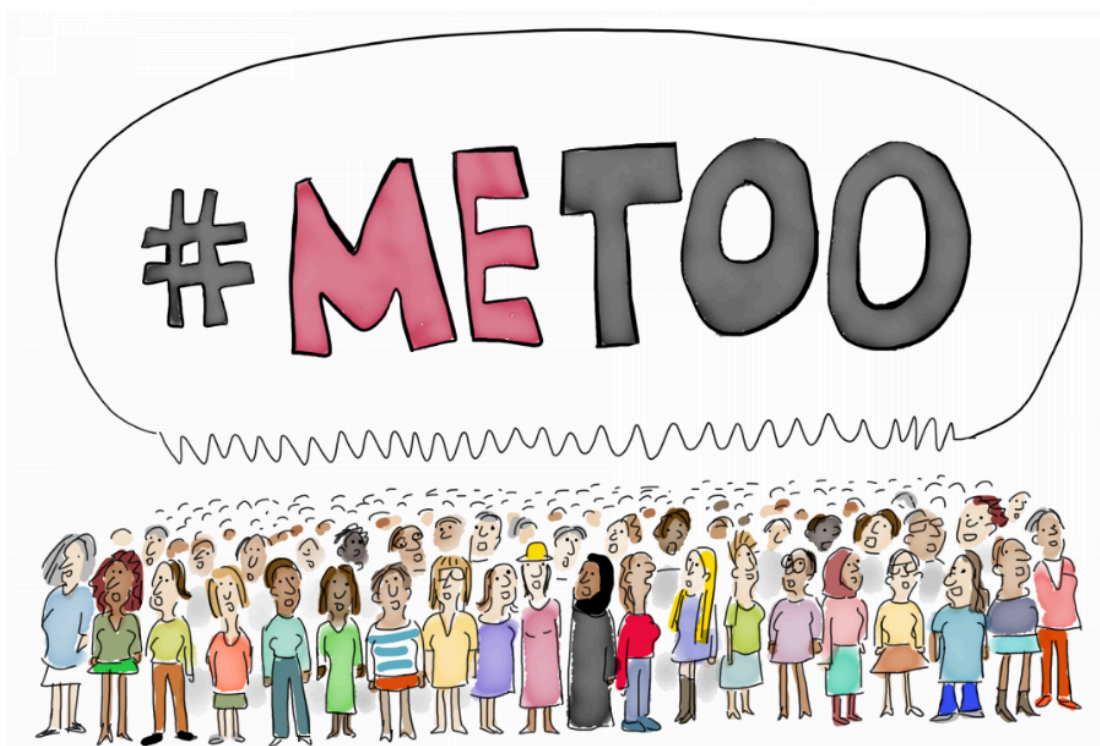# MASTER'S THESIS

The Perception of Me Too:
A Critical Discourse Analysis of American News Outlets'
Representation of the Me Too Movement

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Abstract

In October 2017, the Me Too movement, originally founded in 2006 by Tarana Burke with the goal of ending sexual violence and helping survivors heal, reemerged in the wake of the sexual abuse allegations against Harvey Weinstein. The 'Me Too' phrase became a viral hashtag, and Me Too has since become a global phenomenon, which opened up a conversation about sexual violence around the world. The movement has been widely covered in the media, and the aim of this MA-thesis is to get a better understanding of how the media has reacted to it and perceived it, and how this has affected the movement. This MA-thesis revolves around the representation of the movement in four American news outlets: CNN, Fox News, The New York Times, and Breitbart News. The MA-thesis examines the following research question: How do these news outlets represent/frame the Me Too movement, and what effect does this have on the perception of it and the discourse surrounding sexual abuse?

The data analyzed in this MA-thesis consist of news articles from four major American news outlets in order to get an idea about how the movement was represented in American media overall, rather than in just one news outlet. The four news outlets were selected on the basis of their different news profiles and thus on the assumption that each news outlet has a distinct way of covering news, which would allow us to compare them with each other.

The MA-thesis employs two theories in a qualitative analysis of the news articles: Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Theo van Leeuwen's theory of social actor representation. The analysis focuses on the first two stages of CDA, that is the description stage and the interpretation stage, and on a selection of van Leeuwen's social actor categories. The MA-thesis employs the theories to analyze how the Me Too movement is represented in articles surrounding the movement in general and in articles surrounding three cases related to Me Too, which focus on specific social actors, namely Harvey Weinstein, Louis C.K. and Asia Argento.

The discussion then adopts a comparative approach: the MA-thesis discusses whether each news outlet represents Me Too differently depending on the case in question, and whether the news outlets represent the movement similarly or differently from each other. The discussion employs the third stage of Fairclough's CDA, namely the explanation stage, to discuss how the news coverage affects the perception of the Me Too movement and helps shape the discourse surrounding sexual abuse. The MA-thesis further discusses the news outlets' representation of the Me Too movement in relation to feminism, intersectionality, and white feminism.

The MA-thesis concludes that the representation of Me Too from CNN and NYT showed support for the movement while still critiquing how much of an impact it could have going forward. Thus, their coverage left readers with a mainly positive perception of Me Too. The MA-thesis also

concludes that Fox News and Breitbart News focused on how the movement could be misused, and thus their coverage left readers with a negative perception of the movement. Further, the MA-thesis also concludes that the news outlets all disapproved of abusers and framed sexual abuse as something that mainly happens to women. Finally, the MA-thesis concludes that only NYT's coverage reflects intersectionality to an extent, and that all the news outlets' representation of the Me Too movement could be characterized as white feminism.

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Introduction

'Me Too' is a short and simple statement, however, these words have become some of the most meaningful and powerful words in today's society. Moreover, 'Me Too' has become a way to succinctly but powerfully connect survivors of sexual abuse with each other, and to give these survivors the opportunity to start their journey towards healing. The founder of the Me Too movement, Tarana Burke, wants people to understand the words like this:

> Outwards facing 'Me Too' is saying 'I want you to look at me and see that I am one of a hundred million, and I want you to recognize me and know that this happened to me too'…Then there's the inward-facing element. This is the exchange of empathy, from survivor to survivor (Murray).

Hence, Burke argues that the words 'Me Too' have an uplifting effect on survivors of sexual abuse, both on those uttering the words and on those listening to the words. Additionally, she argues that through the words 'Me Too', survivors of sexual violence also positively affect those around them by showing the magnitude and ubiquity of the problem.

In the final months of 2017, the world witnessed the emergence of the Me Too movement, which has been the most popularized and visible feminist social media movement in the 21st century (Mitralias). But what is so unique about the Me Too movement? The co-founder of the Women's Media Center[1], Gloria Steinem, has an answer:

> In the past, what happened to men was political, but what happened to women was cultural…The first was public and could be changed, and the second was private, off limits, even sacred. By making clear that sexualized violence is political and public, it [the Me Too movement] breaches that wall. It admits that sexualized violence can be changed (Ennis and Wolfe 2).

While the Me Too movement is gender-inclusive, its uniqueness lays in the fact that it acknowledges that the personal issues and problems that women face, such as sexualized violence, are political, public and changeable. Hence, the Me Too movement embodies the feminist slogan: "The personal is political" (Kroløkke and Sørensen 10).

The Me Too movement emerged in the United States in October 2017. In the wake of the

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[1] The Women's Media Center (WMC) is an inclusive and feminist organization "that works to ensure women's realities are covered and women's voices are heard" (Ennis and Wolfe 1). Further, WMC focuses

sexual harassment allegations against Harvey Weinstein, actress Alyssa Milano encouraged women on Twitter to tweet the words 'me too' if they had been sexually harassed or assaulted (Mitralias). When Milano woke the next day, she realized the magnitude of her tweet: people around the world were reporting incidents of sexual harassment by powerful men (Mitralias). Hence, Milano's tweet resulted in the floodgates being opened, and a tidal wave of both men and women started to share their stories of sexual harassment and assault. Milano's tweet quickly became a global phenomenon, and it prompted a reckoning around the world: "As of December, 2017, more than 69,000 people have replied to Milano's tweet, and the #MeToo hashtag has been used more than 1.7 million times in 85 countries" (Associated Press). Further, the movement has sparked a realization around the world that sexual harassment and assault pervade every industry – entertainment, media, politics, tech, retail, medicine, etc.

The eruption of the Me Too movement and the existence of the #MeToo hashtag have spurred a global conversation beyond sexual harassment and assault. Issues such as (un)acceptable behavior, power imbalances, gender equality, etc. have been amplified by Me Too, both online and in daily life, and thus the movement has generated more media and news coverage of these issues. However, the movement has also caused controversy as a result of people's different ways of understanding it. The way people understand and talk about the movement is highly affected by the way in which the media represents Me Too. Therefore, the media has a great responsibility and a vital role to play in changing the problems in society, such as the ubiquity of sexual harassment and assault. Hence, our motivation for writing our MA-thesis about the Me Too movement stems from a curiosity about how the media has reacted to it, and how this affects the movement.

This MA-thesis sets out to investigate the Me Too movement as a historical and cultural feminist phenomenon through an analysis of how it is represented in the following online American news outlets: CNN, Fox News, The New York Times and Breitbart News. The MA-thesis aims to answer the following question: **How do these news outlets represent/frame the Me Too movement, and what effect does this have on the perception of it and the discourse surrounding sexual abuse?** The MA-thesis seeks to gain a deeper understanding of whether or not these news outlets argue for or against the Me Too movement, and how this could affect the perception of Me Too. The MA-thesis aims to do this by analyzing how the movement in general and the Me Too cases involving Harvey Weinstein, Louis C.K. and Asia Argento are represented in the chosen news outlets. The MA-thesis applies Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis and Theo van Leeuwen's social actor theory to analyze the news articles as these theoretical approaches will help reveal how the news outlets represent/frame the Me Too movement.

The Me Too Movement

Since the Me Too movement was popularized at the end of 2017, a lot has been written about it, and here we will go into detail about what the movement is about and how it came to be. The Me Too movement was originally created back in 2006 but resurged in 2017 when the #MeToo hashtag went viral on social media. The founder of the Me Too movement, Tarana Burke, defines the vision and the aim of the movement as the following: "My vision for the #MeToo movement is part of a collective vision to see a world free of sexual violence" (Criss). Thus, the Me Too movement is overall a movement to end sexual violence[2]. Journalist Georgina Lawton makes the following statement about what exactly the movement is trying to achieve:

> we are not always referring to incidents so horrendous that women are rendered incapable of ever leaving the house again…but we are pinpointing a culture in which to verbally or physically sexualise a woman – as she is going about her daily business, when she is with children or friends, or when she is alone – is entirely normal (Lawton).

Hence, Me Too focuses on sexual violence at every level, and aims to make pivotal societal changes by challenging a culture where sexual violence has been normalized. As mentioned, the Me Too movement has two 'origins' and because of this, the focus and meaning of the movement has shifted slightly over the years.

The Me Too movement started as local grassroots work by Tarana Burke, who is an activist and community organizer ("About - Me Too Movement"). Burke founded the Me Too movement after an encounter with a young girl, which had affected her greatly. Burke was a youth worker who dealt mainly with children of color and was accustomed to hearing stories of abuse and neglect (Burke, "The 'me too.' Movement"). As a youth worker, Burke was approached by a girl who began to tell Burke about "her mother's boyfriend who was doing all sorts of monstrous things to her developing body" and Burke stopped her "right in the middle of her sharing her pain" and referred her to another female counselor who would be better equipped to help her (Burke, "The 'me too.' Movement"). In the moment, Burke did not know how to tell the girl that she fully understood her pain as she herself had once been in a similar situation – she could not find the same courage that the girl had found in reaching out to her, or tell the girl that what had happened to her was not her fault:

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[2] Since Burke uses the term 'sexual violence', we have decided to use this term in this section of the MA-thesis.

> I could not find the strength to say out loud the words that were ringing in my head over and over again as she tried to tell me what she had endured… I watched her walk away from me as she tried to recapture her secrets and tuck them back into their hiding place. I watched her put her mask back on and go back into the world like she was all alone and I couldn't even bring myself to whisper…**me too** (Burke, "The 'me too.' Movement").

This moment stayed with Burke, and eventually lead her to found the Me Too movement in 2006, and thus use the words that she wished she had said that day, namely 'me too', to help survivors of sexual violence ("About - Me Too Movement"). Hence, these two words were, and still are, intended to help and connect survivors of sexual violence.

When the Me Too movement was first founded by Burke, it "focused on young women who have endured <u>s</u>exual <u>a</u>buse, <u>a</u>ssault or <u>e</u>xploitation (S.A.A.E)" and its purpose was to address the nuances of being a S.A.A.E. survivor ("The Movement"). Hardly any programs across the United States were "equipped to deal with young women, of a variety of ages and races, who were victims of molestation, incest, or exploitation", and the Me Too movement was created to help fill that gap ("The Movement"). The movement was meant to help especially young women of color from low wealth communities heal ("About - Me Too Movement"). The main goal of the movement was "to turn victims into survivors and survivors into thrivers" by emphasizing their vision of "empowerment through empathy" ("The Movement"). Me Too highlights that knowing you are not alone can make it easier to begin the process of healing. From the beginning, the vision of the movement was "to address both the dearth in resources for survivors of sexual violence and to build a community of advocates, driven by survivors, who will be at the forefront of creating solutions to interrupt sexual violence in their communities" ("About - Me Too Movement"). Thus, the Me Too movement focuses on survivors helping other survivors heal and on trying to put an end to sexual violence.

At the end of 2017, the Me Too movement expanded from being a local movement to being a global movement. On October 15th 2017, actress Alyssa Milano posted the following on her Twitter: "If you've been sexually harassed or assaulted write 'me too' as a reply to this tweet", accompanied by a photo with the text: "Me too. Suggested by a friend: "If all the women who have been sexually harassed or assaulted wrote 'Me too.' as a status, we might give people a sense of the magnitude of the problem"" (@Alyssa_Milano). Hence, Milano encouraged women to write 'me too' to show that sexual harassment and assault is prevalent in women's lives. Earlier that month,

producer Harvey Weinstein had been accused of sexual harassment by multiple women who had worked with him, and it was because of this that Milano sent out the tweets addressing the prevalence of sexual assault and harassment (Shugerman). On October 16th, Milano sent out another tweet: "I was just made aware of an earlier #MeToo🙊 movement, and the origin story is equal parts heartbreaking and inspiring" (@Alyssa_Milano). Milano's tweet included a link to the original Me Too movement's website, and thus Milano amplified Burke's movement. Further, Milano's original tweet quickly gained popularity on social media, and the 'me too' phrase was turned into a hashtag, namely #MeToo (Shugerman).

The hashtag, which is the symbol # followed by a keyword, has become a staple of social media language. The official name of the hashtag symbol is 'octothorpe', and it was not until its increasing usage and popularity on Twitter in 2007 that it became known as a 'hashtag' (Andersen). Twitter users would connect tweets through hashtags and keywords, and users from all over the world who tweeted "about the same topic or trend could get in contact with one another and connect over their common keyword" (Fraasch). This disorganized system then led to Twitter making these hashtags and keywords clickable, which allowed trends and topics to take off (Fraasch). Today, various social media platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, Pinterest, etc. have incorporated hashtags so that people can "click hashtags, read the latest corresponding news, and contribute to the conversation" (Fraasch). The hashtag is a unique addition to social media language as it enables the creator of the hashtag to reach a broad audience and increase visibility of his/her opinion, story, content, campaign, etc. Hence, hashtags "have the power to build communities, bring awareness to social voids, and turn ideas into massive movements" (Fraasch). In other words, hashtags can be used to make social change, and the Me Too movement is an example of a movement that has used the hashtag to spur social change. After Milano's tweets, many people, including celebrities, started using the #MeToo hashtag to share their personal stories of sexual assault and harassment (Shugerman). Thus, the viral hashtag pushed the conversation about sexual violence into the national dialogue ("About - Me Too Movement"). Since then, the movement has reverberated around the world. Burke has stated that in countries like Australia, France, China, India and many more, survivors of sexual violence are being given a chance to speak, and they are being heard (Burke, "Me Too is a movement").

While the viral hashtag instantly expanded the Me Too movement from a local one to a global one, it also simultaneously expanded the meaning of what it stood for. Tarana Burke's original movement, which merely focused on survivors of sexual violence, was soon broadened to revolve around more than just sexual harassment and assault (Garber). Since the hashtag went viral, the Me Too movement has been expanded to include conversations about complicity, pay disparity,

misogyny, representation, power structures and much more (Garber). Burke worries that people attempting to make the Me Too movement about everything runs the risk of making the movement about nothing. At the Aspen Ideas Festival in 2018, Burke expressed her wish for the movement to return to its original and specific purpose of serving as a counter to sexual violence by arguing that equality as an overall goal and Me Too as a specific goal are two different things (Garber). Burke suggested that adding other ideas to the Me Too movement would be asking too much of it, and could potentially make it harder for the original goal of the movement to be realized because sexual violence is already a wide enough topic (Garber). In saying this, Burke emphasized that something should be done about the other issues that have been added to the Me Too movement as well, but that Me Too was created to help solve a specific problem, and not all of them at once (Garber). In a TED Talk filmed in November 2018 at TEDWomen 2018, Burke emphasized that Me Too is not just a moment in history, but a movement – a movement that is "the first step towards actively building a world that we want right now", specifically "a world free of sexual violence" (Burke, "Me Too is a movement"). Throughout the talk, she reiterates that the Me Too movement was never about creating a gender war, or dismantling due process – that it was never "a vindictive plot against men", but was always about supporting all survivors of sexual violence (Burke, "Me Too is a movement").

The issue that the Me Too movement aims to focus on and change (sexual violence) is an issue that has been addressed previously by both activists and academics (Singh). Feminism, and particularly fourth wave feminism, has focused on this issue, and like fourth wave feminism, the Me Too movement acknowledges that it is necessary to look at the:

> experiences of sexual violence and violence against women through an intersectional lens, which would ensure that the narrative would include not just women that are visible but also the marginalised sections of society whose voices often go unheard and the experiences of women of colour that were often not paid much attention to in the larger conversation on these issues (Tella).

Hence, through intersectionality and inclusivity both fourth wave feminism and the Me Too movement want to shed light on the struggles that different women and men face in varying degrees. This is why the Me Too movement is considered part of fourth wave feminism (Singh). This MA-thesis will later explore the history and development of feminism in the aim of better understanding the Me Too movement's place within feminism.

Finally, we find it important to distinguish the Me Too movement from the Time's Up movement, which was created in response to Me Too because they are often mentioned in relation to each other or mistaken for being the same movement. Time's up was founded on January 1st 2018 by a group of women (executives, artists, producers, etc.) in the entertainment business ("History: *Time's Up Now*"). On the Time's Up website, they state that: "The clock has run out on sexual assault, harassment and inequality in the workplace. It's time to do something about it" ("History: *Time's Up Now*"). Thus, the Time's Up movement emphasizes that actions should be made, immediately. While the Me Too movement and the Time's Up movement might seem similar, they have distinct differences: Me Too explicitly deals with sexual violence at every level and focuses on survivors, whereas Time's Up focuses more on workplace equity, employment disparities and on creating equal economic opportunities for every woman despite her race, cultural background, etc. (Langone). It is thus important to note that while the Me Too movement's focus is solely on sexual violence and giving survivors a voice, the focus of the Time's Up movement is on sexual harassment in the workplace in particular as well as on other issues relating to safety and equity in the workplace.

State of the Art

In order to understand how the Me Too movement has been represented, it is important to review what other researchers have found out so far about the representation of the movement. The aim of this state of the art review is to explore the research that has been done about how Me Too has been represented in American media and why it has been represented that way. Since the Me Too movement was first popularized at the end of 2017, the amount of research about the representation of the movement is limited, which is reflected in the scope of this state of the art review.

"#MeToo: A Study on Sexual Assault as Reported in the New York Times"
Researcher Alyssa Evans from Western Washington University wrote a qualitative research paper called "#MeToo: A Study on Sexual Assault as Reported in the New York Times" (2018) in which she examined "the extent to which coverage by *The New York Times* of the #MeToo movement includes a diverse background of victims of sexual assault and harassment" (Evans 11). Evans examined the articles and used the samples to code the articles according to the articles' human sources, which she classified into the following categories: race, gender, occupation/industry. She further explored if these categories "were quoted or mentioned...The source's position was additionally recorded as survivor, assaulter, movement supporter, assault sympathizer, or neutral" (Evans 13).

The empirical data consisted of 15 articles from The New York Times (NYT) published during the span of October 1st, 2017 - November 30th, 2017. Evans states that this time period was chosen because of the "significant attention" the #MeToo hashtag gained on social media during this time period (Evans 13). Evans got the following results from her analysis of NYT's coverage of the movement: "From a sample of 15 articles, five (33.3%) presented sexual assault as an issue prevalent in the entertainment industry" (Evans 14). The rest of the articles focused on sexual harassment in other industries, such as in education, politics, advertising and the restaurant industry, but none of them were the focus as often as the entertainment industry (Evans 14). Hence, the majority of the NYT articles focused on sexual assault in the entertainment industry, rather than an issue prevalent in ordinary people's day to day lives.

Evans results indicate that NYT's coverage of the Me Too movement primarily focuses on "privileged groups of people, regardless of source race. None of the examined articles focused on sexual assault in poor or lower-class communities" (Evans 14). Evans concludes that NYT's coverage inaccurately represents who the Me Too movement is aiming to help as it frames sexual assault "as an issue only affecting people of privilege" (Evans 14). Thus, Evans concludes that NYT represents Me Too as toppling the powerful and privileged but not the ordinary.

On the basis of this research paper, Evans concludes that the NYT coverage of Me Too mainly focuses on not just privileged groups, but specifically Caucasians: "Caucasian sources comprised 70.3% of the total group…Other representations included African American at 7.1%, Middle Eastern at 3.9%, Latino at 2.8%, and Asian sources at 1.1%" (Evans 14). Hence, when it comes to racial demographics, the NYT coverage of the Me Too movement focuses on Caucasians more than any other racial group. Thus, Evans concludes that NYT expresses white feminism because they represented sexual assault in relation to the Me Too movement "as an issue affecting white people more than people of color" (Evans 14). When it came to the race and gender of the assault survivors and assaulters, "White females were the most common demographic of assault survivors…White males were the most common demographic of assaulters. People of color were not the most common demographic represented in any category" (Evans 14). Evans explains that the reason for this lack of diverse representation could be that individuals with more diverse backgrounds might not have felt comfortable in sharing their stories. Evans further states that this can have a negative effect as people might get discouraged and scared to share their stories because of the limited representation of more diverse human sources (Evans 14).

Evans also looked at the categories 'assault survivors', '#MeToo supporters', 'assaulters', 'assaulter sympathizer' to find out which categories the articles revolve around. Evans found that "Assault survivors were the most frequent article sources at 31.3%, with #MeToo supporters

comprising an additional 19.3%. Assaulters constituted 23.1% of sources" (Evans 14). Thus, in the majority of the articles, the emphasis was on the assault survivors whereas "assaulter sympathizers" made up a minimal 4.4% (Evans 14)[3]. The emphasis on assault survivors and #MeToo supporters indicates that NYT wants to encourage survivors to speak out and share their experiences, and that NYT wants to express that survivors should not be ashamed of what happened to them. Further, the lack of focus on assaulters and assaulter sympathizers indicates that NYT does not want to show support for them as it might discourage survivors from speaking out.

"#MeToo: The Women's Media Center Report"
In the report "#MeToo: The Women's Media Center Report" (2018), Eliza Ennis, a media analyst at the Women's Media Center, and Lauren Wolfe, an award-winning journalist, examined "the press coverage that followed the Weinstein revelations and the rise of #MeToo" (Ennis and Wolfe 2). They used their data to analyze "whose stories were covered, which outlets considered sexual assault and harassment important enough to report on, and whether or not the media industry—and American culture on the whole—has changed as a result of the movement" (Ennis and Wolfe 2). Hence, the focus of this report was to examine what effects the Me Too movement had on the media coverage of sexual assault and harassment following the Weinstein revelations. Ennis and Wolfe further "analyzed the content of headlines, bylines, and articles on 15,228 pieces of news produced from May 1, 2017, through Aug. 31, 2018" (Ennis and Wolfe 15).

Ennis and Wolfe examined the news coverage from 5 months before the eruption of the Me Too movement to 10 months after it. They gathered their empirical data by examining 14 of the leading newspapers in the United States such as Chicago Sun-Times, The New York Times, The Washington Post, etc. (Ennis and Wolfe 2). Ennis and Wolfe analyzed the language used in the headlines of articles surrounding the Me Too movement, and sexual assault and harassment. Through this analysis, they explored the kinds of words that appeared most in headlines, and they compared the language used to discuss Me Too and these issues.

Ennis and Wolfe found that the media "is necessarily cautious until anything is proven—rape is always "alleged rape," and the "alleged perpetrator" is not called an attacker" and "that outlets often downplay the severity of a proven attack" (Ennis and Wolfe 10-11). They further exemplify this conclusion through The New York Times' article "Harvey Weinstein Paid Off Sexual Harassment Accusers for Decades" (2017), which sparked the Me Too movement (Ennis and Wolfe 11). Ennis and Wolfe state that the striking aspect of the headline of this article is the

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[3] Evans does not interpret these results and hence the following interpretation of Evans' findings is our interpretation of the results.

two words 'harassment' and 'accuser', because these two words "have continued to be at the forefront of the Weinstein coverage—even after he was formally charged with rape and sexual assault" (Ennis and Wolfe 11). They state that women have long had to deal with the press downplaying the seriousness and severity of a proven attack as well as "minimizing their experiences in this arena. And even now, in the #MeToo era, this is still the case" (Ennis and Wolfe 11).

Ennis and Wolfe refer to a 2015 report they conducted called "Writing Rape" in which they also studied the language used in headlines to describe sexual assault. Ennis and Wolfe conclude the following in this report: "most articles kept the article in the realm of hearsay, appropriately for the most part, with 946 articles referring to cases with words like "accusations" or "allegations," 16 percent of which referred to the survivor as the "accuser"" (Ennis and Wolfe 11). Hence, similar to what they conclude in relation to the New York Times article about Weinstein, Ennis and Wolfe conclude that the media is "cautious until anything is proven", which is seen through the constant use of the words "accusations" and "allegations"[4] (Ennis and Wolfe 10).

Ennis and Wolfe further found that the name "Trump" appeared in 1,020 headlines of news stories about the Me Too movement or sexual assault "between October 2017 and August 2018—an average of 92 stories a month" (Ennis and Wolfe 5). Articles that revolved around Trump and sexual assault, but not Me Too, "averaged 16 per day between October 2017 and August 2018, with a peak of more than 30 per day in November and December 2017" (Ennis and Wolfe 5). Ennis and Wolfe explain that the prevalence of Trump's name in these articles and headlines demonstrates "his role as a symbol of the fight against #MeToo" (Ennis and Wolfe 6). They additionally state that "Trump is its [the Me Too movement's] antithesis", and therefore his name is mentioned frequently in relation to stories about Me Too and sexual assault (Ennis and Wolfe 6).

Ennis and Wolfe did not only focus on how the Me Too movement was represented, and on the language used in the headlines of articles about sexual assault, but also on *who* the movement was covered by – also known as a byline analysis. They found that before the eruption of the movement, women's bylines were featured on just 45% of news stories revolving around sexual assault between May 2017 and October 2017 (Ennis and Wolfe 8). After the rise of Me Too in October 2017, women's bylines appeared on 48% of the articles about sexual assault (Ennis and Wolfe 8). Ennis and Wolfe explain that this small uptick in women covering news stories about this

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[4] The noun 'accusation' is defined as "a statement saying that you think a person is guilty of doing something wrong, especially of committing a crime; the fact of accusing somebody" ("Accusation"). The noun 'allegation' is defined as "a public statement that is made without giving proof, accusing somebody of doing something that is wrong or illegal" ("Allegation").

issue "suggests that either women reporters are pushing harder to cover these issues or editors are assigning more of them to women" (Ennis and Wolfe 8). Either way, they explain that since the Me Too movement is driven by women, it is likely that women journalists are the most outspoken when it comes to advocating for coverage of these kinds of stories (Ennis and Wolfe 8).

By the end date of their study, Ennis and Wolfe found that in August 2018, 35% of the articles that revolved around sexual assault and harassment used the hashtag "#MeToo" or the phrase "me too" (Ennis and Wolfe 3). Ennis and Wolfe's study found that between 80 and 700 articles a month revolved around the Me Too movement itself, "rather than mentioning it in the context of a story about a specific sexual assault case. In February 2018 alone, over 55 percent of stories about sexual assault mentioned the movement, and for four months in 2018, this proportion remained over 50 percent" (Ennis and Wolfe 3). Ennis and Wolfe claim that they saw a rise in coverage of sexual assault, which "stemmed from the brave declarations of women against Weinstein" (Ennis and Wolfe 4). In addition, they state that "the #MeToo movement itself has driven the overall continuation and amplification of that trend [the rise in coverage of sexual assault] (Ennis and Wolfe 4). However, Ennis and Wolfe point out that even though coverage of sexual assault has increased, the media still has a long way to go:

> media attention has been shown to truly peak only when big names are involved, indicating that the press is getting better at covering famous figures involved in sexual assault but may be continuing to ignore the many, many other cases that involve "ordinary" people (Ennis and Wolfe 11).

Hence, Ennis and Wolfe conclude that when it comes to the Me Too movement, the media focuses much more on famous figures than ordinary people, and therefore this is "an area in which media can do better. Much better" (Ennis and Wolfe 11).

Theory

Critical Discourse Analysis

The term 'discourse' is not easily defined as it has numerous related meanings, and those meanings are often quite loose. In the most general use of the term, it can refer to "any form of 'language in use' or naturally occurring language", but more specifically it can refer to just spoken language (Baker and Ellece 30). Discourse can also be regarded as "language above the sentence or above the clause", which would make it suited for analyzing text structure and pragmatics (Baker and Ellece

31). Discourses are thus variable in their meanings, and there are a wide variety of approaches to analyzing them as well (Edwards 226).

Critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) is an approach to analyzing discourse "which views language as a social practice and is interested in the ways that ideologies and power relations are expressed through language" (Baker and Ellece 26). CDA does not only focus on the words in a text, but it also examines the social context by asking how and why the words were written or spoken. CDA argues that "Language is action—speech, text, and image are not empty in themselves; they are active and used purposefully and with intent. They persuade, argue, deny, command, and question, among other outcomes" (Edwards 226). Generally, there is no fixed approach to doing CDA, and thus analysts have a lot of freedom in choosing texts, and what combinations of analytical techniques they want to use (Baker and Ellece 26-27). Further, CDA lends itself both to small qualitative case studies, and to analysis of large data corpora (Wodak and Meyer 3). CDA is often used interchangeably with the term critical linguistics (henceforth CL), although in recent years the term CDA is used more consistently with this specific approach to linguistic analysis (Wodak and Meyer 5). CL has been influential in the development of different critical approaches to discourse analysis, and was used as the basis for the first stage of Norman Fairclough's CDA (Baker and Ellece 27).

Norman Fairclough is an Emeritus Professor at Lancaster University, and he developed one of the most influential approaches to doing CDA – and it is his specific approach that will be applied in this MA-thesis[5]. Fairclough's CDA adopts a three-dimensional framework to analysis, which consists of the three stages: description, interpretation, and explanation (Fairclough 58-59). The first stage, description, is textual analysis, the second stage, interpretation, deals with the relationship between text and interaction, and the final stage, explanation, looks at the relationship between interaction and social context (Fairclough 58-59). Although Fairclough's focus in his approach to CDA is on discourse in the form of spoken and written texts, he does not exclusively conceive of discourse in these terms. Spoken and written texts are often interwoven with extra elements, which he collectively calls *visuals*, such as gestures, facial expressions, photographs, and graphics, sometimes to such an extent that the spoken and written texts cannot be completely understood without reference to these (Fairclough 59-60). These visuals can accompany spoken and written texts, and they thus help to determine the texts' meaning and reinforce the texts, or completely substitute them as an alternative, such as head-nodding for *yes* (Fairclough 60). Therefore, taking visuals into account can be just as important when doing CDA.

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[5] We do not use all of Fairclough's approach to CDA in our analysis, but from a methodical point of view, it makes sense to describe the main parts of each section to make the theory section coherent.

Description

The first stage of Fairclough's CDA, description, involves textual analysis, correlating with CL, and thus concerns itself with the formal properties of a text (Fairclough 58). Fairclough organizes the first stage of his CDA around ten main questions, which fall under the three categories: vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures. Fairclough stresses that these questions are only meant as a guide for the analysis in this 'descriptive' stage, and that they should not be followed meticulously, as some questions might prove to be irrelevant for certain purposes (Fairclough 129). Fairclough also specifies that the formal features of a text "can be regarded as particular choices from among the options (e.g. of vocabulary or grammar) available in the discourse types which the text draws upon" (Fairclough 129). Thus, it is necessary to consider what other choices could have been made in order to properly interpret the features that are actually there in the text. Fairclough's ten questions (and some sub-questions) which can be asked of a text are as follows:

A. Vocabulary

1. What *experiential* value do words have?
   - What classification schemes are drawn upon?
   - Are there words which are ideologically contested?
   - Is there *rewording* or *overwording*?
   - What ideologically significant meaning relations (*synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy*) are there between words?
2. What *relational* values do words have?
   - Are there euphemistic expressions?
   - Are there markedly formal or informal words?
3. What *expressive* value do words have?
4. What metaphors are used?

B. Grammar

5. What experiential values do grammatical features have?
   - What types of *process* and *participant* predominate?
   - Is agency unclear?
   - Are processes what they seem?
   - Are *nominalizations* used?
   - Are sentences active or passive?
   - Are sentences positive or negative?

6. What relational values do grammatical features have?

- What *modes* (*declarative, grammatical question, imperative*) are used?

- Are there important features of *relational modality*?

- Are the pronouns *we* and *you* used, and if so, how?

7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?

- Are there important features of *expressive modality*?

8. How are (simple) sentences linked together?

- What logical connectors are used?

- Are complex sentences characterized by *coordination* or *subordination*?

- What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?

C. Textual Structures

9. What interactional conventions are used?

- Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of the others?

10. What large-scale structures does the text have? (Fairclough 129-130).

In the questions above, Fairclough makes a distinction between three types of value that formal features may have: experiential, relational, and expressive. Experiential value has to do with contents, knowledge, and beliefs, and a formal feature with this value "is a trace of and a cue to the way in which the text producer's experience of the natural or social world is represented" (Fairclough 130). Relational value has to do with relations and social relationships, and a formal feature with this value "is a trace of and a cue to the social relationships which are enacted via the text in the discourse" (Fairclough 130). Finally, expressive value has to do with subjects and social identities, and a formal feature with this value "is a trace of and a cue to the producer's evaluation (in the widest sense) of the bit of the reality it relates to" (Fairclough 130). Fairclough also emphasizes that these values do not necessarily exclude each other, i.e. any formal feature can have two or three of these values simultaneously.

Interpretation

The second stage, interpretation, focuses on the relationship between text and interaction by looking at the text "as the product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation" (Fairclough 58). Noticeably, Fairclough uses the term 'interpretation' both for the name of the second stage of his CDA, and for the interpretation of texts by the participants in a discourse (Fairclough 155). This is done to emphasize that what the analyst does is similar to what participants do.

Interpretations are "generated through a combination of what is in the text and what is 'in' the interpreter", with the latter referring to what the interpreter brings to interpretation, which in Fairclough's terms is called members' resources (MR) (Fairclough 155). The formal features, i.e. what is in the text, are cues which trigger elements of interpreters' MR, and it is thus through the interactions between the cues and MR that interpretations are generated (Fairclough 155). MR exist in people's heads, and are drawn upon when people produce and interpret texts, and includes "their knowledge of language, representations of the natural and social worlds they inhabit, values, beliefs, assumptions, and so on" (Fairclough 57). MR are similar to what is sometimes called background knowledge, but Fairclough rejects the use of this term, because the common-sense assumptions and expectations of the interpreter that MR consist of are often ideological, and thus 'knowledge' would be a misleading term to use (Fairclough 155).

Fairclough summarizes his view of the process of interpretation in the following figure (see fig. 1):
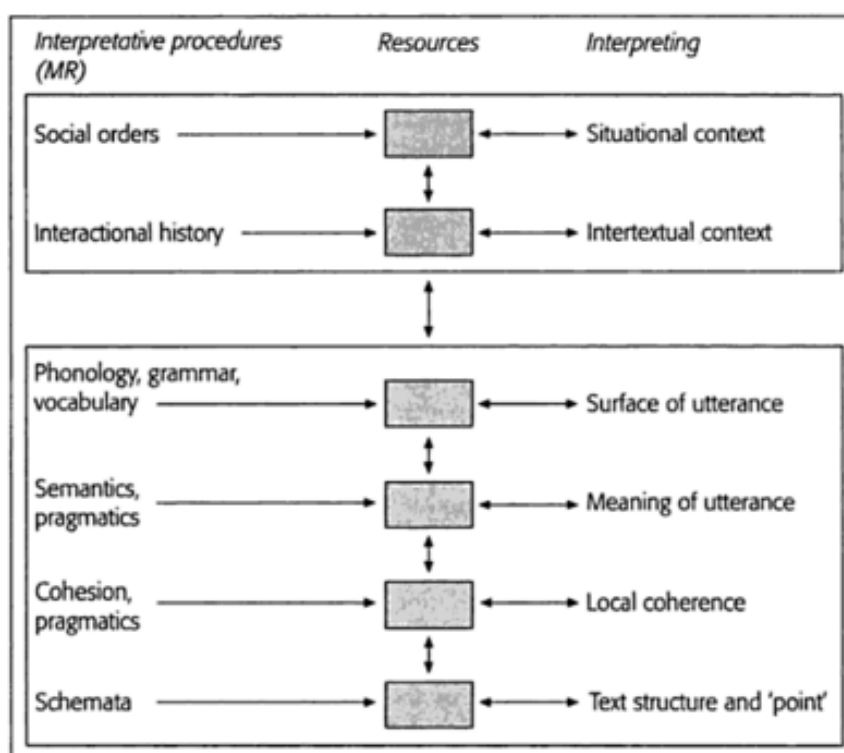
Fig. 1 Interpretation (Fairclough 156).

Under the right-hand heading, Fairclough lists six areas of interpretation of which the two in the upper group deal with the interpretation of context, while the lower group deals with the interpretation of text (Fairclough 155). Under the left-hand heading, Fairclough lists elements of MR which deal with interpretative procedures, and they are all linked with the specific level of interpretation they correspond with in the right-hand column (Fairclough 155).

Participants' interpretations of situational context are based on both external cues, such as features of the physical situation, and on aspects of their MR which relates to how they interpret those cues, such as representations of social orders, which "allow them to ascribe the situations they are actually in to particular situation types" (Fairclough 158). The interpretation of intertextual context is a matter of deciding where a text 'belongs' based on assumptions about which earlier discourses it is part of, and these assumptions determine what is understood as common ground for participants in the text (Fairclough 158).

The 'surface of utterance' level deals with the process of converting paper markings and sounds into words, phrases, and sentences by drawing upon their 'knowledge of language' MR such as phonology, grammar, and vocabulary (Fairclough 156). The 'meaning of utterance' level revolves around assigning meaning to words, phrases, and sentences by drawing upon semantic aspects of their MR (Fairclough 156-157). The 'local coherence' level deals with establishing meaningful connections between words, phrases, and sentences in a specific part of a text by drawing upon their 'knowledge of language' MR relating to cohesion (Fairclough 157). And finally, the 'text structure and 'point'' level is a matter of global coherence, i.e. a matter of figuring out how the text is connected as a whole, and a matter of interpreting what the text wants to get across (Fairclough 157). When the interpreter has discovered what kind of text they are dealing with, they can expect what kind of structure it will have, and to discover this, the interpreter has to put the text through a repertoire of 'schemata', i.e. "representations of characteristic patterns of organization associated with different types of discourse" (Fairclough 157).

The boxes in the middle column represent the resources which can be drawn upon in the six different areas of interpretation (Fairclough 155). The arrows represent how the different elements can affect each other, and each box has three to four arrows which indicate the aspects of the interpretation process which feed into it. Noticeably, the right-hand column is linked to the resources with double-headed arrows to represent that "at a given point in the interpretation of a text, previous interpretations constitute one part of the 'resources' for interpretation" (Fairclough 158). The vertical arrows reflect how each level of interpretation draws upon interpretations from the other levels as part of its resources (Fairclough 158). A similar relationship exists between the interpretation of text and the interpretation of context.

Fairclough sums up the interpretation stage by presenting three questions that can be asked about a particular discourse:

1. *Context:* what interpretation(s) are participants giving to the situational and intertextual contexts?

2. *Discourse type(s):* what discourse types(s) are being drawn upon (hence what rules, systems or principles of phonology, grammar, sentence cohesion, vocabulary, semantics and pragmatics; and what schemata, frames and scripts)?

3. *Difference and change:* are answers to questions 1 and 2 different for different participants? And do they change during the course of the interaction? (Fairclough 171-172).

In the second question, Fairclough mentions schemata, frames and scripts as something to look out for in relation to discourse types. Schemata were briefly mentioned in the final level of interpretation above, and Fairclough includes frames and scripts in this second question as the concepts are closely related (Fairclough 168). A schema is "a representation of a particular type of activity…in terms of predictable elements in a predictable sequence" (Fairclough 168). Schemata are mental representations of larger-scale textual structures that participants can rely on to determine what kind of structure a certain activity will have. A frame is "a representation of whatever can figure as a topic, or 'subject matter', or 'referent' within an activity" (Fairclough 169). Thus, frames represent the entities that can be referred to in an activity that is represented by schemata. Scripts then "represent the subjects who are involved in these activities, and their relationships" (Fairclough 169). Scripts characterize how specific types of subjects behave, and how they behave towards each other; for example, people have scripts for doctors and patients, and for how they behave in general and towards each other specifically. Fairclough emphasizes that there are overlaps between the three concepts because they represent broad dimensions of complex mental representations, and therefore he only assigned a specific role to schemata in fig. 1 (Fairclough 169).

Explanation

The third stage, explanation, looks at "the relationship between interaction and social context" and concerns itself with "the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects" (Fairclough 59). In this stage of Fairclough's CDA, the intention is to "portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them" (Fairclough 172). The interpreter's MR mediate the social determinations and effects, meaning that social structures shape the MR, which then shape discourses, and discourses either sustain or change the MR, which then either sustain or change structures (Fairclough 172).

The social structures that Fairclough focuses on are relations of power, and in terms of social processes and practices, his focus is on those of social struggle. Fairclough specifies that the explanation stage is "a matter of seeing a discourse as part of processes of social struggle, within a matrix of relations of power" (Fairclough 172). Explanation thus has two dimensions, depending on "whether the emphasis is upon process or structure – upon processes of struggle or upon relations of power" (Fairclough 172). If the emphasis is upon process, then discourses are seen as parts of social struggles in which case they can be contextualized in terms of broader struggles and how structures are affected by these struggles (Fairclough 173). If the emphasis is on structure, the explanation stage can show which power relationships determine discourses, and these relations are outcomes of struggles and have been established by those who have power (Fairclough 173).

Fairclough emphasizes that the explanation stage of this approach to CDA requires a particular perspective on MR, which is that they are seen as ideologies. What this means is that "the assumptions about culture, social relationships, and social identities which are incorporated in MR, are seen as determined by particular power relations in the society or institution, and in terms of their contribution to struggles to sustain or change these power relations – they are seen ideologically" (Fairclough 175).

Fairclough also sums up the final stage with three questions that can be asked of a specific discourse:

1. *Social determinants:* what power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels[6] help shape this discourse?
2. *Ideologies:* what elements of MR which are drawn upon have an ideological character?
3. *Effects:* how is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? Are these struggles overt or covert? Is the discourse normative with respect to MR or creative? Does it contribute to sustaining existing power relations, or transforming them? (Fairclough 175).

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[6] Any discourse can be investigated at all three levels. However, the 'societal' and 'institutional' levels will only be clearly distinct for more institutional types of discourse (Fairclough 173). The three levels of social organization represent different ways of seeing the same discourse – depending on what perspective we are seeing it from (Fairclough 173-174). For example, in ordinary domestic conversations between men and women, women tend to react more than men do. At the situational level, this can show "the 'supportive' position of particular women in particular domestic relationships", but at the institutional and societal levels this can show "a tendency for women to be cast as supporting players in interactions" (Fairclough 174).

Social Actor Representation

As mentioned, there are multiple approaches to doing CDA, all of which have a tendency towards combining textual analysis with consideration of social context – and Fairclough's approach is just one of them. Another approach one could take when doing CDA is to focus on social actor representation.

Social actors are "participants in clauses, who may be represented as subjects (agents) or objects (goals) in the clause" (Baker and Ellece 133). Not all subjects or objects in a clause are necessarily social actors. In a sentence such as, 'John is eating an apple', the subject John is a social actor represented as the agent of the action of eating, and the apple is the goal of that action, but the apple is not a social actor because it cannot act on its own volition. Hence, social actors are "normally animate and/or human, but can include groups or abstract entities like 'council' or 'community'" (Baker and Ellece 133). As an analytical category within discourse studies, social actors are seen as "the textual instantiations of models of the self and others, both individual and collective" (Koller). Thus, the term 'social actors' refers to the participants in a particular discourse.

The concept of social actors is central in doing CDA, and social actor theory is thus an important approach to doing CDA because it focuses specifically on how social actors can be represented in discourse (Koller). When doing CDA, or any other form of discourse analysis, it is essential to examine all discursive features that might be relevant to the understanding of the text. In terms of social actors, it is important to examine how the different social actors are represented as this can influence the perception of them and the text. One theory that focuses on the representation of social actors is the one presented by linguist Theo van Leeuwen, which we will apply to our analysis in combination with Fairclough's CDA.

Van Leeuwen's approach examines the different ways in which social actors can be represented in English discourse, and the choices the English language provides for us to use when referring to people (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 32). Van Leeuwen's approach to CDA focuses on social actor theory from a sociosemantic perspective by outlining the different categories that can be used to represent social actors before addressing how these categories can be realized linguistically (van Leeuwen, "Representing" 23). The reason for focusing on the sociological categories before the linguistic categories can be explained through the concept of agency. Agency, as a sociological concept, is not always realized by linguistic agency, meaning it is not always realized by the grammatical role of 'agent' but is sometimes realized by either possessive pronouns or a prepositional phrase with 'from' (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 32). In cases of the latter realizations of agency, the grammatical role of 'agent' is sociologically 'patient', and thus van Leeuwen argues that many instances of agency may go unnoticed if you focus too much on

linguistic categories (van Leeuwen, "The Representation 33). However, van Leeuwen still attempts to ground his categories of social actor representation in linguistics by tying them to specific linguistic realizations (van Leeuwen, "Representing" 25). Van Leeuwen presents a variety of categories for investigating the representation of social actors in discourse, and in this MA-thesis we will go into detail about the categories from his social actor theory, which we find most relevant to our analysis.

Exclusion

The first category of social actor representation is that of exclusion, which revolves around the social actors who are not represented in the text. Texts draw on representations of social practices, and all social practices involve specific sets of social actors, but not all social actors are necessarily included in a particular representation of a social practice (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 38). This is what van Leeuwen calls exclusion. Van Leeuwen says the following about the choice of using exclusion in relation to a representation of the social practice of immigration:

> Representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended. Some of the exclusions may be "innocent," details which readers are assumed to know already, or which are deemed irrelevant to them; others tie in closely to the propaganda strategies of creating fear and of setting up immigrants as enemies of "our" interests (van Leeuwen, "Representing" 29).

Exclusion can thus be used to create a narrative surrounding a social practice that fits the exact worldview of the producer and readers of certain texts. Exclusions may sometimes exclude both the social actor and their activities, in which case there would be no traces of the exclusion, but when the activities are mentioned, the exclusion leaves a trace as we can ask who the activity relates to, even if the text does not give an answer (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 39). In relation to exclusion, van Leeuwen makes a distinction between suppression and backgrounding, which refer to different degrees of exclusion. Suppression means that the excluded social actor is not referenced anywhere in the text, whereas backgrounding means that the excluded social actor is mentioned somewhere in the text, but not in relation to a particular activity (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 39). Exclusion can be realized linguistically in a number of ways, for example, through passive agent deletion or non-finite clauses functioning as a grammatical participant (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 39-40). The opposite category is that of inclusion, where the social

actors are actually represented in the text, and van Leeuwen's other social actor categories are all subcategories of the overall category of inclusion.

Role Allocation

Another relevant category of social actor representation is role allocation. This category examines the roles social actors in a text are given, specifically in terms of who is represented as 'agent' ('Actor') and who is represented as 'patient' ('Goal') in relation to a particular action (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 42-43). Representations can "reallocate roles or rearrange the social relations between the participants", and it is thus important to look at which options are chosen in which contexts, and why these choices have been made (van Leeuwen, "Representing" 32).

Role allocation concerns itself with assigning social actors either active or passive roles, and van Leeuwen introduces two subcategories of role allocation: activation and passivation. Activation is "when social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity", and passivation is when social actors are "represented as 'undergoing' the activity, or as being 'at the receiving end of it'" (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 43-44). Activation can be realized by 'participation' (grammatical participant roles), i.e. the active social actor is the subject of the clause, in which case they are foregrounded, or "through 'circumstantialisation', that is by prepositional circumstantials with *by* or *from*" (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 44).

In terms of passivation, van Leeuwen distinguishes between the passivated social actor being either subjected or beneficialized. Subjected social actors are regarded as objects in the representation, i.e. the activity is being done to them, whereas beneficialized social actors benefit from the activity, either positively or negatively (van Leeuwen, "Representing" 33). Passivation can also be realized by 'participation', i.e. the passive social actor is the object of the clause, and by 'circumstantialisation' through a prepositional phrase with *against* (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 45).

Assimilation or Individualization

Van Leeuwen uses the terms assimilation and individualization when it comes to representing social actors as either groups or individuals respectively. Van Leeuwen states that these categories are of primary significance in CDA because of the value that is placed on individuality in many parts of society and on conformity in other parts (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 48). In terms of assimilation, van Leeuwen distinguishes between two subcategories: aggregation and

collectivization. Aggregation quantifies groups of social actors through the use of statistics, while collectivization does not (van Leeuwen, "Representing" 37).

Individualization is realized by singularity, while assimilation is realized by plurality (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 49). Assimilation may further be realized by mass nouns or nouns denoting groups of people, such as 'this nation' or 'the community', or by the presence of definite or indefinite quantifiers, such as 'a number of' or 'forty percent of' (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 49).

Differentiation

Another way of categorizing social actors is in terms of indetermination or determination. Social actors can be represented as "unspecified, 'anonymous' individuals or groups", which is called indetermination, and this is usually realized by indefinite pronouns such as 'somebody', 'someone', 'some' and 'some people' (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 51). On the other hand, determination is when the identity of the social actor is specified in one way or another, and can thus be realized in numerous ways (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 51).

An important subcategory of determination is that of differentiation. Differentiation "explicitly differentiates an individual social actor or group of social actors from a similar actor or group" (van Leeuwen, "Representing" 40). Using differentiation to represent social actors can thus create a difference between 'us' and 'them' or between the 'self' and the 'other' (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 52). Differentiation can be realized through the use of pronouns such as 'we' and 'they' or by referring to certain social actors as 'others'. Differentiation of social actors thus constructs an in-group and an out-group in the text, which can be a useful strategy to use in discourses concerned with disagreements.

Appraisement

Another relevant category of van Leeuwen's social actor representation is appraisement. Appraisement is a form of representation where social actors are referred to in interpersonal terms, rather than experiential terms (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 58). According to van Leeuwen, "social actors are appraised when they are referred to in terms which evaluate them as good or bad, loved or hated, admired or pitied" (van Leeuwen, "Representing" 45). Appraisement can only be realized by "the set of nouns and idioms that denote such appraisal (and only such appraisal)" as, for example, terms like 'the darling', 'the bastard', 'the wretch' or 'thugs' (van Leeuwen, "The Representation" 58). As is exemplified by the aforementioned terms, negative appraisements are more frequently used than positive appraisements.

The representation of social actors is particularly interesting in relation to our MA-thesis dealing with the Me Too movement and the news reporting of the topic of sexual abuse. The news outlets' perception of Me Too could be revealed by which social actors are included, excluded, appraised, etc.

Feminism

Historically, women have fought to have the same rights and opportunities as men for decades, and this fight, alongside the core belief in gender equality, has in time become known as feminism. But when did feminism become a term, and how has it evolved over time? As mentioned earlier in the MA-thesis, the Me Too movement is considered a feminist movement and in order to fully understand the movement, we find it vital to explore the term 'feminism'. We will explore the development of feminism in an American context as the focus of the MA-thesis is on the Me Too movement in America.

Feminism(s)

The sociologist and international relations scholar, Jane Freedman, argues that the title of her book *Concepts in the Social Sciences: Feminism* (2001) should "perhaps, more properly have been *Feminisms,* because, as soon as you attempt to analyse all that has been spoken and written in the name of feminism, it becomes clear that this is not one unitary concept, but instead a diverse and multi-faceted grouping of ideas, and indeed actions" (Freedman 1). Freedman argues that the question 'What is feminism?' is difficult to answer because the different strands of feminism diverge from each other (Freedman 1). Freedman suggests that it is easier to find a baseline definition of feminism by picking out the common characteristics of the different kinds of 'feminisms':

> feminisms concern themselves with women's inferior position in society and with discrimination encountered by women because of their sex. Furthermore, one could argue that all feminists call for changes in the social, economic, political or cultural order, to reduce and eventually overcome this discrimination against women (Freedman 1).

Hence, the need for feminism is based on the understanding that women are subordinated to men

and encountered with discrimination in society because of their sex. Therefore, feminism aims to liberate women from subordination and discrimination by changing society in the hopes of constructing a new one in which "patriarchy is eliminated and a culture created that is fully inclusive of women's desires and purposes" (Edgar and Sedgwick 124). Hence, feminism seeks to create a society in which women and men are equal.

The Origin and Development of Feminism

Feminist ideas and activities existed long before the term itself was adopted. For example, "In 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft had published *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* and at the same time in France women such as Olympe de Gouges and Théroigne de Méricourt were fighting for the extension of the rights promised by the French Revolution to women" (Freedman 2). In the 1840s, the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 resulted in the women's rights movement in the United States (Freedman 2). The women's rights movement resulted in the Declaration of Sentiments, which stated that women deserve the rights of equality and liberty, and this was followed by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton's establishment of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA)[7] (Freedman 2).

The women who campaigned for women's rights did not use the word feminism as a term of identification. Feminism is a term that arose after women started criticizing their subordinate and inferior status "and demanding an amelioration in their social position" (Freedman 3). Freedman further argues that it "is only more recently that the label feminist has been applied to all women's rights groups indiscriminately" (Freedman 3). The point Freedman is trying to make is that in seeking to describe and understand feminism, it is important to realize that the ideas, theories, history and practices of feminism "are indeed subject to continuing debate" (Freedman 4). Freedman further stresses the importance of understanding that one should not get the impression that no feminist activity took place before the term 'feminist' was used.

Another element of feminism that is difficult to classify and define is the historical appearance of influential and strong feminist movements that arose at different moments in history as a series of waves. The division of 'first wave', 'second wave' and 'third wave' may mask the diversity of feminist thought, action and movements that have existed both before, within, between and outside the different waves (Freedman 4). However, in the next section, we will try to define

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[7] The NWSA was founded in 1869. The founders of the NWSA, Stanton and Anthony, "created and produced *The Revolution*, a weekly publication that lobbied for women's rights" ("Susan B. Anthony").

the different feminist waves.

The Waves and Types of Feminism

First-Wave Feminism

The first wave of feminism occurred during the nineteenth and early twentieth century (Shamim 25). First-wave feminism "was characterized by diverse forms of intervention that have continued to inspire later feminist movements" (Kroløkke and Sørensen 3). The main goal of this wave of feminism was the struggle for women's suffrage: a struggle that has been traced back as taking place in the 1800s (Freedman 4).

Dana Bisignani, an instructor in the Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies (WGSS) Program at Purdue University, emphasizes that women were legally prevented from owning property, signing legal documents, voting, refusing to have sex with their husbands, attending university, and divorcing their husbands at the time of first-wave feminism (Bisignani). First-wave feminists sought to make women's public (legal) and private (in the home) oppression and discrimination, as exemplified by the above, visible (Bisignani).

Parallel to first-wave feminism, "a distinct socialist/Marxist feminism developed in workers' unions in the United States" (Kroløkke and Sørensen 6). First-wave feminists and socialist/Marxist feminists shared the belief in equality between men and women, "but the latter focused particularly on working-class women" (Kroløkke and Sørensen 6). Socialist/Marxist feminists criticized the dual workload for women who worked inside and outside the home, gendered jobs and the gendered educational system, and demanded women receive equal pay for equal work (Kroløkke and Sørensen 10). Socialist/Marxists feminists also paved the way for second-wave feminism (Kroløkke and Sørensen 7).

Second-Wave Feminism and Radical Feminism

Second-wave feminism refers mainly to the radical feminism of the women's liberation movements that arose in the late 1960s and 1970s (Kroløkke and Sørensen 7). Radical second-wave feminists used performance to focus on women's oppression (Kroløkke and Sørensen 8). The first harbinger of a new wave of feminism was also "the most publicized event in the United States", namely the protests against the Miss America Pageants in 1968 and 1969 (Kroløkke and Sørensen 8).

In 1969 radical feminists and other feminist groups protested against the treatment of women in pageant competitions claiming that they were "paraded like cattle, highlighting the underlying assumption that the way women look is more important than what they do, what they

think, or even whether they think at all" (Krøløkke and Sørensen 8). The feminist protesters staged different forms of theatrical activism, such as throwing "oppressive" gender artifacts, e.g. makeup, fake eyelashes, high heels, bras, etc. in trash cans, and crowning a sheep Miss America (Krøløkke and Sørensen 8). Hence, what the feminist protesters were trying to express was that the oppressive and commercialized beauty culture objectifies and victimizes women (Krøløkke and Sørensen 8).

The feminist protests and critique were not only against the beauty pageant's misogynistic and antiquated views on women, but they were also against how the United States mistrusted and mistreated women in general (Krøløkke and Sørensen 8). Further, radical second-wave feminists were invested in the slogan: "The personal is political". Thus, second-wave feminism expressed that sexual, social and personal struggles are inextricably interwoven (Krøløkke and Sørensen 10). Through the slogan "The personal is political", second-wave feminists expressed that personal struggles and social and political structures are connected and affected by each other (Krøløkke and Sørensen 10).

Third-Wave Feminism: Embracing Femininity

Third-wave feminists expressed their issues with more ease because the two earlier waves had already set the stage for them to take feminism further (Shamim 26). Third-wave feminism arose in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, and it was commonly known as "new feminism" in Europe and "grrl feminism" in the United States (Krøløkke and Sørensen 17). Third-wave feminists wanted to give the term 'girl' another meaning to attract another generation by being more playful, bold, aggressive, self-assertive and emphasizing a "less pompous kind of feminism" (Krøløkke and Sørensen 15). The word 'girl' indicates one important difference between second- and third-wave feminism. Second-wave feminists fought to be called women and not girls as they did not want to be seen as children, but as adults, and they wanted to be taken seriously (Grady). However, third-wave feminists embraced being (called) girls, and they sought to make the word 'girl' empowering and threatning, hence 'grrl' (Grady).

Instead of disapproving of the stereotypes used against them, third-wave feminists "exaggerate them, beginning with the very word girl" (Krøløkke and Sørensen 16). Third-wave feminists embraced and flaunted their femininity, and they sought to reclaim derogatory slurs such as "bitch" and "slut" (Krøløkke and Sørensen 17). The primary goal of third-wave feminism was to "redefine feminism by bringing together an interest in traditional and even stereotypically feminine issues, while remaining critical of both narratives of true femaleness, of victimization and liberation" (Krøløkke and Sørensen 17). Third-wave feminists redefined feminism by their way of expressing and reacting to feminine issues. Moreover, they wanted to challenge "notions of

universal womanhood" and articulate "ways in which groups of women confront complex intersections of gender, sexuality, race, class, and age-related concerns" (Kr
økke and Sørensen 17). Hence, third-wave feminists focused on the inclusion of women from all walks of life.

White Feminism

A common characteristic of the first two feminist waves is that they expressed white feminism. White feminism is defined as "mainly Western feminists, although not all of them are white, who have ignored or undermined race and ethnicity in the social divisions and identities of the definition of Woman" (Hutchison 250). Hence, white feminism is used to describe feminists, as well as feminist theories, efforts, and actions, that focus on white women without addressing and considering the struggles faced by ethnic minority women and women who lack other privileges, i.e. women from all walks of life.

