such as washing dishes or folding laundry”, and “instead they teach them to take out the trash and mow the lawn” (Brewer, 2011). In the textboxes are some stereotypes about women and men as

Stereotypes about men (Brewer, 2011):

- Enjoy cars (and working on them)
- Are not nurses
- Do dirty jobs
- Do not do housework
- Play video games
- Play sports
- Like outdoor activities
- Are decisive and in charge
- Are lazy and messy
- Good at math
- Work in STEM fields

established by organization HealthGuidance (Brewer, 2011).

In other stereotypes of the traditional male gender, is the man as the family provider (Ivey, 1996). some scientists argue that this perception of labour division goes back to hunter/gatherer societies. As such, this stereotype of men is deeply rooted in some societies still (Lovgren, 2006).

The last stereotype presented in this project is the as being the violent. McDonald writes of this, “where there is intergroup conflict characterized by violence, injury or death, we find that such acts of aggression are perpetuated almost exclusively by men” (2012) about social groups, such as tribal culture and Western non-tribal culture.

Equality

According to Dahlerup, equality is today understood as being divided into three different categories;

1) difference between men and women, 2) differences across gender categories, including differences amongst women, and 3) differences within the individual, e.g. changing identities.

(2003, p. 36) This change from a singular understanding of equality in relation to women and men only, has happened due to a renewal of the concept of difference. In this project, the understanding of equality is related to the second of Dahlerup’s points, and it is also this point, which in recent

times have become more widespread within social sciences as it takes a departure from the previous gender studies essentialist approach to women (Dahlerup's first point). As such, the concept of (gender) equality today is often related to identity politics. In line with the above, Dahlerup states that difference is often seen as an opposite to equality, but argues that this is not always the case because in terms socio-political understandings of the concepts, the opposite of equality is not difference, but instead it is inequality. Moreover, she argues that difference is not the opposite to equality, but to sameness in relation to the ontology of the human existence and being (2003, p. 39). As such, equality, in her point, can be understood differently depending on the context, it is in. This understanding of equality, is also the understanding of this project.

Intersectionality

The intersectional theory was first posed and described by Kimberlé Crenshaw in relation to black feminism in her 1989 paper "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics". Crenshaw explains "Discrimination like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars travelling from any number of directions and sometimes all of them." (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 149). In this perception of the theory, which is the one used in this study, intersection then focuses on how different character traits, social life, or appearance intersect. Continuing the intersection metaphor above, the issue then comes when the accident happens, and Crenshaw argues that in these cases, it can be difficult to place the responsibility of the accident with any single driver. In these situations, the "tendency seems to be that [...] no treatment is administered, and the involved parties simply get back in their cars and zoom away" (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 149). In the paper, Crenshaw argues from a legal point of view that similarly in cases, where no single cause of discrimination experienced can be attributed to race, class, or sex etc. only, the legal cases is not likely to achieve the wanted

outcome. Therefore, when not using intersection, the sum which multiple factors of discrimination may be problematic to judge as for example black women do not experience the same discrimination as black men, and not the same discrimination as white women either. To this end, the multidimensionality made possible by intersectionality, is essential when looking at marginalized groups in society. As the title of Crenshaw's paper indicates, she finds the need for more consideration of multiple factors when examining racism and discrimination, and particularly black women.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA was first promoted by Fairclough, Wodak, and van Dijk. They each presented variations of the theory, but what they all have in common is the emphasis, each of them pay to the way "language both shapes and is shaped by society" (Mayr, 2010, p. 51). In the strand of CDA Fairclough is behind, he distinguishes between three dimensions; the text dimension, the discourse practice dimension, and the social practice dimension. All of these dimensions are interrelated and interdependent in CDA. They each bring an additional layer of analysis to the study, which allows for the approach to be in-depth, and uncover both the micro and the macro level of a text. As such, the dimensions examine different aspects of a text (the data being analysed, e.g. piece of language), and through these different aspects achieve a greater knowledge and understanding, not only of the text's semantics, but of the circumstances, it was produced under, and of the "larger social context" (Mayr, 2010, p. 52).

The discourse practice dimension serves as the interpretation stage of CDA. This means that using this method, the analysis is moving on from simply describing texts to answering "who?". It focuses on the production, distribution, and consumption of the text, which makes this part of the theory important as it allows for the three points to be of relevance for both the text dimension and the following social practice dimension. As such, this dimension adds a level to the

text dimension, while preparing the foundation for the next stage of the analysis. Moreover, this dimension examines features such as intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Both of these are essential to understanding a text, if they are present.

The text is a form of language, which refers here to a “more abstract set of patterns and rules which operate simultaneously at different levels in the system (the grammatical, semantic and phonological levels, for example)” (p. 5). Interpreting language in this way, makes it possible for the text to be songs, conversations, written documents, spoken word, and even videos or images.

The text dimension of Fairclough’s three-dimensional model focuses purely on the text and its functions is describing, which means that this dimension of analysis examines vocabulary choices, grammar, and cohesion, and more specifically the “choices and patterns in vocabulary (e.g. wording and metaphor, grammar (e.g. the use of passive verbs as opposed to active structures in news reports; the use of modal verbs)”, “cohesion (e.g. conjunction; the use of synonyms and antonyms) and structure “(e.g. turn-taking in spoken interaction)” (Mayr, 2010, p. 54). The reasoning behind the text dimension is to explore how specific words are used, and, as such, forming the foundation for the discourse and social practices.

In the social practice dimension, the feature, which differentiates CDA from other theories of discourse is found. It is here, intersectionality’s concern with power relations, and the focus on social problems and ideology, becomes more obviously included. Furthermore, despite having used intersection theory throughout the analysis, it is in this piece of the analysis, the implications and of categories (in intersectionality) within the given social settings, the texts were produced in. In this dimension, social analysis is used to determine, when uncovered, whether the social practices are broken off, continued, or something third. As such, this piece of analysis is concerned with the society surrounding the text to explain parts of the society.

Multimodal (inter)action Analysis Theory

In multimodal (inter)action Analysis Theory, the focus of the analysis is visual footage. There are no limits to what this visual footage may be. It can be things seen in their everyday lives, like commercials, or something restricted for few eyes only. At this point Norris & Maier argues that the theory examines “diverse data sets from spoken language to video, music and physical layout to objects in the world, in a comprehensive and integrative manner” (Norris, 2014, p. 13). Adding to this, Jewitt states that the Multimodal (inter)action Analysis Theory, from here known as Multimodality theory, is “pushing beyond looking at the language, writing, speech, and talking about gesture, body, space – the visual bringing together all the different ways that people make meaning” (Jewitt, 2014). As such, the theory attempts to gain a deeper understanding of the society, the data is created in, and, therefore, does not only look at what is apparent from the data such as colour schemes or movement, but aims to provide the link between the apparent and the social setting.

Method

Motivation

The #MeToo movement is the most recent global development in feminist social movement. This, and the possible impacts of such a movement, is what makes the subject interesting. Seeing the movement as a global social movement (GSM) and as a result of feminist organizing, would be a flawed view. The opportunities provided by the internet, real-time coverage, and global reach, in this connection to organizing in general has not been seen to this extent before. Where other social movements have been short-lived or mostly nationally rooted, the #MeToo movement went viral and global from its very its beginning. Despite the fact, it is impossible to speak of the longevity of the #MeToo movement, the number of accounts from around the world, voice a social global issue. As such, based on the extent of the issue (as highlighted since the beginning of the movement), #MeToo could potentially be something completely new to the world. Because of this, the movement has caught global attention, with enumerable accounts from both celebrities and people, who are not famous.

How this issue, has been the topic to gather people on a global scale, is interesting due to a number of reasons. One reason is how this movement is different in many aspects to the movements before it. Black Lives Matter has, as an example, despite racism being of large concern and being highly debated, not received the same kind of support globally. Furthermore, the continuous claims or experiences from people, who are not famous, that #MeToo is elitist with Hollywood's female actors having driven the cause, is not a new perspective to organizing (it has in recent years also been seen with the Women's March on Washington), but the duality in a movement, where many women feel comfortable to speak of sexual abuse – maybe even for the first time – while at the same time, the same movement is dealing with elitism, makes the movement interesting.

As argued in the introduction, feminist organizing is a rather new concept in the context of Hollywood which in the recent years, has experienced a more persistent approach to subjects of female empowerment, gender equality (e.g. equal pay for equal work), ethnicity and cultural appropriation. Just prior to the beginning of #MeToo, the world saw women marches all over the world, though mostly in Western countries. As such, it may well be argued that both women marches and #MeToo is durable because of flux in society, where a variety of discrimination categories are experiencing awareness.

Ontology and Epistemology

The ontological stance from which this project is written, is social constructionism, and the epistemological is interpretivist. This is seen from the choice of a critical discourse analysis theoretical framework, and through the intersectional theory choice. As such this project takes the stance that “social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors” (Bryman A. , 2016, s. 689). This means that in this project, the social actors constitute the people behind the Time’s Up movement and the Danish #MeToo initiative, though for the purposes of the project, only the people in the acting and/or entertainment industry involved. These are the people who have supported the initiative in public, and some of them were behind the initial initiative. In a few instances, the project draws on post-colonialist stances to see different perspectives. However, this stance is not bearing.

Furthermore, this project is inductive which is of the approach to the data and the theory. As the project observed reactions to the #MeToo movement. Not only from the actor worlds, but from groups in society. However, in the initial stages, the project was narrowed down to examining the Time’s Up Legal Defense Fund and the #MeToo website, because of its apparent validation (when looking at the amount of actors sharing their #MeToo stories) in this occupational group.

Data Collection, Selection, and Comparability

The data analysed in this study consists of some of the most prominent texts produced by the actor segments in Denmark and in the United States of America in connection and in response to the #MeToo movement. As such, the data is primarily comprised of texts in the shape of websites, videos, and web-based documents.

The reactions to #MeToo from the American actors' points of views are comprised of the Time's Up fund, and its website including the fund's letter of solidarity. Moreover, the study analyses a letter of solidarity brought forward by members of the actor segment in the American public. In relation to the Danish reaction to the #MeToo movement, this study analyses several measures proposed by the Danish actor segment. This is primarily a website made by several parties in film and theatre, and the website includes a video mosaic of one hundred actors, mostly female, explaining their experiences of sexism in the workplace. The Danish #MeToo website is both accessible in Danish and in English. There are, however, discrepancies in the Danish and English website when it comes to formulations. The stories told in the video mosaic are in Danish, and in the English site, the Danish videos are preserved, but there has been included English subtitles. Because of the discrepancies between the Danish and the English sites, the analysis will be primarily focused on the Danish site, but will be looking to the English site to examine any differing points of view, which are perhaps not communicated in the Danish website. Further details of each of the cases, will be introduced in the beginning of the cases.

The data has been chosen because both initiatives constitute a collected response to the #MeToo movement from actors in US and in Denmark, and because they each are the largest response to #MeToo in their designated countries in relation to numbers of national actors (actors living in the US or Denmark) showing public support, having contributed to the reaction in some

way, financial or otherwise. Though different in size and reach, this is one of the points, which make the two reactions comparable. However, there are many traits of the reactions that are different. To this potential problem of comparability, it is important to highlight that the two sides of data is reactions from two different social groups with different backgrounds and social relations. As such, the two reactions should not be expected to be the same. Furthermore, since the Time's Up website and statement was published first, the video mosaic in the response of the Danish data could be seen as be wanting to be something different from what was seen with the US reaction. Moreover, it is these differences, which lay the grounds for analysis as this study focuses on the differences rather than similarities.

