Fragmented Feminisms in the Digital Age:

Writing a History of the Present and Tracing the Conditions of Possibility of the #metoo Movement from an Intersectional Framework

by

Emily Gerbrandt

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Sociology

University of Alberta

© Emily Gerbrandt, 2019

ABSTRACT

In 2017, the #metoo movement took Hollywood by storm and brought international attention to the widespread issue of sexual violence. In the aftermath of its fervour, scholarly inquiry into the #metoo movement and its influence are just beginning. Feminist response to and engagement with the #metoo movement has been varied. This thesis considers three key exploratory questions: where did the #metoo movement come from? What is the #metoo movement? Furthermore, where is the #metoo movement going? Approaching these questions from a post-structural, intersectional feminist theoretical framework, I employ a genealogical approach to writing a history of the present of the #metoo movement and trace a number of the conditions that have made the #metoo movement's popular emergence possible. Specifically, I attend to the role that social media, digital activism, and anti-feminist backlash have played in the emergence of the #metoo movement. Discussing these questions over the course of three chapters finds that the #metoo movement can be thought of as a contested and fragmented space of counter public anti-sexual violence activism and as an alternative justice mechanism. At the same time, #metoo's co-optation by white women in news media, entertainment, and popular culture poses significant dangers that could thwart intersectional social action. The #metoo movement presents numerous possibilities for enacting transformative social change, at the same time as it risks thwarting such efforts. Namely, the #metoo movement holds a significant possibility to challenge the mystical authority of formal justice mechanisms and realize a path to justice that centralizes the multiplicity of Survivor's needs and concerns. At the same time, there is nothing *inherently* feminist, nor is there an *inherent-ness* to #metoo's feminism. The contrasts, conflicts, and contradictions within #metoo and across its relations to feminist activism and scholarship,

highlights the urgency behind flagging the way #metoo has been activated and co-opted to reproduce the conditions necessary for intersectional forces of oppression and domination.

PREFACE

This thesis is an original work by Emily Gerbrandt. No part of this thesis has been previously published.

I am not free while any woman is unfree,
even when her shackles are very different
from my own.

Audre Lorde
(Sister Outsider, 1984, pp. 134-135)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Authorship is never the venture of one person alone. This thesis would not have been possible without the support of a number of people who deserve my innumerable thanks.

I would like to thank the staff and faculty in the Department of Sociology at the University of Alberta for their support and guidance throughout my program. I humbly recognize the support of my fellow colleagues in the department who have been there to share in my successes and commiserate in my failures. This has been an immeasurable support to me.

I extend my humble gratitude to my Supervisory Committee Members. Dr. Robyn Lee and Dr. Lise Gotell, your important contributions, although largely unheralded, have not gone unnoticed. I express my deepest and most profound gratitude to my Supervisor, Dr. Bryan Hogeveen, who has been an unwavering support to me these last two years. Not only has Bryan shaped my intellectual curiosity, but his uncompromising devotion to his students and steadfast encouragement has been an immeasurable support to my intellectual growth. Bryan, you are the true definition of a mentor, and I extend my sincerest thanks to you.

I gratefully acknowledge the funding from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council that supported this research.

There are no words that could adequately express my eternal gratitude to the people in my life who have been my emotional supports, my cheerleaders, and my buoys as I've navigated the storm of graduate studies. Mom and Dad, you have stood by me with constant support and encouragement as my, somewhat unconventional, path has led me here. The few moments over the last year that I could steal through travel layovers and impromptu 14 hour road trips to come back into the warmth, love, and support that you have unconditionally given to me, has equipped me with the mental, emotional, and spiritual fortitude I needed to weather this storm.

Thank you, to my best friends, Evelyn and Briar, who have both achieved numerous accomplishments of their own these last few years, but have always had time to fly out and see me, and lend a listening ear to my worries and complaints, even if I don't take a breath for 30 minutes.

To my partner, and my rock, Spencer, the nights you spent listening to me talk through my thoughts are innumerable, and the love and support you have given me is immeasurable. There is no possible way to properly acknowledge the central role you have played in this work. You have shown me the value of a good meal, a big hug, and a warm bed. Thankfully, you have made sure I never went a day without them. Now, as this chapter comes to a close and another one begins, I am excited that I get to be your cheerleader too.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES & ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER 1: ME TOO, #METOO: THE GLOBAL RECKONING OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

"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 on Twitter (October 15, 2017)

Introduction: #metoo Goes Viral

It was the tweet that started a movement, a global reckoning, a collective rallying cry for the end of sexual violence once and for all. In October of 2017, actress and activist Alyssa Milano publicly disclosed that Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein had sexually assaulted her. Quickly following her disclosure, Milano asked her Twitter followers to reply to her tweet with the words 'me too' if they had ever experienced sexual violence. Soon after Milano's tweet, 'me too' became a trending hashtag across numerous social media platforms. In the first 24 hours, over 12 million Facebook users had engaged with the hashtag (Wagmeister, 2018). By the end of October, over 1.7 million people had used the hashtag on Twitter across 85 countries (LaMotte, 2017). Musical artist Björk (Guardian Music, 2017) and American Olympic gymnast McKayla Maroney (Graham, 2017), were amongst thousands of social media users who joined Milano by publicly disclosing their own experiences of sexual violence. The conversation went beyond Hollywood as people across the world began sharing their experiences of workplace harassment, date rape, childhood sexual abuse, incest, cat-calling, public groping, intimate partner sexual violence, and more, through the hashtag.

> My supervisor asked me to step into the bathroom so he could show me how to do the inventory. He pinned me against a wall. #MeToo (@boho_travel, October 15, 2017)
>
> I was groped by a group of men on subway stairs. They didn't let me pass & mocked me when I yelled in protest. #MeToo (@karapgoldman, October 15, 2017)
>
> I was 6 years old when my friend's father got ahold of me. I didn't know any better. My friends and their mom were out running errands. I knocked on the door, he invited me in.

> He showed me a home video of him and his wife having sex. I didn't know what was going on. Then we put me in between his legs and started to touch my vagina and said "are you comfortable" I didn't say a word. I was afraid. I asked to go home and he allowed me to. I didn't realize I was molested until I turned 12. (@metoo_anonymous, October 17, 2017)

A comparative analysis of over 600,00 posts on Facebook and Twitter indicated that #metoo posts were largely heeding Milano's call. The #metoo hashtag was predominately used to share personal stories of sexual violence, express support, discuss and admonish offenders, re-post articles, and provide general commentary (Manikonda, Beigi, Liu, & Kambhampati, 2018).

Within a matter of days, #metoo[1] became an online testimonial space of mass disclosure and a rallying cry for the end of sexual violence against women. Throughout 2017 and 2018, the #metoo movement remained a central focal point of global media attention. Several celebrity scandals reinforced #metoo's visibility in the press. For instance, following Milano's disclosure, over 80 other women in the film and media industry accused Weinstein of sexual assault and/or sexual harassment (Gonzalez, Respers France, & Melas, 2018). Facing an onslaught of public backlash, Weinstein was forced to resign from his production company. Currently, Weinstein is facing numerous criminal charges, including sexual assault in the first and third-degree (Patten, 2019).[2] Weinstein's dismissal set a powerful precedent. Throughout 2018, hundreds of high-profile men across film, politics, media, and business would face accusations of sexual assault and harassment. Aptly called the ‘Weinstein Effect,' over 200 men were ousted were positions of power in the year following #metoo going viral (Carlsen et al., 2018). Many household names, including actor Kevin Spacey, television host Matt Lauer, Democrat Senator Al Franken, and

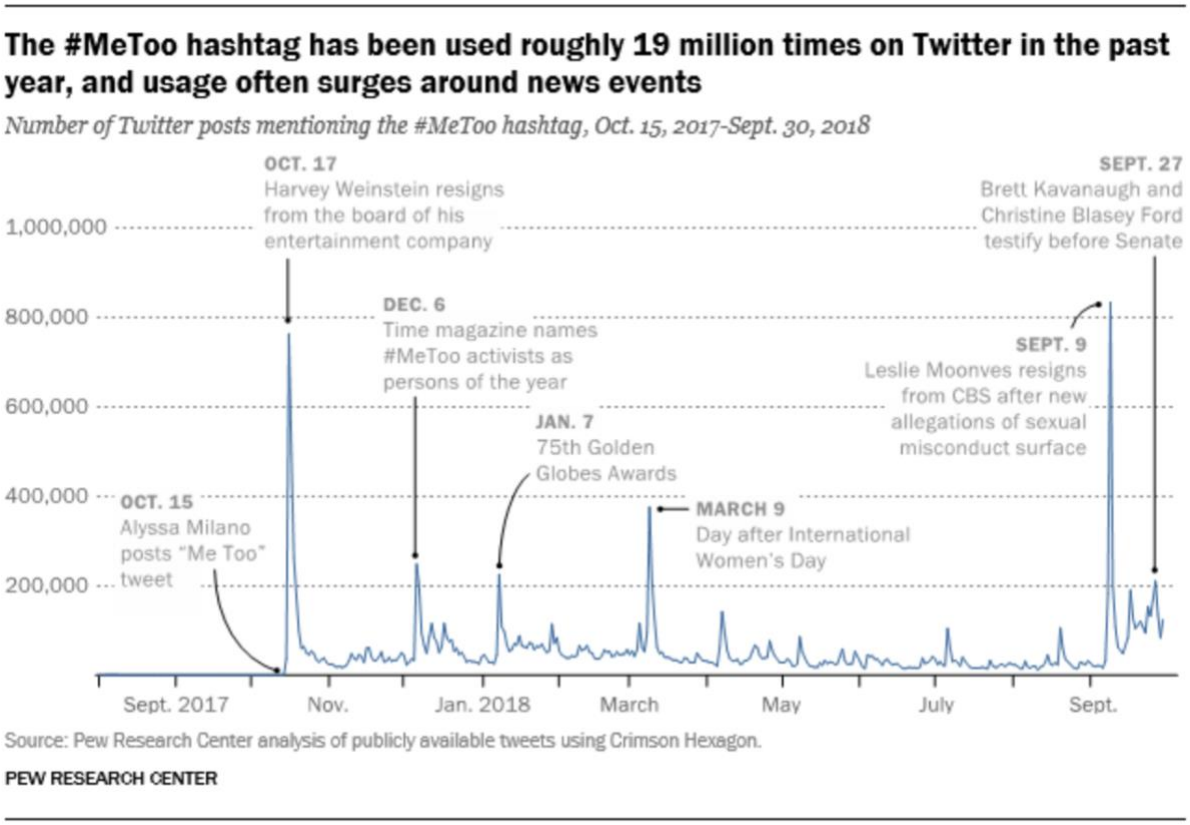
[1] Although many variations have been used to refer to the #metoo movement (#MeToo, Me Too, me too.) I use #metoo both for consistency throughout this project and as an intentional choice, one that both expresses my uneasiness with departing from Tarana Burke's decision to present me too in lowercase, but also incorporating the hashtag to acknowledge that since ‘me too' went viral, these transformations are inescapable.

[2] In the state of New York, where these charges were laid, first and third-degree rape are felony offences. If found guilty, Weinstein may receive a life sentence behind bars.

Republican Congressman Roy Moore, resigned or were removed from their positions of power (Almukhtar, Gold, & Buchanan, 2018).

As the number of Hollywood scandals increased, the use of the hashtag also surged on Twitter. Seen below in Figure 1 (Anderson & Toor, 2018), Harvey Weinstein's resignation in October 2017 and CBS CEO Leslie Moonves' resignation following allegations of sexual misconduct were both a cause and effect of the global spotlight the #metoo movement placed on the issues of workplace harassment and sexual violence against women in 2017 and 2018. The self-reinforcing cycle of #metoo's continued relevance across these events meant that the movement garnered widespread media attention for over a year. Considering the massive public engagement it garnered, the #metoo movement is arguably one of the most important social events of the decade.

Fig. 1: Number of twitter posts mentioning the #metoo hashtag, October 15, 2017 to September 30, 2018 (Anderson & Toor, 2018).



The topic of sexual violence and workplace harassment set the tone for many Hollywood's most significant star-studded events, including the 2018 Golden Globes. Nearly all attendees showed up in black gowns and tuxedos to call attention to the co-occurring Time's Up[3] and #metoo movements. While accepting the Cecile B. DeMille lifetime achievement award, Oprah Winfrey made a powerful public condemnation of gender-based violence against marginalized women, a topic that, despite being a central concern echoed across Black feminist

[3] Time's Up is a movement that began as a result of #metoo and the revelations of sexual assault and harassment in the entertainment industry in the fall of 2017. Artists, executives, producers and other leaders in the entertainment industry initiated the movement. The movement has since grown beyond Hollywood. However, it remains focused on sexual violence and harassment in the workplace, whereas #metoo sets out to address sexual violence in all contexts in which it occurs (Time's Up, 2019).

thought and in Black communities across North America, had been largely overlooked by many celebrity commentators. As Winfrey stated in her speech,

> It's not just a story affecting the entertainment industry. It's one that transcends any culture, geography, race, religion, politics, or workplace. So I want tonight to express gratitude to all the women who have endured years of abuse and assault because they, like my mother, had children to feed and bills to pay and dreams to pursue. They're the women whose names we'll never know. They are domestic workers and farmworkers. They are working in factories, and they work in restaurants and they're in academia, engineering, medicine, and science. They're part of the world of tech and politics and business. They're our athletes in the Olympics and they're our soldiers in the military.[…] For too long, women have not been heard or believed if they dare speak the truth to the power of those men. But their time is up. Their time is up. (CNN, January 7, 2018)

Not only was Winfrey the first Black woman to win the award, her speech was particularly salient because she also went on to pay homage to the recently departed Recy Taylor, a civil rights activist who battled against Jim Crow laws in the U.S. South after she was sexually assaulted in 1944 by six white men who were never prosecuted for the offence (CNN, 2018; Hornshaw, 2018).

Conversations about non-celebrity Black women's experiences of sexual assault and the systemic patterns of sexual objectification, fetishization, dehumanization, and criminalization Black women encounter are topics that have long been discussed in critical race and Black feminist studies (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991; Collins 1998; 2017; Potter, 2006; Richie, 2018; Washington, 2001) but have been noticeably absent in mainstream media #metoo discourse (Onwuachi-Willig, 2018; Tambe, 2018). This is explained by the fact that most of the key figures in the #metoo movement have been Western, white, and privileged women (Phipps, 2019; Tambe, 2018), thereby "reflecting the dominance of occidental feminisms that position themselves as both universal and neutral […], and the dominance of white bourgeois women within these" (Phipps 2019, p. 2; Thapar-Björkert & Tlostanova, 2018). As African American

actress and sexual violence activist Gabrielle Union stated when discussing the #metoo movement's influence to *Good Morning America,* "I think the floodgates have opened for white women" (Union in Chavez 2017).

Overlooking and excluding women of colour and other marginalized women from mainstream feminist theory and activism is nothing new. The subjugation of Black feminist knowledge remains an issue that plagues feminism (Bilge, 2013; 2014). The erasure of Black voices from the #metoo movement is pointedly treacherous. Although Milano may be credited with the term's popular resurgence in 2017, the 'me too. movement' has a much longer history. Dating back to 2007, the 'me too. Movement'[4] originates from Tarana Burke, a Black female activist who wanted to address the systemic inadequacies in legal and extra-legal resources for, and responses to, Black women and girls who experience sexual violence in the United States.

For this reason, some Black feminist scholars consider the #metoo movement as a popular resurgence of Burke's grass-root efforts in 2007 (Onwuachi-Willig, 2018). Widespread media coverage that erases this history perpetuates whitestreaming, or what Indigenous feminist scholar Sandy Grande (2004) calls the tendency of mainstream feminism to view white women's experiences of inequality and conceptions of gender equity as neutral and normative, leaving unchecked how white supremacy interrelates with sexism and patriarchal oppression. Whitestreaming feminist movement overlooks how white women are implicated in the oppression of women of colour. This whitestreaming of the #metoo movement within media coverage occludes the fact that the #metoo movement was founded by Black women through

4 I use 'me too.' in reference to Tarana Burke's grass-roots movement initiated in 2007. I use #metoo in reference to the contemporary manifestations of the movement's resurgence and to refer to the way 'me too.' has transformed since entering into mainstream popular culture.

Black feminist epistemologies. Black women and Black feminisms have provided the necessary knowledge and tools to make the popular resurgence of the #metoo movement possible.

Oprah Winfrey's dedication to Recy Taylor marked one of few reliefs from these occlusions. Winfrey's speech received positive feedback from a Black feminist journalist, scholar, and social justice advocate Shanita Hubbard, who tweeted, "When #Oprah spoke the name Recy Taylor I could not stop crying. Racism and sexism have been devouring Black women for decades. Our sisters, like Rosa Parks and Tarana Burke, have always been on the frontline screaming this truth. #GoldenGlobes #MeToo #TIMESUP" (@msshanitarenee, January 7, 2018). In effect, Winfrey's speech created a moment where the chorus of Black women who have been at the forefront of anti-sexual violence theorizing and activism for decades, and yet consistently find their knowledge and experiences are both overlooked *and* harvested by whitestream feminisms without recognition, were placed at the centre of the #metoo conversation.

Winfrey's speech emphasized the importance of discussing #metoo in all spaces sexual violence exists, beyond the confines of Hollywood. Although Winfrey's speech may not be the cause for this, and she has certainly not been the only spokesperson to raise these concerns, her speech had a pronounced influence because it became widely apparent that Black women were being omitted from mainstream #metoo discourse.

Moving beyond Hollywood: The Global Reckoning of The #metoo Movement

Sexual violence is a systemic issue, produced within and reinforced by interlocking systems of patriarchal, capitalist, white supremacist, and colonial power that go beyond entertainment and

media sectors. The heightened visibility of sexual violence through media interest in the #metoo movement has sparked conversations across many social terrains and industry sectors.

Employment lawyers have critiqued the ‘hasty terminations’ precipitated by the mass disclosures noting the heightened likelihood of disgruntled men filing wrongful dismissal claims as a result of #metoo (Bowal, 2018). Articles have discussed how the #metoo movement has increased visibility of sexual harassment in Sweden's forestry sector (Johansson, Johansson, & Andersson, 2018). Prison abolitionist groups have even submitted arguments that the #metoo movement is a productive avenue for seeking justice through online vigilante tactics (aptly referred to as ‘digilante' tactics) and restorative justice processes outside of the carceral system (Law, 2018a).

Indigenous communities and experts have weighed into these conversations, as well. In April 2018, Rematriation Magazine debuted its half-hour film titled "An Indigenous Response to #MeToo," which featured a group of "cultural change-makers" from Haudenosaunee Six Nations territories and the Guachichil de La Gran Chichimeca. The film presented a narrative about sexual violence and the #metoo movement that was grounded in traditional, land-based knowledge, addressed issues of sexual abuse specific to their communities and promoted culturally-based solutions. "The #MeToo movement has taken the country by storm, and this is why I asked a group of Indigenous people to come together to discuss what is – and what is not – going on so that we can extend the conversation into our communities and take control of the narrative," stated Michelle Schenandoah, chief executive officer and editor in chief of Rematriation Magazine. "We are not part of the mainstream society; yet knowing how pervasive

sexual abuse is in our communities, this film provides a backdrop to explore this issue in our own way." (Native News Online, 2018).

The #metoo movement marks an important cultural moment that has transgressed a wide array of digital and material terrains. The hashtag became a sociological phenomenon, a story that "moved beyond any one man," and instead, "became a conversation about men's behaviour towards women and the imbalance of power at the top" (Khomami, 2017). *USA Today* coined 2017 as the year when sexual misconduct became a fireable offence (Guynn & della Cava, 2017). Time Magazine named the 'Silence Breakers,' referring to the men and women who are cited for having sparked this "revolution of refusal" (Edwards, 2017), as their 2017 Person(s) of the Year.[5] In April of 2018, *The New York Times* and *The New Yorker* received the Pulitzer Prize for Public Service for their "coverage of the sexual abuse of women in Hollywood and other industries around the world" (LaForme, 2018). The momentum of the #metoo movement was undeniable. In effect, #metoo became a global reckoning of sexual violence as the French hashtag #balancetonporc ("Denounce your pig"), the Spanish hashtag #YoTambien ("Me too"), and Arabic hashtags #انا_وكمان ("Me too") and #انا_وايضا ("I Also") were used internationally to engage in the movement.

The Pew Research Centre reported that in the year following Milano's tweet, 90% of U.S. adults who used social media had encountered content on their social media platforms that pertained to sexual violence and the #metoo movement (Anderson & Toor, 2018). "It is about so

[5] Their featured list included 'Me Too' founder Tarana Burke, alongside a range of survivors who had rallied behind the #metoo movement, including singer Taylor Swift, actors Rose McGowan, Terry Crews, and Selma Blair, NBC News Anchor Megyn Kelly, alongside a select number of non-celebrity women, including Sandra Pezqueda, a former dishwasher, and Juana Melata, a hotel housekeeper (Edwards, 2017).

much more than Harvey Weinstein," said Caroline Criado-Perez, co-founder of The Women's Room, a website dedicated to promoting female experts in journalism and media, "that's what #MeToo represents, it's happened to pretty much every woman you know.[…] it happens in every country every day to all women, and it's done by friends, colleagues, 'good guys' who care about the environment and children and even feminism, supposedly." (Criado-Perez in Khomami, 2017). The #metoo movement, in both its inception and its resurgence, is much bigger than a Hollywood scandal. Understanding #metoo as a broad movement, manifesting, changing, and fragmenting as it enters different industry sectors, communities, and contexts, means that further investigation is necessary in order to understand where it comes from, what is it, and what it is poised to do. The importance of researching the #metoo movement is not only a result of the profound effect the movement has had in cultural attitudes towards sexual violence worldwide but also because sexual violence remains a persistent issue.

The Issue and Prevalence of Sexual Violence

Approximately one in three women and one in six men experience some form of sexual violence in their lifetime,[6] with 39% of Canadian adult women reporting to have experienced sexual assault before the age of 16 (Statistics Canada, 2006). The transgender men and women, and non-binary people also face a persist issue of sexual violence. Although sexual violence is an issue that women from all backgrounds can experience, sexual violence does not affect all women equally, nor does it occur within the same contexts and constraints.

[6] Sexual violence has been consistently found in empirical research to be a gendered experience. Women are predominantly a victim of sexual violence carried out, predominantly, by men. There are, of course, exceptions, but the rates of male perpetrated sexual violence against women are so pervasive that the gendered nature of the act cannot be denied. For this reason, I use gendered language throughout when discussing sexual violence survivors and perpetrators, as these gendered cases that predominate are the focus of this project.

Indigenous women are three times more likely than non-Indigenous women to experience sexual violence in their lifetime (Conroy & Cotter, 2017). The final report from the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls is one of the only repositories of knowledge to date that has shone a light on the rampant and highly racialized sex-trafficking rings that operate across Canada. Victims of these highly exploitative forms of sexual abuse are predominantly Indigenous women and girls. One expert referenced in the report is Grandma Bernie, who shared her story of being trafficked while in foster care.