During first-wave feminism, "Black women were barred from some demonstrations or forced to walk behind white women in others", and when women were granted the right to vote in the US in 1920, "it remained difficult for black women to vote" (Grady). Hence, black women and their specific struggles were pushed into the background and ignored by white feminists. During second-wave feminism, the American feminist, Betty Friedan, wrote the landmark book *The Feminine Mystique* (1963)[8], which "was specifically for white middle-class women" (Grady). Further, second-wave feminism was perceived as being "clumsy in working with people of color…black women increasingly found themselves alienated from the central platforms of the mainstream women's movement" (Grady). Thus, second-wave feminism failed to acknowledge that black women experienced oppression differently than white women.

Third-wave feminism was not only a continuation of second-wave feminism, but it was also a reaction to the perceived failures of second-wave feminism (Drucker). Third-wave feminists claimed that second-wave feminists "over-emphasized experiences of upper middle-class white women" (Drucker). Hence, it was during third-wave feminism that the struggles of women from all walks of life really started to be considered, and scholars began to criticize the way in which feminism privileged white women's struggles. Professor, author, activist and cultural critic, bell hooks, argued that feminists had turned the struggles of women into a white reckoning and that "to deny the uniqueness of each woman's status and circumstance was another form of oppression"

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[8] *The Feminine Mystique* was one of the many catalysts of second wave feminism. In this book, Friedan "broke new ground by exploring the idea of women finding personal fulfillment outside of their traditional roles" ("Betty Friedan").

(Prendergast). Hence, hooks argued that by not acknowledging that women experience oppression differently, feminists were contributing to their oppression. bell hooks also coined the term "imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy" to emphasize that not all oppression stemmed from patriarchy alone (Prendergast).

Intersectional Feminism

Another aspect of third-wave feminism is intersectionality. In 1989, civil rights activist and legal scholar, Kimberlé Crenshaw, coined the term 'intersectionality' in a paper where she criticized the traditional feminist ideas and antiracist policies for ignoring and excluding "black women because they face overlapping discrimination unique to them" (Perlman). Crenshaw introduced the term 'intersectionality' as a metaphor for how oppression and discrimination based on categories such as race, gender, and class intersect simultaneously, and thus she used the metaphor of intersectionality "to critique dominant conceptions of discrimination in law and in social movements" (Carastathis 304-305).

Crenshaw's intersectional approach proposes that in order to successfully fight patriarchal oppression, other systemic inequalities must also be confronted, namely the "ones that lend power and viciousness to many women's experiences of sexism" (Donegan). Hence, Crenshaw aimed to show that black women, unlike white women, do not just experience sexism, but they also experience sexism and racism simultaneously, and thus both must be confronted at the same time in order to effectively fight patriarchal oppression.

Intersectional theory and intersectional feminism consider "that various aspects of humanity such as class, race, sexual orientation, and gender are not separate, but are interwoven and their relationships are essential to an understanding of human conditions" (Srivastava et al. 111). Intersectional feminism concludes that every woman faces various forms of oppression and discrimination simultaneously, and therefore it aims to ensure that the voice of every woman is heard on a larger scale. Thus, third-wave feminism focused on intersectionality and inclusivity in relation to women's struggles. Fourth-wave feminism carried on with these values, but it differs from third-wave feminism in that it takes place online.

Fourth-Wave Feminism: Online Feminism

In 2009, feminist Jessica Valenti said that "Maybe the fourth wave is online" (Grady). This statement has proven to be true because one of the most striking characteristics of fourth-wave feminism is that it is propagated online (Grady). The fourth-wave of feminism has witnessed people

mobilize, organize, and express their concerns about various issues through social media by "starting movements through blogs (Malala Yousafzai), viral videos (Pussy Riot), collectives (Sisters Uncut) and Ted Talks (Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie) and protesting widely against sexual harassment and assault, domestic violence, period poverty, paternity leave and equal pay" (Hall). Hence, feminists now use all kinds of social media platforms to focus on feminist issues.

Fourth-wave feminism is said to have started with Laura Bates' Everyday Sexism Project in 2012 (Aitkenhead). The project "has spread to 18 different countries, and Bates is now a leading figure in what is becoming known as the fourth wave of feminism" (Aitkenhead). Bates started this project as a result of her own experiences with sexism and has stated that:

> I didn't for a moment think that the problem of sexism could be solved overnight. But nor did I see how we could even begin to tackle it while so many people continued to refuse to acknowledge that it existed (Bates, "'Enough Is Enough'").

Bates used her website, everydaysexism.com as an open forum in which women could share their experiences of sexism (Bates, "'Enough Is Enough'"). With the project, Bates wanted to make sure that women's voices were heard, and she hoped that the project would spur societal changes (Bates, "What I Have Learned"). Bates' project embodies the feminist slogan 'the personal is political' as it shows how women's individual personal stories are part of a collective problem within the larger social and political structures of society. Bates explains that she "began to work with schools, universities, businesses, politicians and police forces, to try and ensure that the stories of one generation could alter things positively for the next" (Bates, "What I Have Learned"). Thus, Bates hoped that the project would create awareness of the problem, and that this would be a starting point to solving the problem.

Fourth-wave feminism targets "sexual harassment, campus sexual harassment, rape culture, workplace discrimination, body shaming, sexist imagery in the media, online misogyny, assault on public transport, and other type of harassment that is associated with the use of social media" (Srivastava et al. 112). Hence, fourth-wave feminism focuses on combatting (sexual) assault and harassment while still fighting for social equality (such as equal pay for equal work). Characteristics of fourth-wave feminism include:

> online campaigns, LGBTQIA, body positivity, disabled visibility, global feminism, trans inclusivity, male feminism, intersectionality, Black feminism, the #metoo movement, sex positivity, and many more ("Fem Static Zine").

Further, this wave explores "how patriarchal oppression is also damaging to men" (Hall). Hence, fourth-wave feminism is characterized by intersectionality and inclusivity, and thus by how it also recognizes the negative consequences that patriarchal oppression, among other things, has on different people from all walks of life.

News Outlet Profiles

Getting an insight into the values, intentions, political leanings, etc. of the four chosen news outlets (CNN, Fox News, The New York Times, and Breitbart News) can help give the MA-thesis an explanation as to why they cover the Me Too movement the way they do. This section of the MA-thesis seeks to find out how the news outlets characterize themselves by looking at their vision and values in their own words[9], and to find out where they fall on the political spectrum.

CNN: The Complete Account

In 1980, the world's first 24-hour television news network, CNN (Cable News Network), was launched as the brainchild of businessman Ted Turner ("CNN Launches"). In 2016, CNN changed from being a TV news network to "a 24-hour global multi-platform network" ("CNN"). CNN writes the following about themselves:

> CNN.com is among the world's leaders in online news and information delivery. Staffed 24 hours, seven days a week by a dedicated staff in CNN's world headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, and in bureaus worldwide, CNN.com relies heavily on CNN's global team of almost 4,000 news professionals. CNN.com features the latest multimedia technologies, from live video streaming to audio packages to searchable archives of news features and background information ("ABOUT CNN.COM").

CNN explicitly states that they are among the 'world's leaders' in delivering online news, and that they have a 'dedicated staff'. Additionally, CNN emphasizes their dedication to deliver news from all over the world – and since CNN has bureaus worldwide, CNN staff is able to witness and report on an international story as it unfolds. CNN states that readers can search background information about their news stories, and thereby CNN expresses that their intention is always to give readers

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[9] The amount of information that could be found about the news outlets in their own words was different for each news outlet. Hence, some of the news outlets' profiles are longer or shorter than the others.

the complete account of a news story so that readers can get the broadest and most truthful account of a story. Moreover, CNN emphasizes that they value accuracy in their stories, and thus they always provide readers with the most current information by having the site "updated continuously throughout the day" ("ABOUT CNN.COM"). CNN's stories will continue to be updated throughout the day, and thus CNN asserts that the stories will always be corrected, changed, developed, etc. when new information is available.

AllSides[10] states that CNN politically leans towards the left ("AllSides Media Bias Ratings"). The independent online media outlet, Media Bias/Fact Check (MBFC)[11], also claims that CNN is left biased, and further claims that CNN might use words that appeal to emotions or "omit reporting of information that may damage liberal causes" ("CNN"). Hence, MBFC states that CNN's left bias is evident through their choice of words and their story selection. However, they also state that CNN's reporting "would earn a High rating for factual reporting" ("CNN").

Fox News: Objectivity

On the MBFC website it is stated that Fox News was founded in 1996 by Australian-born American media mogul, Rupert Murdoch, and former Republican political consultant Roger Ailes ("Fox News"). On the Fox News website this information is available, but Fox News does not write in-depth information about themselves: "In Operation since: October 7, 1996" and "Rupert Murdoch *Executive Chairman, FOX News*" ("Corporate Information"). The vague information makes it hard for readers to explore the visions and values of Fox News.

The fact that the co-founder, <u>Roger Ailes</u>, was a former Republican political consultant suggests that Fox News leans towards the right side of the political spectrum. MBFC states the following when it comes to the political leaning of Fox News: "we rate Fox News strongly Right-Biased due to wording and story selection that favors the right" ("Fox News"). AllSides agrees as they also claim that Fox News leans towards the right ("AllSides Media Bias Ratings").

Fox News writes on their website that "a 2017 Gallup/Knight Foundation survey found that among Americans who could name an objective news source, FOX News is the top-cited

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[10] AllSides' mission is to "Free people from filter bubbles so they can better understand the world – and each other" ("All About Allsides"). Allsides emphasizes that their media bias ratings "represent the average judgment of Americans. They are based on blind surveys of people across the political spectrum, multi-partisan analysis and other in-depth analyses as well as tens of thousands of user ratings. Our scientifically-generated ratings are fluid and subject to change over time as new information is gathered and biases change" ("AllSides Media Bias Ratings").
[11] MBFC is dedicated to educating the public on media bias and deceptive news practices" ("About" [*Media Bias/Fact Check*]).

outlet" ("Corporate Information"). By citing a survey which points out that Americans consider them 'an objective news source', Fox News implicitly expresses that they value the element of objectivity in their news coverage. But why does Fox News rely solely on a study to characterize themselves? Maybe Fox News feels that a truthful characterization of Fox News should only be based on their readers' judgments, or maybe Fox News does not feel the need to explicitly write this because they assume that it goes without saying that news stories should always be objective.

The New York Times: Fearless and Powerful Journalism
In terms of political leanings, AllSides states that the New York Times (NYT) leans towards the left ("AllSides Media Bias Ratings"). MBFC agrees to some extent as they rate them "Left-Center biased" and states that NYT "often publish factual information that utilizes loaded words…that attempts to influence an audience by using appeal to emotion…to favor liberal causes" ("New York Times"). Hence, MBFC claims that NYT uses pathos to favor liberal causes. Further, MBFC states that NYT is highly factual, and that it is considered "one of the most reliable sources for information due to proper sourcing and well respected journalists/editors" ("New York Times").

NYT was founded by journalists Henry J. Raymond and George Jones. NYT has been reporting stories since 1851 with the same mission: "How we tell stories has changed, but our mission to seek the truth and help people understand the world has remained constant" ("History"). Hence, NYT's intention with their news coverage is to always tell the truth so that people can get a better understanding of the world. NYT also states that they have "long deployed journalists to every corner of the world to witness history unfold, sometimes at personal risk" ("History"). Thus, NYT expresses that their journalists are willing to go any distance to provide their readers with truthful accounts of both national and international stories. Moreover, they emphasize the importance of giving their journalists the time and resources they need to cover a story ("History"). NYT asserts that they:

> provide the context and analysis that readers need to better understand what's happening around them. We have lawyers covering law, doctors covering health, former U.S. Marines covering war, and economists and M.B.A.s covering the economy ("Journalism").

Thus, NYT seeks to provide their readers with the context of a story, and they have expert journalists to create "expert reporting" ("Journalism").

NYT further makes a statement about their news stories: "we report without fear or favor, and our investigations result in concrete, meaningful action, whether it's sexual harassment, workplace culture and ethics or government programs and corruption" ("Journalism"). Hence, NYT states that they always deliver fearless and powerful journalism. In addition, NYT believes that journalism holds the power to not only cover a story but also to use that story to spur change.

Breitbart News: Always Tell the Truth

Breitbart News Network was founded in 2005 by the conservative icon, publisher and writer, Andrew Breitbart ("Breitbart – Media Kit"). Since the founder of Breitbart News was a 'conservative icon', it is not surprising that AllSides states that Breitbart News leans towards the right side of the political spectrum ("AllSides Media Bias Ratings"). Additionally, MBFC characterizes Breitbart News as having an "extreme right wing bias", and their analysis of Breitbart News shows that "the majority of published stories favor the right and are highly pro-Trump in tone and story selection" ("Breitbart"). Breitbart News writes that they are:

> the largest source of breaking news, analysis, thought-leading commentary, and original reporting curated and written specifically for the new generation of independent and conservative thinkers. Breitbart News is guided by a very simple principle: find and report the truth because truth is the most direct path to accountability ("Breitbart – Media Kit").

In stating that their reporting is specifically curated for 'the new generation of independent and conservative thinkers', readers can expect that the news coverage from Breitbart News most likely favors conservative causes. Moreover, Breitbart News explicitly states that they value the truth in their reporting because telling the truth is the easiest way to accountability.

Methodology

After having given an account of the Me Too movement and theories that are relevant to this MA-thesis as well as profiles of the chosen news outlets, we will now describe the methods we have used to select our data, and how we have applied the theories in our analysis.

Data Collection

The data we have chosen to analyze in our MA-thesis consist of news articles from online American news outlets. As we wish to analyze how the Me Too movement has been represented, we have

chosen to collect articles that were written about Me Too specifically as well as articles that focus on three specific cases that are part of the discourse surrounding the movement. We are aware that the chosen cases related to Me Too play a vital role in how the news outlets frame the movement, and thus the news outlets may have framed Me Too differently if we had chosen other cases.

In order to get a general idea of how the Me Too movement has been represented in online American news outlets, we wanted to ensure that we chose articles from several different news outlets and not just one. This would then allow us to compare the different news outlets to each other, and see if there were any noticeable differences or similarities in the way they represent Me Too. Additionally, by choosing different cases surrounding the movement, it would allow us to analyze whether the news outlets reported differently depending on the case in question.

When choosing the different news outlets, we wanted to make sure to choose leading American news outlets that cover different ends of the political spectrum. We settled on choosing articles from four news outlets: CNN, Fox News, The New York Times and Breitbart News. Out of the chosen news outlets, CNN and NYT are left leaning, whereas Fox News and Breitbart News lean towards the right. In the section above, we have written a detailed description about each news outlet and their specific profiles. We also chose these four different news outlets on the assumption that each news outlet, to some extent, has a distinct way of representing/framing the Me Too movement.

As mentioned, we decided on not only working with articles about the Me Too movement specifically, but also with articles surrounding a few cases that appeared in relation to the movement. Me Too was not always mentioned extensively in the articles about the cases, and thus in order to fully examine how the movement was represented, we found it necessary to also look at articles that focused on Me Too alone. We chose three cases to analyze – each involving a specific person who had been accused of sexual abuse, and those were film producer Harvey Weinstein, actress Asia Argento, and comedian Louis C.K. We chose these three cases because they each reflect a unique situation that could influence how the Me Too movement is represented, and we will go into further detail about the cases in the analysis. We chose the Weinstein case because it was the one that prompted the #MeToo hashtag to be created and popularized, and Louis C.K. was chosen as he, since admitting to the accusations against him, has attempted to make a comeback. The Argento case was particularly intriguing to examine as she publicly supported the Me Too movement and accused Weinstein of sexual abuse, and then she became one of the few women to be accused of sexual abuse herself. Additionally, we also chose these cases as they were some of the most widely circulated cases in relation to the Me Too movement in the United States. We intentionally chose cases from the entertainment industry as these cases got the most news

coverage, and this gave us the opportunity and freedom to work with different news outlets that covered all three cases. The articles that focused on Me Too alone would then allow us to see if the news outlets generally represented the movement in relation to the entertainment industry, or if they discussed it more broadly.

The articles were found by going on the news outlets' official websites, and we then used keywords to find the articles. We have employed this as our data collection method as we think this method provides a broad selection of data, which is accessible to the general public. For the articles about Me Too in general, we searched using just the keywords 'Me Too' and chose articles which focused on the movement by reading through them to make sure Me Too was not just briefly mentioned. For the articles about the three cases, we used the keywords 'Me Too' alongside the name of the person each case focused on (e.g. 'Harvey Weinstein', 'Asia Argento' and 'Louis C.K.'). We then chose articles in which the person was the main focus but where Me Too was specifically mentioned in relation to the case.

We settled on analyzing two articles about each of the three cases and about the Me Too movement in general from each news outlet. Thus, we have chosen to analyze 32 articles in total that were published between October 16th, 2017 – February 12, 2019 – eight articles representing each of the cases and eight representing the Me Too movement in general. We believe that this corpus is appropriate for an MA-thesis of this size and time span, and that it will provide us with enough data to conclude how the movement is represented in the chosen news outlets. We chose the starting period, October 2017, for our analysis as this was the month in which the #MeToo hashtag erupted, and thus it gained significant attention on social media and in the news.

Method of Analysis

The articles were analyzed upon the assumption that they, to some extent, reflect the way the Me Too movement is represented in general. In our analysis, we used a qualitative method by close reading the articles and by looking at the formal features of the texts. Specifically, we have chosen Norman Fairclough's CDA, and Theo van Leeuwen's theory of social actor representation to analyze the articles in order to understand how the different news outlets represent/frame the Me Too movement, and how this could affect the way people perceive it. When relevant, we looked at whether the news outlets' coverage reflected their own values, intentions and political bias or not.

In terms of CDA, we used Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for analyzing discourse. We used the questions he presented for each of the three stages (description, interpretation and explanation) to guide our analysis and discussion. We applied Fairclough's CDA to the articles by examining the linguistic choices that were made in the articles, why these choices

were made, and how participants may interpret these choices. Thus, we examined how these articles assist in shaping the discourse surrounding the Me Too movement.

Social actor representations were identified by looking for specific instances in which there were references to social actors in the articles. We then used our knowledge of van Leeuwen's social actor theory to infer the category of social actor representation that was used in these instances. We further analyzed the effect this might have on the new outlets' representation as well as the readers' perception of Me Too and the cases related to the movement. When determining the different categories of social actor representation, we specifically looked for, among other things, pronouns such as 'we' and 'they', and social actor nouns such as 'victim' and 'survivor'. We also examined the way in which the new outlets used evaluative terms to describe social actors.

In the discussion, we first summarized how each news outlet represented the Me Too movement based on our findings in the analysis. We then discussed whether there were any similarities or differences within the same news outlet's representation of Me Too depending on the specific case in question. We further discussed any similarities or differences between the different news outlets' representation of the movement by comparing and contrasting them with each other. Throughout the discussion, we also looked at their representation of Me Too in relation to feminism and the explanation stage of Fairclough's CDA. Finally, based on our findings, we discussed the four news outlets' general representation of the movement in relation to intersectionality and white feminism in more detail.

Analysis

In the analysis, we will be looking closely at the overall linguistic choices made throughout the articles. Instead of systematically going through Fairclough's questions, we will be examining the articles by choosing their most important formal features. We will be looking at some of the formal features from the three categories: vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures. Additionally, we will also be examining the representation of social actors and exploring what this can tell us about the representation/framing of the Me Too movement and the cases related to it. Further, we will be commenting on the profiles of the news outlets (i.e. their values, intentions and political standings) when relevant to the analysis. In agreement with the Me Too movement, we hold the idea that the people who have experienced sexual harassment, sexual assault, sexual misconduct and/or sexual

abuse[12] are survivors. Therefore, we have intentionally chosen to use the word 'survivor' instead of 'victim' when referring to them throughout the MA-thesis.

The Harvey Weinstein Case

In early October 2017, The New York Times and The New Yorker published reports of multiple women accusing Hollywood film producer Harvey Weinstein of sexual abuse over the course of many years (Nathoo). Among them were women such as actresses Rose McGowen, Ashley Judd, Asia Argento, and Lucia Evans and by the end of October 2017, over 80 women had accused Weinstein of sexual abuse (Williams). The Weinstein allegations reignited the decades-old Me Too movement and have since then sparked many similar allegations against other men, which has become known as the "Weinstein effect" (Nathoo). On May 25th 2018, Weinstein turned himself into New York police and was charged with rape and sex abuse against two women, and since then more charges have followed (Nathoo). Weinstein has pleaded not guilty to all charges (Nathoo). The case is still ongoing.

CNN: Me Too Has Ignited a Global Reckoning

In CNN's coverage of the Weinstein case, the articles use a lot of direct quotes from sources instead of paraphrasing their statements. They quote a journalist who wrote one of the initial reports about the Weinstein case: ""As I scrolled through the accounts," Twohey said, "each one punctuated with the #MeToo hashtag, I started to grasp that something very significant was in motion"" (Stelter). Thus, CNN is not making any claims about the impact of the Me Too movement, but they use quotes to inform about what others have expressed about it. By giving the readers direct quotes throughout the articles, CNN is allowing readers to interpret the original sources themselves, which

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[12] These terms are often used interchangeably despite there being subtle differences in their meaning. **Sexual harassment** is defined as "any unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and any other physical or verbal harassment of a sexual nature" ("Sexual Harassment vs. Sexual Assault"). **Sexual assault** is defined as "intentional sexual contact made by using either force, intimidation, or an abuse of authority" ("Sexual Harassment vs. Sexual Assault"). **Sexual misconduct** is defined as any "unwelcome behavior of a sexual nature that is committed without consent or by force, intimidation, coercion, or manipulation" ("Definitions and Examples of Sexual Misconduct")**. Sexual abuse** is defined as "any form of forced or unwanted sexual activity" and includes rape, unwanted touching, sexual jokes, forcing a person to perform sexual acts, etc. ("What Is Sexual Abuse?"). We have decided to use the term 'sexual abuse' in this MA-thesis as it encompasses "a wide range of activity which involves forcing or pressuring people into doing things they don't want to do, or aren't able to agree to" ("Sexual Abuse"). It is a broad term that also covers the meanings of the other terms. Thus, we use the term 'sexual abuse' in the MA-thesis when talking about it in general. However, when we quote an article that uses a different term, we use that term in our analysis relating to that quote to avoid confusion.

adds to the reliability of the report. The direct quotes are sometimes used to juxtapose different statements and to create an interactional pattern:

> "The arrest and future trial of Harvey Weinstein is but one victory in the war against sexual violence," she [Carrie Goldberg, Lucia Evans' attorney] added.
> "That war is far from over. Believe victims."
> "We intend to move very quickly to dismiss these charges," [Benjamin] Brafman [Weinstein's attorney] told reporters outside the courthouse. "…We believe that they are not factually supported by the evidence, and we believe that at the end of the process Mr. Weinstein will be exonerated" (Gingras et al.).

In this example, the statements from the two attorneys have been arranged together like a dialogue although they were not spoken together. However, Brafman's statement clearly responds to Goldberg's, and the direct quotes serve the purpose of telling both sides. Goldberg's statement gives the impression that Weinstein is guilty, as his arrest is described as a 'victory', even before a verdict has been reached. On the other hand, Brafman's statement gives the impression that there is no validity behind the accusations against his client. Thus, the CNN journalists manage to remain neutral by putting the two statements together and not endorsing one over the other. CNN also remains neutral by using terms such as "alleged", "alleging", and "alleges" when reporting on the case (Gingras et al.; Stelter). By using these terms, CNN is not explicitly saying that the accusations are true because they have not been presented with proof. Hence, they live up to their intention of providing their readers with the complete account of the story. The effect of CNN providing their readers with a complete and neutral account of the Weinstein case is that the readers are given the opportunity to independently review the case.

The articles are initially written formally and appear neutral as a result. When they provide more details, the articles become less formal and the journalists use idiomatic expressions and metaphors in their reporting which frames the case, and consequently Me Too, in a specific way. CNN uses a metaphor of nature for the Weinstein case, which is a metaphor based on a natural disaster. The case is referred to as "the Weinstein earthquake", and the events that followed are referred to as "an aftershock" (Stelter). The earthquake metaphor is used to describe the case and the Me Too movement as important events that challenged the status quo surrounding the reporting of sexual abuse. In the other article, Weinstein turning himself into the police is described as: "the former Hollywood producer walked into a New York police precinct office through a gauntlet of reporters and photographers earlier Friday" (Gingras et al.). CNN uses the phrase 'walked…through

a gauntlet', which is an idiomatic expression meaning "to be criticized or attacked by a lot of people, especially a group of people that you have to walk through", and refers to an old army punishment ("Gauntlet"). CNN is framing it as if the reporters and photographers have already found Weinstein guilty before any verdict has been made. Hence, CNN simultaneously persuades the readers into thinking that Weinstein is guilty.

CNN then refers to the situation as: "It was a scene not unlike the red carpet walks he used to do" (Gingras et al.). In this sentence, CNN uses the double negative 'not unlike' to create a simile comparing the scene of his arrest to him walking the red carpet. The simile invites the readers to compare the spectacle of both situations and effectively emphasizes that the context is very bizarre, and thus frames the situation as entertainment. CNN uses a photo of Weinstein to enhance the negative representation of him in relation to the above. Specifically, CNN uses a photo of a handcuffed Weinstein leaving the police precinct (see fig. 2).

Fig. 2 Weinstein leaves the police precinct Friday in New York (Gingras et al.).

Hence, the readers are presented with an unusual sight of Weinstein: he is not walking the red carpet but instead leaving a police precinct in handcuffs. Thus, through their use of visuals, CNN highlights how far Weinstein has fallen since the dozens of accusations against him and presents him as guilty.

Throughout the articles, CNN uses different social actor categories to refer to the participants involved. Multiple times the articles use a combination of assimilation and differentiation to refer to two distinct groups of social actors, and those are "women" and "powerful men" (Gingras et al.; Stelter). This differentiation between the two groups is a formal feature that

has both expressive and relational value. In terms of its expressive value, it represents an experience of the world where men are powerful whereas women are not. In terms of its relational value, it shows how the social relationship between the two groups is unequal as the 'powerful men' are also presented as being the harassers of 'women'. This can be seen when CNN reports that Me Too "led women around the world to come forward with accounts of being sexually harassed by powerful men" (Gingras et al.). Women were collectivized the most by CNN, and sometimes they were even quantified as "dozens of women" (Gingras et al.) or "scores of women" (Stelter). Thus, CNN uses collectivization to emphasize the extent of the problem i.e. that sexual harassment happens to many women and not just a few.

The CNN articles describe Weinstein and his actions towards both his survivors and the journalists who made the initial reports about him as dangerous through the use of terms such as "threatened" and "threats" (Gingras et al.), and "the threat" (Stelter). One article also refers to Weinstein's attempt to stop the first reports from being published in terms relating to fighting or battle, such as "plan of attack" and "combative streak" (Stelter). Thus, CNN presents a negative image of Weinstein as violent. CNN also uses appraisement to represent Weinstein when they write "He sounded like the predator, and she was the prey" about an audio tape of him and one of his survivors, Ambra Battilana Gutierrez (Stelter). The term 'predator' is a negative appraisement of Weinstein, meaning it is a formal feature with expressive value as it evaluates him as someone who causes harm to others. The term "predators" is also used to refer to Weinstein and others that have been accused in CNN's other article (Gingras et al.). The effect of the negative representation of Weinstein is that it paints a picture of him as a harmful person in the minds of the readers.

CNN mentions Weinstein's survivors by referring to them as "an unnamed victim" and "The alleged victim" (Gingras et al.), and "accusers" (Gingras et al.; Stelter), with the latter being used frequently in both articles, and the former only used a few times. The term 'accuser' is the most neutral, as both 'victim' and 'survivor' would indicate that the sexual abuse did happen, and the journalists might not want to express that if the accused has not been convicted of anything yet. The term 'victim' is often the default term to use in cases of sexual abuse, and thus the use of the term 'victim' reflects this. Further, the term 'accuser' activates the survivors as finally being able to demand justice, whereas the term 'victim' passivates them in relation to their abuse. This is particularly fascinating in relation to the Me Too movement, which wants to shift towards using the term 'survivor' instead so as to focus on the process of healing rather than on the trauma itself. Compare this with the quote by Rose McGowen, which is used in one of CNN's articles: "I, and so many of Harvey Weinstein's survivors, had given up hope…I stand with my fellow survivors" (Gingras et al.). McGowen, a survivor herself, makes an effort to use the term 'survivor' as opposed

to 'victim', showing that CNN must be aware of the preferred term. Thus, CNN's sparse use of the term 'victim' compared to 'accuser' might be a result of this.

The CNN articles directly mention Me Too in relation to the Weinstein case by describing the movement as "a global reckoning" and an "inspiration" that "empowered" women to speak up against sexual harassment (Stelter). The term 'reckoning' indicates that the time has come for people to be held accountable for their actions, and that those who have done harm will be punished for it. The terms 'inspiration' and 'empowered' have positive connotations, and thus this suggests that CNN is in support of the Me Too movement, and that they want their readers to be as well. CNN also uses the phrase "the tables were finally turning" in relation to the many women who are now coming forward with their stories as a result of Me Too (Gingras et al.). The idiom (turn the tables) generally means to reverse a situation so that you are now in a stronger position than someone who previously had an advantage over you ("Table"). Thus, CNN frames Me Too as a movement that has reversed the situation: abusers can no longer get away with abuse but will be held accountable for their actions. In the other article, the prevalence of sexual abuse, and people covering it up, is referred to as a sickness: "Hollywood had been suffering from this "sickness" for a long time" (Stelter). Thus, by referring to this as a sickness, CNN is consequently framing Me Too as the cure, similarly to how they used the idiom (turn the tables).

Fox News: Me Too Can Be Used to Harm People

In the Fox News coverage, Harvey Weinstein is described as the "disgraced movie mogul" (Fox News; Lam, "Harvey Weinstein accuser"). The term 'disgraced' is a negative evaluation of Weinstein's character as it refers to someone who has lost other people's respect. Thus, Fox News uses a term that has expressive value to represent how people in general view Weinstein after the allegations. Despite the negative evaluation of Weinstein, the articles make an effort to always mention that he has "denied all allegations", "pleaded not guilty" and "denied any wrongdoing" (Fox News; Lam, "Harvey Weinstein accuser"). This is mentioned several times, even when the allegations or charges against him were not the main focus of the article. Fox News emphasizes that even though allegations have been made, and charges have been filed, he has not been found guilty, and thus they are not expressing whether the allegations are true or false. Hence, the effect of this is that the readers are encouraged to have the same approach as Fox News: we must not assume that Weinstein is guilty just because he has been accused.