The largest hindrance in terms of comparability in terms of the data, is seen in the different functions, the Danish #MeToo and the American Time's Up serve. Where Time's Up is a fund, which encourages donations, the #MeToo website has no monetary site directly linked to the site. However, as was the point of the differences stated above, being different reactions to a movement (with possibly different purposes), there should not be an expectation for the responses to be the same. To this end, there is, therefore, not only differences in how each of the sides have chosen to engage in society (in terms of fund and website), but also on other parameters such as video mosaic and a letter of solidarity.

Qualitative Research and Representation (representativeness)

This study uses a qualitative approach. This is seen amongst other things from the small amount of data being analysed, and that the data consist not of numerical data (which is likely seen in quantitative research), but rather of words (Bryman A. , 2016, p. 694). Furthermore, this study sees the subject on a micro level, instead of on a macro level as is often seen with quantitative studies. The main reason for choosing a qualitative approach to this study, is exactly this; that there is a higher focus on understanding the many aspects of the rich data at hand than it is a matter of

generalization. By rich data, is meant the many depths and facets found in mostly in qualitative data, and because the study seeks to make meaning of the data more than attempting to explain behaviour.

Another reason for choosing qualitative research, is this: qualitative research, argues Bryman “provides greater opportunity for a feminist sensitivity to come to the fore” (2016, p. 403), whereas quantitative research is often recognized as being unsuited with feminism. An example of this is Maynard, who argues, that quantitative studies are continuously silencing women’s own voices (1998) as opposed to qualitative research, which allows for women’s voices to be heard (Bryman, 2016, p.403).

Discourse analysis, and CDA particularly, is usually utilized in combination with a qualitative or a mixed qualitative and quantitative approach, because of the resources needed to perform a quantitative study within discourse. Furthermore, discourse analysis is because of its micro level focus usually taking a different stance than quantitative work, which often relies on a macro level analysis. As such, it would be unusual to use quantitative approach in combination with a CDA methodological framework. Moreover, when further examining CDA as a method in relation to a qualitative versus quantitative study, CDA rarely aims at being representational, with is often the aim of quantitative studies. The same principle goes with this project.

This project does not aim to be representational for the United States of America or Denmark in relation to their reactions to #MeToo. It does attempt, however, to understand the underlying reasons for the different reactions seen in the two countries’ actor circles without attempting to claim complete representation. This is because of the data chosen. For the analysis, this study utilizes two examples of reactions from the two countries’ actor worlds. These reactions are selected on the background of being the organized reactions, which have caused the most noise

in the national media. As such, the data represents the actors with the most organized and publicly supported reactions within the actor world of each country. In Denmark, the reaction is representational to the extent that more than nine hundred people across several organizations related to television and theatre production (including actors) have signed the manifest in support of #MeToo. This is a high number, considering the size of the Danish entertainment industry (Dansk Skuespillerforbund, 2018), but it does not account for the diversity of the signees. In terms of the US representation, the Time's Up movement have experienced a lot of support from the actor world in the US. This was seen with for example the support shown at the Golden Globes, where a large number of celebrities wore black clothes in support of the cause, and, moreover, many of the celebrity attendees brought along a person, who had made or were fighting to make a difference within the causes, Time's Up seeks to resolve (Friedman V. , 2018). Furthermore, the letter of solidarity and the Fund itself, were created by three hundred women in the entertainment industry, who were mostly actors (Buckley, 2018).

Because of this issue with representation, it may be stated that the representativeness in this case may instead be called an exemplifying case. Bryman states "notions of representativeness and typicality can sometimes lead to confusion. With this kind of case, the objective is to capture circumstances and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation. Thus, a case may be chosen because it exemplifies a broader category of which it is a member" (2016, p. 62). Following this, it may be argued that the cases chosen for this study are exemplifying rather than representative, as they are examples of reactions (circumstances or conditions) in the actor world (the broader category). However, this definition of Bryman's does not mean that the cases are not representative, but takes into account, the issues in representation within cases like the ones chosen for this study, where it is difficult to determine the actual support the Danish manifest and #MeToo video mosaic, or the Time's Up fund.

Comparative Research Design and Structure of the Project

Structuring the project, each case consists of four sections of analysis, and case 1 is examined from the beginning to the end, before moving on to Case 2. The first section of analysis includes examination of production, distribution, and consumption of the data, the second examines the text, including grammar, choices of vocabulary and intertextuality. The third part of the analysis analyses the most exposed discourses applied in the case, and looking at the relations between the discourse. As such this section is called Interdiscursivity. The last section goes by the name Social Practice Analysis. Here, the contexts, the text was created in, is included, and it is also here the understanding of each case becomes the complete. Having gone through these four steps in both case 1 and 2, the analysis is completed with a comparison of the two cases, examining similarities and dissimilarities, to answer the problem formulation, and, as such, understand the significance of contexts in the cases, regarding why there are differences in the initiatives, and how these differences are expressed.

This is interesting because it uncovers some of the places where the two sides, who in broader terms both appears to be supporters of #MeToo, deviates from one another, which then allows for analysis and discussion as to why these differences (and similarities) occur. In this relation, the comparative design is formed with two cases. This is, moreover, because social phenomena, such as the #MeToo movement, can make the individual case more understandable “when they are compared in relation to two or more meaningfully contrasting cases or situations” (Bryman A. , 2016, p. 65). In this study, the two cases are used to gain understanding of the differences which occur within a movement, which has the same characteristics and global reach as #MeToo. Bearing in mind that these two cases are not used because they inductively appear to be very different, but rather due to an interest of learning more of the two countries’ actors worlds’ reaction, this means that the study has not chosen the two cases based merely on an observation of

similarity or dissimilarity per say. They are chosen as a matter of origins in terms of the movement in the US case, and in the case of Denmark, because of the researcher's relation to the country. This is, however, not to say that there were no perceived differences beforehand. As the study is inductive in its nature, the cases were not only chosen on this premise. The study is, nevertheless, an inductive one as its very first objective was to examine the differences within the #MeToo movement with an expectation of finding differences.

It would have been possible to make to study without a comparative design, and only focus on one of the countries. This would, however, as Bryman argued above, makes it more difficult to perceive some aspects of the cases. In this project, the understanding of the importance of context might be lost, fully or partially, as the reliance of context, be it historical or political, has formed the two actor worlds in different ways, and these different ways makes it possible to conclude on aspects, which who likely have been missed in a purely one-country analysis of the #MeToo movement.

The structure of each reaction is analysed by using Critical Discourse Analysis as a method. This means, that the first paragraphs of each of the cases are concerned with the discourse practice dimension found in CDA. Despite, the fact that you, with CDA, usually have the text dimension first, this approach to describing the cases, would in the way it would likely be done in a project like this, contain much of the same information as would be examined during the discourse dimension in Fairclough's three-dimensional model. As such, there is no introduction to the cases, as the discourse practice dimension goes further than a regular introduction by also being analytical, examining the cases using intersectional and gender theory alongside the CDA method. There are, however, using this approach, some aspects of the discourse practice dimension, which, to make sense, needs to be placed following the text-focused section. These are interdiscursivity and intertextuality. Because these aspects of CDA is dependent of having examined the text, these two

points of analysis comes after the text dimension, and not before like the rest of the discourse practice dimension. As such, the discourse practice dimension has been split in two for this project to make the project more easy to read. Because the dimensions are interrelated, this approach to the method, gives more depth of understanding to the dimensions which follows.

Next in the analysis, is the text dimension, and following this; the intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Having gone through CDA in the beginning of the 'Methods' section, this part of the analysis is focused on the text-near analysis. In this paragraph of the paper, the theories of intersectionality and gender begins to be more applicable and important to the study than is the case in the discourse practice dimension. In this part of the paper, the wording and construction of sentences, alongside inclusion and exclusion, make it possible to determine the conceptions of gender as understood by the US and Danish reactions on the basis of intersectionality and the method. As such, the analysis up until now has formed the basis for the Fairclough's social practice dimension.

The social practice dimension is where the analysis deepens and really begins to be able to answer the problem formulations with the use of the theories. This happens based on earlier analysis using the theories, and CDA. In this part of the project, the focus will be on attempting to explain the discourses found I the analysis before this in combination with an analysis and discussion of whether these discourses are a continuance, breaking down, or something entirely when looking at them in relation to the current social practice in the actor worlds in question.

Each of the points concerning structure is made for the US reaction, and then, following this, a repetition of the structure analysing the Danish reaction instead. The very last part of the analysis section, contains a comparison of the two reactions, and what has caused the reactions. Furthermore, this part of the project examines why how the reactions have turned out the

way, the is. This means that there will be a focus on the context which each reaction has happened within, and these contexts can be very specific or general, depending on the aspect of the texts (reactions), the focus is on at the given time. As such, this is the part of the project, where the problem formulation is answered in its entirety.

Analysis

Case 1: Time's Up Legal Defense Fund

The Time's Up Legal Defense Fund (TIME'S UP, n.d.) was announced on January 1st 2018 in the New York Times as a response to the #MeToo movement by "300 prominent actresses and female agents, writers, directors, producers and entertainment executives" (Buckley, 2018). Among these names are Shonda Rhimes, "Ashley Judd, Eva Longoria, America Ferrera, Natalie Portman, Rashida Jones, Emma Stone, Kerry Washington and Reese Witherspoon; the showrunner Jill Soloway; Donna Langley, chairwoman of Universal Pictures; the lawyers Nina L. Shaw and Tina Tchen, who served as Michelle Obama's chief of staff; and Maria Eitel, an expert in corporate responsibility who is co-chairwoman of the Nike Foundation." (Buckley, 2018). The website for Time's Up does not advertise this celebrity connection by name, and only writes "We write on behalf of over 300 women who work in film, television and theatre..." (TIME'S UP, n.d.), but some of the celebrities, who have taken part in the movement, have been outspoken about their relation to Time's Up (Saad, 2017).

The Time's Up Fund or Time's Up Movement as it is also called, has been very publicly promoted since its establishment, where the largest news media in the US covered the news. Furthermore, the movement, or celebrity benefactors on their own, has experienced a lot of time in the news media, daytime television, and late night shows in for example shows like Ellen (Chen, 2017) and The Late Night Show with Stephen Colbert (The Week, 2017).

Because it can be difficult to determine if the actors, who are known to be benefactors and/or supporters of Time's Up, are speaking on behalf of the organization or on their own behalf, when discussing it on television or other media, and because Time's Up have not, except for a statement of going public (Buckley, 2018), made any collected announcement, there is little variation to the news articles about Time's Up. This is because they only have two real news to go

from; Time's Up going public, and Time's Up encouraging Golden Globes-goers to wear black in support of their cause (Edwards, 2017). As such, it might be argued that the knowledge of Time's Up is likewise limited to these two cases with the public despite being covered in daytime and late night tv. However, Time's Up has likely, because of coverage from both liberal (Twohey, 2017) and conservative (Zwirz, 2018) media in the US, been introduced – at the very least as something which exists – to a large part of the US population. Furthermore, having a website, Time's Up is accessible to everyone with internet access. Therefore, the potential reach of Time's Up along with the coverage is quite large.