> At the age of 11 or 12 years old, six of us girls were sold into the sex industry work – we didn't know – at the Empress Hotel in Prince Rupert. As many of you know that I … don't wear shorts very often because of my legs. I've got cigarette burns all through my legs right up to my back. Around – like, my buttock area is very – scarred really bad. This is what we … endured. We were just kids (Report on National Inquiry into MMIWG, 2019, p. 660)

Grandma Bernie's story is exemplative of the complex nexus of patriarchal and settler colonial power that conditions and is conditioned by sexual violence. Grandma Bernie's story exemplifies the importance of situating sexual violence within an intersecting nexus of power relations. Doing so captures the complexity of sexual violence and contributes critical knowledge to understand and address it in a meaningful way. The rape, abuse, and sexual exploitation Grandma Bernie, and many other Indigenous women and girls experience, are mediated by the ongoing attempts to eliminate Indigenous peoples, their cultures, and their sovereignty (Wolfe, 2009; Razack, 2016), whether this be through the Indian residential school system, the current the over-representation of Indigenous children and youth in the foster care system, the inattention of Canada's criminal justice system to recognize the crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, and a number of other strategies. The Canadian state, or more specifically, the government-run institutions that wield state power, are nestled within long-standing heteropatriarchal colonial logics that demoralize, dehumanize, and objectify Indigenous women

(Razack, 2016). It is no wonder, then, that law enforcement agencies often mismanage rape cases and other forms of racial terror against Indigenous women and girls (Razack, 2016; Simpson, 2016).

Although sexual assault is pervasive, it is one of the most underreported crimes in Canada (Benoit et al., 2016; Brennan & Taylor-Butts, 2008; Kaufman, 2008; Luce et al., 2010). Although rates of other violent crimes have been declining for the past two decades, self-reported rates of sexual assault remain stable. Less than two of every ten sexual assaults are reported to police (Conroy & Cotter, 2017). These trends can be understood when contextualized in the long and ongoing history of sexism, racism, discrimination, and transphobia that shapes marginalized women's encounters with the Canadian criminal justice system. This point is particularly salient in the relationship between Indigenous women and agents of the state. Expert Witness in the National Inquiry into MMIWG Robyn Bourgeois states,

> The one piece that has always been there is the hypersexualization of Indigenous women and girls, and the perception that we are inherently sexually available. And, that – if we are inherently available, sexually, then the violence that happens to our bodies doesn't count.… It's the inherent belief within the settler colonial system, which is the foundation of our current Canadian nation state, that Indigenous women and girls are inferior, they're deviant, they're dysfunctional, and they need to be eliminated from this nation state, and that's what makes it okay to abuse and violate Indigenous women and girls (Report on National Inquiry into MMIWG, 2019, p. 663).

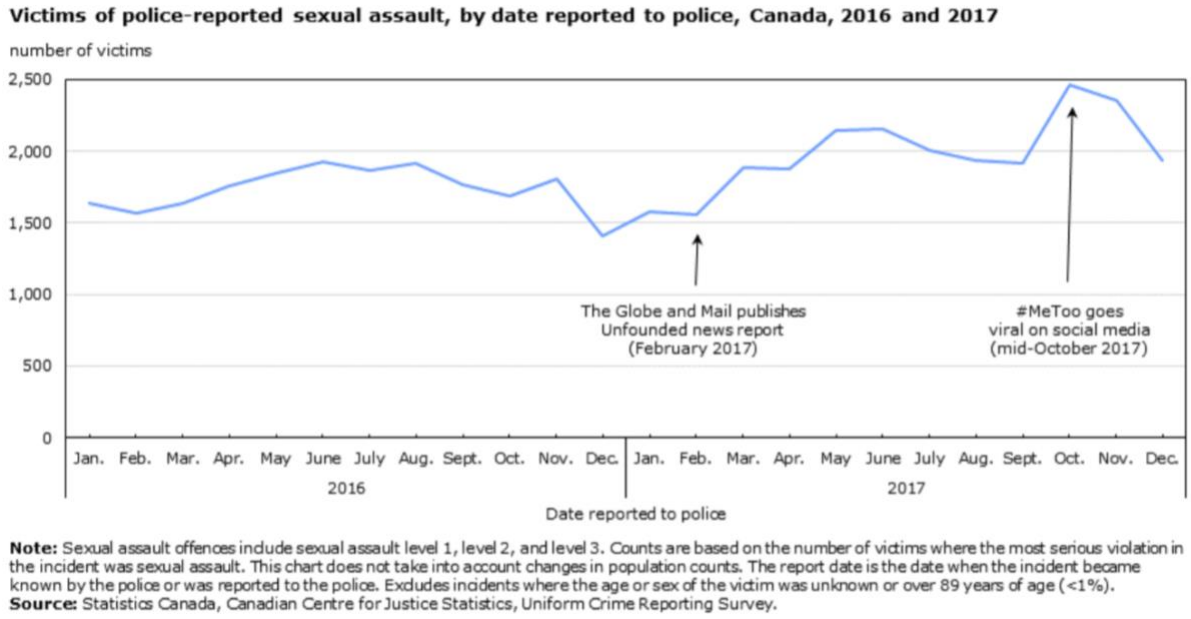
These comments reflect the continued relevance of what Emma Larocque has termed the ‘inherently rapeable squaw trope,' which presents Indigenous women and girls as inherently licentious and imbued with sexual sin (Larocque, 2002; Razack, 2016). This hyper-sexualizing, objectifying, and dehumanizing colonial imagery of Indigenous women and girls (Carter, 1997) is part and parcel of the ongoing institutional and police indifference towards the violence inflicted upon Indigenous women and girls and underlies why Indigenous women often do not

report to police. As Indigenous scholars Tracey Lindberg, Priscilla Campeau, and Maria Campbell (2012) note, "many Indigenous peoples see Canadian police officers, judges, and justice officials as enforcement arms of the policies, laws, and legislation that dehumanize [them]. Violence exists on a continuum with many layers of overlap; Canadian justice is often viewed as a part of that violence."

This ‘dark figure'[7] of sexual violence is well-documented. In 2004, only approximately 8% of sexual assaults were reported to police, making it the most under-reported offence (Statistics Canada, 2009). By 2014, Canada's General Social Survey data estimated police reporting rates to have decreased to just 4% of all self-reported sexual assault incidents (Department of Justice, 2017). Exacerbating these issues is the justifiable distrust and hostility that many women of colour and Indigenous women feel towards the police and state actors. However, reporting trends were noticeably affected by the #metoo movement. In October of 2017, reports of sexual assault to law enforcement agencies dramatically increased by 25% in the three months following October 2017 compared to the rates from the three months before October 2017 (Rotenberg & Cotter, 2018). Statistics Canada argues that this reporting spike was a result of the international virality of the ‘#metoo' hashtag (Rotenberg & Cotter, 2017). As seen in the chart below, approximately 2,500 sexual assault incidents were reported to police in October of 2017, a significant spike from the reporting trends just a few months prior.

7 The ‘dark figure' of crime is a term used within criminal justice spheres to refer to a large number of criminal incidents that are never reported to the police. Through victimization surveys, Statistics Canada has been able to capture self-reported victimization incidents to estimate that approximately two-thirds of criminal incidents are never reported to police (Statistics Canada, 2009).

Fig. 2: Trends in police-reported sexual assault in 2016 and 2017 (Rotenberg & Cotter, 2017).



Note: Sexual assault offences include sexual assault level 1, level 2, and level 3. Counts are based on the number of victims where the most serious violation in the incident was sexual assault. This chart does not take into account changes in population counts. The report date is the date when the incident became known by the police or was reported to the police. Excludes incidents where the age or sex of the victim was unknown or over 89 years of age (<1%).
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Seen here, #metoo has already had a dramatic effect on reporting behaviours. However, it seems that the influence of the #metoo movement on the criminal justice system may end here. Preliminary research suggests that although more sexual assault incidents are coming into the purview of law enforcement, rates of arrest and charging have not increased in kind (Rotenberg & Cotter, 2018). Conviction rates for sexual assault also remain low (Rotenberg, 2017a). The effect, or rather, the lack of effect, the #metoo movement is a significant point of concern that required further investigation. It is for this reason that chapter 5 commits an in-depth exploration of this topic.

With this brief overview of the origin, resurgence, and preliminary implications of the #metoo movement in place, I now turn my attention to the research questions that frame this project. What follows is a discussion of how I enter into this work, the crucial academic and

practical contribution I seek to offer through this project, and a fuller explanation of the continued need for an intersectional inquiry into the issue of sexual violence.

Research Framework

Thesis Statement

The over-arching theses that frame this project are that nothing about the #metoo movement is *inherently* feminist, nor is there an *inherent-ness* to #metoo's feminism. The relationship between anti-sexual violence movements and feminist activism has always been tenuous. The importance of addressing sexual violence within the women's movement has been subject to ample debate (Bevacqua, 2000). Leading second-wave feminist Betty Friedan vocalized their disinterest in entering issues of 'wife battery' and rape into feminist agendas. In her 1981 book, *The Second Stage,* Freidan criticized feminist attempts that directed "too much of its energy to sexual politics," stating,

> [F]rom personal bedroom wars against men to mass marches against rape or pornography to "take back the night." Sexual war against men is an irrelevant, self-defeating acting out of rage. It doesn't change the conditions of our lives. Obsession with rape, even offering Band-Aids to its victims, is a kind of wallowing in that victim-state, that impotent rage, that sterile polarization. Like the aping of machismo or obsessive careerism, it dissipates our own wellsprings of generative power (p. 245).

Notions that anti-sexual violence activism thwarts feminism prevail. Exacerbating this are post-feminist conceptions of the 'pastness' of the gendered aspects of sexual violence which present sexual violence as a gender-neutral issue (Minaker & Snider, 2006). "Men are raped too!" and "not all men rape" sentiments, although true, remain both a common form of pushback to the gendered lexicons of sexual violence and a sticking point where many post-feminist agendas ascribe themselves. What is more, #metoo and anti-sexual violence theory and activism

do not hold a universal essence. I argue that feminism does not have a central, unifying point of cohesion.

What is Feminism?

I approach feminism as a fragmented field, saturated with competing interests and perspectives, full of internal tensions and contradictions. I disavow notions of feminism (and actors within feminist fields) as a homogenous group of like-minded actors. The over-arching theme that is revealed continuously in my analysis of the #metoo movement is how contentious feminisms can be with one another. My approach to feminist theory and feminist activism rejects an imagined monolith or over-arching 'Feminist Project.' Radical, liberal, intersectional, and standpoint feminisms are not cogs that - despite a few breakdowns across history - drive the feminist locomotive into the horizon of gender equality.

Feminist scholarship, and feminist digital activism in particular, are fields made up of scholars and activists who hold a complex set of identities, social locations, and cultures (Fotopoulou, 2016) many of which find their knowledge subjugated, located outside of what has historically been thought to be part of the women's movement. Freed slave Soujourner Truth was addressing racial and gender inequality long before what is now recognized as the first wave of the feminist movement began (see Collins, 2000). Black feminist scholar Patricia Hill Collins (2002) has discussed how Black women's knowledge is subjugated through white supremacist and patriarchal social, political, and economic strategies within academia. In effect, Black women's social, political, intellectual, and contributions to the academy and the broader society are intentionally forgotten.

Take, for instance, how Black women like Sojourner Truth laid the necessary groundwork for the temperance and suffrage movements, but these contributions have largely gone unheralded. The credit for creating these inroads for women into the public sphere has primarily gone to white women. Importantly, white women were also the only women who garnered immediate benefits from women's suffrage and the temperance movement by gaining the right to vote and hold political office. Establishing these rights for Black and Indigenous women would take many decades. In fact, these efforts were often thwarted by white women and early feminists. Many central actors in the suffrage movement supported racist policies. Famous Five members Nellie McClung and Emily Murphy were two prominent supporters of Alberta's eugenic *Sexual Sterilization Act,* which lasted from 1929 to 1972 and resulted in the forced sterilization of approximately 4,800 people thought to be mentally disabled in order to prevent the transmission of their undesirable traits. The Act disproportionately applied to Indigenous peoples and Indigenous women in particular (Grekul, Krahn, & Odynak, 2004).

Thus, when I refer to feminist projects, I am describing a field of theories and practices saturated with competing stakes, perspectives, and interests that may at times overlap, but have emerged from specific historical, social, and political conditions. Conditions that do not always align and may thwart other feminist interventions. Therefore, there is no such thing as a universal feminist project, and the #metoo movement itself, as both an anti-sexual violence movement and a form of digital feminist activism, alerts us to several tensions and power relations that exist within and across feminist scholarship and activism.

Thus far, I have argued for everything that feminist theory and activism *are not.* I now turn the discussion to what I argue feminist theory and activism *are.* I come to my understanding

of feminism from a post-structural and intersectional standpoint. Post-structural feminisms (Butler, 1995; 1999) and socio-legal feminist Carol Smart (2002) inform this work. Smart's (1990; 2002) nuanced understanding of the power of discourse and the implications of translating feminism into law are central to my framing of feminism as a fragmented and contested discursive field. I also draw from intersectional feminism and heavily cite Patricia Hill Collins (1997; 1998; 2000;2017), Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989; 1991), and a number of Black feminist theorists (Lorde, 1984; Noble, 2018; Richie, 2018; Tambe, 2018; Washington, 2001), as well as postcolonial and Indigenous scholars (Simpson, 2016; Razack, 2016; Arvin, Tuck & Morrill, 2013; Grande, 2004; Laroque, 2002; Lindberg, Campeau & Campbell, 2012).

Intersectionality is the central paradigm within which I frame feminism and come to understand relations and systems of power, inequality, and identity. These insights are rooted within and arise from Black feminist thought, which has introduced several key insights about patterns of subjugation and oppression of women's ways of knowing and experiences that are central to my framing of the #metoo movement as an alternative paradigm and mechanism for seeking justice.

I argue that feminism is a field of lexicons (or, vocabularies, languages, fields of knowledge) and a discursive space through which political action and social movement are shaped and claims about power, inequality, and oppression on the basis of gender, amongst other things, are made, validated, reinforced, delegitimated, and resisted. Feminism is also a politics through which strategies for gender equality are often, but not exclusively, articulated. The #metoo movement marks one such discursive space that has come from and is saturated with

feminist discourse and political articulations, alongside anti-feminist discourses, that have also engaged with and informed the emergence of #metoo.

Feminism and #metoo

These fragmented feminisms have proven to be simultaneously productive and troublesome for #metoo. Encounters with #metoo across new feminist terrains hold several productive possibilities, insofar as a variety of feminist discourses that have extended the reach and influence of the #metoo movement foster the movement's drive to address sexual violence. As Rematriation Magazine's short film exemplifies, the popular emergence/resurgence of #metoo served as a timely backdrop that opens discussion through Indigenous paradigms that address issues of sexual abuse specific to their communities (Native News Online, 2018). #metoo does not necessarily mark the cause for these necessary conversations, as sexual harassment in Hollywood is incommensurate with the long and ongoing history of state-sanctioned sexual and racial terror against Indigenous women, but it does serve as an effective conduit for through which some Indigenous activists have found their voices amplified.

However, dangers are also apparent. Many feminist and anti-feminist fields have no lexiconic register for the values central to intersectional paradigms of the #metoo movement. Post-feminism's assertion of the pastness of inequality, even in the case of sexual violence, is a particularly clear example of this impossibility to translate #metoo, as a distinctly gendered social movement, into these discursive formats without substantial translation required.

Other problems arise from the relative ease of the #metoo movement's translation into new lexiconic registers. For instance, post-feminism has approached #metoo as a branding opportunity rather than a political strategy or paradigm for justice. The trouble here is that

"within corporate and commodity feminism, feminist ideas and values are appropriated for commercial gain, replicated in a way that waters down the issues at hand" (Alamdari, 2018, p. 74). The underlying purpose is driven by capitalist interest, whether this is to sell #metoo branded products or as a public relations strategy to improve the image of a corporation (Mendes, Ringrose & Keller, 2018), ascriptions to feminist discourse and social movements like #metoo are, more often than not, charged with corporate and capitalist interest.

#metoo sits in a tenuous relation to these fragmented feminisms. #metoo has been adopted, adapted, rejected, revised, converted, hollowed out, and sold out across a multitude of feminist registers. Whether it is rejected outright or enters a process of conversion in order to be understood within new lexiconic registers, #metoo is always emerging and further fragmenting. As it does, it poses additional possibilities, tensions, and dangers.

Although there is nothing inherently feminist about the #metoo movement, I do argue that there are many potent sites that the #metoo movement has opened up where gender equality can be advanced and the struggle to end sexual violence against women can be further realized, across intellectual, institutional, and cultural terrains. At the same time, this makes the #metoo movement a space imbued with significant dangers of reinforcing power relations, structures, and processes that produce the conditions necessary for sexual violence to occur, rather than dismantle them (Foucault, 1983). I am not dismissing #metoo as a failed attempt at advancing gender equality because of the risks it poses. On the contrary, these dangers are the impetus that drives the need for the theoretical engagement I contribute, which investigates how the #metoo movement is emerging, splintering, and informing the world around us.

Research Questions & Structure of Thesis

In order to do this, I address three questions that structure the three substantive chapters of this thesis. These are: *Where did the #metoo movement come from?; What is the #metoo movement?;* And *where is the #metoo movement going?* Responses to these questions may seem self-evident. An easy response would be the following: the #metoo movement is an online feminist anti-sexual violence movement started by Tarana Burke and later popularized by Alyssa Milano. It has resulted in widespread workplace dismissals, resignations, and criminal charges for known perpetrators. For that reason, it may be argued that the #metoo movement is on a trajectory to produce institutional changes in sexual harassment policies across many industries, reforms in legal and extra-legal responses to sexual assault, and social changes that will promote a culture and climate of intolerance for misogynistic invective, victim-blaming, and predatory behaviours.

It may be simpler to accept these answers. It would certainly pose far less of an analytical challenge if these answers were adequate. However, a closer examination of several events that have arisen from the #metoo movement reveals numerous disparities that undermine this response, revealing its inadequacy. When considering where the #metoo movement came from, it is important to recognize that Alyssa Milano posted the tweet that set off the popular resurgence of #metoo without prior knowledge of Burke's movement of the same name. Although this oversight was not intentional, and Milano later credited Burke as the founder of the #metoo movement, this indicates that the popular resurgence of the movement is not necessarily conditioned by or dependent upon the Black feminist theoretical standpoint and epistemologies that Burke's me too. movement is grounded within.

Burke and Milano's joint interview with the *Today* show in 2017 exemplifies the problem with overlooking this early disjuncture. Milano repeatedly spoke over Burke and interrupted her

answers to questions (Chavez, 2017). As Phipps notes, "this interview functions as a metaphor for the broader Western feminist movement against sexual violence. Public feminisms in this area, as in many others, have been demographically and politically dominated by white women, who have often ignored or co-opted the experiences and contributions of women of color" (Phipps, 2018, p. 1; See Today, 2018 for the interview clip in question). White, celebrity and privileged #metoo advocates have not felt beholden to developing their advocacy efforts with Black feminist epistemologies and intersectional feminisms in mind.

As media coverage continues to efface the perspectives and experiences of non-celebrity women and women of colour and as the mainstream discourse increasingly whitestreams the #metoo movement by positioning white celebrities like Alyssa Milano, Rose McGowan and Ashley Judd as its key figureheads, this early disjuncture is telling. Tarana Burke's original me too. movement and the contemporary #metoo resurgence are implicated in different histories and feminist epistemologies, which have not been resolved with one another. Rather, the former is struggling to survive as the latter is attempting to swallow it whole. There is no doubt that the lack of attention to this oversight may be instructive in #metoo's resurgence. It may help to explain why women of colour have struggled to have their stories, knowledge, and experience centralized within #metoo discourse.

This whitestreaming of the #metoo movement reveals important tensions and frames the relevance of chapter 2, in which I provide theoretical and methodological remarks about conducting Foucault-inspired genealogical analysis through an intersectional research paradigm. I discuss my research paradigm, in which I situate research as a bricolage (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018) and how I employ post-structural and intersectional feminisms, noting the tensions therein.

I bring both theoretical paradigms together through Rita Dhamoon's notion of intersectionality as a matrix of meaning-making. I situate myself, my positionality as a white researcher coming into work initiated by and predominantly intended for women of colour. I also provide a few methodological remarks about the selection of particular examples and texts I analyze within this project, noting the limitations of my analytical approach as well.

In chapter 3, I begin tracing a history of the present #metoo movement by situating #metoo's resurgence within specific power relations and processes that have conditioned its existence and emergence. I discuss three central conditions of the #metoo movement's emergence. First, I discuss the rise of techno-social counter-publics as space where digital feminist activism proliferates. Second, I explore how the prior labours of other digital anti-violence movements, particularly the Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) which successfully gained legitimacy outside of the confines of the Twitterverse through tireless protests, marches, and consciousness-raising efforts, set a precedent for the importance and influence of digital activism. Third, I discuss how the #metoo movement has been translated by high-profile and celebrity women into a white women's movement, noting several ways that these techniques and strategies are erasing and occluding the voices and concerns of women of colour and how this has thwarted intersectional feminist activism within the #metoo movement. The purpose is to problematize the ongoing assumptions the #metoo movement operates and through which it is narrated. I use this chapter to respond to questions surrounding the origins of #metoo, arguing that feminists should focus less on attempting to uncover or ground #metoo to a set of universal definitions or values and more on tracing out the conditions that made the #metoo movement possible as a way to understand the heterogeneous and sometimes contradictory ways the movement is currently operating.

Stemming from this comes the second question, what is the #metoo movement? The term 'me too' has been inundated with several different ideas about what it refers to and what it seeks to achieve. Milano and Burke unquestionably come from different starting points, seen above. In Milano and Burke's joint interview, Milano stated that her initial tweet that sparked the #metoo resurgence was borne out of her frustration with the treatment she and her colleagues received by others who spoke out about sexual violence in the entertainment industry. Milano was speaking to the experience of sexual violence and the invalidation this was met within the upper echelons of the entertainment industry. Burke, on the other hand, organized a grass-roots movement because of the staggering number of predominantly Black teens and young girls she encountered who came from places of trauma with little to no access to supports that understood the complexity and specificity of their abuse. Workplace harassment, quid pro quo agreements, and sexual assault in the entertainment industry between high-powered men and up-and-coming actresses, as well as the sexual exploitation, fetishization, and objectification of Black girls, are two issues that formal justice mechanisms and feminist anti-violence efforts must urgently address. At the same time, these are *qualitatively different* experiences (Crenshaw, 1989) through which Milano and Burke enter into anti-sexual violence work. In an interview for Yes! Magazine, Burke expanded on this point, stating,

> Alyssa Milano is not complicit in doing anything sinister to me. I'm not trying to say that at all. […] when she found out about it, to her credit, she not only contacted me, she tweeted about it. She made every effort to make sure that people knew that this was my work. And I appreciate that level of support. And we've become friends in this process. *But our work is inherently different. Our goals are inherently different*." (Burke in Jeffries, 2018, emphasis added)

If #metoo is to address the broad spectrum of sexual violence in all its different forms and contexts of power and oppression in which it occurs, then the #metoo movement cannot be

understood as inherently cohering around some universal narrative, nor will the visions and recommendations for ameliorating sexual violence be universally agreed upon.