When referring to Weinstein's survivors, Fox News refers to them as "accuser" or "accusers", and they are never called anything else (Fox News; Lam, "Harvey Weinstein accuser"). The survivors are referred to through their actions of having accused Weinstein (accusers), as

opposed to in terms of what happened to them, thus taking the focus away from the abuse. Noticeably, by never referring to them as for example victims or survivors, they are not asserting that their accusations are true in any sense, but they are merely presenting the fact of them having accused Weinstein.

In the article about one of the charges being dropped, Fox News presents opposing sides of what this means for the case against Weinstein. On the one side, they write: "Weinstein's lawyer, Benjamin Brafman, told the judge he believed [Lucia] Evans had lied both to the grand jury and to The New Yorker about her encounter with Weinstein" (Fox News). Thus, Fox News quotes Weinstein's attorney who casts doubts on Evans' accusations by essentially calling her a liar. Moreover, by mentioning the article from The New Yorker, Brafman is also casting doubts on the other accusations. On the other side, Fox News quotes Evans' attorney Carrie Goldberg: ""Let me be clear: the decision to throw away my client's sexual assault charges says nothing about Weinstein's guilt or innocence…It only speaks volumes about the Manhattan DA's office and its mishandling of my client's case"" (Fox News). Goldberg emphasizes that this does not mean that Weinstein is innocent, but rather that the case has been mishandled. Thus, Fox News remains objective, which is an element that they value, as they do not promote one perspective over another. Hence, the effect of Fox News being objective is that the readers are given the chance to consider Weinstein's guilt or innocence independent of Fox News' opinion. However, they only implicitly state why the charge has been dropped, and thus the readers are not given all the information about the case.

It is intriguing that in the Fox News articles where the journalists directly mention the movement in relation to the case, the focus is on one of the charges being dropped and on how some people use Me Too to make false accusations. Ambra Gutierrez, one of Weinstein's survivors, claims that Me Too has "two different faces", and she worries that people will use it "in the wrong way" (Lam, "Harvey Weinstein accuser"). Thus, she implies that there is a negative aspect of the movement. Fox News then proceeds to only write in detail about one of Me Too's 'faces', which is the one that could "ruin their careers" (Lam, "Harvey Weinstein accuser"). The term 'ruin' implies that the movement has a destructive impact on people's lives, specifically the lives of innocent people. Fox News emphasizes this aspect by using and quoting phrases such as "wrongly accused" and "damaged by accusations" (Lam, "Harvey Weinstein accuser"), and thus they indicate that some people use Me Too to harm innocent people.

The fact that the articles which mention Me Too in relation to Weinstein are about casting doubts on one of the sexual abuse charges, and about how Me Too can have a negative impact, frames the movement in a bad light: it indicates that Me Too is a movement which is used in a

vindictive way against innocent people. Fox News also uses the one charge being dropped to suggest that the "#MeToo reckoning" could be in "trouble" (Fox News). Thus, Fox News implies that one charge being dropped undermines the Me Too movement's validity as it could be criticized for assuming people are guilty and failing to consider that some accusations may be false.

One article emphasizes that Gutierrez, unlike other Weinstein survivors, "worked with the New York City Police Department shortly after reporting the 2015 encounter", instead of waiting "'til it was safe for [her] to speak" (Lam, "Harvey Weinstein accuser"). This suggests that the other survivors could also have gone to the police with their accusations, but because they did not, there is no proof other than their statements. By contrasting Gutierrez' accusations with the accusations of other survivors, Fox News questions the validity of other survivors' accusations because they did not go to the police. Fox News also quotes Gutierrez as saying: ""I was never a #MeToo, I was a 'fight back'"" (Lam, "Harvey Weinstein accuser"). Despite Gutierrez' earlier statement in which she expressed that she feels "that #MeToo is for the collective benefit" (Lam, "Harvey Weinstein accuser"), her statement about never being 'a #MeToo' suggests that the movement is not doing enough for survivors. Thus, Fox News uses her statement to criticize the movement. The effect of Fox News presenting the readers with these statements is that the readers start to question the movement's credibility and its ability to help survivors.

Fox News refers to a specific group of social actors, namely "activists", and they are presented as having "pressured" the Manhattan district attorney to bring charges against Weinstein (Fox News). The term 'pressured' has a negative connotation and indicates that they persuaded the Manhattan District Attorney Cyrus R. Vance Jr. to bring charges against Weinstein by making him feel like he had no other choice but to do so. In the same article, Fox News also mentions that Vance had declined to prosecute Weinstein regarding an earlier sexual harassment accusation because of "a lack of supporting evidence" (Fox News). By referencing the earlier incident, Fox News insinuates that there might have been a lack of evidence against Weinstein this time as well, and therefore it would not have been right for Vance to charge Weinstein. Thus, the 'activists' are represented negatively because they 'pressured' Vance to bring charges against Weinstein whose guilt could not be sufficiently proven, and therefore he could be innocent.

The New York Times: Me Too Encourages Survivors to Share Their Experiences

In NYT's coverage, the writing is formal, which is especially exemplified by how they refer to the social actors in the articles. After first mentioning the full names of social actors, NYT refers to them by using their last names with their titles. For example, after stating Harvey Weinstein's name they refer to him as "Mr. Weinstein", they refer to Lucia Evans as "Ms. Evans", and the judge,

Justice James Burke as "Justice Burke" (McKinley et al.; Ransom and Feuer). This adds a high level of formality to the NYT coverage. The titles also make it easier for the readers to keep track of who the social actors are and what role they have in the story being covered, especially in terms of social actors whose names may not be as familiar as Weinstein's.

NYT describes Weinstein as "the disgraced movie mogul" (McKinley et al.) and "the disgraced Hollywood mogul" (Ransom and Feuer). Thus, they use a term (disgraced) that negatively evaluates Weinstein's character to emphasize how people's perception of him has changed since the allegations have come out. NYT refers to what he has been accused of as him utilizing his wealth and his influence in Hollywood to "intimidate women" and "coercing them" (McKinley et al.). They further mention that his survivors were "attacked" after being "lured" to his office or hotel rooms (Ransom and Feuer). Thus, NYT describes him as a threatening person by referring to his actions as intimidation and coercion, and they emphasize the violent nature of what he has been accused of.

The allegations against Weinstein are referred to as "an avalanche of accusations" and "dozens of allegations against Mr. Weinstein, many of them sharing a common narrative" (McKinley et al.). Thus, NYT stresses the number of allegations made against Weinstein by using the term 'dozens', which reminds the readers that there were not just a few allegations, and the effect of this is that it alludes to Weinstein's guilt because so many women have had the same experiences with him. Further, the term 'avalanche' is used metaphorically to express just how massive the amount of allegations against Weinstein were and to emphasize how unexpected they were. Thus, NYT focuses on the large amount of accusations and how they followed the same pattern. Further, the survivors have been backgrounded from the narrative through passive agent deletion as they are mentioned elsewhere in the text but not in relation to the accusations. The NYT articles additionally use different terms for the survivors. In the article from early 2018, Weinstein's survivors are referred to as "victim" and "victims" (McKinley et al.), and in the article from late 2018 they are referred to as "numerous accusers" and "accusers" (Ransom and Feuer). Thus, NYT's coverage has shifted from using the term 'victim' to using the term 'accuser', effectively taking the focus away from the abuse, and instead focusing on how Weinstein's survivors are dealing with it, while still not using the term preferred by Me Too, namely survivor.

Throughout the articles, NYT uses a combination of assimilation and differentiation to refer to two groups of social actors: "women" and "powerful men" (McKinley et al.; Ransom and Feuer). This is a formal feature with both expressive and relational value as it presents an experience of the world where men are powerful and women are not, and thus it shows how the social relationship between them is unequal. These groups of social actors are mentioned in relation

to the Me Too movement and not in relation to the Weinstein case specifically, and thus this is a representation of the way NYT views the world in general.

The Me Too movement is described as having "led women around the world, some of them famous and many of them not, to come forward with accounts of being sexually harassed and assaulted" (McKinley et al.) and "Women have since publicly shared their experiences of sexual harassment and assault by powerful men in the workplace" (Ransom and Feuer). NYT highlights that Me Too is not just for famous survivors because it has encouraged survivors from all walks of life to come forward as a result of realizing that they are not alone in having experienced this. Thus, even in articles focused on the Weinstein case, NYT's coverage makes sure to relate it to how prevalent sexual abuse is in regular people's lives as well. The NYT coverage also comments on the effect Me Too has had: "the ground has shifted beneath men who for years benefited from a code of silence around their predatory behavior" (McKinley et al.). Thus, they reference that the situation has changed so drastically that men can no longer use their power to silence their survivors from speaking out against their 'predatory behavior' because of the impact of Me Too. It is peculiar that they frame it as only women being survivors and only men being abusers, and thus they exclude female abusers and male survivors from the narrative.

In the article about one of the charges being dropped, NYT not only states why there were doubts about the accusation, but they also allow for Evans to respond. NYT explains that the lead detective had failed to inform the district attorney's office that "a friend of Ms. Evans…told prosecutors that Ms. Evans had said she willingly performed oral sex on Mr. Weinstein" (Ransom and Feuer). Thus, by detailing why the charge was dropped, NYT allows for the readers themselves to conclude whether this is actually reflective of Weinstein's innocence or rather of a mishandling of the case. They then allow Evans to respond by stating that "Ms. Evans still insists that she "never consented to any form of sex with" Mr. Weinstein" and by her lawyer Carrie Goldberg stating that the dismissal was based on "procedural mistakes" (Ransom and Feuer). Hence, NYT takes no side in the story but rather presents that there are contradictory statements. NYT remains impartial, which is one of their greatest intentions, as they do not promote one perspective over another, but rather they present all the facts about why the charge was dropped. The effect of NYT remaining impartial is that the readers are given the chance and responsibility to review the case and make up their own minds about it.

The other article acknowledges that the district attorney's office possibly mishandled an earlier case involving Weinstein because they did not prosecute him "despite having an audiotape of Mr. Weinstein acknowledging he had touched her breasts and promising not to do so again" (McKinley et al.). NYT emphasizes that Weinstein had been accused of sexual abuse prior to the

2017 allegations, and that he even confirmed that it happened on tape, but he was still was not prosecuted. Thus, they establish that this is a pattern in Weinstein's behavior but also that even with an admission of guilt recorded on tape, the charges against him was dismissed. The effect of this is that the readers are made aware that even though the new charge against him was dropped, it does not mean that it did not happen, and the earlier case is proof of that. NYT's coverage thus offers a possible explanation for why so many survivors did not speak out against Weinstein sooner.

Breitbart News: Questioning the Me Too Survivors and the Allegations

In the Breitbart News coverage, the journalists dramatize the Weinstein case through the use of metaphors and a subjective vocabulary, and thus they use this to frame the case as a spectacle. Breitbart News describes the case as a "meltdown" in one of their headlines, and in the article they refer to it as a "nuclear meltdown" (Hayward). The term 'nuclear meltdown' is used metaphorically to express just how atrocious the Weinstein case is. The term 'meltdown' is commonly used for a situation where something suddenly goes terribly wrong, and thus the effect of describing the Weinstein case as a 'nuclear meltdown' is that it is framed as a particularly grim disaster. A nuclear meltdown is "a serious accident in which the central part of a nuclear reactor melts, causing harmful radiation to escape" ("Meltdown"). Thus, it is used as a metaphor for Weinstein being the central part of the entertainment industry that then collapsed and caused the prevalence of sexual abuse to be exposed to the world. Breitbart News' assessment that Weinstein caused this meltdown is also evident in their description that the motion picture industry was "corrupted by Weinstein" (Hayward). The phrase 'corrupted by' frames Weinstein as the mastermind behind it all and blames the sexual abuse meltdown exclusively on him instead of recognizing that there was a fundamental problem within the industry that did not end with Weinstein.

Breitbart News further sensationalizes the case by describing it as "the spectacular fall" and "the devastating indictment" (Hayward). In their words, Weinstein's downfall was not just a fall but a 'spectacular' one, and it was not just an indictment but a 'devastating' one. Thus, the case is presented as impressive in terms of how damaging it was for Weinstein specifically. Breitbart News then continues to describe what Weinstein's survivors had gone through as "the stuff of dark legend", "The Weinstein horror", and "Weinstein's conspiracy of silence" (Hayward). Thus, Breitbart News frames the case in negative terms, detailing how frightening and unpleasant Weinstein's actions were, and by using the idiom 'conspiracy of silence', they are stating that there was an agreement in the entertainment industry to keep this 'horror' a secret. Breitbart News does not report neutrally on the case because they use extremely negative imagery to report on it. The

effect of the negative imagery is that the readers sympathize with the survivors of Weinstein's horror, which results in the readers viewing Weinstein as a horrible person.

Breitbart News refers to different groups of social actors. Weinstein's survivors are always represented through assimilation (collectivization) as they are referred to as "his victims", "victims", and "accusers" (Hayward; Caplan). Instead of individualizing them, the survivors are never mentioned by name, despite multiple of their names being known[13], and Breitbart News has thus chosen to group them together as mainly 'victims', and a few times as 'accusers'. On the other hand, you have other men who have been accused, who are sometimes individualized as they are mentioned by name – among those mentioned are politicians Roy Moore and Al Franken. The effect of this is that the survivors are partially excluded from the narrative despite openly having spoken out about their experiences with Weinstein. Thus, Breitbart News implicitly expresses that it is not important to listen to what the survivors had to say about the case.

Weinstein, along with other men accused of sexual abuse, are referred to as "predator", "predators", "powerful predators", "powerful predator", and "powerful men" (Hayward). Noticeably, the term 'predator' is used most often by Breitbart News whereas 'powerful men' is only used a couple of times. Similarly, those who have been accused are also referred to as "monsters" and "tyrants" (Hayward). The terms 'predators', 'monsters' and 'tyrants' are negative appraisements of the accused, and thus Breitbart News mainly uses a formal feature with expressive value when referring to them. The effect of the negative appraisements is that Breitbart News encourages the readers to focus on the current status of the accused because the awfulness of the action they are accused of must not be forgotten. Breitbart News also uses the adjective 'powerful' in connection with the accused, and thus they emphasize that the survivors could not speak out against them because of their powerful status. Thus, Breitbart News influences the readers to sympathize with the survivors and get a better understanding of why some of them were unable to speak out against their abusers. Weinstein specifically is also described as "the ex-titan" (Caplan) and "disgraced" (Caplan). Thus, they emphasize his previous status in the industry through the use of the term 'titan', and they use the term 'disgraced' as negative evaluation of his character.

Further, in the Caplan article, Breitbart News uses a photo of Weinstein in which he has both of his hands placed close to his face as if he is worried about something (see fig. 3).

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[13] Thus, it is possible that Breitbart News just assumed that readers would already know their names and therefore they did not find it necessary to mention them in these articles.

Fig. 3 Harvey Weinstein in court (Caplan).

The placement of his hands expresses that he is extremely exhausted of the troubling situation he is in and the repercussions this will have for him. Weinstein further looks upset, frustrated and tired. Noticeably, Weinstein uses his thumb finger to hold his head up, which highlights his defeat. The effect of the visual representation of Weinstein is that the article further stresses the negative representation of Weinstein: a disgraced movie mogul who is guilty of the accusations against him. Hence, the readers' views of Weinstein worsen because of Breitbart News' use of visuals.

A particularly interesting aspect of the Breitbart News coverage is when they refer to "rich and powerful men (and a few women!) abusing their power" (Hayward). Despite the focus being on Weinstein, they reference that many others have also been accused – and in this instance they specify that some of the accused are women. This is the only mention of women having been accused in the articles, and it is only a brief mention. They give no examples of women who have been accused, despite naming several men by name, and thus the readers are expected to accept it as fact without proof. Thus, Breitbart News explains that women can also be abusers while simultaneously treating it as an insignificant part of the problem by brushing over it so quickly.

In an article about Weinstein's trial, Breitbart News not only mentions that he "has denied all allegations" (Caplan) but also includes that his defense includes a witness that "will say Weinstein and the woman accusing him of rape had been "hooking up" for a while" (Caplan) and emails that "showed Weinstein had friendly, consensual relationships with both women" (Caplan). Thus, they are providing their readers with the details of what Weinstein is using as evidence of his

innocence, which is that he had had consensual relations with the women before, and thus he could not have raped or sexually assaulted them[14]. On the other hand, the survivors have been excluded in this part of the article: they have been mentioned before but neither they nor their lawyers have been reached out to for comments on Weinstein's defense. Thus, Breitbart News only presents Weinstein's defense without giving the survivors the opportunity to respond to it, and the effect of this is that some readers may assume that Weinstein could be innocent.

Breitbart News directly references the Me Too movement a few times, and one example is this paragraph about the survivors that spoke up because of the movement:

> We celebrate those who are stepping forward today as heroes, but we are reluctant to dwell on the fact that they kept their silence for so long. Today it's "#MeToo"—but where were you then? Why didn't you say something and spare countless women who came after you from suffering at the hands of a powerful predator? (Hayward)

The journalist uses formal features with relational value, specifically the pronouns 'we', 'they', and 'you'. The journalist uses 'we' to speak on behalf of himself, the readers, and society in general, and in doing so he makes an implicit authority claim, namely that he has the authority to speak for others. Thus, the journalist indicates that everyone feels this way about the survivors. He then uses 'they' to differentiate the survivors from the group referred to as 'we'. The use of 'you' is interesting as it does not directly address the readers, but rather the survivors as is evident in the mention of the 'countless women who came after you'. Along with this, the journalist presents two grammatical questions asking the survivors why they did not speak up sooner so they could have prevented other women from having the same experiences. The grammatical questions essentially blame the survivors, not for the sexual abuse they experienced but for the sexual abuse of the women who came after them, by implying that had they just spoken up sooner, they could have spared others from 'suffering'. Thus, Breitbart News frames the survivors negatively by implicitly blaming them for letting the situation continue, and they simultaneously ignore the fact that a lot of survivors do not speak out because of the power their abuser has over them, and out of fear of no one believing them or being blamed for the abuse[15]. Breitbart News also overlooks that the reason many of the survivors are speaking out about it now is because the Me Too movement empowered them to share their experiences and made them realize that they are not alone.

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[14] Thus, Weinstein's defense ignores that consent can be revoked at any time.

[15] There are, of course, other reasons why survivors of sexual abuse do not speak out against their abusers other than the examples mentioned above.

In one article, Breitbart News uses modality when writing about the sexual harassment allegations and the Me Too movement: "the sexual harassment crusade might be going too far, calls to regain a sense of proportion about which allegations are serious, credible, and actionable" (Hayward). The modal auxiliary verb 'might' is an example of expressive modality as it is a cue to the journalist's evaluation of the bit of reality it relates to. It is a matter of the journalist's authority with respect to the probability of a representation of reality, i.e. a modality of their evaluation of the truth. Thus, Breitbart News is not stating it as the truth but rather expressing that there is a possibility that Me Too has exceeded the limit for what is acceptable for a social movement. The next half of the sentence indicates that Breitbart News supposes that this is because people are too quick to believe allegations, and that people instead should be questioning whether the allegations are 'serious, credible, *and* actionable' (emphasis added). Thus, they indicate that not all allegations are true and that unless they are 'actionable', i.e. unless they can give sufficient legal ground for it to be taken to court, they should not be believed.

The Me Too Movement Case

CNN: #MeToo Is Not Enough

In the article "How #MeToo could move from social campaign to social change" (2017), the journalist makes a clear statement in the headline: #MeToo is a "**social** campaign" and it has not yet developed into "**social** change" (LaMotte; emphasis added). CNN uses rewording (bolded) in front of two different words, namely 'campaign' and 'change' to emphasize that the Me Too movement has not reached its full potential. In relation to the expressive values, the headline can be characterized as being both positive and negative. The negative connotations are seen when the article claims that #MeToo is just a social campaign, and hence the article is critical of what Me Too exactly is and what it can achieve. However, the journalist also expresses that she is positive that the movement has potential to become something great, which is seen when she uses the adverb 'how' to express that the Me Too movement could make a 'social change'. CNN also uses another sentence to explain the impact of the #MeToo hashtag: "It's the hashtag that rocked the world" (LaMotte). Through the verb 'rock', CNN states that the #MeToo hashtag sent shock waves around the world and that it had a profound impact: the movement has made everyone around the world aware of the prevalence of sexual abuse. CNN further positively describes the impact of the movement: "Since #MeToo went viral two weeks ago…Twitter reports that more than 1.7 million women and men have used the hashtag in 85 countries" (LaMotte). Hence, CNN stresses the positive effects that Me Too has had on people around the world, namely that it has encouraged people to speak out about sexual abuse.

CNN then uses a grammatical question to shape the discussion surrounding the Me Too movement: "But can a hashtag, a meme or any viral moment -- no matter how widespread -- really turn into a lasting movement that that will create social change and reduce sexual abuse of women?" (LaMotte). The journalist uses the grammatical question to point the article towards her focus, which is a critical discussion about Me Too, and what she considers to be the important questions to be asked of the movement. Noticeably, the journalist does not seem to know how to characterize the Me Too movement, which is seen through her use of overwording: "a hashtag, a meme or any viral moment" (LaMotte). Further, in asking whether Me Too can turn into a 'lasting movement', CNN states that they are not sure if they believe that Me Too will continue to have an effect in society. Additionally, the effect of the adverb 'really' in the question expresses that CNN questions the strength and effectiveness of the Me Too movement.

The publication date of this article plays a role in CNN's way of representing the Me Too movement. The article was published in November 2017, which is only a month after the #MeToo hashtag went viral, and thus it is understandable that CNN questions the power of the movement. CNN's doubt about what the movement can achieve stems from how other similar hashtags have faded, something which the journalist describes through the metaphor "A viral graveyard" (LaMotte). CNN explains the metaphor by expanding upon it: "Social media is littered with the digital bones of once-vibrant hashtags and memes, so getting the momentum behind #MeToo to translate into literal action could be an uphill battle" (LaMotte). Thus, CNN states that 'once-vibrant' hashtags end up like bones, i.e. they end up forgotten and unimportant, in a 'viral graveyard'. Moreover, CNN uses the adjective 'uphill' to emphasize that it is not going to be easy for the Me Too movement to gain its momentum. The effect of the 'viral graveyard' metaphor and the adjective 'uphill' is that the readers are left to wonder about the movement's power and ability to create social change: it may be too challenging for the Me Too movement to gain momentum, and thus it might end up forgotten in a 'viral graveyard' alongside the other hashtags that came before it.

CNN further includes a statement from a social actor, namely an expert, to support the argument about Me Too's questionable power. CNN includes the statement of a sociologist named Jen Schradie[16]:

> Talking about victimization doesn't end victimization… Many of these men's and
> women's rights organizations say that all anyone has to do to get involved is reach

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[16] Schradie studies digital activism at the Institute for Advanced Study in Toulouse, France.

out to the many local, state and national organizations that have been fighting for equality for women for decades. Volunteer. Donate time and money. Do more than lift your finger to "like" (LaMotte).

CNN reinforces the reliability of their own statement by including the statement of a sociologist who has a similar argument: talking about sexual abuse and victimization online will not end these problems, neither will just 'liking' a post on social media. In other words, Schradie argues that we cannot rely solely on an online movement like Me Too to prompt social change: people need to take action in real life as well.

CNN also includes a statement from another social actor, the founder of the movement, Tarana Burke: "I've seen it [#MeToo] happen over and over again in small waves, but to see it happen en masse has been pretty amazing" (LaMotte). CNN comments on Burke's statement by saying: "Though Burke sees #MeToo as a movement, she admits that the hashtag's popularity ebbs and flows" (LaMotte). CNN uses the conjunction 'though' to express that they find it peculiar that Burke chooses to call #MeToo a 'movement' when she herself admits that it 'ebbs and flows'. Thus, CNN uses Burke's statement to create a narrative surrounding the Me Too movement that fits their exact argument, opinion and representation of the movement, which is that Me Too's strength and power are uncertain.

The article "So far, 2019 is proving the #MeToo fight is just beginning" (2019) has a similar way of representing the Me Too movement. The article praises the movement for its impact, which is seen through sentences like the following: "The rise of #MeToo continues to shift cultural attitudes about acceptable behaviour" (Gonzalez and Lowry). Hence, CNN acknowledges that the movement 'continues' to change people's culturally imbedded ideas of what acceptable behavior is. The article, which was published over a year after the first article, still holds the view that the fight to end sexual abuse is far from over. In the headline, CNN uses the adverb 'just' to emphasize that Me Too is still in its early stages, and that the movement itself is still not enough to make a change. This view is also expressed in the following sentence: "Hollywood's attempt to deal with sexual misconduct seemed to be entering a new phase in the first days of 2019" (Gonzalez and Lowry). The striking aspect about the quote is the noun 'attempt', which is defined as "an act of trying to do something, especially something difficult, often with no success" ("Attempt"). Hence, through the noun 'attempt', CNN expresses that Hollywood has tried but not fully succeeded in dealing with sexual misconduct. Further, this is also emphasized through the verb phrase 'seemed to be', which the journalists use to express that something has gotten in the way and prevented the movement from successfully dealing with sexual misconduct.

CNN states that the fight to change a culture in which people can get away with abusing those around them has been a "long, slow road" and that "Hollywood's clean-up – in certain high profile cases --- is seemingly moving from news reports to the courts and criminal-justice system" (Gonzales and Lowry). Hence, CNN uses the adjectives 'long' and 'slow' to express that the Me Too movement has indeed made changes but it is not happening instantly. CNN also uses the adverb 'seemingly' to express that it appears that Me Too is working as some of the cases are moving to the courtroom and criminal-justice system. Thus, they hesitantly state that the movement will actually bring justice for the survivors. The effect of CNN's choice of words is that the readers start to question whether Hollywood and Me Too can successfully end sexual abuse and bring justice for the survivors, especially considering how slowly they have progressed towards their goal so far.

A fascinating aspect about this article is how the discourse surrounding change is expressed through sentence cohesion, the vocabulary and the inclusion of certain social actors:

1. "[Gonzales and Lowry:] But a stark reminder that sweeping **change** won't occur overnight…If 2018 was the year when women in Hollywood and their allies called for **change**, this year may be when we learn if companies and industries that claimed to support their words **take actions**.
2. [Melissa Silverstein, the founder and publisher of the site Women and Hollywood[17]]: we didn't flip a switch and [now] everybody is going to get rid of all the harassers…The demand for **systematic change** is something we have to keep pushing for.
3. [Shauna Thomas, co-founder and executive director of UltraViolet[18]:] we do expect this year to be an opportunity to **cement s**ome of the #MeToo gains we saw over the past year" (Gonzales and Lowry; emphasis added).

The bolded words show that the included social actors use a similar and coherent vocabulary (such as the noun 'change') to state that more needs to be done to make the Me Too movement more effective. Hence, CNN includes social actors who have similar views as them, namely that in order to do something about the **change** that has been called for through the Me Too movement,

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[17] "Women and Hollywood educates, advocates, and agitates for gender diversity and inclusion in Hollywood and the global film industry" ("About" [*Women and Hollywood*]). Silverstein is an expertise in the area of social media in regards to women and Hollywood ("Melissa Silverstein").

[18] "UltraViolet is a powerful and rapidly growing community of people mobilized to fight sexism and create a more inclusive world that accurately represent all women, from politics and government to media and pop culture" ("About Us").

companies and industries need to **take actions**. Hence, CNN implicitly states that Me Too has not prompted a change yet but merely called for change.

Silverstein also admits that the Me Too movement has not been able to get rid of all the harassers, but that the demand for **systematic change** is still something we must keep fighting for. Additionally, Thomas, just like Gonzales and Lowry, acknowledges what Me Too has been able to accomplish, but she states that further actions need to be taken in order to fully achieve the movement's goal. Therefore, Thomas states that this year should be the year to **cement** the accomplishments of Me Too. The effect of including social actors who use the same change oriented discourse is that CNN is able to convince readers that many people are in agreement with the fact that the Me Too movement needs a helping hand in order to reach their goal.

Fox News: #MeToo Is Attacking Men and Destroying Careers

The article "A male backlash against #MeToo is brewing" (2018) is posted under Fox News' 'scandal' section and it is categorized as an opinion article, but Fox News has nonetheless decided to publish it (Smith, "A male backlash"). Hence, the readers can expect that the article is going to be subjective, and that the article either aims to frame the Me Too movement as being a scandal, sexual abuse as being a scandal, or both. However, the article does not explicitly express why it is placed in the scandal section, but it appears that the article views the movement as being a scandal because of the repercussions it has for men. One feature that characterizes the Fox News coverage of Me Too in general is that Fox News only focuses on the negative aspects of the movement. Hence, they fail to remain neutral in their coverage, which is seen through their choice of words, use of metaphors, etc., which will be explored in this section. However, it is an opinion article, and hence Fox News can justify the fact that they do not live up to their value of objectivity, even though it is an element which they express that they value a lot.

The journalist, Kyle Smith, already expresses his opinion about Me Too in the headline with the term "backlash" which has negative connotations (Smith, "A male backlash"). Thus, Smith claims that the Me Too movement is receiving a strong negative reaction from men. In the first sentence of the article, Smith states why that is: "Men are scared, and feminists are delighted" (Smith, "A male backlash"). This illustrates a prominent feature of the article overall, which is that Smith constantly uses an antifeminism and a men versus women discourse to argue against Me Too. In this sentence, Smith uses an active voice to place the emphasis on the two subjects ('men' and 'feminists'), which not only makes the sentence concise, but it also emphasizes the opposing reactions: men are 'scared' (negative adjective) and feminists are 'delighted' (positive adjective). Smith differentiates between men and feminists: according to Smith these two groups of people

have distinct feelings when it comes to the Me Too movement, and the readers should have sympathy for men because they are the ones who are 'scared'. Thus, another striking feature of the sentence is the use of assimilation (collectivization) and differentiation: 'men' and 'feminists' are represented as two distinct social actor groups. By contrasting these two social actor groups with each other, Smith expresses that men cannot be feminists, and hence Smith excludes men from this group. In representing them through collectivization and without a determiner such as 'some', Smith claims that all men and all feminists have these particular feelings in relation to the Me Too movement. He noticeably does not use the antonymy, 'men' and 'women', but instead uses the nouns 'men' and 'feminists'. By using the ideologically contested word 'feminists', instead of for example 'women', Smith expresses an antifeminist[19] discourse as he opposes their views.