According to the fund's website, the mission is to “help defray legal and public relations costs in select cases for those who have experienced sexual harassment or related retaliation in the workplace” (TIME'S UP, n.d.). According The New York Times, this is to be achieved through 1) a “legal defense fund, backed by \$13 million in donations, to help less privileged women — like janitors, nurses and workers at farms, factories, restaurants and hotels — protect themselves from sexual misconduct and the fallout from reporting it” (Buckley, 2018), 2) “legislation to penalize companies that tolerate persistent harassment, and to discourage the use of nondisclosure agreements to silence victims” (ibid.), 3) a” drive to reach gender parity at studios and talent agencies that has already begun making headway” (ibid.), and 4) and “a request that women walking the red carpet at the Golden Globes speak out and raise awareness by wearing black”(ibid).

Textual Analysis & Intertextuality

The first thing you see when entering the Time's Up homepage, is a white page with a large type of font, forming the “Time's Up” logo. The logo is shaped loosely as a frameless square with the word “TIME'S” in the first line. In the second, and last, line, there is first two black lines divided by the white background. Following this, the word “UP”. The use of the lines along with the square shape, makes the logo appear to be a reference to a the US flag, which have the same type of lines. Another

thing the logo could be referring to, is a political campaign logo. These logos often incorporate the US flag or colours. If considering intertextuality, one reference could be the logo used by the Trump Pence campaign in 2016 (TRUMP PENCE, n.d.). This and the subheading is the only items visible at the entry. The subheading, right below the logo, states:

“The clock has run out on sexual assault, harassment and inequality in the workplace. It's time to do something about it.” (TIME'S UP, n.d.)

This quote and the fund's logo is the first thing chosen for the reader to see. As such, it must be deemed important by the people behind the website/fund. The quote begins with metaphor “The clock has run out” as to say that there is no more time, and action must be made. This is further clarified in the following sentence “It's time to do something about it”. Choosing to have not one, but two references to time and who encourages change at the same time, highlights that this is an essential message from Time's Up. Moreover, the choice of names for the fund (Time's Up) and website (Time's Up Now) are also support this. Another aspect of this quote is found with the words “sexual assault, harassment and inequality”. By adding “sexual” to “assault”, the quote becomes gendered, while “harassment” is not explicitly gendered language. Harassment is often expressed as sexual harassment, but this may not be the case here, as that would require “inequality” to also be referring to sexual inequality, which is not the usual use of the term, even though being used to describe either sexual or gendered inequality. As a result, one analysis of this quote could be that Time's Up does not only encourage action on sexual harassment and inequality, but other types of harassment and inequality, which is in line with how this project sees equality and, in turn, inequality; with focus on differences across gender categories, including race and ethnicity. With this in mind, Time's Up does not only address women. This, though, comes into question with the Letter of Solidarity.

This encouragement to action leads the analysis to the Letter of Solidarity. Visually, the “letter” is shaped like a sheet of paper and placed below the Time’s Up logo on the frontpage, it must be of significance to the creators. Because of the shape, it could be seen as a letter with black lines dividing this piece of text from the rest of the website. However, having a large font in the middle of the sheet of paper saying “Dear Sisters,” as a headline, and two columns, the letter appears to be rather in the style of an article in a newspaper than a letter. Furthermore, the use of the black lines to create the letter or paper shape, enhances the sense of it being a newspaper, while at the same time making it appear more formal or official because the lines are framing in the letter, and in this way, highlighting it.

Looking at the large font, the assumed headline of the letter “Dear Sisters,” the letter presents a contrast to what was seen in the subheading of the website, analyses above. Here, by only addressing “sisters”, Time’s Up includes a specific population group; women (and possibly some non-binary groups). As such, this indicates that the letter is not including to at least men, but again, possibly other groups. Though this exclusion is not explicit, it is clear from the highlighting and continuing use “women”, “woman” and “her” throughout the letter (lines 1, 6, 8, 27, 29, 30, 36, 37, 51, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 75, 82 and 84) (Letter of Solidarity, 2018), and gendered nouns such as “waitress” (, *ibid.*, l. 32).

In the second sentence of the letter, it goes; “A little more than two months ago, courageous individuals revealed the dark truth of ongoing sexual harassment and assault by powerful people in the entertainment industry” (l. 2-4). Here, the letter applies “courageous individuals”, which is likely a choice made to avoid diminish experiences told by people, who do not identify as women, who have told their stories of abuse. Adding to this, the letter mentions that “We also want all victims and survivors to be able to access justice and support...” (lines 44-45). This is again from the senders’ side to not gender “victims and survivors”, acknowledging other

genders than women, but in the very next sentence, the focus is again brought back to women's experiences. Looking further at the non-gendered words in the letter, victim, survivor, courageous individuals, and perpetrators stand out. Besides possibly being used to avoid generalization and being disrespectful to other people's experiences, this may also be a recognition that men can experience sexual assault. However, the last example – perpetrators – is of course not in this same category, but it is interesting to take note of that the letter is mainly focused on women, but in some cases the done-to (the victims and survivors) and the doer (the perpetrator), is left non-gendered, with strong indicators that the “victims” are women from the continuous support to women throughout the letter. The “perpetrators” do not in the same way have indications of gender, which could mean that this is related to both men and women, as was the case of “courageous individuals”. Moreover, it could also be left purposely non-gendered because, if referring to a specific population group, for example men, Time's Up would be generalizing this group, and targeting it.

Furthermore, the website states under the “our mission” section that “TIME'S UP is a unified call for change from women in entertainment for women everywhere” (TIME'S UP, n.d.). In this quote, there is another proof that Time's Up is concerned with women, by including women only, and as such exclude men. However, further down in the same section of the website, it says:

“We partner with leading advocates for equality and safety to improve laws, employment agreements, and corporate policies; help change the face of corporate boardrooms and the C-suite; and enable more women and men to access our legal system to hold wrongdoers accountable”

(TIME'S UP, n.d.)

In this quote, a purpose of Time's Up is stated as enabling “women and men to access our legal system”, the legal system of course being the US legal system. What is interesting here, is how the

men are included. In the letter, men appeared to be excluded, which leads to a rather confused result when considering the different statements made of women, courageous individuals, minority women, and now men. Because though the subheading on the website seemed to be non-gendered, and not aimed at any gender-specific groups, the letter was solely concerned with women in society, and their experiences. Shortly after the statements in the letter, comes the quote above. As such, the website and the Letter of Solidarity seems to be aimed at different groups of people, despite the website on several occasions naming only women as the receivers of help with for example “TIME’S UP is a unified call for change from women in entertainment for women everywhere”. (TIME'S UP, n.d.)

As such, by not mentioning gender in relation to all groups, the letter allows for inclusion using “individuals” instead of categories, but an implicit exclusion of men remains, except if you count the abovementioned nouns as men. Another place, where categorization and inclusion become relevant are in lines 54 to 60:

“Therefore, we call for a significant increase of women in positions of leadership and power across industries. In addition, we seek equal representation, opportunities, benefits and pay for all women workers, not to mention greater representation of women of color, immigrant women, disabled women, and lesbian, bisexual, and transgender women, whose experiences in the workforce are often significantly worse than their white cisgender, straight peers” (Letter of Solidarity, 2018)

In these lines, different categories of women are mentioned for the first time. Despite, having mentioned women’s occupation (waitress in l. 32) (Letter of Solidarity, 2018), and other occupations in association with women (for example factory worker in l. 34), explicit categorization has not happened before. In mentioning these different categories, a greater focus is brought to the

individual category, and the readers get a clearer idea of who this solidarity is aimed at. However, again in this case, men are left out of the statement, and the letter is solely focused on the female experience. Instead of merely looking at equality and gender as independent concepts, this piece of text allows for the two to be focused on through categorization as seen in intersectionality.

In this choice to list up categories, race, immigrants, disabled & and LBGT women are mentioned, which means that class is not mentioned except, perhaps, with the “whose experiences in the workforce are often significantly worse than their white cisgender, straight peers” (Letter of Solidarity, lines 59-60). “Experiences” can be interpreted in a number of ways. One way is to see it as experiences connected to “sexual assault” and “harassment” (TIME'S UP, n.d.) in the workplace. As such, the inequality experienced is limited to this. Another way, is to see “experiences” in relation to the overall experience of being a women (within one of these categories) in the workplace, and considering the first part of the sentence’s focus of “equal representation, opportunities, benefits and pay” (Letter of Solidarity, lines 55-56), this appears to be the most likely interpretation. Though it is only implicit through these lines, it would not be a leap to suggest the latter of the two interpretations is the intended from Time’s Up’.

This is further seen, besides in lines 55 and 56, in lines 29 to 39 (Letter of Solidarity), where the letter lists several occupations, which are not generally considered high-income jobs, for example janitor, housekeeper, waitress and farm worker. Moreover, in lines 18-22, the 300 senders of the letter, recognizes their privilege; “We also recognize our privilege and the fact that we have access to enormous platforms to amplify our voices” (ibid). As such, the senders acknowledges that there is a difference in social class to the women, who are categorized, and other women in general. This is another indirect way of addressing class difference, without actually mentioning the word. Furthermore, because of “We also recognize our privilege” in the beginning of the sentence, along with the discrete notions of class difference, this is likely an attempt by the

senders to be humble and respectful to the women, who do not have the same privilege as most other women. Privilege, here, refers to both that of economic proficiency, but also to that of race, social rank (being famous worldwide), and other factors such as education (Baker, 2013, p. 103). As such, privilege is the capabilities of these women, even looks, which make their social standing higher than some of the women in the beforementioned categories in the letter. However, the website states that it is “Powered by women” (TIME'S UP, n.d.) and “from women in entertainment for women everywhere” (ibid). Furthermore, the website encourages to donation to the Time’s Up Legal Defense Fund. Putting all of these things together, the privilege acknowledged in the letter, is spread out on the website. Because the Letter of Solidarity was created with the website to launch the Time’s Up fund, the letter is only from the 300 women, who began it, and the people, who have later signed the letter, which are not limited to women in the entertainment industry (Edwards, 2017). Furthermore, the “powered by women” does not indicate that it continues to be a fund driven solely by women in the entertainment industry, and there is not requirement stated as such to be able to donate to the fund. Because of this, the letter might, in this relation, be seen as a separate thing to the website. Despite removing the focus from the 300 founders of Time’s Up on the website and their privilege in relation to profession, the focus is not entirely removed from the notions of privilege.

Notions of privilege can be seen in the “fact” section on the website, where statistics are presented in white and black writing on a red background – the only background on the whole website which is not only black or white, which could be to draw attention to the statistics, and to evoke alarm with the reader. As such, the creators of the site, are very clearly stating the important of this part of the website’s fund. Examples of privilege are the statements that “Sexual harassment is pervasive across industries, but especially in low-wage service jobs” (TIME'S UP, n.d.) and “1 in 1,114 directors across 1,000 movies was Latina.” In these statements, the privilege is implicit, but

the first example points towards a matter of economics, and the second example pertains to race. These statements are presented as facts that some groups of women does not experience the same privilege as people of different economic standing and race as the mentioned.