There are many points of departure within and across feminist discourses on the #metoo movement. I explore many of these in chapter 4, in which I document a number of the fragmented narratives that have produced and inform the impetus behind fragmented feminist engagement with the #metoo movement. I present a collection of responses to my second research question, which all centralize around my key argument in this chapter: the #metoo movement has not yet been entirely accepted as part of any broader feminist project. Several feminists operating from different perspectives have been apprehensive of the movement and worry it may pose a danger to feminist social action. This chapter discusses how anti-feminist backlash and feminist frameworks interrelate to narrate the #metoo movement. I focus on two feminist narrations of #metoo. First, I unpack Burke's conception of the #metoo movement through an intersectional lens and her focus on Black feminist ideas of the collective power of empathy to empower social change. Second, I discuss criticisms that have been posited about the unfettered ‘digilante justice' (digital vigilante) tactics that have spawned from the #metoo movement. These are seen by some feminists, including French actress Catherine Deneuve and journalist Daphne Merkin, to mark a cultural return of the witchhunt (Merkin, 2018), condemning alleged perpetrators without proper accountability mechanisms. Describing #metoo as a witch hunt has been a sticking point for anti-feminist backlash against the #metoo movement. However, it has also been a space through which sex-positive feminisms and post-feminisms have redefined the #metoo movement, which has produced significant implications on #metoo's emergence and the current discourse surrounding anti-sexual violence activism.

Chapter 4 complicates current understandings of what the #metoo movement ‘is' by exploring the different, and at times conflicting ways the #metoo movement has been defined across feminism. I do so by arguing that the #metoo movement does not have a universal definition held across feminist activism or scholarship. There are many conflicting descriptions of the #metoo movement, and its purpose varies within and across different feminist perspectives. This calls attention to the broader tensions within feminist thought today. Specifically, I explore how Black feminisms, intersectional feminisms, sex-positive feminisms and post-feminisms have engaged with and informed the #metoo movement's emergence and popular resurgence.

This chapter also introduces concerns that Black, intersectional, and radical feminists have been raised about the apparatuses of digital feminist activism itself. Digital communication technologies like Twitter and Facebook are not value-free mechanisms, but rather, commodities imbued with racist and sexist stereotyping, and that are designed to serve capitalist interests (Noble, 2018). In all, this makes defining what the #metoo movement ‘is' or what it stands for open to ample debate. As such, I dedicate a full chapter of this thesis to respond to this question.

Last, it also is not entirely clear what implications of the #metoo movement will be. As more time passes, many men at the heart of #metoo scandals, and were forced out of their industries, are finding their way back into the fold. Although it may have initially looked like the #metoo movement set a powerful precedent that sexual violence would no longer be tolerated within the workplace, swift punitive measures that followed the mass disclosures of 2017 and 2018 are phasing out. For many men, these allegations have resulted in a temporary career setback rather than the end of one's career. It even stands to reason that a ‘forced hiatus' may be

leveraged to bring these men to new heights. Comedian Louis C.K. was effectively put out of work after multiple allegations of sexual assault and harassment were launched against him. However, Louis has reportedly taken ten months to develop a new set for his ‘redemption tour.' His new set even opens with a joke about the allegations made against him (Goldapp, 2019). This begs another important question, is the #metoo movement producing the sorts of paradigm-shifting transformations in cultural attitudes and responses to sexual violence that many assume? This question encompasses my analytical discussion of the fragmented trajectories of the #metoo movement in chapter 5.

Chapter 5 further investigates a number of the implications and influences the #metoo movement has had on law enforcement agencies and in the attrition rates of police-reported sexual assault incidents in the criminal justice process. I situate this discussion within the historical context of feminist anti-violence activism in Canada. I draw upon the Battered Women's Movement to highlight the influence and dangers that are posed when feminist activism turns to law and criminal justice reform to advance social change. I draw upon Carol Smart (1990; 2002) to theorize the role of formal justice mechanisms in advancing, as well as thwarting, anti-sexual violence efforts. I engage with law not because I posit that this work will help make the criminal justice system better at responding to sexual assault cases (although this would be a very good thing), but instead to challenge the tacit assumption that law ‘ought' to be the sole place where we deal with the issue of sexual violence. By questioning laws mobilization - or lack thereof - following #metoo, I follow Smart by engaging with law in a way that never accepts its own rules of engagement. Smart does this by challenging the authority that law affords itself to define what knowledge is relevant and what versions of reality are true. Investigating how sexual violence is discussed within, and in relation to criminal justice

responses in the #metoo era provides cutting edge insight into the way law is (and is not) being mobilized at this moment where sexual violence is a topic of intense public concern, with unprecedented visibility in the digital age.

My exploration of the #metoo movement's relation to law focuses on challenging the power and authority of law to (re)define and (re)describe sexual violence by articulating counter intersectional feminist conceptions of sexual violence, rather than on ways to 'validate' the importance of feminist theory and perspectives towards sexual violence in the legal system. In doing so, I pose an alternative framework for the #metoo movement, which marks one of the primary theoretical interventions this project contributes. I argue that the #metoo movement may be thought of as an alternative, informal justice mechanism (Powell, 2015) and that by situating #metoo as such, feminist and anti-sexual violence scholars, practitioners, and activists can create paradigmatic transformations by thinking of the possibilities for justice #metoo offers outside of the definitional boundaries of formal justice mechanisms. I do not posit this argument as a clear pathway towards a horizon of a world without violence against women, but I do submit it as a critique of #metoo's current trajectories and as a critical turn back to intersectionality.

I follow this with a sixth chapter presents a brief conclusion where I revisit and bring together the analytical insights from chapters 3, 4, and 5. I discuss the implications of the #metoo movement's fragmented beginnings, narratives, and trajectories and provide considerations for scholars and activists to build off of this exploratory analysis.

Practical and Academic Contributions

Practical Contributions

#metoo remains an important conversation that many criminal justice agencies across Canada are actively engaging in (e.g. Fraser, 2018; Harris, 2018; Canadian Government News, 2017). There is substantial potential that research projects, such as this, could inform these legal and policy reforms. Within criminal justice and legal spheres, this #metoo era marks a crucial moment where law enforcement and criminal justice agencies are taking greater notice of public concerns about how police handle sexual assault reports and listening to calls for re-visiting sexual assault policies. Spurred on by the Globe and Mail's *Unfounded* investigation closely followed by the 'metoo' hashtag going viral, several police agencies across Canada announced that they would review their unfounded sexual assault cases to determine if they required further investigation. Fredericton and Calgary Police services formed pilot projects, adopting the Philadelphia Model, which allowed local sexual assault organizations and experts to work alongside Police to review sexual assault and abuse cases (Fraser, 2018; Canadian Government News, 2017). This is a moment where many police and criminal justice agencies are engaging with and relying on the expertise of anti-sexual violence advocates, scholars, and practitioners. Thus, this research is a timely and urgent contribution to our public knowledge about sexual violence and instructive for practitioners and advocates, as they work with Survivors and police, well as criminal justice agencies themselves, to question the contemporary state of anti-sexual violence work and explore how intersectional ontologies and pedagogies may be promoted within these spheres.

The *OurTurn National Action Plan* is another example of the significant influence research such as this can have on campus sexual assault policies. The *OurTurn National Action Plan,* which was created by a national group of students, addressed inadequacies in sexual assault policies at several Canadian post-secondary institutions (Chiose, 2018). The report was

fortuitously released a few days after the #metoo hashtag went viral, and in the media fervour around all issues related to sexual violence at that time, the report was a focus of national media attention. Over a year, the group's report gained mention within the House of Commons and was cited within Statistics Canada reports on the #metoo movement. Many post-secondary institutions, including Dalhousie University, created working groups to reform their sexual assault policies to address the problems OurTurn's report identified (OurTurn, 2017). The Dalhousie Student Union was instructive in implementing a new sexual assault policy at Dalhousie in the year following OurTurn's report, which has been evaluated by OurTurn as a substantial improvement and one of the group's concrete successes.

For this reason, research into the legal and extra-legal transformative potential of the #metoo movement is of paramount importance. Furthering current knowledge on the role and influence of digital feminist activism on policy and legal reform and providing a repository of meaningful insights into the potential dangers and benefits of the #metoo movement to these ends that may inform these efforts is the practical contribution I seek through this project. Efforts that will be taken to realize these practical contributions include disseminating key insights from this thesis to the anti-sexual violence organizations I share connections with or are directly involved in, including Students for Consent Culture, the now re-named organization that released the OurTurn report. Additional formats of public dissemination include a future publication of a personal blog that will detail the experience of writing this thesis and introduce key insights from this thesis through autoethnographic writing that will make public dialogue and debate with this work possible.

Academic Contributions

Feminist criminologists and socio-legal scholars have extensively written on the relationship between feminist social movement and the criminal justice system. These fields are saturated with research into, for instance, the Battered Women's Movement of the second wave's role in acquiring rape[8] shield provisions for women and securing rape law reforms (Minaker, 1998; Minaker & Snider, 2006; Ursel, 1991; 1996). Feminist criminologists and socio-legal scholars have often been foremost contributors to digital and media studies, particularly in the literature on representations of sexual violence against women online, and in the media (Hitchens, 2017; Harrington, 2016; Humphries, 2009; Meloy & Miller, 2009; Snyder, 2009; Chesney-Lind, 2006). A growing area of criminological and socio-legal research has considered some pertinent aspects of #metoo, including, but not limited to, the influence of #metoo on policing behaviours (Ross, 2018) and the complexities of #metoo and its capacity to address sexual violence within carceral institutions (Law, 2018). However, genealogical analysis and writing a history of the present #metoo movement has not been done. What is more, much of the burgeoning literature on #metoo across and within digital media and communications studies (Mendes, Ringrose, & Keller, 2018) have largely overlooked how feminist criminology and socio-legal studies serve as potent sites for intellectual innovation. As a wellspring of critical theory and debate specifically about feminist social movement and its relation to society, law, and justice, introducing feminist criminological and socio-legal literature contributes greatly to the academic knowledge surrounding the #metoo movement and digital feminist activism more broadly.

[8] I use the term ‘rape' to reflect the language expressed within sourced literature, and the language expressed within legislation and legal reforms. Otherwise, I use the language of ‘sexual assault' because of it's wider definitional boundaries as opposed to 'rape.'

Contextualizing the current #metoo movement in the vast feminist socio-legal literature on the relationship between law and similar movements of the past provides an important opportunity to critically analyze the #metoo movement's current trajectory and flag potentially dangerous practices and discourses. Without contextualization, we are unable to reflect upon prior and similar movements, such as the Battered Women's Movement, that, despite having led to legal and extra reforms, nevertheless were fraught with divisive viewpoints and substantial backlash that ultimately culminated in some legal and extra-legal reforms that have hurt women as much as they have helped (Snider & Minaker, 2006). Attending to this gap by drawing from feminist criminological and socio-legal literature, this study contributes timely comparative insights into the trajectories of #metoo in relation to the longer history of feminist anti-violence movement that the feminist criminological field has widely discussed. This study has the unique potential to critically analyze the #metoo movement and provide insights that refrain from placing it within a social vacuum. Situating #metoo within a longer history of feminist criminological theory and activism contributes knowledge that provides the potential to flag obstacles that have historically thwarted similar efforts and provides recommendations to resolve issues within the #metoo movement based on the successes and shortfalls of prior feminist efforts to address sexual violence.

Overall, the academic contribution this thesis makes is a rich and nuanced understanding of the conditions through which the #metoo movement has emerged. This, I argue, may equip us with information to help inform important decisions in how we might reckon with ‘me too' as part of a feminist project and mobilize the movement while flagging potential dangers posed by such forms of hashtag feminism. These intellectual and practical contributions are what drives the purpose of this project.

Important Definitions

Before introducing my theoretical and methodological framework, it is necessary to clarify how I approach the concepts that are central to this project.

Power

This thesis is about power. Power is the underlying narrative thread through which understand and theorize sexual violence, law, and digital feminist activism. Michel Foucault (1989) theorizes that power is not simply a repressive, hierarchically structured force. Power is not simply restricting, punishing, and exerting one's will. Nor does Foucault view power through a Marxist lens as the manifestation of economic structures and relations where owners of capital and the means of production hold exclusive ownership of power. Rather, Foucault argues that power is fluid, productive, and always exchanging. The notion of the productive capacity of power has been instructive for feminist thought because it inextricably links relations of power and oppression to resistance. Centralizing the productive capacity of power, and resistance to power, is a valuable concept to this project. This makes possible a more nuanced understanding of the interactivity of intersectional relations of power and oppression and forms of resistance that challenges and destabilizes oppressive deployments of power, of which the #metoo movement is an exemplative case. This highlights the productive capacity of social movements to affect change and recognizes how resistance to systems of power, empowers. As Amanda Nelund (2015) notes, viewing power and resistance as relational through a feminist Foucauldian-inspired lens, "allows us to see the potential for both more and less oppressive ways in which alternative justice may work" (pp. 171-2). In other words, viewing power relations as mobile and always constraining the conditions for resistance frames efforts towards realizing alternative forms of justice, like I argue #metoo is doing, are never fully dominated or co-opted by the

relations of power, whether this be the power relations within and across feminist thought or the state power of the criminal justice system. The potential for resistance to totalizing forces is always inherent. It is for this reason that I view #metoo and feminism as constantly emerging and fragmenting fields.

Sexual Violence

Sexual violence is an umbrella term for the wide spectrum of sexual aggression, abuse, exploitation, coercion, and terror that are ritually inflicted on women and which is simultaneously a necessity of, and conditioned by, a nexus of patriarchal, capitalist, neoliberal, colonial, heteronormative, and white supremacist power. It is also important to recognize that sexual violence can and often does occur without physical contact or penile/vaginal penetration. Verbal sexual harassment, catcalling, lewd sexual innuendos and jokes made about and at the expense of women, and new forms of cyber sexual violence such as sextortion scams and the non-consensual distribution of intimate photos are all forms of non-physical sexual violence that predominate. I use the term sexual violence to reflect the wide gamut of forms it takes.

The Gender of Sexual Violence

Throughout this thesis, I use either she/her pronouns, female identity markers or non-binary language when called for, to refer to the subject who experiences sexual violence. This is because sexual violence remains a gendered phenomenon. Decades of statistical trends and research show that sexual violence is a gender-based form of violence and terror against women specifically (Rotenberg, 2018b). However, recent preliminary findings suggest that non-binary and transgender people also experience high rates of sexual violence (Human Rights Campaign, 2019; Bucik, 2016). Preliminary research has indicated that this is a staggering issue that requires further attention. However, there remains a dearth of research in this area. Further research is

urgently needed to understand patterns of sexual violence against non-binary, Two-Spirit people, as well as transgender men and women. Although sexual violence against cis-gender men can and does occur, it is significantly less frequent than the prevalence of sexual violence against cis-gender women. For this reason, my discussion of sexual violence is intentionally gendered. At the same time, I alert readers when necessary to the gap in current understandings of sexual violence amongst non-binary and transgender people.

Victims, Survivors, Victim-Survivors

The debate remains within the community of scholars about the ‘proper" terminology to refer to those who experience sexual violence. In recent years there has been a large push to adopt the language of ‘Survivor.' The term holds several advantages. It recognizes and centralizes agency, resilience, and refrains from framing victimhood as someone's master status. Framing people who experience sexual violence as victims is critiqued as portraying people who experience sexual violence as passive and not in control of the circumstances around them. This is counterintuitive. Survivors have experienced a form of violence where their power and control were taken from them. Describing them as passive victims only reaffirms this loss of power.

Although some would suggest that the dust has largely settled and the linguistic shift to ‘Survivor' within feminist anti-sexual violence studies and activism is effectively complete, there are notable issues with this terminology as well. Namely, Survivor tends to imply that some form of overcoming adversity has already been achieved. It not only sets prescriptive standards by expecting that healing is a necessary response to sexual violence, but it also implies that healing is an event rather than an ongoing process. At what point does someone successfully ‘survive' sexual violence? Is it the moment that the violence ends, if it ends at all? Is it when you recall and narrate what happened to you as a form of sexual violence? Is it when you disclose that

violence to others? This is also an inherently neoliberal discourse, emphasizing self-management and overcoming adversity on an individual level. The language of the Survivor sets temporal boundaries on sexual violence and limits discussion to those who have already exited these violent circumstances. Excluding women who are currently experiencing sexual violence or will probably experience sexual violence in the future would be to exclude women altogether.

For these reasons, I find victim and survivor to be equally limiting and problematic terms to refer to women who experience sexual violence. Some scholars have attempted to side-step this issue by hyphenating the two terms (e.g. Powell, 2015). The 'victim-survivor' option may better recognize the complex duality of identity and experience. Yet therein lies the issue with this option: it represents identity as a duality. Women are more than either victim or survivor, and there are more than both victim and survivor. There are many more identity categories that women hold that inform and intervene in one's self-identity and understanding of themselves and their experiences that are neglected by the victim-survivor duality.

With these important issues in mind, and with the lack of another option that adequately overcomes these issues, I use these terms throughout this thesis while noting my uneasiness with them here. The language of Survivor predominates because it is the most common term in use today. However, I interchangeably use victim and victim-survivor under two conditions: First, when discussing specific people and examples where these terms are used in order to acknowledge and respect the language people use to understand themselves and their own experience. Second, to remain consistent with the terminology used in the literature I source and cite.

Rape Culture

Rape culture refers to ideologies and behaviours that condone and/or normalize sexual violence. These ideologies and behaviours include victim-blaming, which holds women responsible for their own sexual victimization, as well as slut-shaming, which implies that women ‘ask for it' in the manner of their dress and behaviour and admonishes them for their real or perceived sexual behaviour (Stubbs-Richardson, Rader, & Cosby, 2018). Rape culture reinforces patriarchal discourses and relations of power. Rape culture is at the heart of what the #metoo movement is meant to address and has been a topic of much conversation within digital feminist activism.

With these definitions clarified, I now turn the discussion towards my theoretical framework and my analytical approach.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

This thesis is not merely an attempt to identify the #metoo movement's origin and build a theory about the nature of #metoo. Instead, this project traces a history of the emergence of the #metoo movement and the tensions therein. I present my theoretical and methodological remarks about my approach to writing a history of the present and tracing the conditions of #metoo's possibility through an intersectional feminist paradigm in this chapter.

Structure of Chapter

Intersectional and post-structural feminisms inform my theoretical framework, and I source from feminist scholars in criminology and socio-legal studies primarily. These theories are neither mutually exclusive nor are they inherently similar. I discuss how these theories overlap, where they diverge, and, importantly, what valuable contributions these theoretical perspectives bring to an analysis of the #metoo movement.

I begin by articulating my approach to research as a ‘bricolage' and continue by discussing the contested histories, epistemologies, and socio-political contexts from which intersectional and post-structural feminisms have emerged. I explain how I approach Foucault's genealogy and what it means to write a history of the present of the #metoo movement. I then connect methodological remarks to intersectional feminism by introducing Rita Dhamoon's approach to intersectionality that re-conceptualizes the productive capacities of coupling intersectional and post-structural theoretical paradigms. Lastly, I position myself within this work through a self-reflexive discussion of the multiple and changing social locations through which I enter this work.

Theoretical Framework

Research as Bricolage

I enter into this project with a view of theory as a patchwork or mosaic (Comack, 1996) and research as ‘bricolage' work (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Understanding research as a bricolage means that a researcher "is concerned not only with divergent methods of inquiry but with diverse theoretical and philosophical understandings of the various elements encountered in the act of research (Kincheloe, 2001, p. 679). I situate myself as a *bricoleur,* or a handywoman "who makes use of the tools available" (Kincheloe, 2001, p. 680) across traditional theoretical or disciplinary constraints to pursue creative, interdisciplinary inquiry. The primary contribution this approach incurs is its unique ability to opens up new possibilities, uncover new insights, "expand and modify old principles, and re-examine accepted interpretations in unanticipated contexts" (Kincheloe, 2001, p. 680).

Situating the process of research and the act of ‘doing theory' in this way provides several advantages. It encourages researchers to make use of methodologies, ontologies, and epistemologies from different disciplines and/or theoretical traditions that may not conventionally be thought to have very much to do with one another. The bricoleur, therefore, uses what would be most fortuitous to be able to understand the phenomena in question.

Therefore, the purpose of research design and theory lies less with following disciplinary conventions, and more with submitting a comprehensive analysis of some phenomena that takes into account many perspectives, critiques, and tensions that lie within. The central value of situating theory and research as a bricolage is that it cultivates different forms of knowledge that emerge from the "unique insight of multiple perspectives" (Kincheloe, 2001, p. 687). Kincheloe (2001) continues by stating that "a complex understanding of research and knowledge production

prepares bricoleurs to address the complexities of the social, cultural, psychological, and educational domains. […] In this domain, bricoleurs explore the different perspectives of the socially privileged and the marginalized in relation to formations of race, class, gender, and sexuality" (p. 687).

The purpose of the bricolage is not to attempt to flatten out differences, contradictions, and departures between theoretical and disciplinary traditions. Instead, the purpose is to critically investigate the historical contexts, path dependencies, rationalities and social constructions of these differences and departures. In doing this form of 'boundary work' (Kincheloe, 2001) in the liminal zones where disciplines collide, I position the analytical work in this thesis at this critical edge of qualitative inquiry. Beginning from this starting point is advantageous for investigating the #metoo movement. After all, the #metoo movement is a topic and phenomena that converge on new technological advancements in media and communication, plays out through several different feminist theoretical traditions, and is implicated in a long history of anti-sexual violence social justice organizing and activist labour by women of colour and people located across multiple margins. This requires creative investigation, unencumbered by the constraints of disciplinary thinking that would not be equipped to understand the inherently interdisciplinary social phenomena of the #metoo movement.

For this reason, I study the #metoo movement at the collision and departure points of intersectional feminisms and post-structural feminisms. These feminist epistemologies have emerged from different theoretical traditions and socio-political contexts. These differences are not detrimental factors that obstacle the productive capacity of drawing upon them concomitantly. On the contrary, I argue that theoretical situating myself as *bricoleur* and

research as the boundary work of constructing a bricolage understands that these spaces of contrast and contradiction produce new, integral pathways for critical investigation and questioning from multiple standpoints about concepts, processes, systems, and phenomena that are often taken for granted. This makes possible a line of questioning about the power dynamics that have shaped theoretical and disciplinary research traditions, an essential starting point that is extremely relevant to the contexts within which intersectional feminisms operate.

Intersectional Feminisms

Intersectionality was first coined by socio-legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989; 1991) and arose from Black feminisms and critical race studies. Intersectionality is often understood as the idea that "we live, at all times, as simultaneously gendered, raced, and classed and each category is inscribed and proscribed by the other[s]" (Price, 2005, p. 65). In 30 years of academic investigation and application, intersectionality has become more than a concept. Intersectionality has grown into a rich feminist theory and has informed numerous feminist methodologies (Bowleg, 2008; Hankivsky, Cormier & De Merich, 2009; Hankivsky, 2014; Hancock, 2013).