   This antifeminist discourse is also expressed when Smith states that the Me Too movement has the "urge to…punish male sexual transgression. Those who can't find any bad behavior to punish are casting around angrily for random things to attack" (Smith, "A male backlash"). Instead of viewing Me Too as a movement aiming to empower survivors and end sexual abuse, he uses the negative verb 'punish' to describe the movement as aiming to punish men specifically. When it comes to the relational value of the features, Smith uses the term 'those' to implicitly refer to feminists as being the ones who angrily look for things and ways to 'attack' men. Hence, Smith represents the Me Too movement as a fight between men and feminists: in this fight, the feminists are the angry attackers, and men are the ones who are getting attacked and punished. Smith further claims that the movement's "justified anger and calls for change are venturing into…: Let's knock over some innocent statues" (Smith, "A male backlash"). Thus, Smith uses the metaphor 'Let's knock over some innocent statues' to point out that Me Too's fight against sexual abuse is now having repercussions for 'innocent' men because they are being knocked over by feminists. The effect of Smith essentially representing feminists as villains is that he makes the readers view the movement differently: Me Too's reckoning also has repercussions for innocent men, and thus the movement should not be given too much power.

   The antifeminism and the men versus women discourse are also visible through the following sentence: "Moms are dressing their sons in humiliating "the Future is Female" T-shirts" (Smith, "A male backlash"). The role allocation is appropriate to comment on here in relation to how Smith assigns the social actor group 'moms' the active role. Moms are represented as being the dynamic and active force in this activity, and thus Smith uses this to emphasize that it is women who reinforce the difference between men and women. Additionally, Smith explicitly expresses his

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[19] Antifeminist: "During the first (1848-1920) and second (1961-1983ish) waves of feminism, there were countermovements against feminist efforts made that historians have classified as "antifeminist"" (Martin).

opposition against women who dress their sons in these kinds of T-shirts through the negative adjective 'humiliating'. According to Smith, these actions and the Me Too movement reinforce the divide between men and women and "If men start to back away from women, at least in professional settings, it's difficult to see how that will aid the feminist cause" (Smith, "A male backlash"). Thus, Smith argues that if Me Too insists on turning men and women into hostile opposing groups, then the two genders will start to diverge from each other, which will not aid the feminist cause. The effect of this is that the readers will question the methods of the movement: does the Me Too movement aim to empower women and end sexual abuse by turning women and men against each other?

The other article "#MeToo has morphed into a career-destroying angry mob" (2018) has a similar way of representing the Me Too movement. It is written by the same journalist and is also categorized as an opinion article. This article represents the Me Too movement overall as being the villain and not only feminists and women. Already in the headline, Smith characterizes the Me Too movement through the negative verb "destroying" and the negative adjective "angry" to frame the movement as menacing (Smith, "#MeToo has morphed"). He also uses the term 'mob' meaning "a large crowd of people, especially one that may become violent or cause trouble" ("Mob") to emphasize that he believes that Me Too is more focused on causing trouble for people than actually helping survivors.

Smith states that "#MeToo has done a lot of work exposing the uncomfortable truths, but now its eagerness to denounce is taking on a censorious tone" (Smith, "#MeToo has morphed"). Smith first lets the readers know that he acknowledges the movement's achievements, and thus he represents it in a positive way. He then uses the logical connector 'but' to highlight a contrast between how the movement used to be and what it has turned into now. According to Smith, the movement has now taken on a 'censorious' tone, and it has turned into a movement in which "Only certain women should speak" (Smith, "#MeToo has morphed"). Smith exemplifies this point by mentioning the social actor Soon-Yi Previn[20]: "there was a broad public attempt to silence this Korean runaway [Soon-Yi Previn]...Her adoptive mother [Mia Farrow]…she says, regularly belittled her, abused her" (Smith, "#MeToo has morphed"). Instead of mentioning her name, Smith uses the noun 'runaway' to stress the importance of the action: namely that Previn ran away from

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[20] Soon-Yi Previn is the wife of film director Woody Allen, and she is the adopted daughter of actress Mia Farrow and André Previn. Allen and Soon-Yi Previn met when she was 10 and Allen was dating Farrow. Previn and Allen fell in love with each other, and they married in 1997. While Farrow was in a relationship with Allen, she adopted another child, Dylan Farrow, and in August of 1992 Dylan said "that Allen had sexually abused her… Allen was never charged with a crime… [but he]...lost custody, permanently, of his children" (June).

home at the age of five on the streets of Seoul. Hence, Smith emphasizes that Previn has struggled in life. In order to prove that Me Too has morphed into an angry mob, Smith states that the "#MeToo crowd…has rebuked Previn" (Smith, "#MeToo has morphed"). Smith includes Previn as proof that the '#MeToo crowd' is an angry mob because they have silenced and 'rebuked' her despite her having done nothing wrong. Thus, Smith uses negative verbs (silence, rebuke) and the unfortunate childhood story of Previn to represent the '#MeToo crowd' as a villain. The effect of these formal features is that the readers start to sympathize with Previn. Smith further expresses his frustration with the movement through a grammatical question: "After all of this, Soon-Yi Previn doesn't get a right to speak?" (Smith, "#MeToo has morphed"). Thus, the effect of this grammatical question is that Smith challenges the readers to determine, on the basis of Previn's story, whether the Me Too movement's treatment of her is fair.

In order to prove that the Me Too movement destroys careers, Smith includes the social actor Ian Buruma. Buruma lost his job as an editor of the New York Review of Books after publishing an article by the Canadian radio host, Jian Ghomeshi, who has been accused of sexual harassment by twenty-four women (Puertollano). Smith states that "Buruma himself promptly was made a public villain and pilloried, **not because** he has been accused of misbehavior, **not because** he defended anyone accused of misbehavior but simply for publishing an essay from a seldom-heard point of view" (Smith, "#MeToo has morphed"; emphasis added). Smith uses a negative noun (villain), the negative verb (pilloried) and the use of rewording (bolded) to emphasize how unfairly Buruma has been treated because of Me Too, and how it has destroyed his career. The effect of the rewording, the negative noun and the negative verb is that Smith emphasizes Buruma's innocence and the ridiculousness and unfairness of him having lost his job. Thus, Smith uses these formal features and includes Buruma's case to elicit sympathy from the readers and to make them believe that Me Too destroys innocent men's careers.

Fox News does not live up to their value of objectivity in relation to Smith's representation of Buruma's case as Smith fails to mention, intentionally or not, that Buruma lost his job because his controversial essay "was immediately accused of glibness and of downplaying the accusations against Ghomeshi" (Vanderhood). Additionally, Buruma "lost his job not for any harassing behavior, but for comments perceived as defending it" (Vanderhood). Hence, Smith avoids mentioning that Buruma lost his job because his comments were perceived as defending 'harassing behavior' and downplaying the accusations against Ghomeshi. When Smith leaves out information vital to the understanding of Buruma's story, he fails to be objective in his news coverage. The article shows that Smith clearly supports Buruma but, as mentioned, this is categorized as an opinion article, and thus he has every right to voice his opinion and not remain objective.

The New York Times: #MeToo Only Topples the Powerful

The article "#MeToo Floods Social Media with Stories of Harassment and Assault" (2017) by Anna Codrea-Rado frames the Me Too movement in a positive way. NYT writes that "Women are posting messages on social media to show how commonplace sexual assault and harassment are, using the hashtag #MeToo" (Codrea-Rado). Thus, NYT emphasizes that it is women specifically who are posting messages on social media, and therefore this movement is about women and driven by women. Further, NYT frames Me Too as the catalyst that made it happen, and thus they represent the movement in a positive way. The article was published in the beginning of Me Too's eruption on October 16th 2017. Hence, it is not surprising that NYT frames the movement positively because at the time Me Too had recently helped reveal the reality and magnitude of the struggles that women in particular face when it comes to sexual assault and harassment.

NYT generally uses an empowering discourse, which is seen through the following sentence: "Harvey Weinstein is certainly not the first powerful man publicly and credibly accused of sexually harassing or abusing women" (Codrea-Rado). NYT uses the adverb 'credibly' which implies that based on the evidence available, the accusations against Weinstein are easily believed. Hence, through the adverb 'credibly', NYT states that they believe the stories of Weinstein's survivors. The effect of this is that other survivors may be encouraged to speak out against their abusers because they can see the support given to those who have already spoken out against their abusers.

NYT further represents the Me Too movement as being respected and valued by a lot of people through the inclusion of social actors who support the movement: "Other celebrities who took part [in the Me Too movement] include Anna Paquin, Debra Messing, Laura Dreyfuss, Lady Gaga and Evan Rachel Wood. Men also expressed their support" and "Twitter bolstered the #MeToo hashtag by promoting it on Moments, its platform of curated stories, and the company pointed to its statement in which it said it was "proud to empower and support the voices on our platform"" (Codrea-Rado). Hence, NYT states that the movement is not only supported by women but also by men and companies such as Twitter. Additionally, the empowering discourse surrounding the Me Too movement is seen through the positive adjective 'proud' and the positive verbs 'bolstered', 'empower' and 'support'. The effect of the inclusion of these social actors and the empowering discourse is that the readers are encouraged to welcome the movement with opens arms just as the listed social actors and companies did. Further, the readers are encouraged to speak out if they have experienced sexual abuse.

In the other article "#MeToo Paradox: Movement Topples the Powerful, Not the Ordinary" (2019) by Amanda Taub, the Me Too movement is represented in a significantly different way than the first article. Since this article was published over a year after the re-ignition of the movement, it is not unexpected that the article might have a different take on Me Too because it is easier to see the effects and consequences of the movement after it has been around for a while. Hence, this is exactly what Taub does: she evaluates and concludes what effects the Me Too movement has had on society so far. The headline reveals that NYT views Me Too as a paradox because the movement topples the powerful but not the ordinary. Hence, NYT represents two social actor groups: the "powerful" group and the "ordinary" group (Taub). By classifying the social actor groups through these two adjectives, NYT explicitly differentiates one group of social actors (the powerful) from another social actor group (the ordinary) to express that there is an in-group and an out-group dilemma within the movement, which is the paradox of Me Too. Thus, through the representation of the social actor groups, NYT claims that only certain people benefit from Me Too. The effect of this is that the readers start to question the power of the movement to create social change for all.

NYT states that "#MeToo has spread broadly around the world", and admits that the Me Too movement has brought a reckoning to powerful men around the world, "from politicians and movie magnates in the United States to business titans and Bollywood heroes in India" (Taub). Thus, NYT frames Me Too as having had a positive effect all over the world in terms of holding powerful men accountable for their actions. NYT's framing of the movement then takes a turn: "Yet the movement has had **little** effect on the **broader** problem of sexual abuse, harassment and violence by men who are neither famous nor particularly powerful" (Taub; emphasis added). The conjunction 'yet' expresses that this sentence examines the effect of the movement more critically. Further, through the use of antonymy (bolded), NYT reinforces the reality of the Me Too paradox: the Me Too movement's efforts have not quite managed to solve the problem of sexual abuse, harassment and violence on a larger scale as it has not had the same effect on ordinary people.

According to NYT, Me Too has indeed been successful in showing people around the world that sexual abuse by powerful men is a great problem. However, the movement "has **failed** – crucially – to change the consensus in bigger ways….it has **failed** to help many ordinary women" (Taub; emphasis added). The effect of the rewording (bolded), the negative verb 'fail' and the adverb 'crucially' is that NYT emphasizes how unsuccessful the movement has been in making sure that abusers from all walks of life are held accountable for sexual abuse. NYT also uses assimilation, which is marked by the presence of the indefinite quantifier 'many'. With this, NYT indicates that, as a consequence of the movement's failure to hold every abuser accountable, Me Too has failed to help not a few but 'many' ordinary women. Thus, NYT reinforces how

problematic it is that the Me Too movement appears to have forgotten ordinary women because this means that "the abuse goes unpunished and the broader culture of harassment unchanged" (Taub). Rather than focusing on individual abusers, NYT stresses that it is 'the abuse' that goes unpunished. NYT personifies the noun 'abuse' as if the movement has failed to catch a harmful person: 'the abuse' gets away without being punished, and therefore the culture of harassment goes unchanged.

NYT uses another powerful sentence to exemplify to the readers how harmful it is for Me Too to forget and ignore ordinary people: "inequality limits #MeToo's power" (Taub). Through this sentence, NYT emphasizes that inequality is preventing Me Too from reaching its goal of ending sexual abuse, and thus 'inequality' controls and limits the movement's power. Hence, NYT indicates that the movement's power depends on it equally focusing on abusers and survivors from all walks of life, and that Me Too is limiting the effect it could have on the broader problem by not doing so. In addition, NYT foregrounds subordinate clauses to focus on ordinary survivors, such as in the following sentence: "If an American factory worker or a Mexican victim of sexual assault tries to call out an individual perpetrator, and maybe even a broader culture of abuse, **she cannot count on powerful women and allies to come to her aid**" (Taub; emphasis added). Strikingly, NYT uses the independent clause (bolded) to suggest that 'powerful women and allies' are not doing enough to advance the movement, and that they need to get more involved in supporting ordinary people.

Throughout the article, NYT frames the Me Too movement negatively by critiquing its ability to help ordinary survivors, and thus the Taub article manages to give a very balanced account of Me Too. Hence, this article fulfills NYT's intention of reporting without fear or favor and providing their readers with a complete account of the movement. The effect of NYT's impartial and balanced account of the movement is that it strengthens the reliability of the statement about the Me Too paradox. NYT manages to present the paradox effectively by crediting the movement for its ability to topple powerful abusers, yet critiquing it for its lack of ability to topple ordinary abusers. The effect of this is that the readers are made aware of the movement's weakness without discrediting the work it has already done. Hence, NYT's honesty and balanced coverage of Me Too make their critique of and claim about the movement believable and convincing to the readers.

Breitbart News: #MeToo Reinforces Inequality between Genders

In the article "Cassie Jaye on #MeToo: 'Falsely accused people are victims, too'" (2018) by Robert Kraychik, the readers are presented with the views of American film director Cassie Jaye.

Therefore, Kraychik primarily uses one social actor's views to represent the Me Too movement as having repercussions for men:

> **We** all need to recognize that falsely accused people are victims, too…I think what's a **problem** with **our** discussion around the accusations and **the accused** is **we** automatically take **woman**'s word as the truth if **she**'s accusing **someone** (Kraychik; emphasis added).

Jaye claims that a problem exists with the Me Too movement and the discussion around the accusations and the accused: 'we' have a tendency to believe women when they make allegations against 'someone'. Jaye uses a formal feature with relational value, specifically the pronoun 'we', to speak on behalf of herself, the readers and society in general. She uses this pronoun to shift the responsibility of the problem onto everybody. Further, Jaye uses determination to refer to the accuser by using the terms 'woman' and 'she'. However, Jaye then uses indetermination to refer to the social actors who have been accused, which is seen through the pronoun 'someone'. Thus, Jaye frames the problem only in relation to women being accusers, and not men, but does not specify the gender of those who have been accused.

Further, Jaye states that "falsely accused people are victims, too" (Kraychik). The noun 'victim' is defined as "a person who has been attacked, injured or killed as the result of a crime, a disease, an accident, etc." and as "a person who has been tricked" ("Victim"). What is remarkable about Jaye's use of the term 'victim' in relation to Me Too is that usually the term is reserved for victims[21] of sexual abuse, but here it is used to refer to people who have been falsely accused. Thus, Jaye compares victims of sexual abuse to falsely accused people, and implicitly equates the trauma of being sexually abused to that of being falsely accused. In using the noun 'victim' to also refer to people who have been falsely accused, Jaye seeks to change the readers' perception of the word.

Jaye further states that "If we're really searching for equality…then we shouldn't automatically believe one person's word over the other because of their sex" (Kraychik). In this sentence, Jaye uses the dependent clause to introduce her views on what she thinks the aim of the movement is: she assumes that the aim is 'equality'. In the independent clause, Jaye then uses the movement's aim of equality in her own argument: a person's sex should not have an influence on whether 'we' believe this person's word or not. In other words, Jaye frames the Me Too movement

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[21] Considering the context of the article, we have chosen to use the term 'victim' instead of 'survivor' here.

as not fighting for equality but as reinforcing inequality by automatically believing women's words over the words of those who have been accused.

This then leads Jaye to her next point: "men are going to be afraid to work with women" (Kraychik). In terms of role allocation, Jaye gives the social actor groups 'men' the active role to put a different spin on the Me Too movement: men are afraid to work with women and not the other way around. Hence, Jaye uses a men versus women discourse and the effect of this is that the readers are persuaded to think that men are victims of the Me Too movement because they might be falsely accused of sexual abuse. Thus, Jaye clearly opposes the Me Too movement, which is also clear in the following quote:

> I don't think young girls should be <u>idolizing</u> and striving to be [#MeToo victims][22]. I would rather see female NASA engineers, or mothers and teachers, or something that you can really look up to as an empowered woman. I'm worried that a lot of young girls are going to see all these women and <u>celebrities</u> that they look up to and think they got all this <u>fame</u> and <u>power</u> for being a rape victim…I don't think we should be <u>glamorizing</u> that experience and those traumas for young girls and women to try to emulate or achieve (Kraychik; emphasis added).

Jaye uses a fame discourse (underlined words) to state that the consequences of Me Too 'glamorizing' 'rape victims' is that young girls start to idolize them. Further, Jaye states that these young girls will associate 'rape victims' with fame and power, and that this is alarming because they might want to emulate them. Through the verb 'worried' Jaye expresses that she thinks that this is a serious problem. Additionally, Jaye claims that as an empowered woman, you should be looking up to women such as female engineers, mothers, teachers, etc. However, she also implicitly states that 'rape victims' who have spoken up against their rapists are not also empowering, and thus excludes 'rape victims' from these groups of women. This could have the effect of provoking the readers: is a 'rape victim' just a 'rape victim' and not also a survivor? Can a 'rape victim' not also be a teacher, mother, NASA engineer, etc. and thus be characterized as an empowered woman? Further, by referring to the survivors as 'rape victims', Jaye takes the focus away from the fact that the movement does not merely focus on rape but on every form of sexual abuse.

The article focuses on Jaye's views of the Me Too movement. However, it is also apparent that Breitbart News supports her views, and thus it is beneficial for them to include a social actor

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[22] The '#MeToo victims' was inserted in brackets by the journalist.

whose views are similar to theirs. The journalist makes a short and concise statement in which it is clear that he supports Jaye's views: "Democrats and leftists regularly call for **women's** accusations of sexual assault **against men** to be believed" (Kraychik; emphasis added). Hence, Kraychik also uses a 'men versus women' discourse (bolded), and he explicitly supports Jaye's view that 'we' have a tendency to automatically believe the accusations of sexual assault made by women. In contrast to Jaye, Kraychik specifies the types of people who call for women's accusations to be believed, namely Democrats and leftists. This statement reflects Breitbart News' political standpoint, namely that they lean towards the right side of the political spectrum. Since the article expresses that it is unfair that women's accusations are automatically believed, Breitbart News explicitly distances itself from the people who call for women's accusations to be believed automatically. Thus, by pointing out that it is Democrats and leftists who have this tendency, Breitbart News implies that Republicans do not have this tendency.

To support his statement about Democrats, Kraychik includes a tweet from Hillary Clinton[23] in which she writes: "To every survivor of sexual assault...You have the right to be heard. You have the right to be believed. We're with you" (Kraychik). Kraychik uses this tweet to show that Clinton is an example of a Democrat who calls for women's accusations to be believed, and thus presents it as evidence of his statement. Kraychik does not further comment on his statement about Democrats and leftists or on Clinton's tweet. Hence, Kraychik assumes that the readers will believe his claim on the basis of Clinton's tweet alone. Noticeably, unlike Kraychik and Jaye, Hillary Clinton does not use a 'men versus women' discourse in her tweet. Rather, she uses the gender-neutral term 'survivor' when referencing people, not just women, who experienced sexual assault and thus have the right to be heard and believed. Hence, Breitbart News fails to completely live up to their intention of always telling the truth because Kraychik does not acknowledge that Clinton does not express in her tweet that she calls for women's accusations against men to be automatically believed. If Kraychik had included more examples to prove that Democrats and leftists 'regularly' have the tendency to believe women's accusations against men more than Republicans then his statements would be more believable.

Another way that Breitbart News expresses that they support Jaye's statements is when they include a photo from what appears to be a Me Too march (see fig. 4).

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[23] Clinton was the Democratic Party's nominee for president in 2016.

Fig. 4 Me Too march (Kraychik).

Noticeably, there is a woman in the photo holding a poster that says "BELIEVE WOMEN!".
Breitbart News has included the picture as evidence of Jaye's claims that society has a tendency to
always believe women without questioning the validity of their accusations.

In the article "Nolte: No Surprise #MeToo Era Punishes Professional Women" (2018) by
John Nolte, the Me Too movement is framed similarly to how it was framed in the other article.
From reading the headline, the readers would expect the article to revolve around how Me Too
punishes professional women. However, the article focuses mainly on how the movement punishes
men.

Breitbart News states that in the Me Too era "you are guilty until proven innocent" (Nolte,
"Nolte: No Surprise"). Breitbart News uses the pronoun 'you' to refer to people in general. Through
the pronoun 'you', Breitbart News encourages the readers to imagine how they would feel if they
were the ones in the position of being 'guilty until proven innocent'. Presumably, the readers would
not feel this is fair, and thus, Breitbart News uses this to argue against Me Too. Additionally,
Breitbart News has included a photo of a man holding a poster that says: "America's First #MeToo
Conviction: Guilty. Guilty. Guilty" (see fig. 5).

Fig. 5 #MeToo (Nolte, "Nolte: No Surprise").

Breitbart News uses the photo to strengthen their argument that Me Too immediately convicts people as 'guilty' when someone makes accusations against them.

Similar to the other article, this article expresses the idea that men have an inferior status in the Me Too era because when a woman accuses a man of sexual abuse, he is guilty until proven innocent. The journalist adds to his statement that in the Me Too era "you are guilty until proven innocent — especially if you are a male conservative" (Nolte, "Nolte: No Surprise"). Thus, Breitbart News emphasizes that it is often men who are targeted by Me Too, and specifically 'conservative' men. Through the use of the term 'conservative' Breitbart News expresses their political beliefs. Considering how Breitbart News favors conservative causes it is likely that their readers would favor those causes as well, and thus by framing Me Too as especially targeting 'conservative' men, the readers are likely to view the movement extremely negatively. Breitbart News' intention of always telling the truth can be questioned as the journalist does not back up his statement about especially male conservatives being 'guilty until proven innocent' with any examples or evidence of this being the case. Hence, as with the Kraychik article, the journalist in this article makes a statement without any evidence to back it up.

Breitbart News frames the Me Too movement negatively by stating that in the Me Too era "approaching others can destroy you forever" (Nolte, "Nolte: No Surprise"). By not specifying the social actors that are being referred to but simply using the term 'others', Breitbart News makes it seem like no one can approach anyone without getting destroyed because of Me Too. Although, later the journalist specifies that "some men are avoiding women at all costs" (Nolte, "Nolte: No Surprise"), and thus he makes it clear that he is referring to how this affects men specifically. Through the verb 'destroy', Breitbart News attempts to make the readers understand the extent to which men get affected and damaged by the movement: it prevents men from moving on with their lives. To prove this statement, Breitbart News references a social actor whose life, according to the journalist, has been destroyed by accusations, namely Woody Allen: "men like Woody Allen are **destroyed** even though two investigations cleared him" (Nolte, "Nolte: No Surprise"; emphasis added). Thus, Breitbart News uses this example to convince the readers of the truth of the argument: men get destroyed both personally and professionally forever. However, Nolte fails to mention that Allen actually had a successful career even after the accusations against him: "Allen went on to direct more than two dozen films in the 26 years that passed since Farrow's initial accusation" (Valle). Hence, Nolte's argument that the accusations against Allen destroyed his career does not prove his point, and hence here it can be argued that Nolte does not live up to Breitbart News' intention of providing their readers with the truth.

According to Breitbart News, "This was before our insane society and media empowered women to make *false accusations*" (Nolte, "Nolte: No Surprise"). Through the negative adjective 'insane', the journalist emphasizes just how much he feels society and media have lost their sanity because of the Me Too movement – so much that they have started to empower women to make 'false accusations'. Moreover, through the negative adjective 'false', the journalist represents the women who have been empowered by Me Too as always making false accusations, and thus he frames it as if there is no truth to any of the accusations.

The journalist further states that he "simply cannot imagine what is must be like for professional men who supervise or work with professional women. Men are avoiding women at all costs" (Nolte, "Nolte: No Surprise"). Breitbart News uses the antonymy (men and women) alongside the adverb 'simply' to emphasize how the Me Too movement has reinforced a divide between men and women. This is also evident in the statement that men are willing to do everything to avoid women in order to protect themselves from being accused. The journalist lives up to Breitbart News' intention of telling the truth by including a report from the information and

technology company Bloomberg,[24] which backs up and strengthens the reliability of the statements the journalist has made: "Don't sit next to them [women] on flights. Book hotel rooms on different floors. Avoid one-on-one meetings" (Nolte, "Nolte: No Surprise"). Thus, Bloomberg presents an example of how the Me Too movement has resulted in men having to follow a set of rules to protect themselves.

Breitbart News states that as a result of the Me Too movement "Men today are made to feel like criminals for being attracted to a co-worker. Men are now protecting themselves in the only way they can — by keeping their distance" (Nolte, "Nolte: No Surprise"). Thus, Breitbart News expresses that Me Too has had repercussions for men because they can easily be labeled as 'criminals'. The effect of the movement being framed as having repercussions for men is that Breitbart News makes the readers forget about who and what Me Too is about. Instead, Breitbart News makes the readers think about the movement in relation to how it negatively affects innocent men. Further, similar to the other article, this article represents the Me Too movement as reinforcing inequality between men and women. The inequality is reinforced as a result of men protecting themselves out of fear of being falsely accused by distancing themselves from women in the workplace, which leaves both men and women with fewer opportunities.

The Louis C.K. Case

In the wake of the Me Too movement, which followed the accusations against Harvey Weinstein, many other prominent people in the entertainment industry were also publicly accused. One of those was comedian Louis C.K. In a report in The New York Times on November 9th 2017, five women accused C.K. of using his power in the comedy world to intimidate and sexually harass them (Framke). Among them were comedians Dana Min Goodman, Julia Wolov, Abby Schachner and Rebecca Corry (Izadi). The report shed light on rumors of sexual harassment that had followed the comedian for years, and it detailed the five women's accounts of similar situations in which C.K. either asked or forced them to watch him masturbate (Framke). The day after the allegations were made public, he released a statement beginning with "These stories are true" and ending with "I will now step back and take a long time to listen" (Izadi). C.K. has since returned to comedy in multiple unannounced appearances at comedy clubs in New York, including one in August and one in October of 2018, less than a year after his admission and promise to step back (Barden).

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[24] Bloomberg states that they "connect decision makers to a dynamic network of data, people and ideas – accurately delivering business and financial information, news and insights to customers around the world" ("About Bloomberg").

CNN: Me Too and the Different Experiences of Women and Men

One article opens with a direct quote from C.K.'s "statement of admission" in which he promises to "step back and take a long time to listen", and throughout the article CNN references that "Louis C.K. admitted [the accusations] were all true" (Thomas, "This is why"). Thus, CNN uses the first sentence to establish that C.K., by his own admission, is guilty of sexual abuse, and then they continuously remind the readers that there is no doubt about his guilt. The journalist then refers to his actions becoming public knowledge as "the uncomfortable revelations" (Thomas, "This is why"). The adjective 'uncomfortable' has expressive value as it evaluates the revelations of C.K.'s sexual abuse as being unpleasant and difficult to deal with.

In the articles, C.K. is described as "profoundly unpleasant" (Thomas, "Louis C.K.'s Parkland Joke) and as a "rich, white, middle-class man", who "found the confidence to get back on the horse so quickly" (Thomas, "This is why"). The words 'profoundly unpleasant' evaluate him as a person who has a great negative effect on people, specifically because he "intends to cause offence" (Thomas, "Louis C.K.'s Parkland Joke). The idiom 'get back on the horse' is typically used about returning to something that one had previously failed at or which had caused one harm. Here it refers to C.K. returning to stand-up comedy after the sexual abuse had been made public, which prevented him from performing. This is then followed by the adverb 'quickly', which contrasts C.K.'s statement that he would 'take a long time to listen'. Thus, CNN uses the idiom to point out how little time C.K. actually decided was a 'long time', and thus CNN suggests that he had not actually spend enough time to really understand why his actions were wrong.

One of the articles describes C.K.'s approach towards his comeback as his "nonchalant approach" (Thomas, "This is why"). Thus, CNN points out his carefree attitude towards the situation, and they emphasize that although he expressed remorse in his statement of admission, his behavior does not show remorse. CNN also refers to his stand-up set as an "also-horrendous new set" (Thomas, "Louis C.K.'s Parkland Joke), and thus they evaluate it negatively through the use of the adjective 'horrendous'. His 'nonchalant approach' and the evaluation of his set as 'horrendous' are particularly intriguing as both articles reference that he made "rape jokes" (Thomas, "Louis C.K.'s Parkland Joke) and a "rape whistle joke" (Thomas, "This is why"). Considering the context of him having admitted to sexual abuse, his choice to include jokes about rape in his stand-up set shows that he did not take the situation seriously. The effect of CNN stressing that C.K. made inappropriate jokes is that readers will view him negatively: C.K. did not learn from his past mistakes as he had promised to do in his statement of admission.

The Me Too movement is directly referenced in both CNN articles. In one article it is stated that: "Some have complained about the disproportionate attention paid to women since the advent of #MeToo, and the excessive noise they have made" (Thomas, "This is why"). CNN uses indetermination realized by the indefinite pronoun 'some' to represent an unspecified, 'anonymous' group of social actors that view Me Too negatively as they have 'complained' about it. By using indetermination, CNN distances themselves from this group, and thus they establish that they do not share this view of the movement but are rather just reporting why 'some' view it negatively. They then include one social actor and his views about Me Too: "Austrian filmmaker Michael Haneke has described the movement as "prejudice hysteria" and "man-hating Puritanism"" (Thomas, "This is why"). Thus, the journalist gives an example of someone who has presented this view while distancing herself and CNN from the statement. Haneke presents the view that Me Too is 'prejudice hysteria' and 'man-hating Puritanism', and thus he represents the movement as being extremely negative, particularly towards men.