Examining Time's Up from a race perspective, the website and letter mentions race several times both directly and indirectly. On the website, under the "our mission" section, it say "Powered by women, TIME'S UP addresses the systemic inequality and injustice in the workplace that have kept underrepresented groups from reaching their full potential" (TIME'S UP, n.d.). "Underrepresented groups" is a way of addressing that some groups of population in the US society experience less representation than would be equivocal to the overall size of the group. Between these population groups, are people of colour. This sentence goes very well with the discussions of privilege, and wanting to improve conditions for people less privileged, found in the Letter of Solidarit. In the letter, it further goes: "we seek equal representation [...] of women of color" (2018, l. 55-57). As such, Time's Up is continuously bringing up ethnicity. Coming full circle, the website addresses race in the "facts" section with for example "1 in 5 C-Suite leaders is a woman. Fewer the 1 in 30 is a woman of color" (TIME'S UP, n.d.), and most pronounced is race in the fact "White non-Hispanic women are paid 81 cents on the dollar compared to white non-Hispanic men. Asian women are only paid 88 cents on the dollar. Black and Hispanic women are only paid 65 cents and 59 cents on the white male dollar, respectively" (ibid). In this example, the letter is, however, not only focusing on race, but disparities in the pay women and men receive. This intersection between personal characteristics and features in continues throughout the Letter of Solidarity, but is even more clear from the rest of the website.

Interdiscursivity

When examining the discourse on the Time's Up website, including their Letter of Solidarity, several discourse choices quickly make their presence known. The main discourse, so to speak, is a gender discourse. An ongoing thematic of the Time's Up movement or Fund, is unsurprisingly about gender. Within this discourse, it might be argued that several other types of discourse happen and looking at this with consideration to the theory of intersectionality, finding categorizations of women, thereby also using several discourses, such as race and class, is not surprising either, but perhaps the emphasis of categories is.

A gendered discourse is visible throughout the Time's Up website. The first example of this is found on the top of the front page, with the time metaphor, "The clock has run out on sexual assault, harassment and inequality in the workplace" (TIME'S UP, n.d.), where the use of sexual and inequality are indicators of gender discourse. In the Letter of Solidarity there are numerous mentions of "women", and no mentions of "men", along with uses of "she" instead of "he". Furthermore, the Letter applies gendered nouns such as waitress, the female version of the male waiter, and takes up occupations of related to women in everyday understandings of the word. An example is housekeeper. According to Baker and Ellece there are four kinds of gendered discourse; 1) battle of the sexes, 2) gender differences, 3) poor boys, and 4) gender equality now achieved (Baker, 2013, p. 51).

In the case of Time's Up, it is difficult to make a definitive decision about Time's Up's placement in one of these four gendered discourse as the Fund has traces of both point 1, 2, and 4. Looking at the Fund in relation to the first point, there is no direct mentions of men in the Letter of Solidarity, and it is only mentioned a few times on the rest of the website. Moreover, the explicit 'enemy' as described by Time's Up is not men, but instead "perpetrators and employers" (Letter of Solidarity, 2018). However, looking at this in the context of the #MeToo, where men

predominantly have been accused of being the perpetrators, Time's Up is likely to mean men in the use of perpetrators. As such, it could be argued that there is a discourse of battle of the sexes happening, but at the same time, Time's Up – on their website – does not explicitly argue that men are the perpetrators and the ones to be held accountable to their actions. It is, however, probable that most of the people reading the website, will get a clear image of the perpetrators mentioned as being men, due to the context, Time's Up is created within. Because of this, point 2 “gender differences” (Baker, 2013) is also an option for a choice of discourse. Here, looking at gender differences not in an essentialist way (more closely related to sex differences), but in the sense that genders are culturally constructed and differences the same, the discourse is relevant as a result of the different portrayals of gender as described in the section of analysis above. Through the language use in the text-related analysis, women are to an extent described as victims and survivors, a terminology especially clear in the Letter of Solidarity. Furthermore, men, as stated before, are likely to be perceived as perpetrators. Herein lies the most significant gender difference on the website. Also, this difference of victim/survivor and perpetrator is the epitome of Time's Up understanding of its context; that there is an unequal distribution of power between the genders.

Examining the third point of gendered discourse, as described by Baker, poor boys is not really a discourse present in Time's Up's website. There are no statements containing sympathy directly aimed at men or boys, ironic or sincere. There is sympathy for victims in general, which could contain men's or boy's experiences of sexual assault etc. However, the small role attributed to this, and the male gender overall makes the discourse of poor boys appear impossible. The main focus is on women of all kinds, and mentioning men or boys takes attention away from this focus.

The fourth point, gender equality now achieved (Baker, p. 51), is ambiguous in relation to Time's Up as well, and how well the discourse translates to Time's Up is determined by the interpretation of the point. This is because, the Time's Up website, and in extension Time's Up,

is very clear in relation to the notion of gender equality in the workplace; it is not present at the current time. However, the purpose of Time's Up is to change this. As such, gender equality may (in the workplace, specifically) not be found now, but Time's Up wants to achieve this through awareness and funding. Gender equality now achieved could mean 'it's done, we're there', but it could also be seen as wanting to 'get there' because it could be interpreted as the goal. However, though applicable in this interpretation of the word, the discourse as described by Baker is concerned with the first of the two interpretations, and is, as such, not a viable option in the long run, when determining which gendered discourses are applied by Time's Up.

To sum up the gendered discourse, the discourses applied by Time's Up are points one and two. The two points, battle of the sexes and gender differences are both visible. However, as argued, the gender differences might be understood as part of the battle of the sexes discourse here, because Time's Up website contains strong associations to discourse expected in battle. That is victim, survivor, and perpetrator. As such, it might be argued that the battle of the sexes discourse is the primary gendered discourse found with the Time's Up website, and as such, with Time's Up as an organization, because the website is a place, where the organization has complete control over the happenings, and should, therefore, present the organization as it wants to be presented.

Not only does Time's Up use a gender discourse, it also applies a discourse concerned with ethnicity. This is seen in both the Letter of Solidarity, and on the rest of the website. In the letter, it is most pronounced in lines 54 to 60 (Letter of Solidarity, 2018), and on the website, in the "facts" section. However, this discourse does not deal with race and racialization in the negative terms, which is usually used and is as described by Simpson and Mayr, "Racist discourse [...] consists of everyday and institutional discriminatory action [and has] a cognitive dimension which is the set of beliefs and attitudes people have and the ideologies they subscribe to. In the case of racism, racist stereotypes and ideologies explain why people engage in discriminatory practices in

the first place” (2010, p. 21). Rather than this discourse concerning race, Time’s Up takes an inclusive turn on this, instead of a racialization or racist approach. As such, instead of othering, which is a usual approach when talking race, the racial discourse is concerned with equality for women of colour and hindrance of discriminatory practices when it comes to sexual harassment and abuse on the work place. To this end, this discourse could be called anti-racist discourse or anti-discriminatory discourse. Anti-discrimination comes to play yet again when looking at gender, as above, but also on ableism.

Furthermore, there is a discourse surrounding privilege and lack thereof. Choosing to focus on this social and economic class distinctions in discourse is seen throughout the website, and privilege is mentioned in the Letter of Solidarity, where it is also made clear through text that not everyone has the same opportunities in their lives. In addition to this, is the aspect of celebrities establishing Time’s Up for the regular people; another way of seeing the privilege discourse with the Fund. The use of this discourse is not an attempt to make other people feel small, rather it is used as a way to be respectful to the people, Time’s Up are addressing.

Moreover, there is, arguably, a discourse of inclusion and exclusion. This is because of the strong focus on women, whereas there are no mentions of men. This means that by having an inclusive discourse towards all women, men are excluded. However, the general sense of the Letter of Solidarity, is support and shared experiences, and therefore inclusion. As such, inclusion appears explicit in numerous mentions of women. Though this is also the case when looking at the gender discourse, there is the difference that gender discourse is focused on, well, gender, whereas a discourse of inclusion is concerned with creating coherence and unity within a group. Despite the possibility of having both of these types of discourse present in a text, it is relevant to take note of the differences, each discourse allows within the same piece of text.

Lastly, there is a discourse concerned with crime. A crime discourse is seen in the repetition of concepts such as “victims” (l. 44), “survivors” (l. 44), “perpetrator”. Victim is understood as a person, which was done something to or something has happened to, a survivor has lived through something, and a perpetrator is someone, who has done something. In this case, the perpetrators have done something to the victims and survivors. This action being for example assault and sexual harassment, highlights the presence of a crime discourse. Having only victim, survivor, and perpetrator, however, in the text, would have been enough to make the conclusion that this type of discourse is part of the Letter of Solidarity and the website as a whole. Adding to this, the purpose of Time’s Up being concerned with providing help for victims and survivors, and bringing the guilty people to justice, makes this even more obvious.

Social Practice Analysis

The past few years, political social organizing and social movement have been on the rise in the United States, and activism have filled the news media. In recent times, a few come to mind. The Occupy Wall Street movement during the crash on Wall Street, and the March for our Lives movement are examples of this. But through history, it has likewise been a concept embraced by Americans going back to before the Boston Tea Party (Laslett, 2007). However, looking at the past two years alone, there have been the Women’s March on Washington (Roye), the protests against islamophobia with the #NoMuslimRegistry (Liptak, 2018) march, the teacher walkout (Wagner, 2018), now the #MeToo movement. Taking this into consideration, Time’s Up is happening in a nation used to protest, and a nation, which is currently experiencing a rise of social movements. Being a supporter of some aspects of the #MeToo movement, the Time’s Up movement is existing in light of the #MeToo movement, and of the country’s history of protest and social movements. As such, protesting is not a new concept to the US, neither is protests on the

subject matter of gender, however, what is new with the Time's Up movement, is how actors across the nation, with Hollywood in the foreground, has created a place for women to go. Philanthropism is not new within these ranks but the support for this project from people within the actor world and from without, has been large. Taking all of this into consideration, on the point of social organizing, Time's Up is very much continuing the social practice found in the US society. Also, looking at Time's Up as an extension of the #MeToo movement, Time's Up goes further than sharing stories, which is the main actions in the #MeToo movement.

The creation of Time's Up when looking at the political views is likewise at continuance of these views. On Time's Up's website, and in the Letter of Solidarity, the political views are somewhat clear. Time's Up's website writes "systemic inequality and injustice in the workplace that have kept underrepresented groups from reaching their full potential" (TIME'S UP, n.d.), and the Letter of Solidarity states:

"we call for a significant increase of women in positions of leadership and power across industries. In addition, we seek equal representation, opportunities, benefits and pay for all women workers, not to mention greater representation of women of color, immigrant women, disabled women, and lesbian, bisexual, and transgender women, whose experiences in the workforce are often significantly worse than their white cisgender, straight peers" (Letter of Solidarity, 2018)

In these two examples, liberal views on equality are addressed. In the first example, the "underrepresented groups" are the strongest indicator of the ideology. Dealing with these groups have long been a liberal cause, for example looking at the American congress, where the Democratic (constituting the more liberal views) seats in the House, were deemed the most diverse in the history of the United States in 2015 (Bump, 2015), whereas the majority by far of Republican seats in the House consisted of white men (Strauss, 2015). As such, the focus on diversity in the

next example is also a liberal take on sexual violations. Here, however, the focus is on the different understandings of equal opportunities is interesting to the understanding of the ideology. This is because, while using the word “equal”, the more likely understanding of this, is equity. This is seen as a result of the quote aiming for increased representation and opportunities combined with the notion that the stated underrepresented groups often have “worse experiences in the workforce than their white, cisgender, straight peers” (Letter of Solidarity, 2018). As such, Time’s Up is calling not for the same opportunities, directly, but rather for increased awareness of these groups for them to be able to have the same opportunities, and not simply the same rights.