Today, intersectionality goes beyond a strategy of ‘giving voice to' perspectives from the intersecting margins of gender, race, and class (Choo & Ferree, 2010). Subject positions are not only inscribed and proscribed by one another, but they also exist and shift within complex systems of power, privilege, and oppression and the processes and power relations that reinforce, reproduce, ritualize, and resist these dialectics. My approach to intersectional feminism challenges the problematic ‘additive models' that assume that, for instance, Black + Lesbian + Woman = Level of Privilege/Oppression (Bowleg, 2008). Additive models have become increasingly commonplace as an attempt at implementing intersectionality in research. Many intersectional feminists argue that the increasing prevalence of ‘including' considerations of

gender, race, sexuality, and class to research designs is not necessarily a sign that that intersectional frameworks are being adopted in research (Bowleg, 2008; Chaney, 2013; McCall, 2005; Squires, 2010). Often these considerations neglect to analyze how social identities are inextricably linked and interdependently emerging through one another and in the context of power relations, structures, and processes. These additive approaches may be undermining Crenshaw's core intent to decenter any notion of a single or group of processes as 'primary.' For instance, gender and patriarchal relations of power do not take precedence over race and white supremacy in an intersectional feminist understanding of the conditions from which sexual violence occurs. Additive models are counter-intuitive to intersectionality because they seek to quantify inherently qualitative experiences and dissect identities and social locations in order to present them as discrete categories.

For this reason, I approach intersectionality differently. I posit that intersectional feminism is a theory about the interactivity of structure and agency, where people are not just, for instance, classed, raced, and gendered, but that class, gender, and race inform and are informed by systems of power, oppression, and privilege - that is, patriarchy, colonialism, capitalism, and white supremacy - that operate through processes of economic exploitation, racialization, and feminization. The following example from Choo & Ferree (2010) illuminates the problem of reducing intersectional discourse about systems of power and processes of oppression to the level of subject formation and social identities.

> Gender and race are fundamentally embedded in, working through, and determining the organization of ownership, profit, and commodification of labour, for example, by fixing
>
> which types of work and types of people enter the market at all. By calling this process "capitalism" and defining it in terms of class as "the" relationship characteristic of this institution, even with attention to the specific ways that "it" uses race and gender to support itself the "main effect" is prioritized over the intersectional processes by which race and

> gender are integral to any account of the appropriation of labor and formation and circulation of wealth (Choo & Ferree, 2010, p. 135).

For this reason, I employ an intersectional framework to investigate the interactions between social locations and interdependent systems of power and the processes of oppression and resistance that are found online and in digital feminist spaces.

Although intersectionality has moved beyond the field of feminist socio-legal studies, sexual violence and rape law have always been central to intersectional feminism. In one of her seminal articles*, Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex* (1989), Crenshaw introduced intersectionality as a primary narrative to challenge white feminist understandings of rape and rape law. Crenshaw (1989) notes how rape has been a central political issue on many feminist agendas. However, feminist criticisms of rape law have conventionally been launched from a white perspective that tends to position patriarchy and gender as the primary avenues through which the problem of rape is understood. Inadequacies in rape laws are understood to stem from patriarchal constructions of property law, marriage, and morality that attempted to regulate women's sexual behaviours. However, as Crenshaw (1981) notes, "Rape statutes generally do not reflect *male* control over *female* sexuality, but *white* male regulation of *white* female sexuality"(p. 157).

> The singular focus on rape as a manifestation of male power over female sexuality tends to eclipse the use of rape as a weapon of racial terror. When Black women were raped by white males, they were being raped not as women generally, but as Black women specifically: Their femaleness made them sexually vulnerable to racist domination, while their Blackness effectively denied them any protection. This white male power was reinforced by a judicial system in which the successful conviction of a white man for raping a Black woman was virtually unthinkable (pp. 158-9).

Although the constraints and experiences Crenshaw highlights are specific to Black women, the weaponization of rape for racial terror and settler colonial dispossession are also

pervasive. Postcolonial and Indigenous feminists have widely discussed and unpacked how the ‘inherently rapeable squaw' signifier that constructs Indigenous women as "licentious, sexually available, imbued with sexual sin" (Razack, 2016, p. 293) lingers within legal discourse.

Mohawk scholar Audra Simpson (2016) takes this racist term further by stating that Indigenous women are viewed as inherently ‘un-rapeable' because Indigenous women are less-than-human matter in patriarchal and settler colonial systems of domination. Sexual violence inflicted upon Indigenous women is placed outside of the discourse of rape because Indigenous women are not afforded the same subjectivity as white women. Such sentiments have been instantiated in jurisprudence and legal proceedings before confederation and continue to this day. Take, for instance, Bradley Barton’s trial for the murder of Cindy Gladue. The Crown entered a disembodied piece of Gladue's flesh as evidence in the court. Gladue was thought to be so inherently ‘unrapeable' that the Crown was permitted, without the consent of her family, to cut into and display her genital flesh, an egregious act that went far beyond the normal autopsy procedures in a murder case (Razack, 2016). Evidently, through the legal method, law can and does authorize the mutilation of Indigenous women's bodies. Whether viewed as ‘rapeable' or ‘unrapeable,' Indigenous women and their bodies are taken up within legal discourse through deeply racialized, colonial, and dehumanizing lenses.

Vulnerabilities to sexual violence and the lack of protection afforded by formal legal mechanisms cannot be understood by giving primacy to the masculine culture law signifies and the patriarchal power systems through which rape laws are founded upon and operate within.

Instead, sexual violence exists in a nexus of strategies to enforce patriarchal control *and* racial domination *and* settler colonial dispossession. This qualitative difference cannot be adequately

unpacked by feminist anti-sexual violence theorizing and activism without an intersectional understanding of its inextricable link to racial terror, economic inequality, and state violence against women of colour and Indigenous women.

As intersectionality increasingly circulates as a ‘buzzword' in popular culture and policymaking, often devoid of the theoretical complexity or careful reading of the Black feminist thought it emerges from (Davis, 2008; Carastathis, 2016), these examples show the continued need for historically informed and theoretically rich view of intersectionality. This is particularly important when investigating spaces like the #metoo movement and hashtag feminisms that tend to be ripe with over-simplified understandings of feminism, sexual violence, and intersectional theory. It is increasingly common to see intersectionality used as a tagline in a Twitter bio or a hashtag. However, it remains uncommon to see intersectionality used in a manner that understands the term's history and offers viewpoints that enter through a rich theoretical comprehension of intersectional feminist theories. As Crenshaw once remarked her amaze at how intersectionality "gets over and under-used; sometimes I can't even recognize it in the literature anymore" (Crenshaw in Team CASSIUS, 2018).

Natalia Alamdari (2018) provides an example of how this has played out in *Teen Vogue's* coverage of the #metoo movement. Alamdari (2018) notes that *Teen Vogue* writers would reference intersectionality, or the need for ‘intersectional gender parity' but would never formally explain what this meant or clearly articulate strategies, policies and practices to this end. This tendency is particularly dangerous as it effaces women of colour from the theoretical and activist work that they have authored. Alamdari (2018) identifies this erasure in *Teen Vogue's* coverage of Terry Crews, a Black male actor who has been a central celebrity spokesperson in the #metoo

movement. Crews' story was used by *Teen Vogue* to clarify that men are also subject to sexual violence and that people of ‘all identities' are victimized, stating that survivors and allies should continue to place focus on supporting ‘marginalized groups.' This catch-all category of ‘marginalized groups,' beyond white women and Black men, once again situates Black women in the definitional cracks. For this reason, intersectional analysis of the #metoo movement must be historically situated and theoretically grounded in Black and Indigenous feminist epistemologies.

By considering the critiques raised by intersectional, Indigenous, and postcolonial feminisms, this project begins from a fundamental understanding that the oppressive forces of patriarchy, colonialism, and white supremacy render the experiences and representations of sexual violence qualitatively different for white women, Indigenous women, and women of colour. Thus, notions of universality without attention of these intersecting relations of power may overemphasize the importance of sexism and laws masculine culture and underemphasize the importance of racism, white supremacy, and colonialism still operating in, for instance, police interventions and in the courtroom. It is from this theoretical starting point that I open a critical line of questioning into legal, extra-legal and media discourses surrounding sexual violence in the #metoo era.

Central to this understanding is that the drive behind intersectional feminism is to "identify the local and historically particular configurations of inequalities, since every system is contingent and path dependent" with an understanding that everything is interactional, inscribing and proscribing one another (Choo and Ferree, 2010, p. 136). Following this epistemological consideration, I view post-structural feminism as an advantageous approach to cultivate a critical

investigation into the current and historical configurations of inequality and privilege that have conditioned the emergence and various trajectories of the #metoo movement.

Post-Structural Feminisms and Foucault

Post-structural theory has been instructive in the emergence and development of several feminist theories and epistemologies. Feminist post-structural epistemology approaches language and discourse as sites of dynamic constructions of, and resistance to, social inequality. Weedon (1996) argues that post-structural feminism is "a mode of knowledge production which uses post-structural theories of language, subjectivity, social processes and institutions to understand existing power relations and to identify areas and strategies for change" (p. 40), and language, in the form of discourses, "constitutes us as conscious thinking subjects and enable us to give meaning to the world and to act to transform it" (Weedon, 1996, p. 31). This understanding allows inquiry into how discourses are structured and how power relations and subjectivities are produced and reproduced through discourse (Weedon, 1996). It is for this reason that post-structural feminism is a productive framework for investigating the contested emergence of the #metoo movement.

Feminists have used post-structural analyses to reject essentializing and exclusionary practices of universalizing the category of ‘women', arguing that assuming women share some universal understanding of one another's experiences denies "the differing experiences, realities, and power relations that exist within that group, based on other axes of difference such as class, race, and sexuality" (Nelund, 2015, p. 24; Butler 1995). Instead, gender identity is discursively constructed. As Judith Butler states, "identity categories are never merely descriptive, but always normative, and as such exclusionary" (Butler, 1995, p. 50). Therefore, "it is not simply a matter of adding other differences to our analyses but of always thinking about what our additions, our

definitions, allow and disallow and how that is connected to power" (Nelund, 2015, p. 24; Scott 1992).

Post-structural notions of the contested-ness and fragmented-ness of knowledge, identity, and truth (more accurately, claims to truth) present an understanding of power relations that have emboldened feminist thought. As feminist criminologist Amanda Nelund (2015) notes, "one generally unifying feature of feminist thought is a highly critical view of positive claims of value or power-free knowledge" (p. 23). Foucault's notion of the power/knowledge nexus has been particularly useful to point out that purported universal ‘Truths' are, by and large, produced from the standpoints of white men. Standpoint feminist Sandra Harding (1990) argues "objectivism places women and feminists firmly outside a tightly defended barricade within which is claimed to lie all there is of reason, rationality, scientific methods and truth" (p. 87).

Foucault argues that knowledge and power are inextricably linked. This link is not unidirectional, instead it is co-constitutive, as "power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (Foucault, 1979, p. 27). This notion of knowledge, as always already implicated in power, has been a useful avenue for socio-legal feminist critique. For instance, socio-legal feminist Carol Smart (2002) has argued that legal methods, rationalities, and claims to Truth, (re)produce a masculinist culture within law, in which feminized forms of knowledge – like, memory and subjective lived experiences – are seen as suspect. Smart's framework has taken much of the feminist engagement with law and the criminal justice system to task on this front. By translating feminist knowledge and women's experience into ‘legal relevancies' imbedded in patriarchal

conceptions of knowledge and truth, Smart argues that feminist engagement with law, including anti-sexual violence efforts to implement legal reforms, such as rape shield provisions and zero tolerance charging policies, impede feminism by requiring its language, knowledge, and values to abide by legal method and its standard of truth. In effect, feminism must undermine itself by translating itself into the language of law. This may help to understand why these policies have not proven, in general, to reduce attrition rates of sexual assault cases in the criminal justice process (Craig, 2019; Rotenberg, 2017a), nor has it reduced the prevalence of sexual violence against women (Rotenberg, 2017b).

Women's experiences of oppression, *as women,* exist alongside women's experiences of oppression as Black women, Indigenous women, transgender women, and so forth. When experience is assumed within feminism to be universal, neglecting these intersectional forces and relations of power, theory and practice tend to play into problematic white feminist ontologies. Thus, when feminists attempt to translate the ‘universal women's experience' into terms accepted by law, they do so by leaving unchecked the way law has historically not only suppressed the forms of knowledge produced by women, but importantly the different ways they have intensely suppressed forms of knowledge produced by Black women, Indigenous women, and other non-white women (Crenshaw, 1989; Harris, 1990; Collins, 2002).

At the same time, post-structural feminisms do not claim to ‘get it right' by offering an alternative regime of truth. "It is not the case that previous, modernist theories were wrong and poststructuralists are right" (Nelund, 2015, p. 28). As Smart (1990) notes,

> it is a feature of modernism that knowledge which can claim to be true (rather than belief, superstition, opinion, and so on) occupies a place high up in the hierarchy of knowledges. The claim to truth is therefore a claim to deploy power (Smart, 1990, p. 196).

Power is deployed through and is "productive of knowledge which necessarily enhances given modes of power. Deploying power is facilitated when the knowledge produced can also make a claim to truth." (Smart, 1990, p. 196). If all knowledge is already implicated in power, feminist knowledge must task itself with critical reflection on the oppressive power relations it creates, reflects, and reinforces if there is any possibility for it to avoid contradicting itself (Nelund, 2015; Flax, 1990). Smart's (2002) recognition of reality as a contestation of competing claims to truth makes possible the introduction of intersectional and postcolonial critiques of whitestream feminisms tendency to universalize the female experience. Although Smart's prerogative is to focus on the masculine formations of laws power, identifying the power of law to silence and disqualify women's knowledge leaves open the space to include a close analysis of the interaction of the white supremacist, settler colonial and patriarchal formations of laws power.

Rather than prescribing a vision of a way forward to eradicate sexual violence that will work for every woman, post-structural feminism challenges, contradicts, and complicates discourses and practices that reinforce gendered inequalities and oppressive power imbalances. The goal of these types of analysis is to examine "the functions and effects of any structure or grid of regularity that we put into place" (St. Pierre & Pillow, 2000, p. 6). The significant contribution post-structural feminism provides to this project is its capacity to challenge discourses that operate within digital feminist activism (#metoo), criminal justice agencies, and media to reveal how they operate through contested conflicting principles, producing contradictory effects, across the terrains of social media, criminal courts, media, and everyday legal interventions into Survivors lives. The objective is to question tacit assumptions about power, gender, sexual violence, and juridical practices, clarify how power relations operate by way of puzzling our understanding of them and present the imminent dangers in what is commonly viewed as benign.

Methodological Remarks: Conditions of Possibility and Writing a History of the Present from an Intersectional Framework

This project is a theoretical, rather than empirical analysis of #metoo. Therefore, I posit methodological considerations developed from my theoretical and analytical framework, rather than following a specific methodology.[9] My analytical framework is driven by my theoretical situation in intersectional and post-structural feminist thought. I trace the conditions of possibility from which the #metoo movement has emerged by writing a history of the present. This analytical strategy is informed by both Michel Foucault's genealogical approach and my intersectional feminist framework. I begin this section by describing my approach to writing a history of the present and the remarks on Foucault's genealogical approach, present Rita Dhamoon's notion of the matrix of meaning-making which is instructive to my approach to writing a history of the present through an intersectional feminist framework, discuss the selection of texts I introduce and analyze in this thesis, and note it's limitations.

Foucault's Genealogical Approach and Writing a History of the Present

Foucault describes genealogy as a method of using historical material to create a "revaluing of values" in the present. As Foucault stated to an interviewer in 1984, "I set out from a problem expressed in the terms current today and I try to work out its genealogy. Genealogy means that I begin my analysis from a question posed in the present" (Foucault, 1990, p. 262). Criminologist David Garland (2014) has described Foucault's genealogical approach as follows:

> Genealogical analysis traces how contemporary practices and institutions emerged out of specific struggles, conflicts, alliances, and exercises of power, many of which are

9 There is rich and extensive literature on empirical intersectional-based methodologies (Hankivsky, 2014; Hancock, 2013; Christensen & Jensen, 2012). However, empirical analysis is outside of the scope of this project. For this reason, I source from intersectional feminist theoretical scholarship and make methodological and analytical remarks from this starting point. Research into the #metoo movement that employs intersectional research methods in an empirical, rather than a theoretical project, is needed.

> nowadays forgotten. It thereby enables the genealogist to suggest – not by means of normative argument but instead by presenting a series of troublesome associations and lineages – that institutions and practices we value and take for granted today are actually more problematic or more ‘dangerous' than they otherwise appear (p. 372).

Writing a history of the present is a form of genealogical analysis that "explicitly and self-consciously begins with a diagnosis of the current situation" (Garland, 2014, p. 367). Although the term may seem to imply that one is attempting to understand the past through the lens of the present, "there is an unequivocal and unabashed contemporary orientation" in the object of study when writing a history of the present (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 119). Therefore, a history of the present is not reading a present-day meaning back into history in an attempt to uncover some truth or meaning within earlier phenomena. By writing a history of the present, the author is always asking a question about a present phenomenon or object of study and employing critical historical inquiry to question the conditions through which it operates in the present.

To do this requires a "critical distancing from the present" (Garland, 2014, p. 379). In other words, a history of the present does not take the object of study for granted. Instead, it calls into question the way it functions and apparatuses through which it does so. A history of the present provides an analytical description of the apparatuses within which these institutions and practices are constructed and experienced. From there, the phenomena or object is questioned in ways that problematize how it operates in the present and uses historical inquiry to make that object or phenomena less puzzling. It seeks to complicate in order to clarify, inspecting taken for granted practices and institutions to present how they have emerged from specific struggles and relations of power that make their operating logics and rationalities far less inherent and potentially far more dangerous than they are often assumed to be.

Garland (2014) asserts that a history of the present begins with "identifying a present-day practice that is often taken for granted or assumed to be natural and yet also problematic or in some way unintelligible," then proceeds by "tracing the power struggles that produced it" (p. 373). In other words, tracing the "struggles, displacements, and processes of repurposing out of which contemporary practices emerged, and to show the historical conditions of existence upon which present-day practices depend" (p. 373). These ‘historical conditions of existence' refer to the contextual factors or conditions that make possible the emergence of some phenomena in the present. These conditions are not necessarily the ‘origin' or ‘roots' of somethings beginning, but rather some of the most salient cultural, historical, and geographical components and contexts that provide space for some phenomena to emerge in the present. After all, "the point of genealogy is not to search for ‘‘origins". […] It is, rather, as its name suggests, a search for processes of descent and of emergence" (Foucault, 1984, pp. 80–86).

Conditions of possibility refer to the "range of circumstances that enables the emergence of the object researched as a historical possibility" (Maglione, 2017, p. 405). Tracing conditions of possibility are therefore not a search for causes, but rather a critical inquiry into the multitude of ‘stratified conditions' (Maglione, 2017) that the emergence of the research object or phenomena is contingent upon. To approach analysis in this manner means to include the "agency of human actors as a historical force, as well as to make sense of the context within which historical objects emerge" (Maglione, 2017, p. 405).

Constructing a history of the present and tracing the conditions of possibility through which the #metoo movement has emerged presents several significant analytical advantages. This approach keeps at the forefront an understanding of the #metoo movement as existing

within a mesh of socio-political contexts and webs of power relations amongst actors with competing interests at stake. It refrains from notions of ‘uncovering' or ‘unearthing' what are assumed to be core factors of the movement and present them as static, unchanging, or in some way universal, representations of reality. Attempts to ground signifiers to external realities are claims made about reality by enacting power that subjugates, delegitimates, or otherwise silences alternative or competing descriptions (Foucault, 1980; Smart, 1990).

Attempts to uncover the core essence of the #metoo movement or analytical approaches that claim to reveal its base natures runs a risk of grounding the #metoo movement's continually shifting and contested, signifiers to meanings that may be extremely relevant to the temporal and spatial contexts in which this grounding takes place, but may very little to do with the movement outside of those contexts. Importantly, these determinations are made with highly iniquitous struggles for power and are embedded within the political and cultural context in which they are made. Attempts to locate the #metoo movement within a particular feminist framework or to a specific issue have been made in distinctly classed, raced, and gendered ways. The #metoo movement's emergence is ongoing and has already proven to show a vast capability to mutate across time, place, and the contexts it enters. Therefore, describing #metoo should be attentive to the complexities, contestations, and contradictions that inform its ongoing emergence.

In addition, asking where the #metoo movement came from, or specifically, the conditions that made the emergence and popularity of #metoo possible within our current socio-political and cultural climate is advantageous because it remains open to the ongoing possibilities for further exploration into the various forces, interests, and relations of power through which #metoo mutates across time, place, and context. What is more, understanding that ‘me too' has

little to no grounding in specific objects, but rather exists as a floating signification of many different, interrelated, and at times, competing interests, motivations, and rationalities, gives way to analytical remarks that highlight and problematize the internal complexities and contradictions of #metoo, rather than attempting to remove them or neglecting to mention them.

This tracing of and writing about the #metoo movement serves to further develop our understandings of the current state of feminist theory and practice. It problematizes any notion that feminism has conditioned the emergence of the #metoo movement in a homogenous, prescriptive, or unilateral way. Not only can the #metoo movement be problematized by inspecting the contradictory ways feminist frameworks have understood it, but it also serves as a way to inspect the heterogeneity, fragmentations, contestations, and operations of force within feminisms. To write a history of the present and trace the conditions of possibility for the #metoo movement, I find that an intersectional framing is also required.

Collisions and Departures: Understanding Post-structural and Intersectional Feminisms through the Matrix of Meaning-Making

There is substantial analytic value to coupling post-structural and intersectional theory. Doing so makes possible a critical reading of the multiplicity of discourses that are deployed to dominate, or are dominated, resist, or are resisted through the #metoo movement with a central focus on how white supremacy, patriarchy, colonialism, and other systems of power are informing and intervening in #metoo's emergence. In this section I argue that writing a history of the present of the #metoo movement does not merely benefit from an intersectional framework, but in fact requires it, by exemplifying how a number of Black feminist and intersectional analytical tools are embedded in #metoo's apparatus, and how these tools may be understood through Rita

Dhamoon's idea of intersectionality as a ‘matrix of meaning-making' as a practice that is inextricably linked to writing a history of the present and tracing conditions of possibility.