The other article mentions Me Too in relation to Louis C.K.'s stand-up set and the consequences the movement has for the accused: "The set…was swiftly condemned but presumably also provided some comfort for anyone concerned that #MeToo irrevocably wrecks men's lives" (Thomas, "Louis C.K.'s Parkland Joke). Although the journalist references that C.K.'s set was quickly 'condemned', i.e. people expressed their disapproval of it, she hints at how the sexual abuse admission did not have much of a consequence for C.K. The sentence references a critique that is often mentioned in relation to Me Too, which is that it 'irrevocably wrecks men's lives'. Here the journalist points to the opposite; despite C.K. admitting to the accusations, it did not wreck his life forever as he was still allowed to perform again.

The CNN articles frame the movement as a narrative of women versus men as exemplified by these words in the above quotes: 'the disproportionate attention paid to women', 'man-hating', and 'wrecks men's lives'. In relation to the women versus men narrative, the articles also emphasize the different experiences of women and men. This is exemplified when CNN mentions that "Male inclusion is taken for granted" and "Women fight harder to get into entertainment" (Thomas, "This is why"). These sentences have experiential value as they are a trace of the way in which the journalist's experience of the social world is represented. In the experience of the journalist, men and women are treated differently, especially in the entertainment industry where male inclusion is the default and women have to work harder to be included.

The different experience of men and women is exemplified in relation to the social actors. Despite C.K. admitting to his actions, he was welcomed back by his male peers in particular as CNN mentions that fellow comedians Mo Amer "praised [C.K.'s] performance" and Josh Wolf

tweeted that he was not sure why people were "upset, that Louis CK is doing standup again" (Thomas, "This is why"). Both comedians thus expressed a willingness to let him return and lacked understanding as to why others may not have been okay with it. The CNN article emphasizes how Louis C.K.'s return has been positively welcomed by some people. In contrast to this, the article mentions another social actor, comedian Rebecca Corry, who is one of C.K.'s survivors. It is stated that she "has described how she was initially hesitant to [expose C.K.]. She agonized over the decision while watching others who'd come forward be torn apart" (Thomas, "This is why"). Corry is individualized as a social actor, and given the opportunity to express how she was hesitant to speak out against C.K. because she knew she would endure more abuse from this decision. Thus, her statement is used by CNN to support the argument that women who speak out about their abuse end up enduring more abuse for doing so, and thus those women find it more difficult to get back to work than the men who abused them. By including Corry's statement, CNN aims to have their readers consider the long-lasting consequences abuse has on women in particular. Further, it exemplifies why it is important how people react to survivors speaking out because Corry almost did not speak out after she saw 'others who'd come forward be torn apart'.

Fox News: #MeToo Purgatory

In the Fox News coverage, Louis C.K. is described as a "Controversial comedian" (Betz). The adjective 'controversial', which means "causing a lot of angry public discussion and disagreement" ("Controversial"), is used to represent C.K. in neither negative nor positive terms. C.K. is described as a person who is the subject of intense public discussion and disagreement because many people have strong opinions of him, some negative and others positive. Thus, Fox News remains objective by pointing out that the public have mixed opinions about him without stating that the readers should feel one way or another about him.

However, the same article focuses on the positive reaction C.K. has received since returning to comedy after his sexual abuse admission. The headline states that he was "embraced" by the audience, and in the article, it is mentioned multiple times that he was "largely embraced", "greeted warmly", and that he got a "mostly positive reception" (Betz). The verb 'embraced' frames his return positively as it means "to accept an idea, a proposal, a set of beliefs, etc., especially when it is done with enthusiasm" ("Embrace"). The enthusiasm for his return is also expressed in the phrase 'greeted warmly'. Fox News uses the adverbs 'largely' and 'mostly' to describe how it was the majority of the audience that enthusiastically welcomed him upon his return. Thus, Fox News frames C.K.'s comeback positively by explicitly referring to the positive reaction he got and by emphasizing that the majority of people accept C.K.'s return to the comedy scene. On the other

hand, Fox News only briefly mentions the negative reaction by referring to how "only two patrons walked out" (Betz). The adverb 'only' is used to emphasize that no one except for a few people actually showed any form of disapproval of C.K.'s performance. Thus, by not focusing on the negative reaction, Fox News indicates that there is no reason that C.K. should not be allowed back.

Another reaction to C.K.'s unannounced appearance that Fox News mentions is that of Noam Dworman, who owns the comedy club where C.K. performed. Fox News states that Dworman was unaware of C.K.'s first appearance, and that he was "apprehensive" about allowing C.K. to return (Betz). Fox News quotes Dworman as having said: "I'm hoping that he'll [talk] about it with me so it can be done in a way that people feel it's not dismissive of the seriousness of what he's accused of" (Betz). Thus, Dworman's quote makes it clear that he believes that C.K. should be allowed to return but that it should be planned. By stating that they should talk about how to do it in a way that is not 'dismissive' implies that the way C.K. has gone about it as of now, i.e. by not acknowledging it at all, has been dismissive of the situation. Dworman also refers to C.K.'s sexual abuse as 'what he's accused of' rather that 'what he did', and thus he does not acknowledge that C.K. confirmed that the accusations were true.

The other article focuses entirely on the opinion of one social actor, Janeane Garofalo, who is an actress, a stand-up comedian and a friend of C.K.'s. Garofalo appeared on the feminist Bust podcast and is quoted as having said: "Leave Louis C.K. alone…I think he has suffered…if nothing else, care about his daughters…Why don't you leave him alone for them if you're so women-empowering?" (Sager). Garofalo shows support for C.K. and makes an authority claim when she says that she believes he has 'suffered', i.e. he has been negatively affected because of his transgression. Thus, she argues that because she has seen that he has suffered for what he did, people should forgive him. Garofalo tries to evoke sympathy for C.K. by mentioning how this negativity towards him also affects his daughters, and thus people should consider their feelings. She uses a formal feature with relational value, specifically the pronoun 'you', to directly address the listeners, and she uses the term 'women-empowering' to argue that people should consider the women who are affected by the situation, i.e. his daughters. Thus, she focuses on the women in his life, instead of the women he sexually abused, to make her argument. The effect of Garofalo focusing on how the situation has affected C.K.'s daughters is that she disregards how the situation must have negatively affected the women C.K. sexually abused, which provokes and infuriates both the readers and survivors.

The Fox News articles directly mention Me Too in relation to the C.K. case. In one article, the focus is on when abusers should be allowed to return to their respective careers as it asks: "How long should #MeToo purgatory last?" (Betz). This is the first sentence, and the article thus starts

with asking the readers a grammatical question, which Fox News wants the readers to consider. Through the grammatical question, Fox News establishes that it should not be a question of whether abusers should be forgiven but rather of how much time must pass until they can be forgiven, i.e. 'How long'. Thus, Fox News indicates that abusers should not be condemned forever. By asking 'How long', they focus on how there should be established a specific amount of time that must pass, rather than focusing on how the abusers should show remorse for what they did, apologize, and change their behavior. Startlingly, Fox News refers to the Me Too movement by specifically calling the negative repercussions that abusers experience from it for "#MeToo purgatory" (Betz). Purgatory is defined as "(in Roman Catholic teaching) a place or state in which the souls of dead people suffer for the bad things they did when they were living, so that they can become pure enough to go to heaven" or "any place or state of suffering" ("Purgatory"). Thus, the journalist is describing Me Too as a way to punish abusers rather than as a movement to help survivors heal. The focus is thus shifted away from the survivors and the movement's intention of helping survivors by getting them to understand that they are not alone.

The other article's reference to Me Too focuses on Garofalo's opinion of the movement, which is expressed in the headline where it is stated that she "compares #MeToo movement to 'Twilight Zone'" (Sager). The 'Twilight Zone' is "a US television series…which each week had a different strange story with a surprising ending…The phrase 'in the twilight zone' is still used in American English to describe something mysterious" ("The Twilight Zone"). Thus, by comparing #MeToo to the 'Twilight Zone', Garofalo is expressing that the movement is strange and difficult to comprehend. In relation to this, it is reported that Garofalo "took issue with the #MeToo movement as a whole out of fear of falsely accused persons suffering needlessly" (Sager). Thus, her main argument against the movement revolves around not wanting to see 'falsely accused persons' suffering, which is a peculiar argument to bring up in relation to the C.K. case as he admitted that the accusations against him were true.

The New York Times: Has C.K. Been Listening to What Me Too Has to Say?

In NYT's coverage, only one article explicitly mentions the positive reaction to C.K.'s return to comedy. The journalist writes "the audience…greeted him warmly, with an ovation even before he began" (Ryzik). The audience's enthusiasm for his return is expressed in the phrase 'greeted him warmly' and by how they welcomed him back with an 'ovation' before he even started his set. By using the positive adverb 'warmly' to emphasize the way in which C.K. was greeted, the article seeks to let the readers understand that the audience was happy about C.K's comeback. The article also briefly mentions a social actor, comedian Mo Amer, who praised C.K.'s performance by saying

it was "like, classic Louis, really really good" (Ryzik). Thus, despite it being his first performance since he admitted to the accusations, people appeared to have no problem with his return. However, both of the NYT articles mention the negative response to C.K.'s return. In one article, it is pointed out that an audience member objected to C.K.'s return, and it is explained that "he wished he had known in advance, so he could've decided whether to have been there or not" (Ryzik), whereas the other article mentions that "He received a fair amount of backlash for his re-emergence" (Nancherla). Thus, both NYT articles express that his return has not been welcomed by everyone, and although one of them mentions the positive response, it is merely stated as a fact and not as an endorsement from NYT.

The headlines of both articles do not focus on how he was received by the public but rather mention that he returned and question whether he should have been allowed to return. One reads "Louis C.K. Performs First Stand-Up Set at Club Since Admitting to #MeToo Cases" (Ryzik) and the other "Who Gets a Second Chance?" (Nancherla). Thus, by not mentioning the positive reaction from the audience in the headline, neither of the articles immediately frames his return positively. One of the headlines takes the form of a grammatical question, and thus it directly asks the readers to consider the topic of second chances before even mentioning who the article is about. The journalist then immediately afterwards brings up the case by stating that: "Louis C.K. decided it was time for his" (Nancherla). Typically, it is not the person who has behaved badly that gets to decide whether they get a second chance or not, but the article states that this is exactly what C.K. has done. Thus, by mentioning this right after the grammatical question, the NYT article emphasizes that just because C.K. has returned, it does not necessarily mean that he deserved to.

One article includes and individualizes one social actor, Noam Dworman, who is the owner of the comedy club that C.K. performed in. He is quoted as having said: "there can't be a permanent life sentence on someone who does something wrong" and "audiences should have the leeway to decide what to watch themselves" (Ryzik). Hence, Dworman focuses on how people should be given a second chance so they can prove that they have changed their behavior, while also asserting that people should be allowed to decide for themselves if they want to support those who have been accused. Thus, both articles from NYT touch upon the topic of giving people a second chance. The last part of Dworman's statement is particularly intriguing in relation to the C.K. case as it is mentioned in the same article that C.K. made a surprise appearance at Dworman's comedy club, and thus the audience was not given a choice as to whether they would want to support C.K.'s return. The NYT article does not explicitly make the connection between the statement and this fact but rather leaves the readers to make that connection themselves.

Both NYT articles assimilate C.K.'s survivors as a group by referring to them as "women in the comedy world" (Ryzik), "five women" (Ryzik; Nancherla) and "his victims" (Nancherla). Thus, C.K.'s survivors are for the most part not given an opportunity to express their thoughts on his return but are rather just referenced briefly. As a result, the readers are prevented from getting an insight into the stories of C.K's survivors. The articles mainly use the neutral term 'women' when mentioning the survivors, except for the one instance where the term 'victims' is used. Thus, by grouping them together as mainly 'women' rather than 'victims', the NYT coverage effectively takes the focus away from the sexual abuse they endured. Although their names are mostly not mentioned, one of the articles does individualize one of C.K.'s survivors, Rebecca Corry. Corry is briefly quoted about her experience after speaking out about C.K.: "I've received death threats, been berated, judged, ridiculed, dismissed, shamed, and attacked" (Ryzik). The experience is described through overwording, i.e. an unusually high degree of wording. The overwording consists of words that are all extremely negative (berated, judged, ridiculed, dismissed, shamed, attacked), and it shows Corry's preoccupation with the negative impact the case has had on her reality. Thus, NYT uses this quote to emphasize how speaking out about your abuser can have a negative impact on your life, and NYT effectively points out one of the reasons why many people do not speak out. Corry's experience thus stands in stark contrast with the positive reaction to C.K.'s return, which was described in the same article. The effect of this is that the readers are reminded that for survivors the negative experience does not end with the sexual abuse itself but continues to follow them afterwards – especially if they have to witness their abusers face almost no consequences while they themselves receive backlash for speaking out against them.

The Me Too movement is directly mentioned in both articles from NYT. One article refers to C.K. as "one of dozens of men who have been toppled in the aftermath of…the #MeToo movement" (Ryzik). The verb 'toppled', meaning "to make somebody lose their position of power or authority" ("Topple"), is used in relation to the effect Me Too has had on men. Thus, the journalist focuses on how Me Too has impacted abusers specifically, namely by removing them from their positions of power, instead of how the movement has helped the survivors. In the other article, the Me Too movement is mentioned after the journalist has quoted C.K.'s statement of admission: "I guess we, the public, are to assume he has been listening since then? As if the #MeToo movement is just one long podcast with the occasional Squarespace ad? And "a long time" is now less than one calendar year?" (Nancherla). The three statements posed as questions are used to express doubts about whether C.K. is taking the situation seriously and to prompt the readers to doubt this too. The journalist points out that C.K. appears to believe that Me Too was all about him just listening to why his actions were wrong for a short period of time without actually showing any

remorse for them. It is implied that, because of the way C.K. returned, he expects the public to just accept as a fact that he has changed now. The NYT article thus questions whether he actually fully understood why his actions were wrong. This point is further backed up when the journalist in the next paragraph explains that in his unannounced comedy set, C.K. "made…a joke about rape whistles" (Nancherla). Thus, the journalist implies that because C.K. feels it is acceptable for him to joke about rape, it shows that he has not changed at all.

Breitbart News: Me Too Could Be Dangerous

In terms of social actors, the articles make only a few references to C.K.'s survivors. One article simply refers to them as "five women" (Kew), while the other refers to them as "unwilling women" (Caruso). Thus, both articles assimilate the survivors as a group and neither of the articles uses any of their names despite the names of four out of five of the women being known. C.K.'s survivors are essentially excluded in the articles as there is no reference to what their thoughts are about C.K.'s return to comedy. Instead, they focus on the opinions of social actors who are not involved in the case, such as comedians Norm Macdonald and Michael Ian Black.

One article focuses entirely on the opinion of one social actor, namely Norm Macdonald. The journalist uses Macdonald's statements about Me Too to express how the movement could be dangerous. Macdonald's main thought about the Me Too movement is clearly stated in the headline "#MeToo will end with an innocent person committing suicide" and later in the article it is specified that it will be "over a false allegation" (Caruso). Macdonald's statement about Me Too is expressed through the use of modality. The modal verb 'will' is an example of expressive modality as it is a cue to the speaker's evaluation of the bit of reality it relates to. It is a matter of his authority with respect to the probability of a representation of reality. Thus, by using the modal verb 'will', he is predicting a very likely future that could happen as a result of Me Too. This future he represents is a negative one where an 'innocent person' will end up 'committing suicide'. Thus, he implies that the movement will eventually be used to make false allegations, and that it will lead to an innocent person losing their life through suicide.

Macdonald also expresses negativity towards Me Too's tendency to believe all women: "It used to be, 'One hundred women can't be lying.'…And that became, 'I believe all women.' And then you're like, 'What?'" (Caruso). By stating the question 'What?' at the end of the sentence, Macdonald is expressing surprise at how people just believe all accusations before being presented with proof or other accounts of similar encounters. Thus, in connection with his comment above about false accusations, he is implying that believing all women will mean believing false accusations as well, which will then leave to the negative outcome of an innocent person

committing suicide. Macdonald's arguments represent a common critique of the Me Too movement, which is that innocent people's lives could be ruined by it because of false allegations.

The article also presents Macdonald's views regarding how the Me Too movement treats the accused after they have admitted to what they did. Specifically, he criticizes the movement for not giving people a second chance: "Now it's admit wrongdoing and you're finished. And so the only way to survive is to deny, deny, deny" (Caruso). Macdonald focuses on how the movement does not allow for the accused to grow and become a better person but will just destroy their lives. He thus represents Me Too negatively by emphasizing that it will ruin people's careers even if they show complete contrition. In relation to the C.K. case, this is a surprising argument to bring up as C.K. returned to a standing ovation, and thus he was given a second chance, and although he admitted to what he did, he returned without acknowledging the situation and without really showing any remorse. Further, the verb 'survive' is used in relation to the accused, and thus he frames them as victims of the situation: in order to continue to live they have to deny the allegations, even if they are true because they will not be given a second chance. By emphasizing this, Macdonald is, as he did with the 'committing suicide' statement, expressing how the Me Too movement is dangerous and creates more victims. Macdonald goes further in order to frame C.K. as a victim in the case: "There are very few people that have gone through what they [C.K. and Roseanne Barr] have, losing everything in a day" (Caruso). Macdonald is trying to get the readers to sympathize with C.K. by stressing that he has lost everything because of this situation. C.K. and Barr are thus represented as victims despite them only 'losing everything' because of their own actions.

The other article begins with presenting the public's response to C.K.'s comeback. The headline reports that C.K. received a "standing ovation" during his first performance after admitting to sexual misconduct (Kew). The fact that C.K. received a standing ovation is not only mentioned in the headline but is repeated three times in the first couple of paragraphs, and thus Breitbart News highlights how enthusiastic the crowd was to see him return to the stage. The article, however, does not mention that it was not everyone who was happy about his surprise appearance, and hence Breitbart News does not live up to their intention of always telling the truth here. Instead, the article includes and individualizes one social actor, comedian Michael Ian Black, by mentioning his tweets about C.K.'s comeback where he stated that: "people have to be allowed to serve their time and move on with their lives…I'm happy to see him try" (Kew). Thus, Breitbart News emphasizes the positive response, not only from the audience, but also from his peers.

Remarkably, in one of the articles, Breitbart News brings up President Donald Trump in relation to how C.K. has strongly criticized him in the past. It is stated that C.K. had "outspoken and

often negative views on President Donald Trump" and that he maintains the belief "that Trump is a "dirty, rotten, lying sack of shit"" (Kew). Although Trump has no relation to the case at all, Breitbart News uses C.K.'s opinions about him to frame Trump positively, and C.K. negatively. C.K. is clearly framed as the bad guy because he admitted to having sexually abused women, and thus the readers should not trust C.K.'s negative judgement of Trump's character as a 'dirty, rotten, lying sack of shit'. Thus, Breitbart News mentions C.K.'s statement where he accuses Trump of being a bad person to emphasize to the readers how C.K. himself is a bad person as per his own admission of guilt. This inclusion of C.K.'s comments about Trump has no direct relevance to the case, however, it does reflect Breitbart News' political standpoint, namely that they lean towards the right side of the political spectrum. The positive framing of Trump also reflects what Media Bias/Fact Check (MBFC) concluded in their analysis of Breitbart News, namely that they "are highly pro-Trump in tone and story selection" ("Breitbart"). Breitbart News discredits C.K.'s statements about Trump by representing C.K. as the morally bad person – as a result of C.K.'s actions, Breitbart News believes that he has no authority to call someone else a 'dirty, rotten, lying sack of shit'. Hence, they use the C.K. case to positively represent a Republican, i.e. a person who shares their political standpoint and most likely also their readers' political standpoint.

The Asia Argento Case

Asia Argento is an Italian actress and director, and she emerged as one of the most prominent voices of the Me Too movement. She was one of the first women to publicly accuse Harvey Weinstein: "In 1997, I was raped by Harvey Weinstein here at Cannes. I was 21 years old" (Andrews). Argento's case is unique because she is a survivor who was then accused herself. In August 2018, actor Jimmy Bennett "alleged that a sexual interaction took place in 2013 when he was 17 (and she was 37) and he received a $380,000 settlement" from Argento shortly after she stated that she was raped by Weinstein (Kipnis). Bennett's decision to come forward was sparked by Argento's role in the Me Too movement: "I did not initially speak out about my story because I chose to handle it in private with the person who wronged me. My trauma resurfaced as she came out as a victim herself" (Winton). Argento admits paying the settlement[25] to Bennett but denies all allegations: "I am deeply shocked and hurt by having read news that is absolutely false. I have never had any sexual relationship with Bennett" (Winton). Regarding the status of the case, The Los

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[25] "Argento agreed to pay Bennett $US380,000 over an 18 month period, with her lawyer Carrie Goldberg describing the money as "helping Mr Bennett"" (Paine).

Angeles County Sheriff's Department officials have stated that they "are trying to reach out to all parties in the case" (Winton).

CNN: The Accusations Against Argento Strengthen Me Too

One of the articles from CNN uses passive sentence structures to emphasize the oddity of Argento's case: "<u>Italian actress Asia Argento,</u> whose allegations that **she was sexually assaulted by Harvey Weinstein** helped launch the #MeToo movement, <u>has been accused of sexual assault herself</u>" (Alaimo; emphasis added). CNN uses a complex sentence structure to give the readers additional information about Argento's case. Within the dependent clause, CNN uses a passive sentence structure (bolded) to foreground the fact that Argento was sexually assaulted, and thus CNN emphasizes the action being done to Argento rather than who the action was carried out by. Weinstein is still the activated social actor but because the clause is passive, his activation is represented through circumstantialisation, that is by the prepositional circumstantial with 'by'. The fact that the dependent clause foregrounds that Argento herself was sexually assaulted creates a contrast with the independent clause (underlined), which reveals that she is now being accused of the same thing. In the passive independent clause (underlined), Argento's passive role has also been foregrounded – this time to emphasize that she has been accused of sexual assault. However, the underlined sentence does not mention who the active social actor is at all, and hence the sentence is an example of 'passive agent deletion'. Bennett, Argento's survivor, is thus excluded or more specifically backgrounded. The effect of this is that the article seeks to make the readers focus on Argento being accused instead of focusing on who she was accused by.

As seen in the quote above, CNN recognizes Argento's prominent role in the Me Too movement but then states that there:

> is no question that such ugly accusations against such a significant leader of #MeToo don't help the movement, giving ammunition to misogynists who question women's stories of sexual harassment and abuse. <u>But do they present it with a setback?</u> They do not. They are, actually, evidence of its success (Alaimo; emphasis added).

Through the grammatical question (underlined), CNN asks a question to get the effect of having the readers wonder about it. CNN admits that when a leading figure in the Me Too movement is accused of sexual abuse, it does not help the movement. However, through the use of antonymy ('setback' and 'success'), CNN aims to convince the readers that they should not see this as a setback but rather as a success. CNN states that Jimmy Bennett's "willingness to challenge Argento

shows that he is aware that the barriers to men reporting allegations of sexual abuse may finally be breaking down" (Alaimo). CNN praises Bennett for being ready to report women like Argento as this shows that the 'barriers' to men reporting sexual abuse are slowly breaking down, and thus him reporting sexual abuse will help break them down even more. The adverb 'finally' is used to emphasize that it is about time as men are even less likely to report sexual abuse than women, and this is exactly why CNN sees the allegations against Argento as a success for Me Too. Hence, even though CNN expresses that the allegations against a survivor will make 'misogynists' question women's tales of sexual abuse even more, the readers should be able to see how this supposed setback is actually proof of the movement's success.

CNN further states that: "the flood of victims who have disclosed sexual abuse as part of the #MeToo movement is beginning to erode the fears many victims associate with reporting assault. The women…who have spoken out against prominent men thought to be untouchable have set a powerful example" (Alaimo). CNN represents Me Too positively by acknowledging the movement's ability to empower survivors to disclose sexual abuse, and how this is empowering more survivors to speak out. The journalist expresses that this is largely due to how the fear of speaking out has been removed because others have spoken out about abusers who were thought to be 'untouchable'. The adjective 'untouchable' is used to describe the abusers, and "a person who is **untouchable** is in a position where they are unlikely to be punished or criticized" ("Untouchable"). Hence, CNN emphasizes the positive impact Me Too has had for survivors, because they now no longer see their abusers as exempt from punishment or criticism. Thus, Me Too has made it easier for survivors to speak out against their abusers.

CNN further expresses how the Me Too movement is not only for female survivors: "Although the #MeToo movement has focused largely on **female** victims, **men** are *often* the victims of sexual assault" (Alaimo; emphasis added). Through the use of antonymy (bolded) in front of the noun 'victims' (underlined), and the adverb 'often' (italics), CNN emphasizes that it is not only women who experience sexual assault. Thus, CNN makes the readers aware that the Argento case, where the survivor, Bennett, is male, is not uncommon, and hence the readers should not dismiss his allegations. The allegations against Argento have put a different spin on the Me Too movement, and CNN thus uses this to create a gender equality oriented discourse surrounding survivors to explain that male survivors should also be heard. CNN expresses that these allegations function as a great opportunity to encourage men to report sexual abuse.

As mentioned, CNN believes that the accusations against Argento strengthen the Me Too movement, which is also seen in the headline of the other article: "Asia Argento accusations don't weaken #MeToo, they show why it's needed" (Thomas, "Asia Argento Accusations"). This article

maintains CNN's gender equality oriented discourse and gives more insight into the Argento case to argue why it strengthens Me Too: "Bennett **claimed** they had sex. At the time, Argento was 37, and Bennett had just turned 17. The age of consent in California is 18, meaning that _if_ the pair did have intercourse then, it would be defined as statutory rape" (Thomas, "Asia Argento Accusations"; emphasis added). Through the verb 'claimed' (bolded) and through the conjunction 'if' (underlined), CNN expresses that they cannot confirm the validity of the information. However, the benefit of CNN providing the readers with this information is that it makes the readers realize that should these allegations be true, then this will be an eye opener for everyone. The idea of a standard abuser does not exist: a female Me Too supporter can be an abuser as well. In other words, the roles of survivors and abusers are not gender-restricted.

CNN further claims that it is more likely that Argento, and not Me Too, has a disadvantage because of Bennett's accusations: "but while this [Argento's inconsistencies in her account of events in relation to Bennett] might plunge her into murky waters, the same isn't necessarily true of #MeToo" (Thomas, "Asia Argento Accusations"). Through the modal verb 'might', which is an example of expressive modality, CNN expresses that there is a possibility of Argento ending up in an unfortunate situation but not Me Too. CNN includes the social actor, Tarana Burke, to exemplify this statement: "the #metooMVMT is for all of us, including these brave young men who are now coming forward. Sexual violence is about power and privilege. That doesn't change if the perpetrator is your favorite actress, activist or professor of any gender" (Thomas, "Asia Argento Accusations"). Through the use of the adjective 'brave', Burke praises the men who are coming forward for sharing their stories. Burke uses a gender equality oriented discourse when she states that Me Too has never just been for and about women, but rather, the movement is inclusive. This is why CNN expresses the belief that Me Too will probably not plunge into 'murky waters' simply because Argento, a woman, a Me Too supporter, and survivor of sexual abuse, is accused of sexual abuse herself.

The journalist does not only include social actors who use a gender equality oriented discourse, but she also uses this discourse herself. The article seeks to make the readers realize that men as well as women must be held accountable for their actions: "Asia Argento shouldn't be protected…any more than Harvey Weinstein" (Thomas, "Asia Argento Accusations"). Hence, CNN's gender equality oriented discourse is evident here because CNN states that just because Argento is a woman, this does not mean that the accusations against her should be ignored: abusers of all genders should be held accountable for their actions.

CNN further claims that "If they [Bennett's accusations] are true, that doesn't invalidate #MeToo" (Thomas, "Asia Argento Accusations"). CNN uses the word 'if' to emphasize that the

accusations have not been proven, and thus they are not claiming that Argento sexually abused Bennett. Further, CNN sums up their point by stating that if Bennett's accusations were to be confirmed, it will not weaken or invalidate the Me Too movement, but it "demonstrates the need for it [#MeToo]" (Thomas, "Asia Argento Accusations"). Thus, CNN states that Me Too is needed so that everyone, regardless of their gender, is held accountable for their actions and so that everyone, regardless of their gender, can speak out against their abusers. Hence, CNN focuses on the positive effect the Argento accusations have on Me Too as they view them as being beneficial for the movement.

Fox News: A Prominent Figure in the Me Too Movement Is Accused

In the Fox News coverage, one of the articles describes Argento's influential role in the Me Too movement: "The allegations against Weinstein by Argento and other actresses…gave rise to the global "MeToo" movement and prompted a re-examination of the behavior of prominent men" (Chamberlain). Fox News thus emphasizes how Argento played a powerful part in the downfall of prominent men by acknowledging that her allegations against Weinstein prompted the Me Too movement and a 're-examination' of what is deemed acceptable behavior.

Fox News then details the allegations Bennett made against Argento and implicitly compares them with the allegations Argento made against Weinstein: "Argento kissed him and performed oral sex on him [Bennett] before the two had sexual intercourse" and "Weinstein forcibly performed oral sex on her [Argento]" (Chamberlain). In both sentences, the abusers, Argento and Weinstein, are the subject of the clause, and hence they are foregrounded. Surprisingly, Argento's survivor, Bennett, is excluded as the article never mentions his name but only refers to him as "the actor" (Chamberlain). By detailing both allegations using a similar sentence structure, Fox News invites the readers to compare the situations. Thus, Fox News emphasizes the oddity of Argento being accused of the same thing she accused Weinstein of. The effect of this is that Fox News not only reminds the readers of how unique the case is, but they also make the readers question her reliability as a Me Too supporter and spokeswoman: can Argento be trusted considering the nature of the allegations against herself?

Fox News has included a tweet from Argento which references a speech she gave at the Cannes Film Festival: "For all the brave women who came forward denouncing their predators, and for all the brave women who will come forward in the future…We got the power" (Chamberlain). Argento uses the positive adjective 'brave' to describe the women who spoke out against their abusers and the negative appraisement 'predators' to refer to abusers. Fox News is highlighting the peculiarity of the case: Argento has publicly spoken out against 'predators', and now it turns out she

may be one herself. Thus, the strength of Argento's statement against predators could be affected by Bennett's allegations against her. The effect of Fox News including this tweet means that Argento's own negative appraisement of abusers now implicitly becomes a negative appraisement of herself.