Having looked at liberals at a broader scale to see the ideology behind Time’s Up, it is also essential to examine the society in which, the Fund was created, and the texts produced, to see what the social practice concerned with ideology within the American actor world is. In an article for The New York Times, Professor in Sociology Neil Gross writes of political views in Hollywood that it is difficult to determine the political views through polling data alone, but argues that “the stereotype of the liberal actor squares with reality” (Gross, 2018). This, he bases the explanation on a liberal Hollywood on three explanations; 1) acting is a blue-state occupation with “Fifty-seven percent of working actors live in California or New York”, 2) over “50 percent of actors have at least a bachelor’s degree” in a period of time where “educational achievement has become one of the best predictors of political attitudes and voting”, and 3) actors are often linked to unions that usually is placed in the left side of the political scope (ibid). As a result of this, it is clear to see that the Time’s Up Fund, with its discourse, is continuing the current ideological social practice of the actor world. Time’s Up displays liberal views in its aim for women of all kinds to be safe in their workplace, and to be able to seek justice when experiencing sexual violations in their workplace.

With the ideological perspectives clarified, the next dimension of the social practice to examine, is gender. Gender inequality, and an overall lack of diversity, has for many years, been a

topic occupying some parts of the United States' film industry. However, in the past couple of years, post the 2016 elections, many actors have displayed their dismay in regards to the current policies on gender in the film industry, and in national politics. The annual awards season, have been filled with such references, looking for example at Meryl Streep's accepting speech at the 2017 Golden Globes Awards (Friedman M. , 2017). According to Kotsopoulos "issues of interest to the women's movement, one of Hollywood's [...] recent nods to feminism has been to insert women into protagonist roles in traditionally male genres" (Kotsopoulos, 2016, p. 331). This was well-received by cinema-goers in 2017, who made the 2017 female-led Wonder Woman revival and origin story, the highest-grossing superhero origin movie of all time. Relating the current movie industry to the gender perspectives of the #Time's Up initiative, it is not completely surprising to find that the similarities. It springs, after all, from many of the same people. As such, the focus on female related issues in Hollywood, have long been on the rise.

The current government of the United States have, from a liberal perspective (which was determined to be the ideological scope of Time's Up in the interdiscursivity section), put pressure upon women's rights, health (Sabur, 2018), and livelihood, especially since the inauguration of President Trump. His continuing attempts to defund Planned Parenthood, his personal sexual scandals, and commentary on women in general, have caused uproar with women (and men) all over the United States (Reilly, 2017). A likely consequence of this uproar, more women than ever have signed up to run for political office (Kurtzleben, 2018). It was within this context, Time's Up was created in support of women. As such, it could be seen as a not only a part of the #MeToo movement, but as an opposition to the current government of the country, in an aim to protect women's rights without taking political office.

Among other issues, are women's wage, and this topic is taken up by Time's Up as one of its aims is to encourage and change the inequality between genders in the workplace

(TIME'S UP, n.d.). To this end, Time's Up's concerns to gender is the continuance of the breaking down of some gender norms currently happening in the Hollywood. Alongside this, gender pay gap is also a discussion in the United States in general. As Time's Up is not only concerned with the entertainment industry, but inequality in all fields of the workforce, it is also continuing the discussions in the United States, and not only within the actor world.

Moreover, the focus on non-binary genders is likewise experiencing a rise in awareness, in the actor world isolated as well as in the United States as a whole. The Letter of Solidarity and the rest of the Time's Up website both include focus on LGBTQ people, including aims to provide LGBTQ people more representation, equality, and opportunities. Looking at the context of the United States' political climate, President Trump has stirred waters with his opposition to LGBTQ people and rights. As such, as was the case of women's right, the importance from Time's Up's perspective of focusing on gender issues, might be a way to bring to light, the current difficulties, facing non-binary people in the United States today.

The anti-racist discourse, focus on women of colour, and immigrant people, applied by the Time's Up initiative, seen in the context of the US actor world, have highly politicised connotations. In recent times, discussions of diversity have happened repetitively. Taking the #OscarsSoWhite as an example of this, the hashtag was introduced in the wake of the publicising of the Oscars nominations in 2016, and the critique, it brought up, has been brought up every award season since. Diversity in tv shows and movies, have likewise been discussed on and off screen, with for example the Star Wars brand being criticised in relation to lack of diversity regarding ethnicity. Because of this context, #Time's Up having women of colour as one of their focuses, is in line with the climate or context, it was created in. The same is the case with immigrants, where some celebrities, such as Meryl Streep during her acceptance speech at the Golden Globes in 2017 (Friedman M. , 2017), have been vocal in their support to immigrants. This, however, is a topic very

much related to the political forum, and the Trump Presidency. This is due to Trump's electoral pledges of building a wall on the border to Mexico (Reuters, 2018), and threats to deport illegal immigrants (Hirschfeld, 2016).

Examining Time's Up's concern with immigrant women likely a consequence of three factors. Returning to President Trump, one of his electoral pledges was concerned with dealing with the US's large immigration from Mexico, especially (Hirschfeld, 2016). In wanting to throw out immigrants of the country and building a wall on the border of Mexico, Trump won the election. As such, one reason for showing support for immigrant women might be to show disapproval to the current government. Another reason could be traced to the phrase 'a country of immigrants' (Gans, 2012), a phrase often used to highlight the country's history of immigration. However, the most plausible is the marginalization of immigrant women in the USA, leaving many more vulnerable than women with American citizenship in the US (Sokoloff, 2008).

Case: 2: The Danish #MeToo website

The #MeToo website (#MeToo, n.d.) was part of the Danish actor world's response to the #MeToo movement, and the stories which were told in by people working in the Danish entertainment industry. The main part of the website is a video mosaic, where one hundred actors, predominantly female, recount their stories of sexism.

The website was made by one hundred actors with the production company Meta Film. It was produced by Mette Bjerregaard and Meta Louise Foldager Sørensen. Furthermore, the website states that its main co-operators are “LO, fagforeningerne HK, Djøf, 3F, Producentforeningen, Det Danske Filminstitut og Roskilde Festival Fonden” (#MeToo, n.d.). LO, fagforeningerne HK, Djøf and 3F are all labour unions, while Producentforeningen is a trade association for producers, and Det Danske Filminstitut is a state institution under the Danish Ministry of Culture. Roskilde Festival Fonden is part of an umbrella organisation concerned with cultural event, the largest being the annual Roskilde Festival (Roskilde Festival Gruppen, n.d.).

More than the organizations stated above, the website informs that other collaborators are Dansk Sygeplejeråd, Dansk Frisør & Kosmetiker Forbund, Danske Kvindelige Lægers Forening, Forsvarsministeriet Auditørkorpset, Dansk Forfatter Forening, Dansk Skuespillerforbund, Aalborg Universitet, Danner, LOKK, Talk Town, Dansk Kvindesamfund, Magisterbladet.dk, Film/undersøining Centralen, Cinemateket, Aros, Kvindemuseet Danmark, Kunsthal Charlottenborg, Aalborg Teater, Bubblemedia and Oneliner. All of these organisations cover something different in Danish society. What is important here, is that the collaborators can be categorised into several themes. These are: labour unions and trade associations, women's organizations, cultural organizations, and education. There are some overlaps to these categorisations, though. For example, the Danske Kvindelige Lægers Forening [Danish Medical Women's Association] is both a trade association and a women's organization.

Of the contributing organizations, seven of them are directly related to what in the project is called the actor world, and several more are concerned with the arts. Furthermore, five of the organizations are as one of their primary causes concerned with women and equality, and two other organizations, trade association Dansk Sygeplejeråd and labour union Dansk Frisører & Kosmetiker Forbund, are closely associated with professions which traditionally have a higher number of female employees than male, these being nurses (Noddings, 2001), and hairdressers and cosmeticians (Statista, u.d.). As such, most of the collaborators shown on the website, are organizations with direct links to women, equality, or actors. Other organizations, for example in the arts with Kunsthal Charlottenborg, have social relations or business relations with some of the other organizations on the list. As such the objective of the support could be questioned, but on the other hand, there could be a genuine interest in the subject considering that for example the unions have both female and male members. Because many of the unions are mentioned as main collaborators, this suggests a genuine interest in dealing with sexism at the workplace. It is, however, as mentioned, difficult to determine the true intentions behind the support of the collaborators.

Textual Analysis & Intertextuality

The stories being told in the video mosaic are not all from the entertainment business, but it is, nevertheless, things the now-actors have experienced in their lives. As such, the stories go beyond explaining experiences of sexism in film and theatre, but addresses sexism in society as a whole. This is as an example seen in the first few lines of text underneath the heading on the Danish front page, where it states:

“#MeToo bevægelsen startede i denne omgang i filmbranchen, og nu hvor bolden landede på vores boldbane, så sparker 100 engagerede skuespillere og Produktionselskabet Meta Film hermed bolden videre til resten af samfundet.” - (#MeToo, n.d.)¹

In this quote, the metaphor for sports is also clear from the phrase “the ball landed on our playing field [...], pass the ball to the rest of society”. Hereby, the website is advocating that the people addressed are taking a responsibility, because it, in other words, is their turn to act, and therefore have to make a play (to win). According to Wiliński, “It seems that the primary function of [sports metaphors] in written commentaries is to facilitate the interpretation of facts in a way that is enormously appealing to the reader.” (2015). As such, this first sentence on the #MeToo website, is likely used to ease the reader into the subject, while at the same time conveying the message that something needs to change. In comparison, the website in English uses this line as the opening sentence:

“The #MeToo-movement was brought into the spotlight by the shocking revelations of sexual harassment and power abuse in the film industry. Meta Film has produced a #MeToo mosaic, engaging 100 talented Danish actresses and actors to pass on the #MeToo torch to the entire Danish society.” - (#MeToo, n.d.)

At first glance, the differences in the language used here is quickly clear. Both include metaphors, but in the English quote, the choice of metaphor is closely related to the entertainment industry with the wording “brought into the spotlight”. Other choices of wording could have excluded the use of “spotlight”, but using exactly this word, is likely very deliberate because of this word’s association to the matter at hand. Another, and more important difference, between the quotes are the

¹ Translation: The #MeToo movement began this time around in the film business, and now where the ball landed on our playing field, 100 committed actors and Produktionselskabet Meta Film hereby pass the ball to the rest of society.

directness. In the Danish wording, there is no explicit mentions of sexual harassment or power abuse, while there English-voiced website is the opposite. Here, it is very explicit. This, in combination with the use of metaphor “torch”, which could be seen as both a reference to the Olympic fire, and as an encouragement to uprising (Charteris-Black, 2016), makes the English version appear to be pushing more confrontation more than in the Danish version. That being said, this might be due to the presentation at the Cannes Festival as mentioned in the previous section, and a wish to appear progressive to other organizations in the film industry.

Looking at gendered words in these short lines of text, the English version refers to “actresses and actors”, whereas the Danish refers simply to “skuespillere” (actors). Taking into account this project’s view on this very aspect, there might be something to take away from this distinction. This might well be a result of the ways in which different societies address gender. It could for example in Denmark more unusual to address actresses than actors, and in English be the norm to distinguish between actresses and actors. However, here it is important to remember that these two texts were created by the same organization, and therefore, the potential large difference in meaning is interesting because it shows dissimilarities in two texts, presented as having the same message.