Black feminisms and intersectional feminisms are at the forefront of critical scholarship about power relations, discourse, and processes of legitimation and subjugation of knowledge and experiences. In this regard, Black feminist theory, intersectionality, and post-structuralist epistemologies have often coincided and contested one another. A clear example of these theoretical collision and departure points can be seen in Michel Foucault's and Patricia Hill Collins' respective notions of subjugated knowledge. Foucault (1980) refers to subjugated knowledge as "a whole set of knowledges that has been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naive knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity" (p. 82). Collin's articulation of Black feminist knowledge falls in line with Foucault's idea of subjugated knowledge in this regard. Black feminist knowledge would not be considered ‘naïve knowledge' but rather, made to appear as such by knowledge validation procedures. However, Collins also asserts a key departure point from Foucault. Collins (2000) develops her analysis of the oppression and subjugation of Black women and their knowledge from a standpoint epistemology and through "long-standing, independent, African-derived influences within Black women's thought,"(p. 291) which are not considered by Foucault.

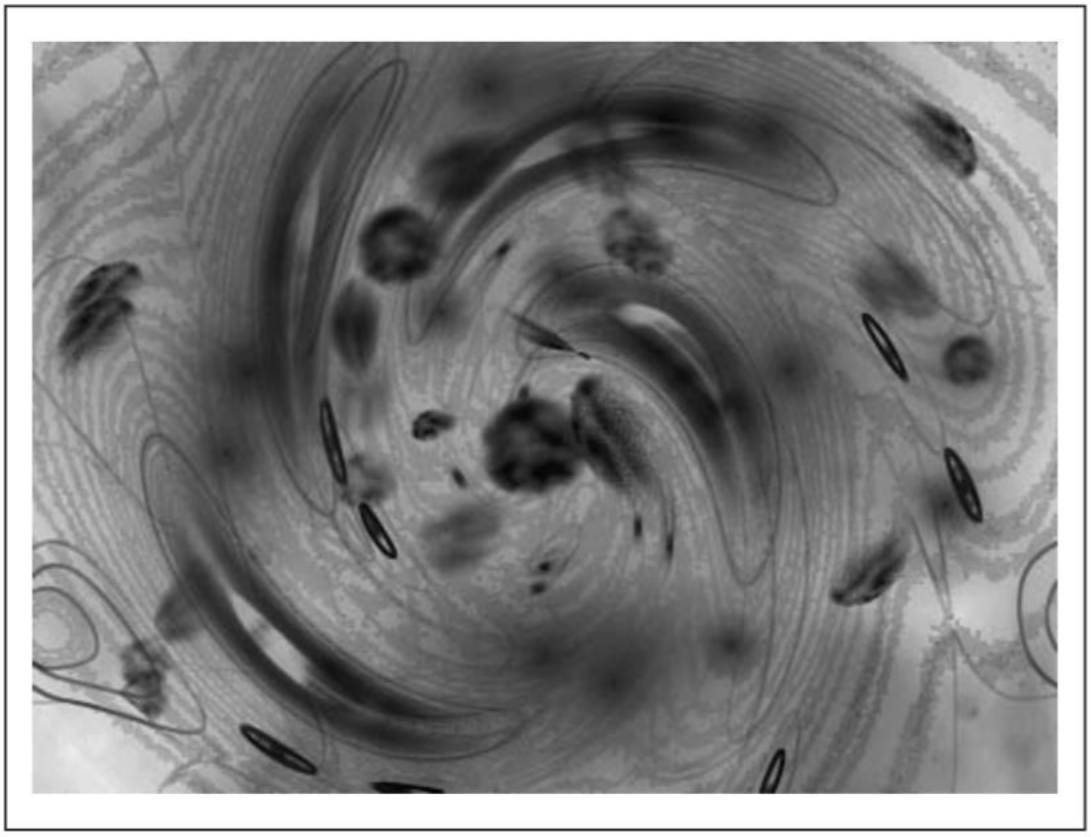
This exemplifies why it is essential to come into this project with an understanding that intersectional and post-structural feminisms may do not neatly coincide but do pose a strong potential for theoretical innovation when they are brought together. Both streams of feminist thinking are contested and fragmented discursive zones, informed by unique politics, traditions,

and historical contexts, with contingent modes of association. Both may come together at times and operate in tandem, while also conflicting with one another on many fronts. However, tensions do not suggest that these theoretical approaches should be considered separately. On the contrary, I view the space where theoretical frictions and tensions reside as some of the most potent spaces for the production of new intellectual innovations and the possibilities for transforming oppressive discursive and structural practices are particularly pronounced. I come to this understanding of the productive possibilities of bringing intersectional and post-structural feminisms together through Rita Dhamoon's notion of intersectionality as a 'matrix of meaning-making.'

The Matrix of Meaning-Making

A matrix of meaning-making can be defined as an aim to capture how "processes of differentiation and systems of domination interrelate" (Dhamoon, 2011, p. 238). The focus of analysis is not to look only at processes of domination, but the "interactive processes and structures in which meanings of privilege and penalty are produced, reproduced, and resisted in contingent and relational ways" (p. 238). Unlike other approaches to intersectionality that assume different identities and categories have clearly defined boundaries, viewing intersectionality as a matrix of meaning-making "reflects the shifting fusions of multilayered and relational differences. […] the matrix idea is a helpful tool to imagine power and subject formation outside the dominant bounds of liberal individualism and to foreground the dynamic character of difference making" (Dhamoon, 2011, p. 238). The visualization Dhamoon (2011) adopts from Jang (2010) can be seen in Figure 3.

Fig. 3: Visualizing the matrix of meaning-making (in Dhamoon, 2011)[10]



An expanded post-structural understanding of power can be read here as a central to Dhamoon's intersectional paradigm. The central advantage of approaching intersectionality as a matrix of meaning-making for this project is the way intersectional theoretical analysis may expand upon post-structural conceptions of discourse, knowledge, and power relations as political, rather than innate, and constructed, rather than natural. Dhamoon's (2011) framework centralizes in a common intersectional assertion that "it is not possible to radically critique and therefore disrupt one process and system without simultaneously disrupting other processes and systems precisely because they are enmeshed" (p. 239) As such, Dhamoon's (2011) approach

[10] Dhamoon uses the following illustration by Jang (2010) to visualize an understanding of intersectionality as a matrix of meaning-making.

resists situating gender as a primary narrative through which domination, oppression, and resistance operate, which has, at times, thwarted post-structural feminisms from adopting an intersectional understanding of power (e.g. Butler, 1999). Instead, efforts for gender equality *must* also address racialized oppression, settler colonial domination, and so on. Another advantage of thinking of intersectionality as a matrix of meaning-making is the way it moves away from a binary conception of power (dominant–subordinate) and instead asserts that "because we all occupy *differing* degrees and forms of privilege and penalty we are always and already implicated in the *conditions* that structure a matrix" (p. 239). Therefore, "the processes of meaning-making that relationally constitute differences between subjects marked as nonwhite women are unevenly implicated in the conditions that give meaning to white supremacist patriarchal norms" (p. 239).

These capacities for situated comparisons of processes of forms of othering and normalization provide an additional layer of complexity to intersectional notions of power and oppression as a web or nexus. Everyone is, to varying degrees, implicated within the conditions that make oppressive power systems and processes possible. This is the impetus for considering positionality and self-reflexivity as a central component of research. As such, I present a self-reflexive discussion of my positionality as I enter into this work in the following section.

Situating Myself

Beginning from a starting point that situates the research work as a ‘fragmented narrative, pastiche, or bricolage' enables an understanding of a dialectic intra-active relationship between myself and the tools of research, inquiry and analysis I use and draw upon. As Markham (2005) notes, "the fragmented narrative can function as political action in many ways: It can resist

traditional academic systems, which may acknowledge alternate ways of knowing but continue to lock sociological inquiry into normative forms that serve to reify the traditional system itself. It can also open the space for reflexivity for both the author and the reader" (p. 815). This notion of dialectical reflexivity is central to my theoretical and personal position within this research process.

Foremost Black intersectional feminist Kimberlé Crenshaw writes, "[white feminists] ignore how their own race functions to mitigate some aspects of sexism and, moreover, how it often privileges them over and contributes to the domination of other women" (1989, p. 154). Postcolonial and Indigenous feminist scholars have further challenged how predominantly 'whitestream' feminism overlooks the organizing force of settler colonialism that frames the violence inflicted upon Indigenous women (Grande, 2004). As Native Hawaiian scholar Maile Arvin, Indigenous scholar Eve Tuck, and Native American scholar Angie Morrill (2013) state,

> Liberal multicultural discourses today effectively work to maintain settler colonialism because they make it easy to assume that all minorities and ethnic groups are different though working toward inclusion and equality, each in its own similar and parallel way. Justice is often put in terms that coincide with the expansion of the settler state. […] The feminist concerns of white women, women of colour, and Indigenous women thus often differ and conflict with one another. In other words, within the context of land and settler colonialism, the issues facing Indigenous women, as inseparable from the issues facing Indigenous peoples as a whole, are resolved via decolonization and sovereignty, not (just) parity. (p. 10)

To recognize that I am not outside of these complicated and uncomfortable realities. This work is directly implicated in the violence I seek to eradicate. Conversations about sexual violence in Canada are inseparable from the ongoing, colonial and patriarchal violences of dispossession that have made it possible for me to write about sexual violence in Canada. As I conduct this work on Treaty Six territory, and the lands that historically and continue to be

protected and cared for by the Blackfoot/Niitsítapi, Cree, Plains Cree, Tsuu T'ina, Métis, and many other Indigenous nations and peoples, this violent contradiction cannot be lost on me. I cannot address violence elsewhere without announcing my implication in the violence here, of this place I occupy. The layered dispossession of the lands the University of Alberta now occupies from, amongst other Nations, the Dakota followed by the Papaschase Cree Nation, is an unsettling, unextractable condition for my capacity to theorize about other, tethered violence marking our contemporary world. I am not innocent, and neither is my work from these ongoing forces of settler colonialism.

I write from multiple layers of race and class-based privilege afforded to me because of my whiteness, my middle class socioeconomic status, my cis-gender identity, and am a benefactor of Canada's Euro-centric, Western ontologies, rationales and strategies that, amongst other things, serve to (re)entrench white supremacy, undermine Indigenous sovereignty, and present gender binaries as normative. No amount of my femaleness or queerness negates these privileges. In writing about anti-oppressive work and recognizing these privileges, I still am doing so reaping the undeserved benefits of my privilege across these terrains. I remain a 'white problem' in the struggle to realize a world without sexual violence (Yancy, 2014). My capacity to write this thesis is made possible through settler colonial dispossession and logics of elimination of Indigenous peoples (Wolfe, 2006) who were, and are, systematically subject to, amongst other things, sexual violence as an intention strategy of settler state violence and colonial terror that have been instructive in settler state control, and further reinforcing discourses of the *terra nulius* of lands, Indigenous bodies, and Indigenous women and girls bodies in particular. Indigenous scholars have noted how these state-sanctioned processes of sexual and colonial terror are revealed consistently when sexual violence against Indigenous

women and girls is met with inaction and indifference by criminal justice actors and agents of the Canadian state (Palmater, 2016).

As I have presented above, I come into this project informed by specific intersectional and post-structural ontological assumptions. My post-structural epistemological framing keeps at the forefront that all claims to knowledge are enactments of power relations and the ever-present dilemma. As Donna Haraway (1988) outlines, writing with this framing requires it to "have simultaneously an account of radical historical contingency for all knowledge claims and knowing subjects, a critical practice for recognizing our own ‘semiotic technologies' for making meanings, and a no-nonsense commitment to faithful accounts of a ‘real' world" (p. 579). These "twin problems of representation and legitimation" (Bosworth, 1999, p. 84) are something I must continuously grapple with, and of which complete resolutions will not be possible. Instead, there are significant problems within which I situate myself always to parse out the dangers of potentially re-inscribing those forms of violence and oppression I seek to spike out. I recall Michel Foucault's understanding that no discourse is inherently liberating or oppressive.

> My point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do. So my position leads not to apathy but a hyper- and pessimistic activism. I think that the ethico-political choice we have to make every day is to determine which is the main danger. (Foucault, 1983, p. 231-2).

The choice to analyze the issue of sexual violence, and how I come into this work, my theoretical framing and analytical process, are a series of ethico-political choices implicated in significant dangers. When discussing my positionality in discourses about #metoo and sexual violence, the apparent one is presenting a white feminist construction of sexual violence and anti-sexual violence theory and activism as normative. However, as Foucault notes, this does not lead me to an apathetic acceptance that producing unproblematic work is impossible, and

therefore unnecessary. Rather, it further solidifies the necessity and urgency of a careful, self-reflexive, and critical engagement that is centrally informed by intersectional feminist thought. Namely, as I have already presented above, intersectional feminisms provide guidance to the ethico-political choices I make in my writing and analysis. They instruct me to question where I may be giving primacy to discussions of gender and patriarchal forms of oppression, require me to view sexual violence as a form of patriarchal control *and* racial terror, *and* a strategy for ensuring settler state domination and sovereignty, to name a few. Discussions about sexual violence cannot be disconnected from these overlapping systems of violence. Therefore, I am forced to grapple with contradictions, points of hesitation, complications, and areas of personal discomfort as I must confront incontrovertible truths that my writing holds the dangerous possibility of reinforcing systems, patterns, and discourses implicated in racial violence, settler colonial domination, and the many other areas I benefit from.

However, just as discourses transmit, reinforce, and produce power, they also undermine, expose, render fragile, and make it possible to thwart oppressive power relations (Foucault, 1978, p. 101). My hope in writing this project is to create and expand openings that the #metoo movement has produced, where paradigmatic transformation in the culture surrounding sexual violence are being articulated from an intersectional politics, where the horizon we strive towards is one where anti-sexual violence theory and activism requires an intersectional framework, where conceptions of feminism cannot exist without a distinctly intersectional orientation. My goal is to contribute analysis that challenges the suspicious lack of intersectionality in mainstream feminisms and popular culture discourses of the #metoo movement and its misidentification when it is present, and offer a number of considerations for

how we can challenge these discourses in order to move towards a horizon of paradigmatic change in feminism and society.

A Few Remarks about Case Selection

Throughout this project I analyze a variety of texts about the #metoo movement. These include tweets, magazine and TV interviews with activists, scholarly experts, service workers, celebrities, and various social media users who have commented on the #metoo movement, blog posts, public talks and Op-Ed's from feminist writers, scholars, and activists, and other print news coverage of the #metoo movement. A specific methodological approach did not instruct my selection texts, or cases. Instead, my case selection was directly informed by my post-structural and intersectional feminist theoretical framework.

I resisted following a logical path of analyzing the most ‘dominant' cases and texts from the #metoo movement in a traditional sense. Doing so leaves unchecked the power relations, political logics and mechanisms that legitimate and authorize some knowledges sources and speakers and work to subjugate others (Nelund, 2015, Collins, 2000). For this reason, I analyze cases that range from what may be considered authoritative interviews and articles about the #metoo movement from the most prolific scholars, celebrities, and writers to weigh into the discussion, to more mundane, quotidian, (perhaps overlooked), but no less informative texts, including tweets and blogposts from grass-roots organizers, and sexual assault Survivors. I do so in order to center those subjugated knowledges (Collins, 2000) far too often obscured by the force of whitestream feminist thought, and also in order to critique the subjugation of feminist knowledges within #metoo discourse, and of Black feminist thought in particular.

The cases selected were not random. This project traces the various lines of descent that give rise to the #metoo movement as it is currently operating. My analytical and theoretical orientation and approach to writing a history of the present were a flexible form of instruction through which my tracing of the #metoo movement could take place. If the purpose of writing a history of the present is to trace the "struggles, displacements, and processes of repurposing out of which contemporary practices emerge, and to show the historical conditions of existence upon which present-day practices depend" (p. 373) then lines of critical inquiry must be drawn that identify such tensions that give rise to the #metoo movement's current praxis. The objective is not to locate the #metoo movement's origins but rather to present some of the most salient cultural, historical, and geographical components and contexts that provided the space for it to emerge as it has. So too in analyzing the #metoo movement, the goal is not to recount the most popular, remembered, or prominent anti-violence feminist movements of the past and relate how the current #metoo movement converges or diverges from them, although these prior movements surely have a role to play in the #metoo movement's existence today. Rather, the cases selected within this thesis are exemplary of what I argue have been sites where the #metoo movement and what it stands for has been questioned, reconfigured, and revised. Therefore, I resist turning to the dominant speakers and texts on the #metoo movement, and instead analyze them alongside other influential, if less prominent, cases and critiques that have been no less instructive to the #metoo movement's ongoing emergence.

What is important is not solely the 'authoritative discourses' within mainstream feminist movements of the past but rather the processes by which these discourses were made to be authoritative or dominant and how these processes imprint upon and shape the praxis of the current #metoo movement. These come from more than just liberal feminist anti-violence

movement practices. The techniques employed by the #metoo movement may show imprints from critical race, disability, queer, and intersectional feminist theories and practices, and beyond feminist anti-violence movements altogether to civil rights movements, including #BlackLivesMatter. These frameworks have influenced the movement, and therefore, they are included as cases within this thesis as conditions through which the #metoo movement has emerged. So too has law and the liberal feminist co-optation of the #metoo movement played a significant role in how #metoo has been articulated in the mainstream media spheres.

Limitations

Yet, practical constraints in both the feasibility and scope of this project mean that parameters were drawn, which have given rise to specific limitations. The most glaring of which is the primacy I give to the #metoo hashtag. Criticisms of the white co-optation of #metoo has led some Black, Indigenous, and intersectional activists to invest in or promote an alternative #metoo framework. As such, only looking at discourses emerging within the #metoo hashtag is a foreclosure on alternative, counter-discourses, like #BlackMeToo, which has specifically refocused on the targeted sexual violence experienced by Black women and girls. These counter #metoo online communities have largely been Black and Indigenous-centralized alternative movements that popped up at the same time. Analysis was also limited to media and online discourse written or translated into English which limits the transnational applicability and scope of this work. Important disclaimers must be made to recognize how giving primacy to English, North American and European examples reproduce a Western lens of the #metoo movement. Such a comparative analysis is outside of the scope of this thesis. The influence of #metoo globally is a necessary area where further inquiry is needed and is already under way. Linda Hasunuma and Ki-young Shin (2019) have submitted a comparative analysis of the #metoo

movement in Japan and South Korea, noting how the cultural, political, social, and historical specifies of both countries has given rise to two, very different tracks of the #metoo movement.

The limitations that centralizing the #metoo hashtag has on presenting intersectional analysis is not lost on me. However, much of my analytical development hinges on the same critiques of the #metoo movement predominantly championed by intersectional, post-colonial, and Black feminist scholars and activists that lent to the creation of counter-#metoo movements such as #BlackMeToo. With these methodological considerations in mind, I begin by exploring three inter-related conditions through which the #metoo movement has emerged. These conditions have set the scene for the way #metoo has been adopted and adapted.

CHAPTER 3: FRAGMENTED BEGINNINGS: TRACING #METOO'S CONDITIONS OF POSSIBILITY

Let me just cut to the chase with the #metoo trend. Dear men, nearly every woman you know has been sexually assaulted or harassed
(@shannonmstirone, October 15, 2017)

Just because it happens everyday, does not make it okay. #MeToo
(@JoanArc1936, October 16, 2017)

Social media platforms are political battle zones. On the one hand, they are rife with rape culture narratives that assume "women are deserving, disgraced, or defamed by sexual victimization" (Weiss, 2010, p. 303). On the other, they are burgeoning arenas of anti-sexual violence activism (Fotopoulou, 2016). This chapter investigates these tensions within the #metoo movement. Specifically, I trace the conditions that made the #metoo movement's emergence and resurgence possible, borne out of a central question: where did the #metoo movement come from?

Structure of Chapter

This chapter explores three inter-related conditions through which the #metoo movement has blossomed into an internationally recognized anti-sexual violence movement. These conditions have set the scene for the way #metoo is adopted, adapted, co-opted, and rejected across different social, political, and cultural terrains. The first condition is the rise of what Anastasia Powell (2015) calls "techno-social counter publics" and the growth of digital feminist activism in recent years. The second condition is the political labour of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. BLM, I argue, has set the tone for contemporary digital activism. I argue here that the BLM has paved the way for the #metoo movement to gain widespread media attention and legitimacy as a social movement beyond the confines of its online community. The third condition is how the #metoo movement has been overtaken in mainstream media by high-profile, white, and celebrity women. #metoo's introduction into Hollywood and other high-powered industries pose

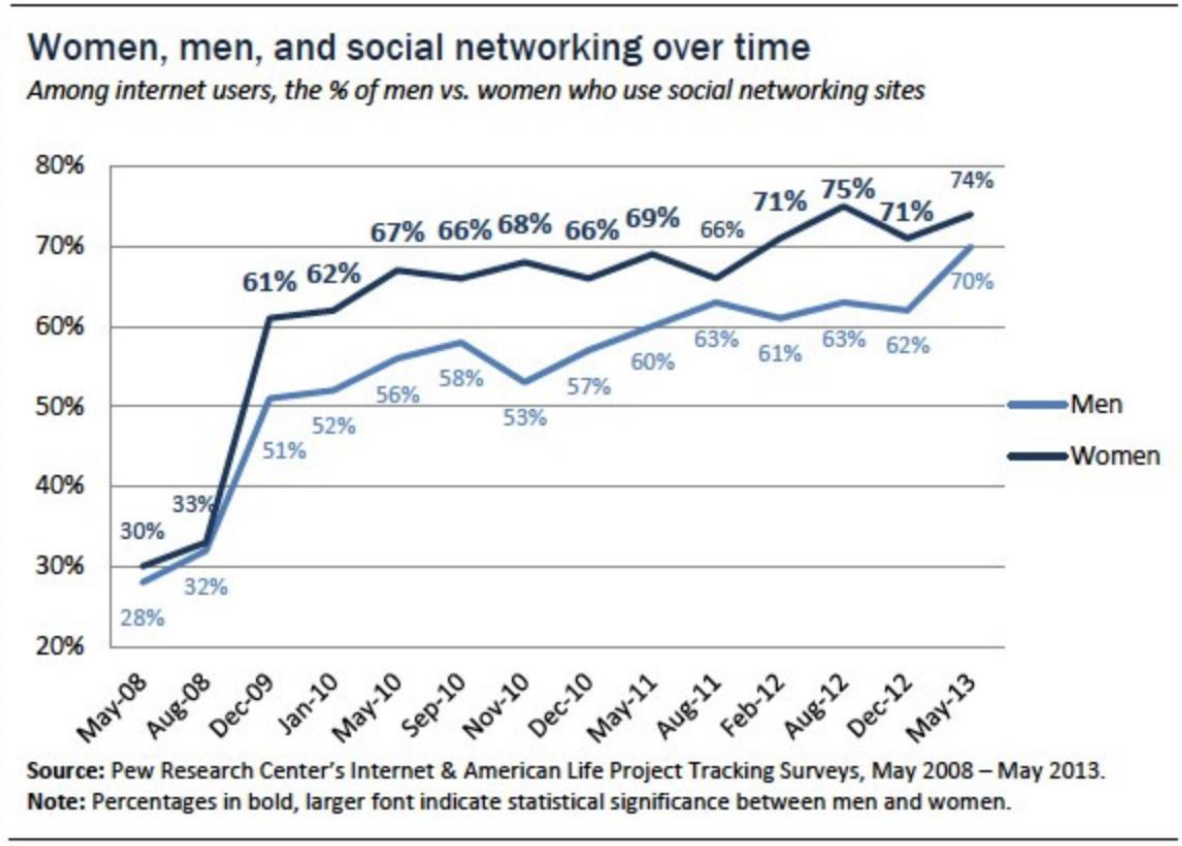
significant and yet relatively unquestioned dangers of undermining intersectional anti-sexual violence work that the #metoo movement seeks to produce.