Thus, the first article from Fox News does not directly frame Argento negatively nor does it comment on how the case could affect the Me Too movement. Rather, Fox News presents the facts of the case and allows the readers to draw their own conclusions. However, in the other article, Argento is explicitly represented in a negative way. The article has included a social actor, actress Rose McGowan, to paint a negative picture of Argento. The article starts by stating that "Argento threatened legal action against Rose McGowan…and demanded she retract her previous statement claiming that the Italian actress admitted having sex with Jimmy Bennett" (Lam, "Asia Argento Threatens"). The effect of using the verbs 'threatened' and 'demanded' is that it frames Argento as violent.

The article focuses on McGowan's evidence of Argento having had sex with Bennett: "McGowan added Argento texted Dove [McGowan's partner] saying she [Argento] **did** sleep with Bennett" (Lam, "Asia Argento Threatens"; emphasis added). The verb 'did' (bolded) expresses that there are no doubts about the truth of the statement, and Fox News thus uses McGowan's statement to confirm that Argento did sleep with Bennett. Hence, Fox News treats McGowen's statement as a fact instead of indicating that McGowen alleges that this text happened. Fox News further includes a statement from McGowan: "Asia mentioned in these texts that she didn't take any action on those images [unsolicited nudes from Bennett]. No reporting **to authorities**, **to the parents**, <u>or</u> blocking of Jimmy's social media" (Lam, "Asia Argento Threatens"; emphasis added). Through the use of rewording (bolded), McGowan emphasizes that it is unacceptable that Argento did not take actions against the images. Further, through the use of the conjunction 'or' (underlined), McGowan explores the different actions Argento could have taken. Thus, McGowan's statement prompts the readers to wonder why she ignored the images, and hence the readers start to question Argento's innocence in this case and her overall character.

Fox News includes a statement from McGowan in which she describes her relationship with Argento:

> I first met Asia on a red carpet, but it's only been the past year, through our **shared** experience of the HW case, that <u>we</u> have **bonded**. Asia was a person who understood my trauma…<u>We</u> were able to talk through them <u>together</u> and **champion** <u>each other</u>'s voices (Lam, "Asia Argento Threatens"; emphasis added).

Through the use of the adverb 'together' and the pronouns 'we' and 'each other' (underlined), McGowan emphasizes that Argento and her had a strong relationship because of the Weinstein case. McGowan further highlights their special relationship through the verbs 'shared', 'bonded' and 'champion' (bolded). The effect of McGowen emphasizing how close they were is that the readers understand that speaking out against Argento is hard but that McGowan is willing to do it because it is the right thing to do. Thus, McGowan reinforces the reliability of her own statements. Fox News stresses that McGowen "ended the statement urging Argento to "do the right thing" and "be the person you wish Harvey could have been"" (Lam, "Asia Argento Threatens"). By stating that Argento should be the person she would have wanted Weinstein to be, McGowan implies that she is sure that Argento is as guilty as Weinstein.

Even though Fox News uses McGowan's statements to represent Argento negatively, Fox News still recognizes Argento's positive role in the Me Too movement: "both [McGowan and Argento] [became] prominent figures in the…rise of the #MeToo movement" (Lam, "Asia Argento Threatens"). Further, Fox News does express that the allegations against Argento are not confirmed, which is seen through the use of the verb 'alleged' (bolded): "Argento's **alleged** sexual relationship with Bennett…During the **alleged** incident" (Lam, "Asia Argento Threatens"; emphasis added). The article does not include statements from Bennett at all which prevents the readers from evaluating the reliability of his allegations. The article briefly explains what Argento is accused of and includes a statement in which she denies the allegations. In contrast to McGowan's statements, Fox News never comments on Argento's statements. Thus, the effect of the journalist engaging so much with McGowan's statements is that the readers start to believe her statements as opposed to Argento's.

The New York Times: The Argento Allegations Do Not Discredit #MeToo

NYT credits Argento for her role in the Me Too movement: "Argento was among the first women in the movie business to publicly accuse the producer Harvey Weinstein of sexual assault. She became the leading figure in the #MeToo movement" (Severson). Hence, NYT emphasizes that it was Argento's courage that made her the 'leading' figure in the movement and thus made her an inspiration to other survivors.

NYT has further included a letter addressed to Argento from her lawyer, Carrie Goldberg: "You are a powerful and inspiring creator and it is a miserable condition of life that you live among shitty individuals who've preyed on both your strengths and weaknesses" (Severson). Goldberg uses the positive adjectives 'powerful' and 'inspiring' to describe Argento, and uses the markedly informal adjective 'shitty' to describe the people who demanded money from her, i.e. Bennett and

his lawyer, negatively. Goldberg further uses the phrasal verb 'preyed on', meaning "to harm somebody who is weaker than you, or make use of them in a dishonest way to get what you want" ("Prey on"), to frame Argento as having been taken advantage of. Thus, Goldberg implies through her statement that Argento is innocent, and thus she encourages the readers to reflect upon whether they should believe Bennett's allegations. However, NYT does not show direct support of this statement but merely presents Argento's side of the story and instead remains neutral by presenting both sides of the story.

Bennett's side of the story is included through a summarization of a statement from the social actor Gordon K. Sattro, who is Bennett's lawyer: "The fallout from "a sexual battery" was so traumatic that it hindered Mr. Bennett's work and income and threatened his mental health" (Severson). NYT uses the negative adjective 'traumatic' and the negative verb 'threatened' to describe the extent to which the 'sexual battery' affected Bennett. The effect of the negative adjective and verb is that they evoke sympathy and compassion from the readers. It further encourages the readers to feel vehement feelings towards Argento as she is the reason for Bennett's trauma.

On the basis of Bennett's account of the incident which is detailed in a document between the two lawyers, NYT further writes: "Then she [Argento] kissed him, pushed him back on the bed, removed his pants and performed oral sex" (Serverson). Argento is described as the active participant initiating the sexual encounter. The effect of the verb 'pushed' is that Argento is represented as being aggressive and forceful towards Bennett, and hence he is framed as being helpless and innocent. NYT does not confirm that this happened but mention that Bennett states that the sexual encounter was non-consensual, and they include Bennett's statement that he felt "extremely confused, mortified, and disgusted" after the sexual intercourse (Severson). Bennett describes his feelings about the incident through the use of the words 'confused', 'mortified', and 'disgusted', which all have negative connotations, and thus it urges the readers to feel sorry for him. However, NYT then states: "But a month later, on June 8, he [Bennett] sent Ms. Argento a Twitter message, "Miss you momma!!!!"[26]" (Severson). The journalist does not comment on this tweet, and thus she leaves the readers to evaluate it themselves. Some readers may be puzzled as to why an 'extremely confused, mortified, and disgusted' Bennett would send this message to Argento and thus start to question the reliability of Bennett's account of the encounter. However, NYT merely presents the facts of both sides of the story and never endorses one over the other.

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[26] Bennett once played Argento's son in a movie, which is why he calls her 'momma'.

NYT also writes: "What does it mean for #MeToo that Asia Argento, a very public face of the movement, reportedly made a deal with her own accuser?" (Salam). Through this grammatical question, NYT draws attention to how they consider it important to explore how the Argento case has affected the Me Too movement. NYT includes a social actor, namely the founder of Me Too, Tarana Burke, to answer the question: "People will use these recent news stories to try and discredit this movement…This is what Movement is about. It's not a spectator sport. It is people generated" (Salam). Hence, Burke holds the idea that the allegations against Argento do not discredit the movement, and emphasizes that Me Too is not a 'spectator sport'. The term 'spectator sport' is defined as "a sport that many people watch; a sport that is interesting to watch" ("Spectator Sport"). Hence, Burke states that Me Too is not a form of entertainment for everybody to watch, but it is a movement that people need to get involved with themselves, i.e. the movement is 'people generated'. Further, Me Too does not just focus on stories that people want to hear. If a woman like Argento is accused of sexual assault, then the movement is going to focus on that because, as Burke states, there is "no model survivor. We are imperfectly human and we all have to be accountable for our individual behaviour" (Salam). Hence, according to Burke, this movement is for everyone, and therefore Bennett's allegations against Argento will not discredit the Me Too movement, and it will not discredit her accusations against Weinstein either as survivors are also 'imperfectly human'.

NYT characterizes Argento and her role in the Me Too movement positively: "Ms. Argento's very public accusation of Mr. Weinstein last fall helped propel the fast-spreading #MeToo movement…and opened a space for mostly women to share their stories of sexual abuse and assault" (Salam). NYT praises Argento for her involvement in the Me Too movement by using the positive verb 'help' to describe her contribution. The effect of NYT's positive representation of Argento's role in the movement is that they encourage the readers to understand and appreciate her influential efforts in the movement despite the allegations against her. Noticeably, NYT uses the quantifier 'mostly' to emphasize that the movement has focused on women speaking out about the sexual abuse they have experienced. NYT thus implicitly states that Me Too does in fact also include male survivors and that the movement is more inclusive than the focus on female survivors would suggest.

NYT then states that Me Too has made great progress and that the movement has become genderless: "Now, almost a year later, it's become clear that the movement…is a complex entity that has grown and changed as more survivors, especially men, have stepped forward" (Salam). Hence, NYT agrees with Burke's statement that Me Too is for everyone as it includes not just women but also men. Noticeably, the article uses the movement's preferred term 'survivors' when referring to those who have experienced sexual abuse, and thus NYT focuses on the survivors'

healing process rather than on the abuse itself. Further, NYT's statement claims that the movement is working as it has encouraged more people, especially men, to come forward, and Bennett's allegations against Argento are an example of this. Hence, the article focuses on how the movement has had a positive impact in society regarding the reporting of sexual abuse.

NYT has included a tweet from a social actor, actress Rosie Waterland, who called Argento's actions towards Bennett "reprehensible and unforgivable" and stated that "Do I think it means she wasn't assaulted by Weinstein? No" (Salam). Thus, Waterland denounces Argento's actions towards Bennett but emphasizes that she does not believe that this discredits her accusations against Weinstein. Hence, NYT has included Waterland's tweet to show that: 1) the allegations against Argento do not mean that she herself could not have experienced sexual abuse, and 2) her having experienced sexual abuse does not diminish the allegations made against her either.

Breitbart News: The Argento Accusations Have Negative Consequences For #MeToo

In the Breitbart News coverage, Argento is represented mostly negatively: "Asia Argento — one of the most prominent activists of the #MeToo movement against **sexual harassment** — recently settled a complaint filed against her by a young actor and musician who said she **sexually assaulted** him" (Breitbart News; emphasis added). While the article describes Argento positively by stating that she was a prominent activist of the movement, it is the article's use of the terms sexual harassment and sexual assault (bolded) that denote the negative representation. Sexual harassment can occur without touching a person whereas 'sexual assault' is "an escalated version of sexual harassment" ("Sexual Harassment vs. Sexual Assault"). Hence, sexual assault is a more serious form of sexual harassment as it even includes rape. Therefore, it is intriguing that the article mentions that Argento has been a prominent voice against 'sexual harassment' in the same sentence that they mention that she has been accused of 'sexual assault'. The effect of this is that readers might conclude that this diminishes Argento's fight against sexual harassment. It is important to note here that the terms sexual assault, sexual harassment, sexual abuse, etc. have often been used interchangeably and without any definitions in the coverage of Me Too cases. Hence, it is possible that the journalist unintentionally used the terms without knowing the distinction between them.

Breitbart News furthermore explains that Bennett's "encounter [with Argento] **traumatized** Bennett and **hurt** his career" (Breitbart News; emphasis added). Thus, through the verbs (bolded), the journalist stresses the negative effects the encounter has had on Bennett, which may elicit sympathy from the readers towards Bennett and contempt for Argento. This is also helped by how Breitbart News does not include Argento's statement in which she denies Bennett's accusations or even mentions that she denies them. In fact, Breitbart News only summarizes her

statements in relation to Weinstein: "she told the New Yorker magazine that Weinstein raped her…she continued to have a relationship with Weinstein because she was scared of angering him" (Breitbart News). Describing Argento as being 'scared' to such an extent that she had to continue her relationship with Weinstein undoubtedly evokes sympathy from the readers, but then Breitbart News shifts the focus: "Weinstein has been indicted on sex crime accusations involving three women, but not including Argento" (Breitbart News). By pointing out that Argento is not one of the women whose allegations have led to Weinstein's indictment, Breitbart News implies that her allegations against Weinstein are questionable. The effect of Breitbart News focusing on the negative aspects of Argento's case is that readers start to wonder whether her allegations against Weinstein are credible.

The other article from Breitbart News has the most unique spin on Argento's case and the Me Too movement. Breitbart News begins by writing the following: "Since the launch of #MeToo, two innocent people connected to the movement have committed suicide — Anthony Bourdain and Jill Messick" (Nolte, "Nolte: #MeToo"). Through using the adjective 'innocent' to describe people who have 'committed suicide', Breitbart News emphasizes that good people have lost their lives. By describing them as 'connected to the movement', the article implies that Me Too was the reason for their suicides, and thus they frame the movement as having taken their lives.

Breitbart News describes McGowan and Argento's mutual characteristics when it comes to their roles in the Weinstein case and the Me Too movement: "his [Weinstein's] two most famous and outspoken accusers are McGowan and Argento. **Both have accused** the disgraced mogul of rape, **both have accused** the entertainment industry at large as complicit" (Nolte, "Nolte: #MeToo"; emphasis added). Hence, through rewording (bolded) and by laying out the things these two have in common, Breitbart News tries to persuade the readers to think that it is because of their similar roles and their shared characteristics that the people close to them, namely Bourdain and Messick, committed suicide.

Breitbart News further writes that: "In February of **2018**, 50-year-old Jill Messick, a one-time talent representative for **#MeToo heroine** Rose McGowan, took her own life. In June of **2018**, 61-year-old Anthony Bourdain — celebrity chef, world traveler, and boyfriend of **#MeToo heroine** Asia Argento, hanged himself in a Paris hotel" (Nolte, "Nolte: #MeToo"; emphasis added). The term 'heroine' is a positive appraisement of both Argento and McGowan, and hence Breitbart News characterizes both of them as having had a great impact on the Me Too movement and as being worthy of admiration because of it. This is then contrasted with a negative statement involving suicide. Through the use of rewording (bolded), Breitbart News highlights that two people associated with the #MeToo heroines have committed suicide. By specifying and repeating that

these suicides occurred in 2018, Breitbart News stresses that both suicides occurred less than a year after the eruption of the Me Too movement. Additionally, by emphasizing the relationships Bourdain and Messick had with the #MeToo heroines, Breitbart News implies to the readers that these two suicides occurred as a result of their connection to the Me Too movement.

Breitbart News brings up how Bourdain may have been viewed following the news of him being involved in the Argento case if he were still alive: "Not only would he be accused of hypocrisy for attempting to cover up an **alleged** sexual assault of a minor at the height of the #MeToo movement, he also championed the **alleged** predator (Argento) as a #MeToo role model" (Nolte, "Nolte: #MeToo"; emphasis added). Breitbart News uses the word 'alleged' (bolded) in front of the nouns 'sexual assault' and 'predator', and thus states that this has been reported but without proof. Breitbart News uses the negative appraisement 'predator' to refer to Argento, and thus the readers start to view Argento as the villain. Because Bourdain helped and was a supporter of an 'alleged predator', this thus reflects negatively on Bourdain's character as well. By stating that they believe Bourdain would be criticized for supporting Argento, Breitbart News implies that Argento most likely is a 'predator' despite it not being confirmed that Argento sexually assaulted Bennett.

As readers, it can be challenging to understand how exactly the Argento case is supposed to be connected to Bourdain's suicide. However, it seems that Breitbart News implies that it is unacceptable for Argento to have let Bourdain support her knowing that she had sex with a minor, and that in itself could have driven Bourdain to end his life. Did Bourdain know that Argento was guilty of having sex with a minor? Could a possibility be that Bourdain was so upset and frustrated with Argento's situation that he ended his life? Was Bourdain scared of the repercussions his support of Argento would have on his life and career if Argento were to be found guilty? These are the types of questions that Breitbart News spurs in the readers' minds by writing about Bourdain's suicide in relation to the Argento case and her role in the Me Too movement.

Breitbart News further describes the late Messick as a hero: "Messick was on her [McGowan's] side, her champion, did all she could" (Nolte, "Nolte: #MeToo"). Hence, Breitbart News uses the word 'champion' to describe that Messick was a big support to McGowan when she helped her report Weinstein to her firm's partners in 2003 (Nolte, "Nolte: #MeToo"). Breitbart News then writes that after this, Messick went to work with Weinstein and over time "McGowan's opinion of Messick seemed to change" and that McGowan publicly "lashed out at Messick for arranging the meeting with Weinstein, for failing to support her" (Nolte, "Nolte: #MeToo"). McGowan is represented as treating Messick unfairly as she 'lashed out' at Messick. Moreover, Breitbart News states that "Messick's family blamed the suicide on Weinstein, the media…and

McGowan's "inaccurate accusations and insinuations"" ("Nolte: #MeToo"). Hence, just like Breitbart News suggests throughout the article, Messick's family also blames McGowan, Weinstein, the media and the Me Too movement for Messick's suicide.

While Breitbart News insinuates throughout the whole article that Bourdain and Messick committed suicide because of their connection to Argento, McGowan, and Me Too, they do write that: "Messick and Bourdain spent years battling with the black pool of depression…we cannot know what drove them to end their own lives. Sometimes there is a trigger. Sometimes not" (Nolte, "Nolte: #MeToo"). Breitbart News obviously cannot confirm why the two ended their lives, but they do very briefly indicate that there is a chance that Bourdain and Messick suicides were triggered by depression. However, Breitbart News spends most of the article unraveling both Bourdain and Messick's connection to the Me Too movement, and thus they frame Me Too as part of the reason for their suicides. Thus, Breitbart News seeks to show that the readers cannot exclude the possibility that Bourdain and Messick ended their lives because of their connection to the people in the Me Too movement.

What both of the suicide cases have in common is that the struggles and challenges the four people involved had internally were highly covered in the media. Breitbart News suggests how a highly covered movement like Me Too can have negative repercussions on both the Me Too supporters and the people involved with these supporters if mistakes, tensions, misunderstandings, etc. occur. While Breitbart News never directly points the fingers at the Me Too movement for being the reason behind Bourdain and Messick's suicides, Breitbart News does allude to the fact that the Me Too movement, its prominent speakers, their issues and the media might have exacerbated their needs or wishes to end their lives.

Discussion

In this section of the MA-thesis, we will discuss exactly what the analysis can tell us about the different news outlets' representation of the Me Too movement. For each news outlet, we will summarize how they represent Me Too in the articles we analyzed and discuss any similarities and/or differences within the same news outlet's representation. Did the news outlet represent the movement differently depending on the specific case in question, or did they represent it in the same way? We will then discuss whether there are any similarities and/or differences in how the four different news outlets represent the Me Too movement by comparing and contrasting them with each other. Throughout the discussion, we will also look at their representation of the movement in relation to feminism and the explanation stage of Fairclough's CDA. Finally, based on our findings, we will discuss the four news outlets' general representation of Me Too in relation to

intersectionality and white feminism in more detail, and how this affects the perception of the Me Too movement.

CNN's Representation of Me Too

When it comes to the Me Too case, CNN praises the movement for its achievements but also holds the view that Me Too in itself cannot spur change. They use the following grammatical question to emphasize that they are critical of the movement to some extent: "But can a hashtag, a meme or any viral moment…really turn into a lasting movement that that will create social change and reduce sexual abuse of women?" (LaMotte). Thus, CNN questions the movement's ability to make a change in society. Through this grammatical question, CNN also specifically relates the movement to fourth-wave feminism. CNN refers to how the Me Too movement was popularized online through the #MeToo hashtag, which was used by women everywhere to share their experiences of sexual abuse. However, the journalist questions whether online feminism can contribute to transforming existing power relations through hashtags such as #MeToo.

CNN represents the Me Too movement more positively in relation to the Weinstein case by framing it as the cure to the "sickness" that Hollywood has been suffering from (Stelter). Hence, CNN uses this idiom to describe the movement as being able to finally hold abusers accountable for their actions. In contrast to CNN's coverage of the Me Too case, CNN uses the Weinstein case to describe the Me Too movement as being the much needed change in Hollywood and thus as being capable of making pivotal changes.

In relation to the Argento case, CNN uses a gender equality oriented discourse to state that the allegations against Argento function as a success and not as a setback for the movement. CNN holds the view that the case actually strengthens the Me Too movement as "the barriers to men reporting allegations of sexual abuse may finally be breaking down" (Alaimo). Once again, CNN claims that the Me Too movement can spur positive changes.

When it comes to the C.K case, CNN reports that C.K.'s return presumably "provided some comfort for anyone concerned that #MeToo irrevocably wrecks men's lives" (Thomas, "Louis C.K.'s Parkland Joke). The journalist implies that Me Too did not spur any changes because an abuser was welcomed back without facing any consequences. Thus, CNN frames the Me Too movement similarly to how they framed it in the Me Too case: CNN questions the movement's ability to make a change.

CNN often includes social actors who express the core belief of feminism, namely that women and men should be equal. For example, CNN includes a statement from Toni Van Pelt, the

president of the National Organization for Women (NOW)[27], who states that "We must be demanding that the men step forward and take responsibility…They are not the good guy if they are not speaking out against this, if they are allowing the bullying to continue" (LaMotte). Pelt states this in relation to how sexual abuse often affects women, thus she expresses the feminist view that women often face discrimination in society because of their sex. Fairclough's explanation stage is relevant here because Pelt urges for the power relations between men and women to be changed, i.e. they should be equal. Pelt specifically contributes to transforming the power relations by suggesting how they could be changed, which is by getting men involved in speaking out against sexual abuse.

Fox News' Representation of Me Too

In the articles surrounding the Me Too case, Fox News frames the movement extremely negatively. They express that Me Too is more concerned with punishing men, and thus innocent men are being punished as well. They state that Me Too's "justified anger and calls for change are venturing into…: Let's knock over some innocent statues" (Smith, "A male backlash"). Thus, Fox News acknowledges that the anger against sexual abuse is justified but emphasizes that Me Too's methods are causing harm to men. They specifically refer to Me Too as "a career-destroying angry mob" (Smith, "#MeToo has morphed"), and thus they frame the movement as being menacing.

Fox News represents the movement similarly in relation to the Weinstein case. One article expresses that Me Too has two faces, but Fox News only writes in detail about the face that could "ruin their careers" (Lam, "Harvey Weinstein accuser"). Thus, Fox News continues to emphasize how Me Too could negatively affect men by destroying their careers. However, Fox News does not use the term 'innocent' here, but they emphasize this aspect by stating that some men are "wrongly accused" (Lam, "Harvey Weinstein accuser").

In relation to the Argento case, the focus is no longer on how the movement could destroy careers or hurt innocent people. Rather, Fox News uses the Argento case to discredit Me Too. They emphasize that Argento, who helped give rise to the movement and "prompted a re-examination of the behavior of prominent men", is now being accused of sexual abuse (Chamberlain). By reminding the readers that the woman who is being accused was a prominent figure in the movement, Fox News questions Argento's reliability as a Me Too supporter, and this reflects badly on the movement.

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[27] NOW is "the largest organization of feminist grassroots activists in the United States. NOW has hundreds of chapters and hundreds of thousands of members and activists in all 50 states and the District of Columbia" ("Who We Are").

When it comes to the C.K. case, Fox News represents Me Too negatively by, again, framing it as punishing abusers. One article refers to the negative repercussions that abusers experience from it as "#MeToo purgatory" (Betz). Thus, the journalist describes the movement as a punishment for abusers rather than as a way for survivors to heal. Fox News also frames Me Too negatively through the statement from comedian, Janeane Garofalo, who stated that she is against Me Too because of a "fear of falsely accused persons suffering needlessly" (Sager). Thus, Fox News once again raises the subject of how false accusations could harm innocent people.

One Fox News article mentions the term 'feminist', thus specifically framing the movement in relation to feminism: "Men are scared, and feminists are delighted" (Smith, "A male backlash"). Fox News assimilates two groups of social actors, namely 'men' and 'feminists', and frames them in opposition to each other. Thus, Fox News expresses to the readers that they should feel sympathy for men because they are 'scared', and the fact that feminists are 'delighted' by this frames feminists negatively. The negative framing of feminists and feminism also stems from Fox News' argument that innocent men are being wrongly accused because of Me Too. By stating that feminists are delighted in relation to this argument, the readers could interpret it as if feminists are delighted about people being wrongly accused. Thus, the Fox News article uses an antifeminism discourse to argue against the movement.

The Fox News coverage focuses on the social struggle of those who are accused of sexual abuse rather than on the social struggle of the survivors. Thus, Fox News is less concerned with the power relations involved in relation to sexual abuse and more concerned with the power relations within the Me Too movement. Specifically, they are concerned that the accusers, who are mainly women, are given too much power because of the movement – in fact so much power that they could potentially destroy the careers of innocent men with it. Although feminism also concerns itself with the negative consequences the patriarchy has on men, this is not what is being reflected here. Thus, Fox News expresses that the movement should not be given too much authority because there is a possibility that some may use it to harm innocent men.

The New York Times' Representation of Me Too
In NYT's coverage of the Me Too case, they include social actors and companies to represent the movement positively: "Twitter bolstered the #MeToo hashtag…the company pointed to its statement in which it said it was "proud to empower and support the voices on our platform"" (Codrea-Rado). However, NYT also states that there is a Me Too paradox: the movement topples the powerful abusers but not the ordinary abusers (Taub). Thus, NYT expresses that the movement has failed to listen to and help ordinary women.

In relation to the Weinstein case, NYT continues to represent the movement positively by stating that it has resulted in "women around the world, some of them famous and many of them not, to come forward with accounts of being sexually harassed and assaulted" (McKinley et al.). Hence, NYT does not express the concerns that they had in relation to the Me Too case about whether the voices of ordinary women are being heard and whether the Me Too movement has been able to topple ordinary abusers in the same degree as powerful abusers.

NYT also represents Me Too positively in relation to the Argento case, but their focus is different. NYT asks the following grammatical question: "What does it mean for #MeToo that Asia Argento, a very public face of the movement, reportedly made a deal with her own accuser?" (Salam). Thus, NYT uses the grammatical question to indicate that the article focuses on the outcome the case has had on the movement. NYT expresses that the Argento case exemplifies that there are no model abusers or survivors. Thus, NYT is adamant that this case does not discredit Me Too but rather makes it clear that the issue of sexual abuse can affect all genders, and that the movement supports all survivors.

In the coverage of the C.K case, NYT focuses on the positive effects the movement has had regarding removing abusers from their positions of power: "one of dozens of men who have been toppled in the aftermath of…#MeToo" (Ryzik). Hence, NYT acknowledges that the movement has been able to topple powerful abusers. However, just as seen in their coverage of the Weinstein case, NYT does not focus on whether the movement has been able to topple ordinary abusers, or whether the voices of ordinary women have been heard.

NYT's coverage of the Me Too movement is particularly interesting to look at in relation to intersectional feminism. NYT points out that the movement "has not shown consensus that abusers **in all walks of life** ought to be held accountable for misconduct" and "has failed to help many **ordinary** women" (Taub). NYT uses the bolded words to emphasize that although Me Too is meant to help all survivors, it has failed "crucially" to help women who are not famous and whose abusers are not famous either (Taub). Thus, NYT draws attention to Me Too's inability to look at the problem of sexual abuse through an intersectional lens, specifically here in relation to gender and class. NYT emphasizes that despite the movement's original intention of helping all survivors by taking into account how sexual abuse affects women from marginalized sections of society and women of color differently than privileged women, Me Too appears to have left less privileged women behind. NYT also exemplifies this point when they write the following: "If an American factory worker or a Mexican victim of sexual assault tries to call out an individual perpetrator…she cannot count on powerful women and allies to come to her aid" (Taub). Thus, NYT questions

whether the movement can contribute to transforming existing power relations when it comes to ordinary people and not just privileged people.

Breitbart News' Representation of Me Too

In Breitbart News' coverage of the Me Too case, the movement is represented as reinforcing inequality between men and women by emphasizing how it treats them differently. Both articles refer to how Me Too has resulted in people automatically taking "woman's word as the truth" (Kraychick), and automatically declaring men "guilty until proven innocent" (Nolte, "Nolte: No Surprise"). Breitbart News further uses the false accusations argument against Me Too by expressing how the movement is making men afraid of working with women out of fear of being falsely accused. Thus, Breitbart News argues that men are distancing themselves from women to protect themselves, which leaves women with fewer opportunities and reinforces inequality.

In relation to the Weinstein case, Breitbart News uses the same false accusations argument to frame Me Too negatively, but they do not argue that the movement reinforces inequality. Rather, they indicate that it is negative that Me Too has made people too quick to believe allegations by stating that people should "regain a sense of proportion about which allegations are serious, credible, and actionable" (Hayward). Thus, Breitbart News implies that not all allegations are true, and that therefore people should be more critical about which ones they choose to believe.

In the articles about the Argento case, Breitbart News does not focus on the false accusations argument, but they point to the incongruity of the situation in which a leading figure of the movement is now being accused of sexual assault. They use this case to diminish Argento's fight against sexual abuse and thus also to diminish Me Too. One of the articles puts a unique spin on Me Too by writing: "Since the launch of #MeToo, two innocent people connected to the movement have committed suicide" (Nolte, "Nolte: #MeToo"). Thus, Breitbart News implies that the suicides could have been a result of Bourdain and Messick's connection to Me Too.

When it comes to the C.K. case, Breitbart News mainly uses the statement from comedian, Norm Macdonald, to represent Me Too in a similar way to what has been described above as they encompass many of the arguments that Breitbart News uses in their other articles. Macdonald states that "#MeToo will end with an innocent person committing suicide…over a false allegation" (Caruso), thus combining two of Breitbart News' arguments to express how Me Too is dangerous. Macdonald also criticizes Me Too for not giving people a second chance, thus adding an argument to Breitbart News' coverage: that it ruins people's careers even if they show complete remorse.

Regarding feminism, the Breitbart News coverage touches upon the topic of equality. Gender equality is the goal of feminism, and the way Breitbart News talks about equality frames

Me Too in opposition to this goal. As mentioned, one of the articles uses the equality argument to argue against Me Too. They do so by stating that the movement is causing men to distance themselves from women in the workplace, and thus it takes away opportunities for women to advance in the workplace. Thus, Breitbart News argues that instead of contributing to transforming existing power relations within the workplace, the movement is actually contributing to sustaining the power relations.