This analysis of the very first encounter with the website, shows how different the Danish and English-worded sites are in some areas. This, however, is not going to be of main concern to this project, despite being an important aspect to take note of because it shows that even on the site, where you might expect to find the same information in both language option, find big differences which could carry meaning. As such, this will be talked about briefly in the ‘Social Practice Analysis’.

The built-up of the website(s) is very simple. The background is white with black typing, and the heading and bottom are black with white typing. When you first enter the website, you see “#METOO” in all caps and a large font. It cannot be avoided seen due to the its size. This word works as the headline of the entire website.

In the section about the #MeToo project, the website states that “As a point of departure, we have focused on both women and men, who have experienced or in a few cases observed a sexual violation in an uneven power structure”² (#MeToo, n.d.). As such, the notion made by the website, is that it has not made given women or men preferential treatment in their gathering of stories. This is seen from the use of “both women and men”. However, this is only place it states, on the site, how the stories were collected, and therefore, it may be argued if this remark on the subject is sufficient to make the statements, which follows: “During the gathering of stories, it quickly became clear that it was predominantly women, who was violated by men”³ (ibid.). In making these two statements, #MeToo is claiming some variation of being representational, but exact numbers etc. do not appear. Continuing, “There are, however, cases, where the man is violated by another man or a woman, or where a woman violates woman”⁴ (ibid.). Here, important features to take note of in relation to how gender is being represented, are singular and plural form. this is because when describing that women are most often violated by men, the form is plural, but when looking at the next statement, the tense is singular, meaning that it says man and woman, where the first statement says men and women. This makes a difference because, by having the situation, which occurs most often, according to the site, presented I plural, it

² Translation. Original text: “Som udgangspunkt har vi fokuseret på både kvinder og mænd, der selv har oplevet eller i enkelte tilfælde observeret en seksuel krænkelse i et skævt magtforhold”

³ Translation. Original text: “Under indsamlingen af historier stod det dog hurtigt klart, at det hovedsageligt er kvinder, der bliver krænket af mænd”

⁴ Translation. Original text: Der er dog også sager, hvor manden krænkes af en anden mand eller en kvinde, eller hvor en kvinde krænker en kvinde”

automatically appears to be a larger issue as it is a situation, which happens repeatedly. However, the use of singular form makes the other two instances mentioned seem more rare, and as such, possibly of less concern. Besides this, the structure of this paragraph of text on the site, makes the violation of women stand out as the most significant, by using the word “hovedsageligt”, which translates to predominantly, and then mentioning afterwards that other instances occur as well. This point is further seen through the use of “stod det dog hurtigt klar”, meaning it quickly became clear, which speaks to the size of the presented issue as it speaks to the logic that because of the issue’s size, it was easy to spot, whereas the other examples given, were much more rare.

On a few other occasions, are men and women mentioned again. One of these is in a list called “Hvilke erfaringer har vi gjort os undervejs?”⁵ (#MeToo, n.d.). In half of the points on the list, are gender directly included. These are points 4 to 7:

“4. It is often such that women experience it to be a ‘normal part of a woman life,’ to be exposed to violations, for which reason they do not experience it as being ‘something to talk about.

5. There are far more women than men, who experience sexual violations

6. The men, we have heard tell about personally experienced violations and assault are often homosexuals, transsexuals or very young

7. It is rarely women, who violate, but it happens – women sometimes violate women; women sometimes violate men. But in the material vi have been able to collect, the vast majority is violating men, violating women.” - (#MeToo, n.d.)⁶

⁵ Translation. Which experiences have we made along the way?

⁶ Translation. Original text: “4. Det er ofte sådan, at kvinder oplever, at der er en ‘almindelig del af et kvindeliv’ at blive udsat for krænkelser, hvorfor de ikke oplever det som værende ‘noget at fortælle om’. 5. Der er langt flere kvinder end mænd, der oplever seksuelle krænkelser. 6. De mænd, vi har hørt fortælle om selvoplevede krænkelser og overgreb er ofte homoseksuelle, transseksuelle eller ganske unge. 7. Det er sjældent kvinder, der krænker, men det sker – kvinder krænker nogen gange kvinder; kvinder krænker nogen gange mænd. Men i det materiale vi har formået at indsamle er langt størstedelen af krænkerne mænd, der krænker.”

Within these points, there are repetitions of the previous quotes. However, they are formulated quite differently. In point 4, the phrase “part of normal woman life” is used, which indicates that there is, from the websites, point of view, is a stereotype of what is woman’s lived experience. The only thing, the quotes explain about the experience is, though, that it involves violation. As such, the use of normal could refer to a shared understanding of normal and stereotypical female life experiences between the senders and the readers. This stereotype likely coincides with the concept of the stereotypical women as explained in this project’s theory section. Considering this normalization of violations being presented in point 4, found in not only the use of the word normal, but also through phrases like “part of a woman life” and not finding that it is “something to talk about”, when discussing violations, women’s experience, is described in a matter-of-fact manner.

Moving on to point 5 on the list, the statement focuses on, who the victims are. Stating more women experience violations than men, is also presented as a fact, while at the same time, pointing out that violations are a larger problem for women than men. As was the case with point 4, there is here no reference to numerical data, and women’s issues are emphasised at the expense of men’s experiences of sexual violations. In point 6, the focus is on men. Here, men occupy the part of victim. The formulations regarding the groups of victimized men are, however, interesting when looking at it with male stereotypes in mind. This is because the statement refers to the victims as “often homosexuals, transsexuals or very young” (#MeToo, n.d.). As such, the stereotypical straight man, is not in this group of victims, unless they are considered under the group “very young”, while this might refer to childhood, and would therefore not be considered under the stereotypical straight man at the time, the violation(s) happened.

In point 7 on the list, the depiction of gender on the website is completed with the use of phrases like “sjældent”, meaning rare or seldom, and “nogen gange”, which means sometimes

(#MeToo, n.d.). This in their respective circumstances, gives the impression that are not often the violators, implicitly stating that men are. Though stated clearly earlier, this point makes the violation, when done by women, appear less significant than if done by men, due to the amount of men violating versus the women, who violate.

The overall depiction of women on the website is as victims of sexual violations. There are few statements suggesting otherwise, but even in those instances, women as violators are toned down, making men as violators stand out in comparison. However, the “About” section has a view of the website project’s depiction of women and men: “We’re not placing the guilt on anyone for this. Men are not collectively the perpetrators. Women are not collectively the victims. It is simply a depiction of a culture we’re all part of”⁷ (#MeToo, n.d.).

Taking the statements into consideration, the question is, if there needs to be any concrete statistical data in this particular section on the website. Because of the title being concerned with experiences, it might be argued that there is no need to put numbers on experiences. However, as these statements are presented in style, which makes it appear to be fact-based instead of based on the experience it was to create the #MeToo mosaic, it can also be argued that there is a need for numerical data of the experience to increase transparency of the statements.

By presenting these statements under a section “Hvilke erfaringer har vi gjort os undervej?” (#MeToo, n.d.), and using a numbered list to do so, the statements comes out as truths. This is because the statements are stated as facts. Facts are often associated as presenting truth, which is why this list is a neat trick. So, while no actual numbers or data are presented to the reader, because of the headline and the list formatting, it comes off as facts that are to be believed only on the

⁷ Original text: “Vi anklager derfor ikke nogen for at være skyldige i denne skævvridning. Vi anklager ikke mændene som værende de skyldige. Vi anklager ikke kvinderne som værende ofre. Vi beskriver en kultur, som vi alle er en del af”

basis of the statements themselves. Another section of the website, however, is called “statistik” (ibid.), statistics in English. Here, there is presented the data, which was not clear from the list, and the website offers up the sources for the studies and surveys, which are used as point of reference for their statements throughout the website. So there are statistics available, but are harder to find than the “Hvilke erfaringer har vi gjort os undervejs”-section.

The entire written side of the website presents itself as a factual-based, informational, and without much pathos. There are, however, some places in the text, where ideological agenda is seen. Furthermore, is the choice of certain words over other words, showing emotional connection to the subject of the website. Furthermore, the written side of the website, there are no place in which the victims of sexual violations or harassments are presented in a manner, which could be construed as weak or as someone to pity. Rather, is the site trying to show respect to the victims. This is quite different in the videos. Here, it is the original submitters, who display the shame and guilt often felt by survivors of sexual abuse (J. Gayle Becka, 2011). However, the part of the website concerned with feelings, is the video mosaic.

When looking at the videos, it firstly becomes very apparent that is predominantly women, who are telling their stories. Of the hundred stories, eight are told by men on the behalf of other men, and the remaining ninety-two are told by women on behalf of other women. A black screen in the beginning of the video with white text, explains that these stories are retold by actors on behalf of other men or women. Secondly, the actors participating in the mosaic are retelling the stories from the perspective of the persons, who lived the experiences. As such, they are told with the actors being the “I”, storyteller, and main persons. In this way, it appears, that some of the actors are taking ownership of the stories. This is, moreover, due to how the stories are being told not only verbally, but with body language, which makes it seem as if they are the actor’s own stories, they are telling. This is further clear from the way the videos were filmed. The clips do not

appear to be professionally filmed, and in most cases, it looks as though they are in a home-like environment during the filming. Moreover, the many of the actors appear to be holding the camera on which the movies were filmed on, themselves, which could indicate they were filmed on a phone, making it look even more homemade. This leaves the impression of the videos being informal. Choosing this format for the videos could be a result of several factors. One could be that this approach is cheap. It has not taken a crew or even a camera operator. Only the actors and a camera.

An example of these features is the video by Julie Grundtvig Wester, where the Wester's upper body is in the frame, and she is leaning against a counter. She is casually dressed in a strap top. In the background of the video is what looks like a coffee cup on the counter, and on the wall hang a print picture, some framed (possibly personal) photographs, and a noticeboard. There is nothing in the setting that suggest the video is going to be formal. Wester begins the video with the words "It was Midsummer's Eve. I had just finished 9th grade"⁸ (Wester, 2018, 00:05). In the last sentence, the word "I" is first used. The body language in this video as many of the others, is interesting. While saying the words "I didn't tell anyone at the time." (Wester, 2018, 00:12), Wester looks down. By looking down, the Wester indicates that a sense of feeling ashamed (Steger, 2013, p. 293) is involved, and it is in these words, in addition to using "I", the ownership of the story is especially clear. She appears to be acting the story out, looking up in the camera again with the sentence, "This doesn't happen to good and nice girls" (Wester, 2018, 00:15). This way of looking down thinking and displaying shame, is a body language feature used continuously throughout the video, and is seen in the videos featuring, amongst others, Diana Axelsen (#MeToo, n.d.).

⁸ English #MeToo website's subtitles.

Whether the videos are considered personal or impersonal, depends on the receiver of the them. Because it might be considered impersonal that the videos are not spoken by the people, who lived the experiences being told. However, having actors “act” as the violated, gives the videos more of a personal touch, but then again, this could be considered impersonal as a result of knowing it is not their own stories, though pretending they are. The website states “The actors have all each interrupted their specific text, which means that in some cases, a few words have been changed [...] nothing has been changed in connection to the meaning or consequences of the case”⁹ (#MeToo, n.d.). Despite saying nothing has been changed as a consequence of the interpretation (according to the statement), the fact that there are actual people bringing the stories to life, changes the stories compared to the alternative of having written them directly on the website. This is likely also one of the reasons, the website have chosen this approach; to make it seem personal and emotional instead of only having written statements.