There is a continued need for further inquiry into a number of the multifaceted socio-political and cultural conditions through which the #metoo movement has emerged as a globally recognized movement against gender-based sexual violence. Although I do not present an exhaustive exploration of the #metoo movement's emergence, I do provide an exploratory inquiry into three of the central conditions through which the #metoo movement has emerged and resurged in popular culture.

Gender and Feminist Activism Online: A Brief Review

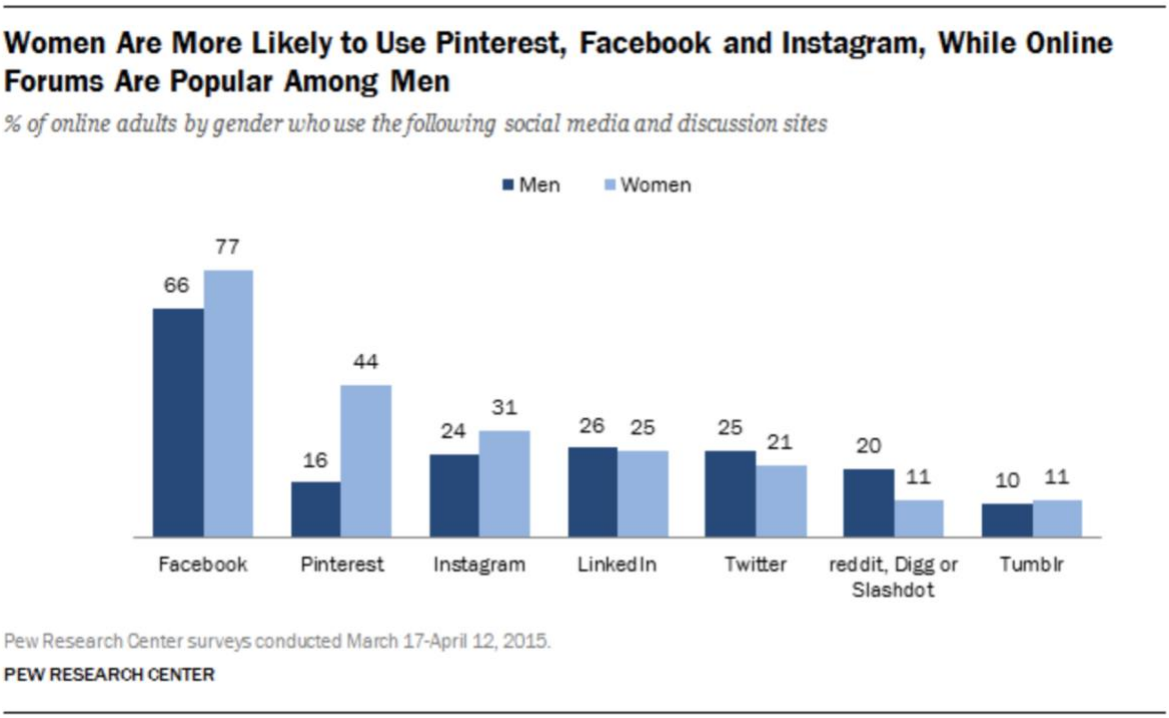
According to studies from the Pew Research Center, women have historically been the power users of social networking. Between 2009 and 2013, amongst men and women who reported using the internet, women were significantly more likely to use social networking sites like Facebook, Pinterest, Instagram, and Twitter. As seen in Figure 4, women were more active social media users between 2008 and 2013, with, on average, almost half of women using social networking sites on a typical day (48%), compared with 38% of male internet users (Duggan, 2013).

Fig. 4: Gender disparities in social networking use (Duggan, 2013)



In more recent surveys, gender differences in social media use have decreased (Anderson, 2015) however women remain more likely than men to use Facebook (77% of women compared to 66% of men), Pinterest (44% of women compared to 16% of men) and Instagram (31% of women compared to 24% of men) (Pew Research Center, 2018), while Twitter is generally evenly used by men (25%) and women (21%) (Anderson, 2015).

Fig. 5: Gender Differences in Social Networking Practices (Anderson, 2015)



There is no shortage of literature about the way digital communication technologies have informed feminist theory and practice. Nancy Fraser (2014) argues that the networked, rather than hierarchical relationality modelled within new media communications technologies have influenced the formations of feminist movement's online. Social media technologies have also been a helpful tool for political mobilizing within feminist frameworks that have historically championed non-hierarchical organizing models well before social media sites were established, namely, Black and intersectional feminisms. Aristea Fotopolou (2016) contends that the horizontal engagement possible on social media platforms could be a new tool to facilitate un-mediated Survivor discourse and promote intersectional debate, knowledge, and activism.

At the same time, social media is rife with intense anti-feminist backlash and rape culture narratives. Stubbs-Richardson, Rader, and Cosby's (2018) qualitative content analysis of rape culture narratives on Twitter found that victim-blaming and slut-shaming were commonly used to justify rape and absolve the culpability of the perpetrator. Tweets relied heavily on 'virgin-whore' binaries to demean, harass, and undermine women, including one tweet that read, "I will NEVER understand girls who complain about rape but go out dressed like a WHORE. #FOOL." Another stated, "no1 believes the slut who cries rape". And another which read, "I put holes in her because she was a stupid slut. She had booty shorts on talking about rape. LOL Foreshadowing" (Stubbs-Richardson, Rader, & Cosby, 2018, p. 99).

Survivors of sexual violence often feel self-blame and shame because of, and sustained by, rape culture, particularly considering the level of vitriol launched against women online. Guilt and shame have significant implications on survivors' lives. Both are commonly cited as reasons why women do not report their sexual assault to police (Weiss, 2010; Johnson, 2017). This was a common theme amongst several stories shared by Survivors through the #metoo hashtag.

> #metoo and I never told anyone because I thought it was my fault for sending the wrong signals… (@samandea, October 21, 2017)
>
> At 16, my 36 year old co-worker told me he was gonna "spank me for being a naughty girl" I stayed silent because I was scared #MeToo (@spideyhollandx, October 15, 2017)

Using social media as a platform to challenge sexist behaviours, practices, and patriarchal power structures are becoming increasingly common and are referred to as digital feminist activism.

Digital Feminist Activism

Digital feminist activism is a newly emerging area and strategy that refers to a "[field] made up of scholars and activists who hold a complex set of identities and cultures whose different investments in, and practices with, media technologies mean different organizational structures and even political priorities" (Fotopoulou, 2016, p. 2). Following Fotopoulou (2016), I understand digital feminist activism as a strategy and articulation of feminist politics that dialectically informs and is informed by the frameworks through which different feminist visions for gender equality are imagined and pursued. Some of the most recognizable forms of feminist activism online have occurred via Twitter hashtags. For instance, social media users inundated the Twittersphere with posts using the hashtag #WhyIStayed in response to a 2014 NFL domestic violence controversy (Clark, 2016). Such forms of protest have been called "hashtag activism" (Gunn, 2015) and cases concerning issues of violence against women and gender inequality are known as hashtag feminism.

Hashtag Feminism

Hashtag campaigns have extended the visibility and reach of feminist initiatives. Using hashtags to promote feminist ideas and launch feminist campaigns is becoming one of the most popular forms of feminist activism today (Mendes, Ringrose, & Keller, 2018). The practice of hashtag feminism has become so widespread over the last decade that it has been subject to its digital archive called *hashtagfeminism.com,* curated by digital media analyst Tara L. Conley (Conley, 2019). Hashtag feminism has also been the subject of a special issue in *Feminist Media Studies* (see Clark, 2014; Meyer, 2014; Rodino-Colocino, 2014). Hashtag activism that seeks to address sexual violence, rape culture, and victim-blaming has been particularly pronounced, with the burgeoning literature on the role of hashtagging in anti-sexual violence advocacy, education, and

awareness (Eagle, 2015; Rentschler, 2015; Rodino-Colocino, 2014; Thrift, 2014; Williams, 2015; Mendes, Ringrose, & Keller, 2018). Rosemary Clark (2016) notes that "[h]ashtag campaigns such as #YesAllWomen, #SafetyTipsForLadies, and #StopStreetHarassment have shed light on women's everyday encounters with rape culture and the victim-blaming discourse that sustains it" (p. 789). Aristea Fotopoulou (2016) sees hashtag feminism as directly related to feminist activism against gender-based violence and harassment.

> 'Hashtag feminism' as it is often called allows feminists to challenge representations of sexual violence and discourses around rape in music and popular culture. […] hashtag activism [..] expose[s] victim-blaming and the shaming of women in social networks (p. 16).

Just as social media has been used to perpetuate and exacerbate rape culture, hashtags like #metoo, #EndRapeCulture (Gouws, 2018), #BeenRapedNeverReported (Keller, Mendes, Ringrose, 2016), and #WhyIStayed (Clark, 2016) exemplify how Twitter and other social media platforms are powerful tactics to resist and challenge online misogyny and gender-based violence as well. The connections between #metoo and other forms of hashtag feminism are widely apparent. As actress Patricia Arquette tweeted,

> If you want to see who the leaders are of #MeToo look no further than the thousands of people sharing their #WhyIDidntReport stories. This movement will not be derailed by anyone. It is decentralized collective power which is why it has limitless strength (@PattyArquette, 2018).

Just like many prior anti-violence hashtag movements, #metoo has taken an active role in challenging rape culture. For instance, some advocates have used the hashtag to call attention to the systemic issue of victim-blaming.

> I wish #MeToo was rapists and assailants admitting to being trash humans instead of survivors having to bare their souls. (@empathywarrior, October 15, 2017)
>
> Rape is the only crime in which the victim becomes the accused. #MeToo (@Carrissa_14,

October 15, 2017)

The #metoo hashtag has also been used as a tool for anonymous disclosure to circumvent victim-blaming, slut-shaming, and other forms of harassment online. For instance, accounts like @metoo_anonymous were created to provide survivors with an anonymous avenue to share their stories without the threat of retaliation. Also, several news media outlets published stories submitted from survivors and victims anonymously' to increase the visibility of sexual violence. For instance, NorthJersey.com published a story submitted by a 71-year-old woman asked to be identified as K.

> When I was in my late 20s, I was forcibly date-raped by the superintendent in my first apartment. […] He was at least 30. He'd been in my apartment to fix things. He seemed OK. I trusted he was OK. He invited me to his apartment for a date. He had been drinking, was already high, and forced sex on me. When I finally somehow got out of his apartment and into my apartment, he started calling me by phone, cursing me out. I had to take the phone off the hook. Then he went out into the hallway at my door, banging on it wanting to get to me again. I sat in a chair in front of my door all night until daybreak, with a kitchen knife, fearing he would break down the door and get in. I guess he didn't have a key to my apartment, thankfully (K, in Anzidei, 2017).

Many women disclose their experience publicly many years later if they disclose it at all. Avenues for anonymous disclosure remain important means through which survivors can share their stories, know they are not alone, and receive support while avoiding the threat of personal harassment and retaliation. In resistance to rape culture scripts, #metoo has rapidly grown into a space for victims and survivors to share their stories with others who have faced similar circumstances. As Tarana Burke's me too. Movement website reads,

> [T]here is nothing as powerful as knowing that you are not alone. The sooner young women understand that they are not an anomaly, the sooner they can begin their healing process. This is at the heart of The me too. Movement. Survivors reaching out to those who don't understand they are survivors—and helping them to feel whole again (Just Be Inc., n.d.).

In line with these values, the #metoo hashtag has also been inundated with posts from social media users who have rallied in support of survivors and victims disclosing their stories of harassment and abuse.

> If believing all the women coming forward to say #MeToo is what concerns you, you should really think about what it is about our society that made them stay silent this long (@WMagicS, November 9, 2017)
>
> To all the women sharing stories of sexual assault and sexual harassment, thank you for your bravery to speak up. You are not alone. #MeToo (@womensmarch, October 15, 2017)

Social media users also engaged with the hashtag to empathize with, advocate for, and support victims and survivors of sexual violence who chose to refrain from disclosing their stories.

> If you aren't okay w posting #MeToo, know this:
> 1. I believe you.
> 2. You don't have to speak up to be brave. Living in the after is brave.
> (@bindasladki, October 15, 2017)
>
> We shouldn't have to out ourselves as survivors for people to grasp the magnitude of how systemic assault and harassment are. #MeToo (@Femmefeministe, October 15, 2017)

#metoo was not the first hashtag to address sexual violence against women. However, the question remains why #metoo has gained widespread recognition when other similar hashtag movements have not had the same momentum, longevity, or widespread support. What made the international virality and longevity of #metoo possible? Why is mainstream interest sustained in this specific movement? I respond to this question by elucidating some of the key conditions that have given rise to the #metoo movement's massive recognition and global legitimacy that shifted it from ‘yet another hashtag campaign’ to a significant cultural moment and social movement. The first condition that has made the #metoo movement possible is the proliferation of what Anastasia Powell calls ‘techno-social counter publics.'

Condition 1: The rise of techno-social counter publics in digital feminist activism

Anastasia Powell (2015) defines technosocial counter-public engagement as a coming together of Michael Salter's (2013) understanding that user-generated and networked relationality of 'new media', or social media, that facilitates the creation of online counter publics and Bianca Fileborn's (2014) contention that social media is a powerful medium for political activism and resistance. Social media and new digital communications technologies are viewed as tools "used to facilitate the divergent and marginalized discourses of resistive politics to flourish outside of the public sphere" (Powell, 2015, p. 580). Several feminists have argued that the rise of the 'digital age' has fundamentally shifted the practice and theory of feminism, bring about a 'fourth wave' of feminism (Munro, 2013; Cochrane, 2013).

> Welcome to the fourth wave of feminism. […] What's happening now feels like something new again. It's defined by technology: tools that are allowing women to build a strong, popular, reactive movement online (Cochrane, 2013).

This argument is contentious; some feminists argue against framing contemporary feminisms of the 1980s to the present as a third or even fourth 'wave' because multiplicity and heterogeneity of modern-day feminisms and post-feminisms are ill-suited to being described as clearly intelligible 'waves' or epochs (e.g. Rottenberg, 2018). Despite these linguistic disagreements, Munro (2013) and Cochrane (2013) raise important arguments about the influence of new media and digital communication technological advancements on feminist thought and practice. The rapid and global accessibility people have had in recent years to new social media and communication technologies has fundamentally shifted the way feminist activism efforts operate. Social media has made possible greater access, connectivity, and immediacy in the flow of discussion, knowledge, and information around the world. As Tanya Horeck (2014) notes,

> There is now an unprecedented speed and immediacy to affective responses to rape and its hyper visible circulation online; it is the radical potentialities and limitations of this new temporal regime – epitomized by the hashtag – that we as feminists must consider when strategizing how to actively re-shape the cultural consensus on questions of gender, violence and power (Horeck 2014, p. 1106).

Therefore, when sexual violence is shared and discussed online, responses are not only immediately possible but occur in a global arena. As Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller (2018) summarize,

> Historically women have had little to no way to meet up and to discuss and share ideas, which has arguably lead to a narrow and white feminism being dominant, yet now through social media being accessible for many it is so much easier to share ideas, to discuss and develop feminism, to help others through advice and petitions, through raising awareness, and through holding others to a higher standard and pointing out others' inexcusable misogyny (p. 241).

Poignant here is how the authors allude to the way social media technologies, as tools of feminist praxis, can destabilize whitestream feminist thought. As discussed in chapter 1, whitestream feminism is a term developed by Indigenous scholar Sandy Grande (2004) to highlight how mainstream feminism predominantly addresses white feminist concerns, leaving unchecked the issues of whiteness and white supremacy within its theory and practice that are complicit in suppressing racialized women's voices within feminist spheres. Not only has digital technology fundamentally shifted the tools that are available to feminists to practice feminism and to connect, but it has also fundamentally *changed feminism itself* by emphasizing and bringing to the forefront intersectional epistemologies.

Social media, therefore, marks a new space where feminist counter-discourses can proliferate. This has brought a general hopefulness that technosocial counter-public engagement will challenge androcentric, heteronormative, and white supremacist dominant discourses that suppress opposing or alternative knowledges, voices, and experiences. As Patricia Hill Collins

(2002) notes, techniques of suppression operate within gendered, raced, and classed relations of power. As she notes,

> Suppressing the knowledge produced by any oppressed group makes it easier for dominant groups to rule because the seeming absence of dissent suggests that subordinate groups willingly collaborate in their own victimization. […] Maintaining the invisibility of Black women and our ideas […] has been critical in maintaining social inequalities (Collins, 2000, p. 3).

Thus, new digital media has been a rich site for anti-racist, anti-sexist, and anti-homophobic counter-discourses to thrive because of its horizontal, non-hierarchal, user-generated, and networked organization. As Aristea Fotopoulou (2016) adds, "many writers have celebrated digital feminist activism as a turning point for feminism as a social movement, particularly because of its seeming horizontality and capacity to facilitate intersectional debate" (p. 4).

An increasing body of feminist scholarship contends that the techniques and tools for instant global engagement offered via new communication technologies of social media promote and produce subaltern counter-public spaces (Fraser, 2014) in which "culturally and discursively marginalized or silenced groups engage in resistant and/or critical speech that is ordinarily delegitimized and excluded from the public sphere" (Powell, 2015, pp. 579-580). If this is genuinely occurring, then the claim that digital feminist activism and digital feminist practices mark a new wave of feminism that is mainstreaming intersectional feminism is compelling.

However, the reality of social media and digital feminist activism is more complex than this. As Fotopoulou (2016) contends, "for some, social media and other new media technologies are strategic – they provide opportunities for direct engagement with civic life. For others, digital media delineate a space where certain gendered bodies, such as those of older women or trans

people, experience new forms of precariousness and marginalization" (Fotopoulou, 2016, p. 2). At the same time, as social media opens new doors, it also presents new modes of exclusion and marginalization. Access to and literacy in digital technologies remain highly contingent on class, age, ability status, and geographic location. As such, digital feminist activism presents, a vital question feminists must consider: What are the dangers of exclusion, oppression, and violence enclosed in activating feminisms on social media and within digital infrastructures?

Mechanisms of Social Media: Oppressive Digital Infrastructures and Online Misogyny

Digital feminist activism is a mechanism through which feminist theory and activism operate that is inextricably linked to the historical and emergent relations of power inherent within digital communications and media technologies, and its algorithms. These are not objective and neutral but rather produce and perpetuate gendered and racialized oppression (Noble, 2018).

Although some feminists are optimistic that the growing prominence of hashtag feminism might offer a means to address the multi-faceted raced, gendered, and classed issues of sexual violence, there is still a great deal of concern that these idealistic visions may not reflect the reality of how the #metoo movement is currently unfolding. Despite new possibilities for advancing feminism through technosocial counter-publics, social media platforms are decidedly not inherently feminist spaces. Social media platforms are rife with online misogyny and anti-feminist backlash. Recent statistics from the Pew Research Centre indicates that 21% of women aged 18 to 29 reported being sexually harassed online, more than twice the percentage of men in the same age group (9%) (Duggan, 2017). As Anastasia Powell (2015) notes,

> [T]he ways in which communications technologies, and social media, in particular, have been used to extend the harm of sexual violence through further harassing, humiliating, shaming and blaming victim-survivors itself demonstrates how technologies are not unproblematically ‘liberatory' for women. […] [C]ommunications technologies have been

> taken up as tools with which to facilitate sexual violence and harassment against women and girls as well as expressions of gender-based hate speech in both online and terrestrial space (p. 579).

However, the issues with social media's capacity to embolden anti-feminist sentiment, bullying, and hate speech are not merely functions of user activity. These problems are embedded within the digital infrastructure of social media (Gillespie, 2010; Noble, 2018).

Tarleton Gillespie (2010) contends that the gendered inequality in tech workplaces and industries shapes the digital infrastructure of the social media platforms they have created. Despite being the power users of social media, women's exclusion from technology sectors means that they are less likely to participate in the production of its tools, platforms and services (Gillespie, 2010). The tech corridors and the people who populate Silicon Valley have shown a well-documented propensity for promoting racism and sexism. The mathematical formulations that drive automated decisions on the web are imbued with these values. For instance, on April 16, 2017, Google image results for ‘Gorillas' lead users to images of a Black man and woman, and ‘ape' has been offered as an associated search when users look up Michelle Obama on Google (Noble, 2018).

This is what Safiya Umoja Noble (2018) calls algorithmic oppression, understanding that patriarchal, colonial, and white supremacist systems of power and domination are "not just a glitch in the system but, rather, is fundamental to the operating system of the web" (p. 10). The role of digital communication technology and the propensity of STEM and tech sectors to reinforce patriarchal and white supremacist relations of power cannot be overlooked. Online misogyny and hate speech is made possible and exacerbated by social media digital infrastructure and technologies (Gillespie, 2010; Noble, 2018). #metoo would not be possible without the rise of technosocial counter-publics and the digital infrastructures of social media. As

a movement mainly existing in these digital platforms, #metoo is implicated in these problems. #metoo cannot be disconnected from the broader apparatus of social media that is directly implicated in oppressive and anti-feminist logics.

Digital technologies and social media are increasingly shaping our social, cultural, and political world, and so too, are informing the way feminism is practiced and produced. If we currently live in a digital age, feminist activism is at the centre of it. In a world where powerful hashtags and links shared on social media can quickly dominate online conversations (Riera, 2015, p. 8), we must inspect where, and how, feminism is entering these conversations and question what this means for the kinds of feminisms that are produced and proliferate in these technosocial counter-public spaces of social media. As this section details, #metoo is conditioned by the oppressive, racist, and sexist digital infrastructures it has gained traction within. Thus, in taking on #metoo, feminists take on a lot more than sexual violence. Feminists must question how #metoo can negotiate, challenge, and resist online misogyny and the oppressive digital infrastructures and algorithms digital feminist activism is implicated within.

Furthermore, the #metoo movement is not occurring within a social vacuum. There are many previous and co-occurring digital social justice movements that have conditioned the emergence and popularity of the #metoo movement as well. Particularly prominent in this discussion is the Black Lives Matter movement.

Condition 2: How Black Lives Matter Legitimated the #metoo Movement

Black Lives Matter (BLM) began in 2012 as a hashtag in protest of repeated instances of police brutality against unarmed African American boys and men in the United States. Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Alton Sterling and Philando Castile are amongst a staggering number of

unarmed black men who were killed by police officers between 2012 and 2016 across the United States. None of the police officers responsible for these murders have faced conviction. As of March 2016, the 10th anniversary of Twitter, the hashtag #blacklivesmatter had been used more than 12m times, the third most of any hashtag related to a social cause. At the top of the list sits #ferguson, about the public protest in Ferguson, Missouri, in response to the murder of 18-year-old Micheal Brown by a police officer. #ferguson is the most-used hashtag promoting a social cause in the history of Twitter, tweeted more than 27 million times (Lowery, 2018).