Feminism concerns itself with women's inferior position in society and calls for changes at the situational, institutional and societal level to overcome discrimination against women because of their sex. Breitbart News implies that because of Me Too, the power relations are different than those which feminism believes exist – Breitbart News believes that men, and not women, are the ones who hold the inferior position. Multiple of their articles mention the tendency to believe all women (Kraychick; Hayward; Caruso), and they use this to argue that men are the ones who hold the inferior position in the Me Too era. Thus, Breitbart News reasons that women have the power to accuse men and immediately be believed because of Me Too, and therefore men are at a disadvantage.

This argument is also used in relation to equality. In one article, it is stated that: "If we're really searching for equality…then we shouldn't automatically believe one person's word over the other because of their sex" (Kraychick). In the quote, it is not mentioned that women are the ones who are automatically being believed, but it is referenced in the rest of the article. Thus, Breitbart News uses this statement to emphasize that the feminist cause of gender equality is not being helped by Me Too. Rather, they imply that by automatically believing women's allegations because of their sex, the movement is contributing to reinforcing inequality, and thus it does not further the feminist cause.

Similarities and Differences in the News Outlets' Representation of Me Too
Overall, the CNN and NYT coverage show the most support for the Me Too movement out of the four news outlets, and their reporting is similar. CNN and NYT are especially positive towards Me Too in relation to the Weinstein case. In CNN's coverage, they showed their positive view of the movement by calling it an "inspiration" that "empowered" women and men to speak up against sexual harassment and assault (Stelter). NYT expressed the same by reporting that the movement "led women around the world, some of them famous and many of them not, to come forward with accounts of being sexually harassed and assaulted" (McKinley et al.). Thus, CNN and NYT use similar statements to reflect the impact the Me Too movement has had by focusing on the movement's ability to encourage people to share their experiences of sexual abuse in a way which

has not been done before. The CNN and NYT coverage both focus on Me Too's achievements, and the changes it has made towards ending sexual abuse by creating awareness of it. The effect of these news outlets embracing the movement is that they encourage their readers to do the same, and it gives more survivors the courage to speak out because they can see that people will not be dismissive of their stories. It further provides their readers with hope that Me Too will create social change and end sexual abuse.

On the other hand, the Fox News and Breitbart News coverage show little to no support for the movement, and Breitbart News presents the most negative view of Me Too. Fox News does express some positivity towards the movement, which can be seen when they state that Me Too's anger against sexual abuse is "justified" (Smith, "A male backlash"). The positive aspect is also briefly reported when Fox News states that "#MeToo has done a lot of work exposing the uncomfortable truths, but now its eagerness to denounce is taking on a censorious tone" (Smith, "#MeToo has morphed"). Fox News gives the movement credit for what it has done in terms of exposing the prevalence of sexual abuse, but the second half of the sentence overshadows this with a negative framing of Me Too. Thus, Fox News negates the positives by contrasting the movement's achievements with a negative aspect. The effect of this is that Fox News represents the negative aspect as the important point the readers should be taking away from the article. The Breitbart News coverage, however, never directly refers to the Me Too movement in a positive way by giving it credit for having empowered people to speak out against sexual abuse. The closest Breitbart News gets to a positive representation of Me Too is when Asia Argento is referred to as a "#MeToo heroine" (Nolte, "Nolte: #MeToo"). The term 'heroine' is a positive appraisement of Argento. Thus, by referring to her as a '#MeToo heroine', Breitbart News represents both her and the movement as having done something good which is worthy of admiration. However, similarly to Fox News, Breitbart News expresses this in connection with the story about Argento being accused, which frames her and Me Too negatively. Thus, Breitbart News counteracts the positive representation of the Me Too movement with a negative one, which has the same effect as it had in the Fox News article.

Although Fox News and Breitbart News do briefly mention some of the good aspects about the movement, both news outlets generally give the readers a negative impression of Me Too. The focus in the coverage from both Fox News and Breitbart News is on how Me Too can be used against people who have done nothing wrong, and they both use the same arguments to represent the movement in a negative way. The two most common arguments are that Me Too allows people to make false allegations/wrongly accuse people, and that it ruins people's careers, thus making it clear that they are against Me Too. Fox News presents these arguments using wordings such as

"wrongly accused" and "ruin their careers" (Lam, "Harvey Weinstein accuser"), "falsely accused" (Sager), and "a career-destroying angry mob" (Smith, "#MeToo has morphed"). Breitbart News uses the wordings "falsely accused" (Kraychick), *false accusations*" (Nolte, "Nolte: No Surprise"), and "false allegation" (Caruso). The false accusations argument is the most frequently used, but the two news outlets do not present examples of people that have been falsely accused as a direct result of Me Too. However, this could be a reflection of the articles we have chosen to analyze, especially when it comes to our choice of analyzing articles surrounding specific people as it would not necessarily make sense for them to mention that someone has been falsely accused in those articles. The use of these arguments is exclusive to Fox News and Breitbart News, as they are not used by CNN or NYT at all, and the arguments are consistent throughout their reporting about Me Too. The effect of Fox News and Breitbart News using these arguments against the movement is that it discourages survivors from sharing their experiences and speaking out against their abusers out of fear of not being believed or taken seriously. Thus, their coverage diminishes the impact that Me Too could have by contributing to sustaining the existing power relations when it comes to whether people report sexual abuse or not.

Despite the similarities in the two news outlets' coverage of Me Too, there is one aspect that is unique to Breitbart News. Breitbart News frames the movement in relation to suicide in two articles, and both times this is the main focus of the articles as it is mentioned in the headlines. In an article about the C.K. case, it is predicted that Me Too will eventually lead to a wrongly accused person committing suicide (Caruso). In an article about the Argento case, Me Too is framed as possibly being the cause of the suicides of two people (Nolte, "Nolte: #MeToo"). Thus, Breitbart News represents Me Too the most negatively out of the four news outlets by connecting the movement with death to emphasize the devastating consequences it can have. The effect of this is that readers are likely to view the movement as a problem rather than a solution.

Although CNN and NYT remain positive towards the Me Too movement, their coverage is also characterized by the critique they have of the movement. Their critique is similar and focuses mainly on whether Me Too can actually spur change, but the critique is not raised consistently in their coverage. CNN reports that "Social media is littered with the digital bones of once-vibrant hashtags and memes, so getting the momentum behind #MeToo to translate into literal action could be an uphill battle" (LaMotte). Thus, CNN focuses on how Me Too has not quite reached a point where one could claim that it has created social change and reduced sexual abuse. However, they do express that Me Too has potential to do so, but that people need to not only talk about it - they also need to start taking actions. The LaMotte article was published at the beginning of the #MeToo hashtag, and thus it would be hard to claim that it had created social change or predict whether it

would. The most recent article from CNN reports that: "So far, 2019 is proving the #MeToo fight is just beginning" (Gonzalez and Lowry). Thus, CNN indicates that even now the movement has not reached its full potential – it is still only getting started, which implies that more people need to get behind it to create social change. NYT reports that "the movement has had little effect on the broader problem of sexual abuse, harassment and violence by men who are neither famous nor particularly powerful" (Taub). Thus, their critique of whether Me Too can actually spur social change has a slightly different focus than CNN's – they focus on how it has had an impact in relation to famous and powerful people but not so much in relation to ordinary people. We would argue that the way CNN and NYT represent the movement is still more positive than Fox News and Breitbart News, because CNN and NYT do not express that the movement has a negative impact in people's lives or discourage survivors from speaking out. Rather, they focus on how Me Too can be improved in order to reach further and have a positive impact in more people's lives. Thus, their critique does not diminish the work Me Too has already done. The effect of this is that CNN and NYT push the conversation about sexual abuse further into the spotlight and encourages people to take actions in order to make sure it continues to create social change.

As alluded to above, a distinction can be made between CNN and NYT's critique of Me Too. NYT critiques the movement in relation to intersectional feminism, which is reflected in how it has mainly managed to help privileged women and not so much ordinary women. NYT has an entire article that is dedicated to examining this aspect in which they state that the movement "has failed – crucially – to change the consensus in bigger ways….it has failed to help many ordinary women" (Taub). Thus, NYT's critique alludes to the intersection of gender and class, which CNN does not refer to as they represent women mainly by means of assimilation (collectivization) as one homogenous group, similar to Fox News and Breitbart News. NYT's critique thus appears to be more aware of how different women are affected by sexual abuse differently, and how Me Too has not been effective in helping all of them. NYT is the only news outlets that comments directly on this aspect of Me Too despite how the movement's original intention was for it to be intersectional with a particular focus on how sexual abuse affects black women. The other news outlets may briefly mention how Me Too was created for all survivors of sexual abuse, but they do not comment on whether Me Too actually helps all survivors. The effect of NYT mentioning that Me Too has failed to help ordinary women could be discouraging to some survivors, but it could also potentially motivate and embolden ordinary women to band together to ensure that all survivors have a voice in the movement, and that they all benefit from it.

There are also certain similarities shared between most of the news outlets, and one of those is in relation to their representation of social actors. Three of the four news outlets use

negative appraisements to refer to people who have been accused of sexual abuse. CNN refers to Weinstein as a "predator" (Stelter) and other abusers as "predators" (Gingras et al.), and Fox News similarly includes the term "predators" (Chamberlain). Breitbart News also refers to Weinstein and others that have been accused as a "predator" and "predators" (Hayward) as well as "monsters" and "tyrants" (Hayward). These terms are all negative appraisements used to describe abusers and evaluate them as harmful people with 'predator' being the most common appraisement. Although NYT does not directly use the negative appraisement 'predator', the NYT coverage does refer to the behavior of abusers as "predatory behavior" (McKinley et al.). Hence, NYT alludes to the same evaluation of abusers as the other three news outlets do. The term 'predator' refers to "a person or an organization that uses weaker people for their own advantage" ("Predator"). By using this term, all of the news outlets allude to the imbalance in the existing power relations that leads to sexual abuse because 'predators' prey on those who are weaker than them, i.e. those who do not have as much power. Thus, all four news outlets actively condemn abusers and their actions, which indicates that they are in agreement that sexual abuse is a problem that should be solved, and that in order to solve this issue, the existing power relations need to be transformed.

Another aspect that is intriguing in relation to the similarities in the news outlets' social actor representation is the use of the combination of assimilation (collectivization) and differentiation to refer to two distinct groups of social actors. The social actor groups referenced relate to sexual abuse in general and not just the specific social actors from each case. The social actor groups are "powerful men" and "women", and they are present in articles from three out of the four news outlets: CNN (Gingras et al.; Stelter), NYT (McKinley et al.; Ransom and Feuer), and Breitbart News (Hayward). These news outlets use antonymy (men and women) to indicate a gender oriented discourse, and the differentiation of the two groups is created by referring to one of the groups as 'powerful' and not the other one. Thus, this representation reflects how the news outlets interpret the existing power relations between men and women, and how this relates to sexual abuse: sexual abuse involves the abuse of power, and because men are 'powerful', they are more likely to be the abusers. Hence, the social actor representation illustrates that inequality, i.e. that some are powerful and others are not, is one of the main reasons why sexual abuse exists. Thus, the social actor representation indicates that in order to end sexual abuse, it is necessary to end inequality. Fox News also reflects a gender oriented discourse as they refer to the social actor groups 'men' and 'women', but they do not frame either of them as powerful, and thus their social actor representation does not reflect any power relations between the two groups.

Why Has the Me Too Movement Been Represented the Way It Has?

In the final sections of the discussion, we will be elaborating on certain features of the four news outlets' general representation of the Me Too movement. Above all, we believe that the discussion requires a more detailed exploration of the news outlets' general representation of Me Too in relation to fourth-wave feminism. Specifically, we will be looking at the merits and demerits of this wave of feminism taking place online and through social media, and what implications this has for the movement, and consequently for how it has been represented in the news outlets. Thus, we will be discussing the representation of Me Too in relation to some of the concepts mentioned in the theory section, such as intersectionality and white feminism, as well as introducing the concept of 'hashtag activism'. We will also be relating the representation of Me Too in the news outlets to how the movement's founder, Tarana Burke, describes it, which we explored in the beginning of the MA-thesis.

This following discussion is based on the above comparative discussion of the four news outlets' representation of Me Too, and it takes its starting point in the aspect that was reflected in the NYT coverage, namely Kimberlé Crenshaw's term intersectionality. NYT states that the movement has failed to address sexual abuse through an intersectional lens by emphasizing that only privileged women have benefitted from Me Too. Thus, the NYT coverage represents Me Too as having left behind ordinary women because it has failed to consider how multiple forms of oppression and discrimination intersect simultaneously. However, NYT's coverage only reflected Me Too's inability to address intersectionality in relation to the intersection of gender and class. NYT's coverage did not point out that other forms of oppression and discrimination based on categories such as race, sexuality, age, etc. also intersect simultaneously with oppression and discrimination based on gender and class. This is particularly interesting because sexual abuse in the United States disproportionately impacts "women of color, immigrant women, LGBTQIA+ women, and disabled women" ("Black Women & Sexual Violence"), and because Tarana Burke originally created the movement to help women of color from low wealth communities heal ("About - Me Too Movement"). Thus, although Me Too originally addressed how oppression and discrimination based on gender, race, and class intersect simultaneously in relation to sexual abuse, this is not reflected in NYT's representation of the movement or in their critique of who the movement has benefitted.

The fact that the NYT coverage alludes to the aspect of intersectionality have led us to the realization that intersectionality was not given any consideration in the coverage from CNN, Fox News, and Breitbart News. The other three news outlets do not comment on intersectionality at all, and further their representation of Me Too focuses on white and privileged abusers and survivors.

Of course, this is also a reflection of our decision to analyze the movement in relation to three cases involving white and privileged people (Weinstein, Argento, C.K.) who had been accused by white and privileged survivors. However, white and privileged abusers and survivors were also the focus in the articles surrounding the Me Too movement in general despite those articles not focusing on a specific person. This was, to some extent, also the case for the NYT articles surrounding the Me Too movement in general. Thus, based on our analysis, the four news outlets generally did not represent Me Too as an intersectional movement despite its original vision and intention. When intersectionality was, to some extent, brought up in the NYT coverage, it was in relation to how Me Too has failed to look at sexual abuse through an intersectional lens in relation to gender and class.

Although the movement originally focused on how sexual abuse affects black women, most of the media coverage surrounding Me Too wrote about sexual abuse in relation to white and privileged survivors and abusers. Based on this, we will be discussing how features of fourth-wave feminism could have affected why the movement has not been represented as being intersectional in the news outlets, and thus why Me Too in its current form may not be as intersectional as Burke intended, and still intends, it to be.

Online Feminism and Hashtag Activism

One aspect that makes the Me Too movement unique is that it takes place online, and this is largely due to the time in which the movement was popularized. The fact that Me Too takes place mainly online is a feature that differentiates it from the way in which feminist issues have been expressed before, and it affects who can get involved with feminism and its causes. During the first three waves of feminism "Books and articles were written, songs were composed, art was perfected — but by only a select few…by the so-called intelligentsia, even though protests and mass mobilisations took place amongst all who identified with the cause at grass roots level as well" (Singh). Hence, during the first three waves of feminism, only a select few had the power and ability to explicitly express feminist issues beyond 'protests and mass mobilisations'. However, in fourth-wave feminism, the gap between people has been closed: whether you are educated or uneducated, black or white, etc., you have the opportunity to express your stories and struggles – and these can reach further through social media. Fourth-wave feminism has turned the Internet into a platform for people's voices, perspectives and experiences to be heard and believed. Social media platforms enable users from all walks of life to express their opinions, issues and experiences through pictures, videos, songs, written text and so on. Thus, the benefit of Me Too being propagated online is that it opens up a platform for many different people – people across cultural, national ethnic, class, and religious boundaries – to have their voices heard in the movement.

The Me Too movement has sparked a new form of feminism, although this period of feminism is still considered part of fourth-wave feminism (Srivastava et al. 112). The new form of (fourth-wave) feminism is characterized by its 'hashtag activism' (Mendizabal). Hashtag activism refers to how people use hashtags on social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, etc. to build communities, share their stories, give each other mutual support, and strengthen "their awareness of social and legal rights"(Mendizabal). This stream of communication on social media platforms have "led to a new awareness, a "call out" culture that challenges misogyny and sexism, by providing a forum for discussions and a route for activism" (Mendizabal). In relation to Me Too, this view is echoed by the director of the WMC Women Under Siege Project, Lauren Wolfe, who states that we currently live in "an era in which women are insisting that their stories of sexualized violence be heard—and believed" ("Media and #MeToo: The Women's Media Center Report"). Wolfe expresses that we currently live in an era where people are adamant that their voices being heard and believed can lead to societal changes, and that Me Too is a movement that is doing exactly that through the #MeToo hashtag ("Media and #MeToo: The Women's Media Center Report"). Hence, the Me Too movement embodies the feminist slogan 'the personal is political': if people from all kinds of life share their experiences of sexual abuse through the #MeToo hashtag, then it results in the realization that the issue goes beyond individuals and instead relates to a wider societal problem. The idea behind hashtag activism is that collective realizations created through social media platforms such as this will lead to pivotal changes in society. But how, then, can a movement like Me Too be so widespread because of its online platform but also so targeted at the same time?

Considering the fact that Me Too was popularized in an era where people from all walks of life can share their stories on social media platforms and reach more people through hashtag activism, it is perhaps puzzling that Me Too is not represented as being intersectional by the four news outlets. Or maybe it is not all that puzzling at all. The Me Too movement's hashtag activism is the one aspect that CNN raises concerns about. They question whether hashtag activism can actually create social change: "But can a hashtag, a meme or any viral moment -- no matter how widespread -- really turn into a lasting movement that that will create social change and reduce sexual abuse of women?" (LaMotte). Thus, CNN's critique surrounds whether Me Too's hashtag activism is enough to spur change. They question whether someone indicating that they care about the cause through the use of the hashtag is enough to create social change. Further, although online feminism and hashtag activism do break down certain barriers as to who gets to have a voice in the discussion, it still favors privileged people as it supposes that people have access to these platforms as well as the ability and competence to use them. Thus, it does not take into account that this could

exclude people with disabilities, older generations, and marginalized groups who may face oppression and discrimination in other ways that may discourage them from speaking out publicly online. This could thus be part of the reason why the Me Too movement in its current form is not as intersectional and inclusive as Burke intended it to be, and consequently why the Me Too movement has not been represented as intersectional in the news outlets.

Thus, while the time and era are part of the reason for the movement's success, Me Too's social media activism, which has become one of the most powerful and characteristic features of twenty-first century activism, can in fact also function as a setback or limitation for the movement. Despite more people having the opportunity to speak out, some people may still have reservations about speaking out publicly for various reasons, and thus Me Too in its current form still excludes people, which could explain the way it has been represented in the news outlets. The next section will further explore what this means in relation to white feminism and marginalized groups.

Me Too and White Feminism

As mentioned in the beginning of the MA-thesis, the Me Too movement started out as local grassroots work and was created by a black woman with a primary focus on helping black women deal with sexual abuse. Burke has also expressed that the movement is dedicated to empowering all survivors of sexual abuse and helping them heal through empathy, even if they were not the original focus of Me Too. Burke has further stated that "Sexual violence does not see race or class but the response to it does" (Nicole). Our MA-thesis clearly exemplifies Burke's statement: the Me Too movement does realize that sexual violence affects everyone, but it is the way in which society, such as the media, responds to sexual violence that diminishes and derails the Me Too movement's intention of being intersectional and inclusive. Our analysis of the representation of the movement in the four news outlets indicates that Me Too has been derailed by white feminism because the cases that have been reported about in the media mainly revolve around white survivors and abusers.

Journalist Lynsey Chutel[28] agrees that the Me Too movement has been derailed by white feminism, and she indicates that the way it was popularized in 2017 is part of the reason why: "it's impossible to ignore the fact that the reason the movement in its current form gained such momentum was because it was driven by mainly white, wealthy women who already had access to the platform and power needed. For all its victories, #MeToo has exposed divisions within the feminist movement" (Chutel). Thus, Chutel states that, although Me Too was originally created by a

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[28] "Lynsey covers southern Africa from Johannesburg...Lynsey worked as a correspondent for the Associated Press, covering breaking news and features in southern Africa" (Chutel).

black woman, the reason why it has been popularized was because of 'white, wealthy women' such as Alyssa Milano and Rose McGowen. The version of Me Too that is represented in the media nowadays, and the one most people associate it with, is the one that derives from Milano's tweets. Thus, it is not entirely surprising that the representation of the Me Too movement in the news outlets focuses on white and privileged survivors and abusers without addressing the struggles that minorities face in relation to sexual abuse. Additionally, Chutel stresses that Me Too has revealed that there is a central rift within feminism in relation to race and class, and she exemplifies this by stating that Me Too is currently driven by 'white, wealthy women'. Thus, not only is the movement in its current form driven by 'white, wealthy women', but the media also mainly presents sexual abuse as affecting white and privileged women as our MA-thesis suggests. As a result, 'white, wealthy women' are more likely than women of color from low wealth communities to be empowered and encouraged to speak out by the Me Too movement because they can see themselves represented by it. However, Chutel's quote implies that women of color from low wealth communities needed Me Too more because they did not already have 'access to the platform and power needed' that 'white, wealthy women' did.

Chutel further states that although Me Too has tried to emphasize intersectionality, there is still a division within the movement as it has become "clear that women of color and lower-income women were being left out of the conversation" and that this is "because it is a movement that requires women to come forward on a public platform, it demands a certain amount of power on the part of its participants" (Chutel). Hence, Chutel alludes to how the hashtag activism of Me Too could be a limitation when it comes to whose voices are being heard, which could affect how the movement has been represented in the news outlets. The public platform that Me Too requires survivors to come forward on might limit who feel safe enough to speak out. Earlier we mentioned that even though more people have the opportunity to speak out online, some may still have reservations about speaking out publicly. What we meant by this was that society often expresses skepticism when women of color tell their stories, and therefore they may be hesitant to publicly join the Me Too movement. As an example, Rebecca Epstein, a researcher at Georgetown University, co-authored a 2017 study, which found that "black girls face even greater skepticism by the figures that wield such authority over their lives than other victims of sexual violence" (Decaille and Hatzipanagos). Further, the study concludes that "While many victims of sexual assault are doubted, black victims have it even worse" (Decaille and Hatzipanagos). The National Organization for Women (NOW) also writes that "statistics show that Black women who report crimes of sexual assault or violence are less likely to be believed than their white counterparts" ("Black Women & Sexual Violence"). Thus, despite how Me Too encourages women from all walks of life to come

forward with their stories of sexual abuse, the fact that black women's stories are often met with doubt could mean that a hashtag is not enough to convince them that their voices will be heard now. Perhaps Me Too has not quite broken down the barrier to black women getting their stories heard and believed, and thus potentially this is why Me Too is represented in the news outlets as expressing white feminism. Further, because the focus in the media has been on white and privileged survivors, women of color and lower-income women might not feel included in the narrative, and thus they might be hesitant to speak out publicly.

The four news outlets' representation of the Me Too movement expressed white feminism as none of them addressed the struggles faced by ethnic minorities, not even the articles that revolved around the movement in general. However, this is also a reflection of how the person cases we chose to analyze revolved around white people. The majority of the cases we read about before choosing the Weinstein, Argento, and C.K. cases also focused on white and privileged people, and the cases that were most prominently written about were about white and privileged people. Hence, the Me Too movement has been represented as having turned the struggles of women into a white reckoning despite how it was intended to help women from all walks of life. As mentioned in the theory section, this is something that bell hooks has criticized feminists for doing in the past, namely that feminists focused on the struggles that only white women face (Prendergast). Thus, using hooks argument, the way the Me Too movement has been represented in the news outlets could be criticized for contributing to the oppression of ethnic minority women by ignoring the uniqueness of their experiences of oppression. The news outlets limit the movement's ability to make people aware that sexual abuse affects people everywhere and in different ways, and thus they also limit the movement's ability to create social change and end sexual abuse. In doing this, the news outlets further perpetuate the cycle of giving white and privileged survivors the loudest support while giving survivors from marginalized sections of society the most muted support. The consequence of this is that survivors from marginalized sections of society will feel discouraged from sharing their stories of sexual abuse as they do not see themselves being represented in the movement.

Although the analyzed news outlets currently fail to represent the Me Too movement as intersectional but rather as expressing white feminism, journalists could change that image of the movement. As Burke states, the Me Too movement aims to address sexual abuse through an intersectional lens, and news outlets such as the ones we analyzed, CNN, Fox News, The New York Times, and Breitbart News, should reflect that by actively seeking out stories that do not just focus on white and privileged survivors and abusers. This view was also expressed by Erica Gonzalez, a Women's Media Center board member, who specifically mentioned the need for more inclusive

newsrooms because without "inclusive newsrooms, women's stories, and especially the stories of women of color and other underpresented groups, are missing from the conversation" (Ennis and Wolfe 14). Journalists need to ensure that when women of color do speak out about their experiences of sexual abuse, journalists need to seek them out and provide them with a platform to amplify their stories as much as they do with the stories of white women. Further, the Women's Media Center Report emphasizes that when journalists do seek out these stories from survivors, they need to "carefully work with them to decide whether or not they want to come forward. [The survivors] need to know that their identity will be protected if their life is at risk, and they need to know why it is important that they tell the world what happened to them" (Ennis and Wolfe 13). Hence, the Women's Media Center Report emphasizes that journalists also have a vital role to play in encouraging survivors to share their experiences and stories of sexual abuse and "in helping shift our culture, by credibly presenting accusations, doing its own investigations, and explaining the context in which an alleged attack occurred" ("Media and #MeToo: The Women's Media Center Report"). Thus, the Women's Media Center Report expresses that journalists also have the power, platform, ability and responsibility to shed light on the tales of sexual abuse from women from all walks of life and to thereby help solve the endemic issue of sexual abuse. This is something our MA-thesis suggests that some of the chosen news outlets have been unable to do, namely to show that the words 'Me Too' hold true for people from all walks of life. Hence, the news outlets have failed to give a diverse representation in their new coverage surrounding the ubiquity of sexual abuse. Thereby, some of these news outlets have failed to give survivors the support and strength to come forward.

Conclusion

In this MA-thesis, we set out to investigate how the Me Too movement was represented in the following online American news outlets, CNN, Fox News, The New York Times, and Breitbart News. In doing so, the MA-thesis aimed to answer the following research question: How do these news outlets represent/frame the Me Too movement, and what effect does this have on the perception of it and the discourse surrounding sexual abuse?

Through using Fairclough's CDA, we found that two of the news outlets, CNN and NYT, represented the Me Too movement similarly as they both mainly showed support for Me Too. This was evident as their representation of the movement emphasized what it had done in terms of exposing sexual abuse and helping survivors, and thus it represented Me Too in a positive way. Nevertheless, they both presented one critique of the movement in some of their coverage, namely that they questioned whether Me Too was enough to actually end sexual abuse, and provided ideas

for how it could improve. NYT also critiqued the movement for not focusing on how to help ordinary survivors. However, their critique did not diminish what Me Too had already accomplished, i.e. opened up a conversation about sexual abuse and empowered survivors to speak out against their abusers. Rather, their critique focused on what should be done next to ensure that the movement continued to make progress towards ending sexual abuse. Thus, they both presented a balanced view of the movement, which left readers with the perception that Me Too has been a positive contribution to society, and that it can continue to create change if people get involved.

We also found that the coverage of the Me Too movement from Fox News and Breitbart News shared many similarities as they represented Me Too in a negative way by emphasizing how the movement could be misused. Particularly, they both presented the arguments that the movement creates an opportunity for people to falsely accuse others, and that it ruins innocent people's careers. Thus, both Fox News and Breitbart News showed a lack of support for the movement. Their use of these arguments was consistent in all the cases, which was particularly intriguing in relation to the C.K. case because he admitted to the allegations and returned to the comedy scene, and thus the case involved neither false accusations nor someone's career being ruined. Breitbart News also related the false accusations argument to an even worse outcome, namely that this would eventually lead to an innocent person committing suicide. Thus, the Fox News and Breitbart News coverage left readers with a negative perception of the Me Too movement, and their insistence on using the false accusations argument could effectively discourage survivors from speaking out against their abusers out of fear that they would not be believed. Hence, their coverage contributes to sustaining existing power relations by discouraging survivors from speaking out.

Our analysis using Van Leeuwen's social actor theory revealed that the four news outlets all represented the social actors in similar ways. They all either used negative appraisements of the alleged abusers or alluded to the same appraisements through the use of other words. Thus, in relation to the discourse surrounding sexual abuse, the news outlets all presented abusers as terrible people. They also reflected a gender oriented discourse mainly through the use of a combination of assimilation and differentiation when referring to two distinct social actor groups: 'women' and 'powerful men'. Thus, they effectively framed sexual abuse as something powerful men do to women. The effect of this is that it excluded male survivors from the overall narrative surrounding sexual abuse, and thus the Me Too movement could be perceived as only intended to help female survivors.

The representation of the social actor groups 'women' and 'powerful men' was particularly interesting when we looked at their representation of the Me Too movement in relation to feminism. These social actor groups reflect that part of the reason that sexual abuse happens is because of

inequality of power, which would then suggest that the feminist fight for equality is a possible solution to the problem. However, although all the four news outlets reflected this power imbalance in relation to sexual abuse, Fox News and Breitbart News focused more on the power relations regarding the Me Too movement itself, namely that they believed men lacked power to defend themselves against false accusations. Thus, Fox News and Breitbart News implied that Me Too flipped the power imbalance between men and women around instead of making them equal.

We also noticed another noteworthy aspect of the representation of the Me Too movement in relation to feminism. The news outlets focused mainly on how Me Too had had an impact in relation to powerful abusers and survivors. Only NYT's coverage drew attention to the problem of sexual abuse through an intersectional lens when they alluded to how the movement had failed to help ordinary women, and thus how they had a different experience of Me Too because of their class. Noticeably, none of the news outlets made any reflections on the intersection of gender and race, and survivors and abusers of color are currently not at the center of the news coverage and discussion about sexual abuse. This was specifically interesting as the original movement had a particular focus on helping black women who were affected by sexual abuse. Thus, the news outlets' representation of the Me Too movement could be characterized as white feminism because of their focus on how the movement has helped survivors who are white women.

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