When looking at the written side of the website, race does not appear to okay a big part for the creators. Besides some of the actors in the mosaic being people of colour, and some of the stories was experienced by people, who did not origin from Denmark (which is being told in the stories, but there is no way of guessing their ethnicity), there is no mentions of race on the website. There is a part of a sentence in the “Approach” section, which could be interpreted to be about race. It goes: “a sexual violation in an uneven power structure”¹⁰ (#MeToo, n.d.). It is, however, difficult to firmly establish if it indeed is concerned with race because of the little concern paid to it in the rest of the written part of the website. In addition to this, it could be meant as an uneven power structure between men and women only, because the topic of ethnicity is not mentioned elsewhere. Of the video mosaic’s onehundred clips, there are a handful people of color, and stories of people,

⁹ English site. Danish text: “Skuespillerne har hver især fortolket det tilsendte tekst, hvorfor der i nogle tilfælde kan være ændret på enkelte ord [...] der er ikke ændret på sagens betydning eller konsekvens”

¹⁰ English site. Danish text: “en seksuel krænkelse i et skævt magtforhold”

who are new to Denmark at the time of the violation. But neither of these two aspects are addressed, in the videos or the written website.

Interdiscursivity

On the #MeToo, there is a historical discourse. This is seen in the “Om Projektet” section, where it says: “Eftersom vores danske kultur jo r bygget op gennem århundreder, og eftersom kvindernes ligestilling først for alvor er kommet på dagsordenen i løbet af de sidste 100 år, er det ikke underligt, at der stadig er en skævvridning i forholdet mellem kønnene”¹¹ (#MeToo, n.d.). It is not an essential discourse for the project, but it is present nonetheless. History is of course the focus of this quote, but gender and equality are also very important concepts here. This discourse is likely used to encourage change in the sense that ‘it is about time’ to take action. As such, it is a reminder that inequality is an old issue.

Looking at gendered discourse with Baker’s four types of discourses in mind, 1) battle of the sexes, 2) gender differences, 3) poor boys, and 4) gender equality now achieved (2013, p. 51), there are a few things worth taking note of. The gendered discourse is visible throughout the website. One example is in the about section, which states that “Det handler nemlig om, at vores kultur har en indbygget uligestilling mellem kønnene og en kulturelt indgroet sexism”¹² (#MeToo, n.d.). Here, the website deals with gendered issues like inequality and sexism. In the depiction of women, it quickly becomes clear this gender is the main focus for the website.

¹¹ Translation English site: “The development of Danish culture has been underway for more than a millennium, but women’s rights have only been on the agenda for the past 100 years. In this light, it’s not strange, that we still have some way to go in terms of gender equality.” This translation is slightly different from the direct translation from Danish, which sound: “As the Danish culture, you see, is built up through centuries, and as women’s equality only in seriousness has gotten on the agenda in the run of the last 100 years, it is not strange, that there still is a distortion in the relationship between the genders.”

¹² Translation English site: “It’s much more. It’s about society as a whole. About an inherently sexist culture”. Directly translated from the Danish site: “it is namely about that our culture has an integrated inequality between the genders and a culturally ingrained sexism.”

In the depiction of men, the mosaic, except in a few cases, where men are the victims and women the perpetrators, shows men as being the perpetrators. In the video retelling of stories, men are as such the bad guy. However, on the parts of the website not concerned with the videos, men are portrayed in a factual way, though still as perpetrators, and occasionally as victims. Furthermore, when men are mentioned, it is undermined by statements boiling down to how men by far are the predominantly perpetrators of sexual violence, also when men are the victims. In this way, men being violated could easily be seen as undermined, or even self-inflicted. In any understanding, men being violated is on the #MeToo website and in the adjacent video mosaic less important than women being violated sexually.

Returning to Baker's different gendered discourse, it is then clear that this site is, though not aggressively, is applying a version of the battle of the sexes discourse. Men and women are not played out against each other, directly, but the showing women as victims of male perpetrators, cannot but create a wedge between the genders. This is despite also providing room for men to have their stories of sexual violations told in 8 videos. As such, this is also a way of pointing to social stereotypical differences between men and women, which is Baker's second point of gendered discourse, though the battle of the sexes is much more prevalent than the gender differences discourse. The third of Baker's points is poor boys. This is not a very prevalent discourse, but interpreting poor boys in the serious way, not the ironic, it is present in the statistics section, and in the video mosaic. In the video mosaic, there are eight videos retold by men, and the, which could lead to a poor boys discourse, while at the same time, the website contains the self-inflicted view on men as argued in the paragraph above. Because of this, the use of the poor boys discourse is ambivalent as a result of both having the discourse, while depicting men as the perpetrators of violence. Baker's fourth point, gender equality now achieved, is nowhere to spot in on the #MeToo website or the #MeToo video mosaic. Both looking at the number of videos

dedicated to women's experiences versus the number of the videos dedicated to men's experiences, and looking the general message of the website when regarding gender. As such, the most applicable of Baker's gendered discourses is battle of the sexes, though in a non-aggressive version of the discourse.

Looking at race, it is not mentioned in the text, nor in the videos. However, there are people of colour included in the videos, and some of the stories are narrated from the perspective of person new to Denmark, who could be a person of colour. As such it is difficult to really defend that there for sure is a discourse focused on ethnicity. Rather, the people in the videos are not telling their own stories, but other peoples'. It could be argued that the just having people of colour involved in the project constitutes a discourse of ethnicity. However, as it is not being vocalised, it might be enough to recognise that there are people of colour involved, but not an actual discourse concerned with ethnicity.

Social Practice Analysis

The differences in phrasing on the Danish and English website, could be a result of the website(s) trying to engage different people and societies. Being in Danish, the Danish site is aiming at Danish-speaking people only, whereas the number of English-speaking people is many times larger than that. As such, choosing more direct language on the English site might be a result of the language experienced by the people behind the Danish reaction to #MeToo, and be an expression of wanting to engage on equal terms in the debate in both English and Danish. If this is the case, the narratives presented could be an attempt to continue the narratives in the Danish media, and probably the American media, because this is where the movement began. Because of this, it might

be view as the social practice that is narrative is continued in relation to Danish media and to American media.

In the site's explanation of how, the stories have been gathered, the #MeToo website attempts to pre-empt any criticisms by saying there has been no playing favourites in their research for stories, while at the same time claiming that women experience more sexual violations than men. This is likely because of some newspaper articles in Danish newspapers, who takes the stance that men can be victims as well, despite the #MeToo movement being mostly concerned with the female experience. As such, some of Danish news media have shown scepticism towards the focus on women. This is the way, the website is attempting to justify its own existence in Denmark¹³. Because of this, it could be concluded that the #MeToo website is trying to break down the current understanding of sexual violation and harassment in Denmark, but there is not at this moment enough data on this to say what the current social practice and understanding of sexual violations are in Denmark. So, what can be said about the website is that it appears to be protecting and justifying itself by making the process of gathering stories for the video mosaic public.

Looking at political views, the #MeToo website is concerned with a discourse related to left-wing politics. The concern for changing power structures and wanting to make things equal alone because they are unequal, in theory, is related to political ideologies such as communism. However, the project claims in no way that the Danish #MeToo initiative is communist, but only that equality in its most decisive form is connected to Marx' idea of the ideal society (Holt, 2015). That being said, policies regarding differing political stances on the promotion of equality can be

¹³ Examples of negative Danish media coverage on #MeToo movement:

- 1) Sørensen, E. 2018 (March 9). MeToo: Stop det ynkelige flæberi. Fyens Stiftidende
- 2) Knudsen, L. 2017 (December 15). #MeToo – skræmmende, social mobilisering anno det 21. århundrede. Altinget.dk
- 3) Syberg, K. 2018 (January 22). Anklager om, at #MeToo undergraver mænds retssikkerhed, må tages alvorligt. Information.dk

found on both sides of the aisle of politics. Furthermore, despite not having data on the political convictions of Danish actors, artists are often leaning towards the left, according to (Gross, 2018). More than this, the #MeToo website was created by labour unions, and for the most part, these unions are considered left-leaning in their political views as well.

Looking at the primarily binary depiction of gender, women are shown as victims at the hand of men. Despite, the discursive strategies aimed at changing the situation for women, they are through the stories, depicted primarily as the gender, who experience the most sexual assault. Alongside this, the continuous recognition of sexual assault as part of a woman's life. As such this play into the stereotype presented in the theory section. This understanding of women being the primary victim of sexual violations, is supported by studies, some of which the #MeToo website addresses on in its facts section. Looking at the #MeToo website's depiction of sexuality, it is again most binary, with the only references to other sexualities being when men violate men. This is the same stance as when looking at the trans and queer persons. Very little concern is shown, and even then, only comments on men's violations of men. Furthermore, the depiction of men as perpetrators, and victims of their own doing (men sexually violating men), focus the blame, despite blaming it on the current culture, on men.

The battle of the sexes discourse is continuing the discourse of inequality between the genders, without directly confronting it. It only discusses that there is a distortion between the genders, but never states straight out that men and women are unequal, and never states who is in the position of power between the genders in the distortion of gender. However, this is clear when the website looks into their gathering of experiences of sexual assault, with a large number of women have turned to the initiative, and very men.

As such, the website is continuing to relate itself to a part of the Danish society that believes in the existence of inequality between men and women, with its focus on the sexual violations experienced by each of the two genders. As the support of the concept of gender inequality experience varying support in Denmark, it is not possible to deduce that the website is an expression of all Danes, but there are many Danes, who recognizes gender inequality, with the man being in the position of power compared to the woman. This ambiguous reception of gender-related issues or commentary, like the #MeToo movement, is therefore likely the cause of the non-aggressive phrasing on the website, in not wanting to actively vilify men, as this would likely receive some very bad publicity in the Danish news media. However, having others tell the story in the #MeToo mosaic, and here presenting men as the perpetrator in most of the cases, is a way of pre-empting criticism from the social contexts, which are not all on the same page when it comes to gender inequality.

Seeing this on a broader scale, as part of a globalized world, Europe has like the US experienced a rise in nationalistic governments. In this relation, many people in Denmark have reservations about the American president, who on several occasions, in his political work, and as a private person (if a president can be private), has discussed and commented on matters related to gender in different ways. In regards to protectionism, the #MeToo website could be seen as an attempt to show disparities between Denmark as a nation in Europe, and the US. As such, in choosing solidarity with the American entertainment industry, and, arguably, the American people, instead of with the government of the United States, there could be a conscious or unconscious decision to show disapproval of President Trump, and his policies.

When examining the social practices of race, the #MeToo website does not mention physical attributes at all, including ethnicity. The videos, depicting diversity in limited terms, could be a result of wanting sexual violations being the sole issue of the initiative, and therefore not make

an issue of ethnicity beyond that of gender inequality. However, the having no race-related discourse, it is not likely that there will be a social practice concerning the subject either. It could be possible looking at it from a race discriminatory perspective that there is an reluctance to provide space for people of colour in general and in the #MeToo connection. This, though, looking at the context of Danish society in relation to not only national laws and European Union directives, which forbids discriminatory behaviour based on a person's race seems unlikely.