Black Lives Matter has expanded from a hashtag to a social justice movement in its own right. Currently, the BLM movement is an internationally recognized social movement against racial discrimination, injustice and police violence against Black men and women. BLM has organized hundreds of public protests and currently recognizes 16 chapters across Canada and the United States (Black Lives Matter, n.d.). BLM is described by its organizers as a "Black-centered political will and movement building project" that is "guided by the fact that all Black lives matter, regardless of actual or perceived sexual identity, gender identity, gender expression, economic status, ability, disability, religious beliefs or disbeliefs, immigration status, or location" (Black Lives Matter, n.d.) Similar to #metoo, BLM may have arisen in resistance to a specific injustice but has grown to encompass a broader cause. Part of this cause directs specific attention to Black women and girls. As the Black Lives Matter (n.d.) website states, "We build a space that affirms Black women and is free from sexism, misogyny, and environments in which men are centred. We practice empathy. We engage comrades with the intent to learn about and connect with their contexts."

In many ways, we find similar conceptions of empathy and inclusivity, with intersectional Black voices and experiences, and anti-sexism underscoring BLM and Tarana Burke's me too. movement. Similarities are apparent with Tarana Burke's 'empowerment through empathy' approach to #metoo, which I describe in Chapter 4. Black feminisms and anti-racist theory and activism have underscored the creation of both movements. BLM co-founders Alicia Garza, Patrice Khan-Cullors, and Opal Tometi situate BLM within anti-sexist and anti-sexual violence epistemologies that overlap with the #metoo movement over-arching aims. However, BLM and #metoo interact in many more ways, as well.

BLM marched in Ferguson so #metoo could walk the red carpet in Hollywood

BLM movement has conditioned the way the #metoo movement has emerged and gained legitimacy as a hashtag and a social movement in its own right. BLM is a movement that not only conferred perhaps the most considerable visibility for a social cause online, but the movement also forced the public to pay attention by moving beyond digital activism and organizing a public protest that could not be overlooked by news media. In doing so, BLM has paved the way for the #metoo movement to gain widespread media attention and legitimacy as a social movement beyond the confines of its online community. As one of the most well-recognized and established social movements to start as a hashtag, organizing hundreds of public protests and with 16 chapters across Canada and the United States, the BLM movement marks one of the most important and dominant examples of the social power of hashtag activism to raise collective-consciousness and initiate social movement.

Although feminists have been engaging in 'hashtag feminism' for over a decade, the BLM movement has fundamentally changed the scene of digital activism. The BLM movement not only became a model that exemplified the social value of engaging in online activism but

garnered recognition from new media, which brought BLM out from the margins of online activism and into the centre of popular culture and mainstream news discourse. This set a powerful precedent as media began to take closer notice of online activism more broadly.

The widespread recognition of #metoo as a social movement did not only come from the celebrities who endorsed the hashtag but because of other awareness raising around sexual violence, including #beenrapedneverreported, and the Toronto Slutwalk. However, the anti-racist efforts of the BLM movement laid the necessary groundwork for the public to start taking digital activism seriously. BLM did so by organizing over 2400 public protests and rallies across the United States, by sparking unprecedented online engagement, and through the tireless efforts of the movement's organizers, Alicia Garza, Patrisse Khan-Cullers, Opal Tometi and millions of other Black men and women, who's work ensured that police violence against Black people in America could not be dismissed. This political labour paved the way for other counter-public communicative spaces online to be recognized and legitimized by high-profile celebrities, government agencies, institutions, and news media. However, this is not to say that #metoo and BLM directly complement one another. Both movements have been thwarted by media discourse that has pitted them against one another.

Pitting BLM and #metoo against each other as racist and sexist backlash

There have been numerous instances where the #metoo slogan has been deployed in order to undermine the BLM movement. Take, for instance, when in the height of the #metoo hashtag's popularity, 53-year-old Theresa Klein accused a nine-year-old African American boy of groping her in a Brooklyn convenience store. After reviewing the security footage of the incident, it was clear that it was the boy's backpack that unintentionally grazed Klein as he walked past her.

Klein apologized for her accusation; however, the footage has already spread across social media. Klein was soon dubbed ‘Cornerstore Caroline' online. Klein faced an onslaught of bullying and harassment for her behaviour. As Ruben Navarrette Jr. (2018) wrote in an article for the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, "*a lot of women are on edge in the #MeToo era. After years of not reporting sexual assaults, some now have a hair-trigger for anything that comes close. Of course, this is also the #BlackLivesMatter era, and African-Americans are on edge as well."

Media coverage and social media users were quick to use the encounter between Klein and the young boy as a broader symbol of both the BLM and #metoo movements. The instance became an example through which social media users and news media situated #metoo and #BlackLivesMatter in the US in competition with one another. This constructed a narrative that one is either for #metoo and against #BlackLivesMatter or for #BlackLivesMatter and against #metoo. In effect, leaving no capacity to support both movements and no space to discuss the nuance and complexity of the way both movements overlap. Also, it set discursive constraints within which movements were allowed to exist. As if only one social justice issue could define the current ‘era,' #metoo and #BlackLivesMatter were supposed to compete for that right.

These practices have been detrimental to both movements. First, they neglect to account for the way both movements often operate in tandem to serve some similar goals of calling out inexcusable racism, misogyny, and violence against oppressed and marginalized groups that often goes unchecked. Second, they implicitly reaffirm the assumption that #metoo solidarity and movement against sexual violence is only for white women and that BLM is only for black men and the persistent notion within feminist thought that all the women are white, and all Blacks are men (Hull, Bell-Scott, & Smith, 1993). This oversimplifies #metoo and BLM by overlooking the

fact that both movements were founded by Black women who organize through intersectional, Black feminist thought.

Although Black feminists have presented a clear feminist framework for the #metoo movement (e.g. Tambe, 2018; Onwuachi-Willig, 2018; Burke, 2018) that situates sexual violence and anti-sexual violence activism within structural inequalities and intersecting relations of power, oppression, and resistance, mainstream media coverage of the #metoo movement has often ignored these complexities. me too. Movement founder Tarana Burke stated in an interview for *Yes! Magazine,*

> I don't expect the media to cover, to talk about, and highlight the issues that happen in marginalized communities. It took us taking it to the street en masse for them to look at the issue of police brutality because of Black Lives Matter. Literally, human beings going into the streets with signs and protest and interrupting everyday reality in order for it to become a mainstream media event. I would love if mainstream media highlighted the fact that R. Kelly has been preying on Black and brown girls for almost two decades. But we've been screaming and yelling about it for just as long, and nobody has done anything (Burke in Jeffries, 2018)

As Burke notes, Black and Indigenous women and girl's voices and their experience of victimization are often erased from mainstream media coverage of sexual violence. By juxtaposing BLM to #metoo, critics and commentators have effectively overlooked and obscured a large community of Black, Indigenous, Latinx, and other marginalized scholars and activists who have advanced anti-racist and anti-sexist politics and theory that sits at the heart of both movements. Therefore, the discursive zones that Tarana Burke and BLM founders Alicia Garza, Patrisse Khan-Cullors, and Opal Tometi operate within are oversimplified or overlooked entirely. In effect, these dichotomizing discourses *reinforce* white feminisms co-optation of #metoo and erase Black, Indigenous, and other non-white women's participation and solidarity with either movement. This last point is essential because the whitestreaming co-optation of the

#metoo movement within popular culture and media discourse has been a major trap that has thwarted the #metoo movement since its resurgence in 2017.

Condition 3: Making #metoo a White Woman's Movement

Black feminist scholar Ashwini Tambe (2018) has raised concerns that the mainstreaming of #metoo has made it a white woman's movement. Although exceptions exist, the most visible complainants in media coverage of #metoo have been white women. There is no lack of high-profile women of colour engaging with #metoo, including Black Lives Matter co-founder Alicia Garza, television personality Bevy Smith, and Latina blogger Aura Bogado. All of these women have critiqued the erasure of women of colour from the #metoo narrative. For instance, Aura Bodago posted her criticism in a tweet that read, "#MeToo was started by Tarana Burke. Stop erasing black women" (@aurabodago, October 16, 2017).

Angela Onwuachi-Willig (2019) states that not only are the contributions of women of colour to the #metoo movement largely ignored in dominant mainstream discourse, but Black women are not provided with the same support as white women online. The specific instance Onwuachi-Willig (2019) referred to involved two similar events that had very different responses. Many women rallied behind white actress Rose McGowan to boycott Twitter after McGowan's account was suspended when she tweeted out the personal phone number of an alleged harasser. No such support was rallied behind Black actress Leslie Jones when she was racially harassed online following the release of the all-woman remake of Ghostbusters. These double-standards in solidarity with women have been notably invisible within the mainstream discourse of #metoo. This lends credence to Tambe's questioning if #metoo is a white women's movement. "If we look at US media coverage of the movement and the most striking

spokespersons as well as casualties in recent scandals, it is certainly white women's pain that is centred in popular media coverage" (Tambe, 2018, p. 199).

The #metoo resurgence began through an initial oversight of the movement's origins. Alyssa Milano's posted the tweet that initiated the #metoo resurgence with no awareness that Burke's movement of the same name already existed. Although corrected by Milano when she later credited Burke on Twitter (@alyssa_milano, October 16, 2017), this oversight has remained within mainstream coverage of the #metoo movement, which has largely been inattentive to the contributions of women of colour to the movement's creation and its current resurgence.

For example, Rose McGowan has been a key spokesperson interviewed by major media networks, including Channel 4 News in the UK and ABC News in the US and *Rolling Stone* magazine. This has effectively inscribed her as a key figurehead and spokesperson for the movement. Tarana Burke and her non-celebrity interlocutors have not been afforded interviews in these large-scale media outlets. However, exceptions do exist. Media outlets including *Variety, Democracy Now!, The Cut* and *The Nation* have interviewed Burke, who has used these platforms to raise criticisms of the mainstream media's focus on celebrity figureheads and the erasure of Black women and Black feminist frameworks from the #metoo movement. As Burke noted in an interview with Elizabeth Adetiba for *The Nation,*

> The conversation [in the mainstream media] is largely about Harvey Weinstein or other individual bogeymen. No matter how much I keep talking about power and privilege, they keep bringing it back to individuals. It would be very easy to get swept up and change directions and change the focus of this work, but that's not going to happen. It defeats the purpose not to have those folks centred—I'm talking black and brown girls, queer folks. There's no conversation in this whole thing about transgender folks and sexual violence. There's no conversation in this about people with disabilities and sexual violence. We need to talk about Native Americans, who have the highest rate of sexual violence in this country. So no, I can't take my focus on marginalized people (Burke in Adetiba, 2017).

Burke raises these concerns for good reason. Opting for white celebrity spokespersons to spearhead the #metoo movement fragments mainstream #metoo discourses from the Black feminist intersectional frameworks from which it emerges. This tends to produce and promote a white feminist epistemology that undermines intersectional theory and practice altogether. Rose McGowan's transphobic anti-sexual violence work is a clear example of this.

Excluding Transgender Women

During a promotional event for her memoirs published a few months after the #metoo hashtag went viral, an audience member questioned a transphobic comment McGowan has made in a recent interview. The audience member raised important criticisms about the staggering issue of sexual violence against transgender women (Harrison, 2018). According to the 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey report, nearly 50% of transgender people in the U.S. are sexually assaulted at some point in their lifetime. In communities of colour, these numbers are higher, with an estimated 53% of Black transgender people experiencing sexual assault in their lifetime (James et al., 2016). The audience member questioned if McGowan's anti-sexual violence sentiments considered these patterns of systemic violence against transgender men and women. Not only did McGowan refuse to recognize the credibility of the audience member's concerns, but she also denied the issue altogether, stating,

> Trans women are women, and what I've been trying to say is that it's the same. The stats are not that dissimilar. When you break it down, it is a much smaller population. There's not a network here devoted to your f—ing death. There's not advertisers advertising tampons with a camera lovingly going up a girl's body as she's being lovingly raped and strangled. Piss off. And until you can collect that f—ing check, back up. My name is Rose McGowan and I am obviously f—ing brave" (McGowan in Harrison, 2018).

In this public breakdown, McGowan made it clear that only cis-gendered women[11] are included in her anti-sexual violence framework. By essentializing the experiences of cis-gendered and transgender women, McGowan denies the existence of cis-sexist inequalities that marginalize transgender women based on their gender identity.

However, the violent murders of two Black transgender women in Dallas, Chynal Lindsey and Muhlasia Booker, has called attention to a disturbing pattern of targeted violence against transgender people of colour (Martinez & Law, 2019). The uptick of violence against Black transgender women in Dallas in recent months is reflective of a rising pattern in the U.S. and Canada. In 2018, the U.S. Human Rights Campaign reported that 29 transgender people suffered violent deaths, a majority of whom were Black transgender women. As of June 2019, seven transgender people have already been violently killed this year in the United States (Human Rights Campaign, 2019). These patterns are visible in Canada, as well. In Edmonton, Jon Syrah Ribut, an Indonesian transgender woman, was brutally beaten and murdered (Blais, 2016). The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls have noted the issue of violence against Two-Spirit Indigenous peoples.[12]

> While Indigenous women experience more frequent and more severe physical and sexual violence than non-Indigenous women, Two-Spirit women are often additionally targeted because of gender identity and/or sexual orientation, creating […] "triple jeopardy" for various forms of interpersonal and institutional violence (National Inquiry into MMIWG, 2019, p. 453).

McGowan is incorrect. Systems of patriarchal, cis-sexist, colonial, and white supremacist violence are devoted to the death of transgender and Two-Spirit people. Two-Spirit and

[11] Cis-gendered denotes a person whose gender identity corresponds with their biological sex at birth.
[12] Two-Spirit is not to be conflated with transgender. Instead, Two-Spirit is a third gender category that is traditional to many Indigenous nations.

transgender women of colour are subject to targeted violence, and in fact, the ‘stats' for sexual violence are not similar for cis-gendered and trans women. According to a report from the Egale Canada Human Rights Trust, "Lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (LBT) women, as well as gender diverse and Two-Spirit people encounter discrimination, stigmatization, and traumatic experiences of violence at disproportionately higher rates than their heterosexual and cisgender counterparts" (Bucik, 2016, p. 4). In addition to transgender women, many women have been excluded from mainstream #metoo discourse because they engage in sex work.

Excluding Sex Workers

Sex-positive feminists have also been critical of the exclusion of sex workers from the #metoo movement. "They don't want to include women like me," stated sex worker Melony Hill to Time Magazine, "They'll say we're just whores anyway — ‘How can you sexually assault a whore?' I've had that said to me multiple times" (Cooney, 2018). Sex workers and support for sex worker's rights have often been excluded from mainstream feminist activism. For instance, sex-positive feminists and sex workers criticized the decision made by 2017 Women's March organizers to erase its statement of support for consensual sex worker's rights.[13] Sex workers and sex-positive feminists also criticized Oprah Winfrey's Golden Globes speech for not mentioning sex workers. These erasures were particularly salient for the sex work community as many of the allegations that sparked national debate, including allegations against Donald Trump and other high-profile men, were made by sex workers (Cooney, 2018). Sex workers have been instructive

[13] After the protest, the Women's March decided to add a statement that advocated for sex worker's rights to consent. However, the decision to remove the original statement is still troubling.

in the resurgence of the #metoo movement, but their voices, knowledge, and experience are not being centralized.

What is more, sex workers are particularly vulnerable to sexual violence, exploitation and coercion, yet their experiences are undermined or excluded from public conversations about #metoo because of the negative stigmas associated with women in sex work (Benoit, 2015). Erica Lust, a Swedish erotic film director, posited in an interview with *The Next Web* (Curtis, 2019) that the #metoo movement's inattention to sex workers, has exacerbated the issue. Foreclosures on sex workers may, in fact, be deleterious to the possible reach of the #metoo movement's positive effects. As Lust noted that the sex industry is a potent site where misogyny and sexism are deeply embedded. In fact, women in sex work face an additional economic and classed constraints, under the fear of being blacklisted by the industry if they complain about sexual assault or harassment (Curtis, 2019). Dismissing sex workers presents a lack of engagement with some of the most important sites where anti-sexual violence activism should be focusing rather than turning away from.

Sex workers and sex-positive feminists have argued that sex workers are proficient "experts at negotiating consent," which means their exclusions from conversations about implementing new sexual harassment policies in the workplace and reforming criminal justice responses to sexual assault are particularly detrimental. As professional Dominatrix J. Leigh Brantly stated to *Time Magazine*, "When you have a monetary transaction, there have to be very clear boundaries about what is going to transpire because it's an issue of money" (Cooney, 2018). Sandra Daring, a sex worker and president of the *Sex Workers Outreach Project Board* stated, "society has taught me to be pliable and generally pleasing to men, and sex work has taught me

to say what I want and get what I need" (Cooney, 2018). Sex workers hold a wealth of knowledge that could benefit feminist discussions and activism around consent policies (Cooney, 2018).

Excluding Intersectionality

As it has unfolded in Canada, #metoo discussions in the media have been largely ambivalent to the concurrent discussions about the high rates of sexual assault against Indigenous women and girls. A journalist for *The Discourse*, Wawmeesh Hamilton, notes there are contextually-specific barriers as well as geographic and class constraints that make the #metoo movement structurally inhospitable for many Indigenous women to engage and make it unlikely that digital feminist activism would be able to address their concerns adequately.

> [Sexual violence] is an extremely, deeply personal thing to disclose, and in Indigenous communities, you're dealing with, more often than not, smaller and remote communities. […] If you have been sexually assaulted or sexually abused, you see your abuser probably every day — whether it's at home, outside in the community, at the band office, at the gym, at the community centre — you see them all the time (Hamilton in Sterritt, 2018).

Therefore, sharing one's account and/or identifying an assaulter online may harm women in these situations more than it helps. There are often fewer safe spaces, shelters, and resources for women who live in remote and/or northern communities to help protect them after they disclose. Without access to community supports and resources to assure their safety, participating in the #metoo movement could put these women in greater danger. This is true for many women who face oppressive structural constraints related to the continuing force of settler colonialism, transphobia, racism, and discrimination against sex workers that interplay with gender to make the experience of sexual violence, and the recounting of that violence, a different story from that of white, cis-gendered, straight women. What is more, racialized women and Indigenous women may have good reason to avoid engaging with the #metoo movement if the

dominant discourses imagines a white female subject and promotes ideas of anti-sexual violence activism that reinforces white feminist epistemologies that maintain white supremacy, settler colonialism, and other intersecting systems of oppression which conditions their oppression and sexual victimization.

As Indigenous feminist scholars have long noted, discussions of sexual violence against Indigenous women are inextricably linked to conversations about land and the ongoing practices of settler colonial dispossession (Arvin, Tuck & Morrill, 2013; Simpson, 2016). As Mohawk anthropologist Audra Simpson (2016) states,

> Indian women "disappear" because they have been deemed killable, rapeable, expendable. Their bodies have historically been rendered less valuable because of what they are taken to represent: land, reproduction, Indigenous kinship and governance, an alternative to heteropatriarchal and Victorian rules of descent. As such, they suffer disproportionately to other women (p. 6).

Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill (2013) add,

> The feminist concerns of white women, women of colour, and Indigenous women […] often differ and conflict with one another. In other words, within the context of land and settler colonialism, the issues facing Indigenous women, as inseparable from the issues facing Indigenous peoples as a whole, are resolved via decolonization and sovereignty, not (just) parity (p. 10).

As such, the mainstream of #metoo may not be promoting intersectional knowledge and activism because of a broader lack of acknowledgement of the privilege required in order to engage and the discursive and structural barriers that obstacle transgender women, women of colour, LGBT women, non-binary people, Two-Spirited women, Muslim women, immigrant women, women with disabilities, Indigenous women, low-income women, rural/northern women, and all of those who are positioned in the intersects of these and a multitude of other categories. Further, the kind of feminisms that Rose McGowan and other white celebrity

figureheads have promoted within the mainstream discourse of #metoo maintain, rather than challenge, normative subscriptions to settler colonial, heteropatriarchal, and cis-gendered conceptions of feminism and sexual violence. As such, these pathways of the #metoo movement that are increasingly dominating the conversation tend to promote an overly simplistic, Western, and white understanding of gender equality and inclusion as universal goals of the women's movement. This framework cannot contend with the sophisticated feminist epistemologies of women of colour and Indigenous women. Decolonial feminism, for instance, links sexual violence to ongoing projects of settler colonial dispossession and as such the goal is of decolonial feminism is to undermine claims of settler state sovereignty, not further inclusion and equality within the very same settler colonial systems that are propped up by historical and ongoing strategies of eradicating Indigenous peoples (Simpson, 2016; Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013).

Is #metoo a White Woman's Movement?

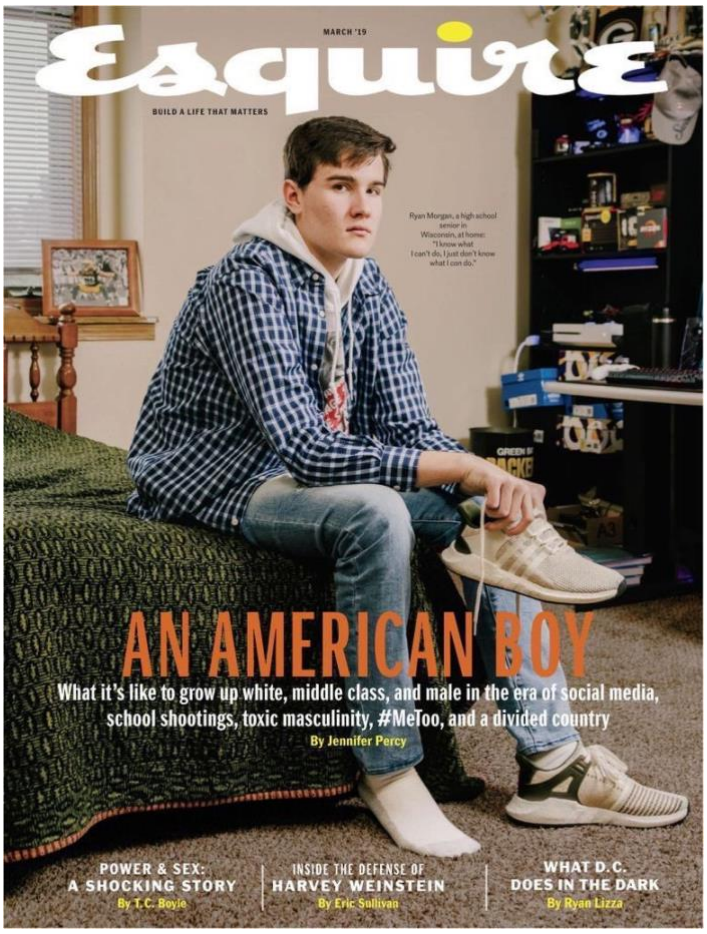
It is clear that sexual violence is an issue that requires an intersectional framework, but many white, privileged, celebrity #metoo movement spokespersons neglect to engage with an intersectional understanding of sexual violence meaningfully. Although exceptions exist, including *Variety Magazine's* decision to feature an in-depth interview with Tarana Burke as the cover story for their April 2018 issue, the experiences, stories, and contributions of marginalized women, women of colour, Indigenous women, and low-income women have been notably underdeveloped within much of the mainstream media coverage of the #metoo movement. Even in cases where media outlets have opted for non-celebrity spokespersons, many have still excluded the women of colour who initiated the #metoo movement and contributed to its resurgence.