In combination with this, Denmark, according to Jensen, "is a country of emigration and not one of immigration" (Jensen, 2017), and furthermore that "Danish perceptions of racism as non-existent relate to the notion that, historically, Denmark has played a minor role in colonialism" (ibid.). As such, this may be the primary causes for not mentioning race. However, having covered the Danish history in terms of race, Jensen also states that Denmark has experienced many difficulties in dealing with immigration from non-western countries since the '70s (ibid.) Going with this notion, of ethnicity being connected mostly to immigration, of which has become a very politicised subject, the discussion goes back the previous arguments. In not dealing with ethnicity the Danish #MeToo initiative avoid dealing with the negative associations with Danes of concerning the continuous discussions of immigrants as economic burdens etc. (Jensen, 2017).

Comparison

When examining the visual and functional settings of the websites, the likeness between the two, is striking. The US website being made public in January 2018 and the Danish in April same year, the Danish site have likely drawn inspiration from the US reaction. This could also be seen as a form of appreciation of the Time's Up fund. This likeness between the two sites does not mean that the two reactions have the same approach, view, or purpose, but they look so similar that it seems

impossible that the Danish #MeToo site has not in some way been inspired by the Time's Up website.

The Time's Up Legal Defense Fund, is, as its title states, a fund and, as such, is related to financial concerns, created to help women obtain equality in the workplace. This is very different to the Danish initiative, which is created to bring awareness to sexual violations in all aspects of a person's life. Seeing these two differences 1) fund versus website with video mosaic, and 2) safety and equality in the workplace versus sexual violations in general, it should again be understood that this project considers these two female-oriented initiatives to be formed as a result of the #MeToo movement, or at the very least with the #MeToo movement as a triggering factor for the initiatives to be articulated.

There are some big differences in the context when looking at Denmark and the United States. In the US, there is a long tradition concerned with protesting as an almost integrated part of the political system (Coutin, 1990). In Denmark, protesting, though present, is usually a less involving affair (Mikkelsen, 1984). Furthermore, the US actor world is several times larger than the Danish, also looking at it as proportional to the country's size. In addition to this, the actor world of the US includes Hollywood, one of the most influential movie industries in the world. With this influence comes reach. As such, examining the Danish actor world alongside the US one in relation to size, reach, economy, etc. is difficult. To this end, celebrity influences used in the Time's Up initiative is not relational to the Danish initiative, where there are celebrities included in the video mosaic, but none of the really big names in the Danish actor world, and even if there were big Danish stars included in the mosaic, these would not be comparable to the celebrity effect of Time's Up. This is, as mentioned, a result of reach etc., but it is also to do with the cultural differences in having celebrities in the US and in Denmark.

Comparing the background behind the Danish #MeToo initiative and the Time's Up fund, there is a larger concern with the political climate behind Time's Up than the #MeToo website. Much of Time's Up's background comes from a historical background of organizing and protesting (Coutin, 1990), but it is, however, only in the past two years, this background has proved itself applicable to protests against the newly elected president's views on women, immigrants, LGBTQ people, and people of colour (Roye). In Denmark, the #MeToo website was first and foremost created in the backdrop of the #MeToo movement (if not considering the issue of sexual violence on its own), whereas the previously stated issues have been an incentive to create the Time's Up Legal Defense Fund. As such, though both Time's Up and #MeToo Denmark, was formed in the wake of the #MeToo movement, Time's Up reaches down into politically sensitive topics in the United States history and presence.

In the United States, women have long protested the current state of affairs. These protests have been very public with speeches in primetime and awards shows, whereas the Danish actor world have not been especially public with the same concerns for gender equality. This might stem from the size and influence of the Danish actor world compared to the American. Furthermore, the current political climate in the United States, since the election of President Trump, have experienced many protests in light of the administration's aim to defund Planned Parenthood, and other political aims. Moreover, the President himself have proven to have views on women which does not fit with the liberal agenda prevalent in Hollywood. Denmark have not had any of these two experiences. There have been made no plans to defund programmes that are concerned with women's health, nor has the Prime Minister been at the centre of sex scandals in the public eye. As such, the contexts in which Time's Up and #MeToo were created in are very different.

Time's Up and #MeToo Denmark displays different, but similar views on gender. Focusing firstly on binary genders, Time's Up does not mention men in the Letter of Solidarity.

Only in the facts section on the website, are men mentioned. However here, it is used as a measure of comparison related to employment opportunities and pay, and not connected to sexual violations. Despite, not naming men as perpetrators, there are strong indicators (in the deliberate exclusion of men), and in connection to the context, which insinuates that men, indeed, are the perpetrators being discussed. This is quite different in the #MeToo video mosaic, as there in this case are being told stories, showing that men in ninety-two of the one hundred videos are the perpetrators against women, and in a few cases besides this, perpetrators against men. The Danish #MeToo website is, however, not naming men as perpetrators, but is talking about sexual violations. Time's Up is therefore not relating men directly to the issue, and taking it on accounts of words only, not addressing men whatsoever, while the #MeToo website allows for emotional retellings in the video mosaic to depict men in the role of violators.

The depiction of women in the #MeToo initiative is presented as victims, being the victims of by far the most of the stories of sexual violations in the video mosaic. Despite, not displaying women as victims on the rest of the website, the videos are very clear in their portrayals. Moreover, sexual violation is presented as a normal part of a woman's life, which coincides with the stereotypical woman as seen in the theory section. In general, the website is very concerned with women as the violated. This is unsurprising considering sexual violations and mostly women's life, are the points of concern for the initiative. Using phrases such as women not finding sexual violations to be "something to be talked about", shows the violations as being normalized. However, the depictions of women in the Time's Up Letter of Solidarity, presents women as victims and survivors. In addition to this, it also displays the capability and need for women to stand together to help each other move upwards. Both applying a discourse of battle of the sexes, Time's Up and #MeToo Denmark, are pitting men and women against each other.

The Danish website is not very concerned with discussions of implications of LGBTQ people in sexual assault, mentioning LGBT once, and only in relation to men. As such, the Q in LGBT is not dealt with, whatsoever. The video deals with homosexuality in a few cases, with men violating men. The focus on LGBT people is mentioned twice in the case of Time's Up, but queer people are not covered by Time's Up either. The extent of the two occasions, LGBT are talked about in Time's Up is, however, much more elaborate and inclusive to the cause than the cases included in the #MeToo initiative, which leads to the conclusion that the focus on LGBT is of larger concern in the United States' actor world than the Danish.

When looking a race, there is not much on this topic incorporated in the Danish #MeToo initiative. This should be considered a result of Danish history, and presence. Looking at it from colonialist point of view, this might be a result of Denmark having no coloured slavery in the country itself, whereto the Danes were not to consider people of colour in the same way as the US. As such, when slavery was abolished in the Danish colonies, there was little need for discussions of race in Denmark, as there were very few people of colour (Jensen, 2017). Furthermore, only a small percentage of Danes are people of colour today. The demography of Denmark is very different for the US, and according to studies, the same is the problems regarding racism (Gans, 2012). In the US, however, there is a very long history of conflicts based on race, and the country experiences large problems creating equal opportunities for people of colour, and maybe especially Black people. In this relation, it is important for Time's Up, wanting to appear inclusive, to address the issues faced by women of colour, and Black and Hispanic women in particular.

In relation to this, the Time's Up movement shows concern for immigrant women, where no such focus is shown on the Danish site. Because of this, the Danish website mentions no female intersection categories regarding immigration. In Denmark, the issue of immigration is not as pervasive as in the US. In Time's Up's case, the concern for immigrant women is likely a

consequence of three factors. Returning to President Trump, one of his electoral pledges was concerned with dealing with the US's large immigration from Mexico, especially (Hirschfeld, 2016), the second a relation to the phrase 'a nation of immigrant', but the most plausible factor is the marginalization of immigrant women in the USA, leaving many more vulnerable than women with American citizenship in the US (Sokoloff, 2008).

Looking at the variations in terms of intersectional categories, Time's Up is much more concerned with intersectionality. In the Letter of Solidarity, several categories are mentioned (lines 54-60), and the Time's Up site is likewise focus on intersectional categories when it comes to women. On the Danish #MeToo website, there are little intersectionality present. The website depicts an almost binary understanding of people, with only intersectional categories displayed being young men and LGBT men. Women, in this relation, is only ever called women, and there is not mentioned ethnicity, sexuality, ableism, or other phrasings, which could indicate an intersectional aim from the website. However, in the #MeToo video mosaic, there are several videos, who talks from the perspective of a person, who has only just arrived in Denmark. these perspectives, however, are difficult to state much else about, as the only information provided, is that they have roots in other countries.

Conclusion

To sum up, in the depictions on almost all accounts analysed, the Time's Up Legal Defense Fund and the Danish #MeToo initiatives are different, if in varying degree. #MeToo seems to be a Danish version of Time's Up when looking at the construction of the website, despite having relatively different contexts. Where Time's Up focuses on raising money for marginalized women and women, who have experienced sexual assaults in their workplace, the #MeToo website focuses on being a woman in the current culture, or context, the website has been created in. In addition to this, the #MeToo initiative have many collaborators, who are not concerned with women in the workplace, for example women's shelters etc. Therefore, it is not so strange, it is not concerned only with sexual violations in the workplace like Time's Up.

In the portrayal of gender, Time's Up portrays women as being victims and survivors, while at the same time encouraging change in the current state women have in the workforce.

The #MeToo website, however shows women as victims only talking not about what women can do to change the state of affairs.

In relation to intersectionality, the United States have had a growing concern with this topic in the entertainment industry in recent years, and in this context, Time's Up is also displaying awareness of intersectional categories, and the additional strain certain categories can have on a person's life, in line with Crenshaw's points of the Black women in the US. Danish #MeToo, however, does not include verbal categories, but have a few people of colour retelling stories. The contextual difference is in this case due to the countries' different relations to people of colour and demographic. The United States has a long history of race conflicts (Coutin, 1990), whereas Denmark, being a very homogenous country, has few compared to the US, proportionally to the US. However, this disregard for ethnicity shown by the #MeToo initiative could also be to avoid

connecting the initiative with recent struggles in Denmark to integrate new immigrants, who are politically often connected to economic burdens, according to Jensen (2017)

These different areas of concern for Time's Up and the #MeToo website, is a result of the different contexts, they were created in. The United States has a long history of race conflicts, and a current situation, where race is a heated topic as well, and in terms of the actor world, there have in the past few years been a strong focus on creating a diverse industry, making room for people of colour, women, disabled people, etc. Furthermore, the US actor world is for the most part a liberal world, which goes against the current administration of the country. As such, Time's Up is also concerned with subjects (sexuality, gender, and sexual assault) that has been cause for debate during and since the 2016 election.

The Danish #MeToo was created with Danish actors in the publicising of it. Denmark has not in the same way as the US had many problems due to demography, which seen in the lack of focus on it. However, the same could be said of many of the other categories mentioned in the paragraphs above. Another reason for the lack of diversity on the #MeToo website, besides that of demography, could be that people of colour and immigrants in Denmark have a bad reputation in political discourse, and mentioning either of these topics could remove focus from the sexual violations that are the main issue of the #MeToo website. In addition to this, the binary depiction of gender and sexuality with #MeToo, especially, could be seen as an attempt to pre-empt any criticism, it could have received in including diversity more, because of the ambiguous news coverage of the #MeToo movement in general.

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