In Variety Magazine's April 2018 article (Wagmeister, 2018) on the #metoo movement, Burke used the platform to critique the whitewashing of the #metoo movement in mainstream media. It seems these concerns may have fallen on deaf ears at the *Esquire* headquarters. Their featured story on the #metoo movement in their March 2019 issue focused on the plight and experience of middle-class white male teenagers (Percy, 2019). The impetus behind this decision was because the perspectives of young, middle class white male teenagers in the US were being overlooked in the #metoo discussion. Esquire's decision was a source of criticism by #metoo supporters online. As one twitter user tweeted in reply to Esquire's cover,

> Yes because the most important impact of the #metoo movement was the awkward confusion it's caused for white 17 year old bros. #boybye @esquire (@KatPfost, February 11, 2019).

Fig 6: Tarana Burke's Variety Magazine Spread (left, Variety Magazine, 2018)

Fig. 7: Esquire Magazine's #metoo Cover (right, Percy, 2019)



In all, these ongoing erasures are evocative of the 'hijacking' of the labours of people of colour as the #metoo movement enters into mainstream media and dominant discourses. As Corrine Purtill (2017) notes,

> This [#metoo] moment is the result of the collective labour of women of colour who turned private agonies into public battles on behalf of justice. As overdue and welcome as this reckoning feels, there's also the unsettling reality that a movement mainly built on the labour of women of colour has been co-opted by a discussion that prioritizes the experiences of victims who are white, wealthy, and privileged over those who are not.

What is more, Tambe (2018) has pointed out the primary instruments of redress in the mainstreamed #metoo, unlike the ‘me too' movement initially formed by Burke, re-inscribes forms of public shaming and punitive retribution that are already persistent strategies of racialized violence. She importantly notes,

> We know the history of how black men have been lynched based on unfounded allegations that they sexually violated white women. We know how many black men are unjustly incarcerated. The dynamics of #MeToo, in which due process has been reversed—with accusers' words taken more seriously than those of the accused—is a familiar problem in black communities. Maybe some black women want no part of this dynamic (Tambe, 2018, p. 200).

Criticisms of the trajectory of the #metoo movement as it enters the mainstream media from critical race theorists and intersectional feminists have often been raised to ensure the movement remains accountable to Tarana Burke's intersectional epistemological framework and to Black feminist epistemologies and ethics more broadly. As Burke aptly noted to *Time Magazine* after the #metoo movement went viral, "This work can't grow unless it's intersectional. We [women of colour] can't do it alone, and they [white women] can't do it alone. . . Until we change [how we interact], any advancement that we make in addressing this issue is going to be scarred by the fact that it wasn't across the board." (Burke in Cooney, 2017).

Attention must focus on intersecting systems of power and oppressions that are being largely excluded and overlooked within mainstream media coverage of #metoo. These criticisms are raised in the way the #metoo movement is currently playing out in mainstream media discourse that indicate that the #metoo movement's shift from the margins to the center is dislocating intersectional Black feminist epistemologies it is predicated upon and marginalizing the women of colour who produce this knowledge.

Concluding Remarks: Problematizing the Conditions That Made #metoo Possible

This chapter exemplifies that the #metoo movement cannot be essentialized to any distinct points of feminist cohesion on the issue of sexual violence because of how tenuous and contradictory anti-sexual violence activism can be. For instance, although I frame my anti-sexual violence activism through intersectional feminism and my goal is to identify and address the intersecting structures and relations of power of white supremacist, settler colonialism, capitalism, and heteropatriarchy through which sexual violence occurs. Others do not share this framing. It is certainly not held by Alyssa Milano, Rose McGowan, and many other Western, white, and privileged celebrity figureheads of the #metoo movement who have gauged their anti-sexual violence activist efforts through an unquestioned and troubling, white perspective.

Exclusionary politics have shaped the emerging #MeToo community and informed whose voices are pushed to the forefront within mainstream media and whose voices are silenced. The #metoo movement may have the potential to produce and promote intersectional and inclusive dialogue and feminist practice, but the mainstream trajectories of the #metoo movement seem to have severed ties from this vision. Therefore, if the mainstream trajectory of the #metoo movement no longer ascribes to Burke's intersectional Black feminist framework, it becomes crucial to ask, what is this branch of the #metoo movement actually doing? Serving what end, and importantly, for whom? Furthermore, what does the brand of feminism being promoted to the forefront of the #metoo movement actually consist of? How are various and competing feminist discourses being picked up by the media and advanced within the #metoo movement? Chapter 4 elucidates some responses to these questions.

CHAPTER 4: FRAGMENTED NARRATIVES: WHAT IS THE #METOO MOVEMENT?

The #MeToo movement has implications beyond gender. It makes you think deeply about power. Of course, there are many powerful, influential people who never make you feel uncomfortable. But that requires a power ethic of sorts, a sense of accountability. Entitlement is addictive (@Shehla_Rashid, October 20, 2018).

The #metoo movement is a branch of feminism: anti-God, anti-men, and the superiority of women. All it has done is cause further division between the sexes and harmed innocent men (like Judge Kavanaugh). Nothing good comes out of anti-God, pro-feminist movements (@laalex2 The Transformed Wife, September 25, 2019).

The #MeToo movement is a powerful force. But we wouldn't have reached this moment of reckoning without the determination and resilience of Black #women [like Anita Hill] who've spent decades holding their harassers accountable. #TrustBlackWomen

(@ppac Planned Parentood, January 20, 2018).

Although the #metoo movement has had a pronounced effect across the globe, there remains little agreement about what 'Me Too' actually means. In this chapter, I will analyze some competing understandings of the #metoo movement. Criticisms and challenges of the #metoo movement are contingent upon the epistemological frameworks and theoretical perspectives from within which they are launched. For this reason, it is necessary to situate the #metoo movement within the longer historical traditions of feminisms various perspectives.

Structure of Chapter

I begin with an in-depth exploration of me too. movement founder Tarana Burke's description of the #metoo movement as a strategy of anti-sexual violence activism through a framework that she has termed ‘empowerment through empathy.' Next, I explore the backlash against the #metoo movement from both *within* and *outside of* feminist scholarship and activism. I call specific attention to the comments made by French actress Catherine Deneuve and journalist Daphne Merkin. Deneuve and Merkin were some of the first to coin #metoo as a ‘witch-hunt,' a derogatory term that has become a popular way to malign the movement's purpose, and its

supporters. This section contextualizes anti-#metoo feminist sentiments within the longer history of feminist opposition to anti-rape activism (Bevacqua, 2000). Specifically, I explore how various post-feminist and sex-positive feminist frameworks have interacted with #metoo discourse.

The competing feminist perspectives and challenges I present in this chapter reveal that the #metoo movement cannot be neatly categorized, nor does feminist divisiveness about #metoo evoke a clearly defined ‘rift' between two feminist camps. Conflicting stances on the #metoo movement within feminism is not indicative of a new ‘sex war' between the liberal feminists and the radical feminists. Instead, I present the location of #metoo as fluid to assuage overly simplistic binary thinking. Instead, I present the #metoo movement as inherently complex phenomena, not central to any homogenous ‘feminist project.' We must view the #metoo movement as fragmented, always shifting its locale and always emerging, creating new paths, new narratives that will inevitably pose new possibilities, as well as new dangers. #metoo is being critiqued, undermined, and co-opted both within and outside of feminism to serve different purposes. In other words, the #metoo movement is always already in the process of being *translated into* different and competing feminist perspectives and is always in the process of being launched to advance different, and at times contradictory, feminist (and even at times, anti-feminist) agendas. These immanent and always emerging processes are imbued with unforeseen possibilities, implications, and potential dangers that I will be explored further in chapter 5, which inspects some of the fragmented trajectories of #metoo through a number of its legal and extra-legal implications.

What I present here is a preliminary analysis, drawing from the burgeoning literature on the #metoo movement, when possible, which has been conducted independently of this project.[14] I draw upon some of these sources to bolster critical exploration into the implications of the #metoo movement on feminist anti-sexual violence theory and practice. Nevertheless, there remains a substantial dearth of research into #metoo, particularly theoretical investigations into its emergence and conditions of possibility. This thesis aims to address this gap. In several cases, the #metoo movement has been used to mobilize deeply racist, heteropatriarchal, and anti-feminist narratives. I explore many different examples that explicate how the #metoo movement does not cohere around a universal intersectional feminist agenda. Developing from the arguments in chapter 3, this chapter commits further inquiry into the competing feminist, post-feminist, and anti-feminist perspectives from which frame the fragmented narratives of the #metoo movement and the tensions therein.

After exploring a number of the feminist frameworks found within the #metoo movement, this chapter concludes by considering some of the post-structural critiques of the practice of grounding non-static, burgeoning social ideas like ‘Me Too' to particular descriptions and the dangers of truncating intersectional inclusion of competing or alternative accounts. Building from the analytical path presented in chapter 3 this chapter highlights the significance of genealogical analysis through the writing of the history of its present, and ongoing, emergence

[14] This includes Kaitlynn Mendes, Jessica Ringrose, and Jessalyn Keller's (2019) book titled Digital Feminist Activism: Girls and Women Fight Back against Rape Culture which presents one of the first glances at the implications of the #metoo movement to the online and cultural landscape surrounding rape culture and sexual violence. Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller (2019) deftly parse out some of the complexities of digital feminist activism that pose several advantages and dangers for sexual violence survivors and activists online upon which the #metoo movement has shone a light. Also important to recognize here are the dissertations (Andersen, 2018), academic essays (Phipps, 2019; Rodino-Colocino, 2018; Tambe, 2018; Onwauchi-Willig, 2018) and Op-Ed's (MacKinnon, 2018) that have added critical debate and guided my inquiry into the #metoo movement.

of the #metoo movement. I present an analysis developed by post-structural and intersectional feminist epistemologies. The goal of this chapter is to understand how the #metoo movement is positioned within the feminist movement more broadly, discussing the tensions within.

me too. to #metoo: Tarana Burke's 'Empowerment through Empathy'

Although 'me too' is best known as a viral hashtag that garnered global media attention across 2017 and 2018, the term dates back over a decade. In 2006, Black feminist activist Tarana Burke was working in Alabama at her co-founded organization *Just Be Inc.,* a youth organization that supports the health and well-being of Black women and girls. At the time, Burke encountered several Black girls who were disclosing experiences of sexual violence to her and other organization workers in the course of their programming. Burke recounts that the 'me too' slogan originated from "the deepest, darkest place in [her] soul" when she cut off a conversation with a 13-year-old girl participating in their youth camp when the girl began to disclose that her mother's boyfriend was molesting her.

> I will never forget the look on her face. I will never forget the look because I think about her all of the time. The shock of being rejected, the pain of opening a wound only to have it abruptly forced closed again - it was all on her face. And as much as I love children, as much as I cared about that child, I could not find the courage that she had found. I could not muster the energy to tell her that I understood, that I connected, that I could feel her pain. I couldn't help her release her shame, or impress upon her that nothing that happened to her was her fault. 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, Just Be Inc, 2017, emphasis in original).

As a survivor of sexual violence herself, Burke recounts that the girl's story forced her to reckon with her pain, paralyzing her from being able to give the girl the help and support she needed.

Walking away from the girl was an action she regrets to this day. The encounter continued to resonate with Burke and ultimately led her to create a Myspace page under the slogan ‘me too' as a way to break the silence around the widespread prevalence of sexual violence against Black women and girls and the lack of adequate supports and resources for them. The page soon gained traction as a space where survivors began disclosing their experiences and lent support to one another (Snyder & Lopez, 2017). Burke states of the original me too. Myspace campaign:

> There was no such thing as viral back then. But if there was, this would be as close to that as possible. Within like a week or so, we had so many responses from women who were like, "Thank you for doing this," "This is really amazing," "How can we be involved," "We need help." And we realized this is bigger than we thought. (Burke, 2017 to Snyder & Lopez, 2017)

Seen here, me too. has an established history as a digital feminist movement that not only predates the #metoo hashtag but, Burke argues, will continue to live on after the current popularity fades away. What is more, me too. originated as one of the first digital feminist campaigns against sexual violence.

Digital feminist activism began to take off and have wider visibility by 2010 after Facebook and Twitter were established social media platforms (Fotopoulou, 2016), and the popularity of Myspace had already faded (Hartung, 2011). It seems the ‘virality' of the me too. movement was forgotten in tandem with Myspace; feminists who document the history of anti-sexual violence digital feminist campaigns cite the anti-shaming and street harassment efforts of *Hollaback!* and the *SlutWalk* that began in the early 2010s as the starting point of online anti-sexual violence organizing (e.g. Fotopoulou, 2016; Mendes, Ringrose, & Keller, 2018).

Although these movements have been instructive in the growth of digital feminist activism, they remain spaces facilitated mainly by white, university-educated, celebrity, and/or middle to upper-class women. Rarely are the formative contributions of feminist movements created by Black and Indigenous women, that target the specific needs and concerns of Black women and girls, credited in this literature. Yet, Black feminist theory has been central to the feminist epistemologies and organizational strategies that predominate in digital feminist activism.

Black Feminist Thought, Intersectional Feminism and #metoo

Black feminism is broadly defined as theory and knowledge produced within the "dialectic of oppression and activism," where Black women are located. Black feminism is created by and for Black women in the "tensions between the suppression of African-American women's ideas and [their] intellectual activism in the face of that suppression" (Collins, 2000, p. 3). Black women's specific and unique, patriarchal-white supremacist oppression in North America is the juncture at which Black women have produced sophisticated intellectual knowledge and constructions of reality that undermines the nexus of oppressions that inform their lives and empower forms of resistance, self-determination, and self-valuation. Patricia Hill Collins (2000) has noted that the ‘all Black settings' created and perpetuated by U.S. ghettoization and segregation policies as well as Black women's domestic work inside and outside the context of slavery, "provide the material backdrop for a unique Black women's standpoint" (Collins, 2000, p. 11). This standpoint has been crucial in the production of intersectional feminism.

Intersectional feminism is rooted within and cannot be separated from Black feminist theory and practice. Intersectional feminism is a theory and practices first coined by Black feminist legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw to understand that we live, at all times, as

simultaneously gendered, raced, and classed and these categories are inscribed and proscribed by one another (Crenshaw, 1989). In practice, intersectional feminisms exist in opposition to the single-axis erasure of racialized women that prevails within a number of contemporary feminisms that consciously or unconsciously situate sexism, patriarchal oppression, and gendered violence as white women's problems (Crenshaw, 1989).

When experiences of gender-based violence are assumed to be universal, neglecting these intersectional forces and relations of power, feminist theory and practice tend to play into problematic white feminist epistemologies and normative scripts about gender equity and the women's movement. "Focus on the most privileged group members marginalizes those who are multiply-burdened and obscures claims that cannot be understood as resulting from discrete sources of discrimination" states Crenshaw, "This focus on otherwise-privileged group members creates a distorted analysis of racism and sexism because the operative conceptions of race and sex become grounded in experiences that actually represent only a subset of a much more complex phenomenon. (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 140). It is important to remember that patriarchy does not only malign, oppress, discredit, and misrepresent women on the basis of gender, but intersects with white supremacy, colonialism, and capitalism, to malign, oppress, discredit, and women on the multi-faceted axes of gender *and* race, class, religion, sexual orientation, ability, age, and so on. Not only this, as noted in chapter 1, white women, including some of Canada's ‘Famous Five' members, have often been instrumental in this violence against non-white women.

In an article written for *The Guardian,* Moira Donegan (2018) states that the #metoo movement takes "into account the ways that oppression looks different for different people, and how individuals experience oppression along more than one axis at once." The #metoo

movement is situated within the context of intersectional Black feminist knowledge production. Burke's popular 2018 TedTalk, *Me Too is a Movement, Not a Moment* lays out her framework explicitly,

> This is a movement about the one in four girls and the one in six boys who are sexually assaulted every year and carry those wounds into adulthood. It's about 84 percent of trans women who will be sexually assaulted this year and the indigenous women who are three-and-a-half times more likely to be sexually assaulted than any other group. Or people with disabilities, who are seven times more likely to be sexually abused. It's about the 60 percent of black girls like me who will be experiencing sexual violence before they turn 18, and the thousands and thousands of low-wage workers who are being sexually harassed right now on jobs that they can't afford to quit. This is a movement about the far-reaching power of empathy. And so it's about the millions and millions of people who, one year ago, raised their hands to say, "Me too," and their hands are still raised while the media that they consume erases them and politicians who they elected to represent them pivot away from solutions. Understandably, the push-pull of this unique, historical moment feels like an emotional roller-coaster that has rendered many of us numb. This accumulation of feelings that so many of us are experiencing together, across the globe, is collective trauma (Burke, 2018)

Burke's focus on context-specific standpoints alongside a collective understanding and experience of sexual violence occurs in tandem with intersectional understandings of power and oppression firing on multiple axes. Burke alerts us to the central importance she places on the understanding that sexual violence is universal, and yet experienced, inflicted, and redressed differently and unequally between white and non-white women. This sophisticated understanding of the dialectical interaction between structural oppression and individual social locations is an understanding of power, oppression, and resistance that is developed by and remains rooted within intersectional Black feminist thought (Crenshaw, 1984; Collins, 2000; hooks, 1981; Davis, 1981). Burke situates the #metoo movement as a site of intellectual production and resistance that exists within this "ongoing dialectic of oppression and activism" (Collins, 2002, p. 3) of Black feminist thought.

Burke asserts in her TedTalk the central importance of situating sexual violence as both a structurally constituted and relationally-specific form of gendered, racialized, and classed violence, that is inseparable from webs of power and oppression. Black feminist theorist Patricia Hill Collins (2000) has been instrumental in bringing these structural and post-structural understandings of power together to create a rich understanding of systems of power and oppression that has informed several different feminist epistemologies, including Burke's understanding of #metoo.

> Black women's location at the intersection of multiple systems of power, especially those of race and gender, generates a distinctive pattern of relationship to violence. On the one hand, intersections of race and gender that frame the category 'black women' generate a shared set of challenges for all African-American women, however differentially placed in other social hierarchies they may be (Collins, 1998, p. 926).

Collins (1998) understands relations of power to be organized hierarchically and notes how systems of power act in relation to one another to constitute women's experiences of oppression *as women*. Collins (1998) adds a layer of complexity by arguing that women are differently, and unequally situated in multiple social locations. Therefore, Black women may share a similar set of challenges and collectively share similarities in their racialized and gendered experience, but Collins also understands how these social locations and relations of power are non-static and layered by relations of power and changing social locations, experiences, and identities, which cannot be overlooked.

Burke's framing of #metoo is predicated upon a similarly dynamic understanding of power. White supremacist, settler colonial, and patriarchal relations of power rely upon and constitute one another and produce and reinforce the conditions necessary for sexual violence to occur, but these "distinctive patterns of relationships to violence" (Collins, 1998, p. 926) which frame systems of power, also produce resistance. The #metoo movement emerges as a form of

resistance to systems of oppressive power from subjects that have shared experiences of violence but are all uniquely situated within different social locations in which their experiences diverge.

With her Black feminist intersectional framework of sexual violence established, we may unpack how Burke frames the path forward for #metoo as a strategy of anti-sexual violence activism. Burke develops her perspective of #metoo by emphasizing the strategic importance of empowerment through an empathetic recognition of contextually specific yet collective traumas. Burke defines this approach to anti-sexual violence organizing as finding ways to support and empower victims of sexual violence from underprivileged communities by knowing they are not alone in their circumstances and building supportive networks. These networks are people "who can empathize with each other and who have a vested interest in the survival and triumph of other women like them" (Just Be Inc., 2017).

#metoo has resurged through a similar practice of ‘survivors supporting survivors' that informed the original me too. movement. Burke has emphasized the importance of retaining this strategy. Burke advocates for solidarity across women's specific standpoints and experiences and mobilizing social action through non-hierarchical networks of support amongst victims, survivors, advocates, and allies. Aligning with these goals, empathetic support of, and advocacy for, victims and survivors have been core components of the 2017 #metoo movement. This can be seen clearly in Lebanese-Canadian poet Najwa Zebian's tweet,

> When you say #metoo, you're no longer alone in the struggle to be heard. You're now part of #wetoo. And we can change the world together. (@najwazebian, October 24, 2017).

Empathy is central to the #metoo framework presented by Burke, and as Zebian's tweet indicates, it is used as a means for solidarity building and support amongst survivors. However, there are many ways empathy is introduced into social movement strategies.

Conceptualizing Empathy

Organizing movements based on empathy may seem like an inherently promising endeavour. However, social justice mobilization through empathy has been subject to ample criticism. Sara Ahmed (2004) states that "empathy sustains the difference that it may seek to overcome" (p. 30). Ahmed (2004) argues that empathy reinscribes the distinction between the oppressive and the oppressed group that social justice movements seek to eradicate.

For this reason, Ahmed (2004) views empathy as an unproductive strategy to organize social justice work around because it runs into problematic tendencies of reinforcing, rather than dismantling power hierarchies by setting up a boundary between those that empathize and those for whom we empathize. This overlooks the power and agency of marginalized groups to realize their own visions of justice and equality. Also, empathy does not force otherwise privileged allies to reflexively confront how they are implicated in the marginalization of the groups they seek to support. Megan Boler (1997) has described this as ‘passive empathy.' As Michelle Rodino-Colocino (2018) summarizes Boler's concept,

> Such empathy is "passive" in that it enables oppressors, and even oppressed people, to project feelings of commonality, understanding, as well as fear and guilt rather than do the work of being self-reflexive. Passive empathy is the feeling of being in another's shoes without the risk of actually doing so (p. 96).

Therefore, some forms of empathy may consequently undermine social movement, as "[p]assive empathy produces no action towards justice but situates the powerful Westerneye/I as the judging subject never called upon to cast her gaze at her own reflection" (Boler, 1997, p. 259).

However, Michelle Rodino-Colocino (2018) has argued that the empathy advanced in Burke's approach to #metoo is different from ‘passive' empathy because it centers around "listening rather than distancing or looking at speakers as ‘others'" (p. 97). After all, it was

Burke's desire to communicate her shared understanding to a young Black girl who was being molested that prompted her to create the me too. movement in the first place. Indeed, Burke's ongoing emphasis on support and solidarity amongst survivors as a strategy of political activism and empowerment approaches empathy differently. Namely, Burke's framing of empathy is rooted in Black feminist epistemologies that are more optimistic about deploying empathy in activism.

Patricia Hill Collins (2000) and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1988) have respectively noted that empathy is the necessary means required for white women to engage in feminist activism and theory across cultural, ethnic, and racial privileges. Collins (2000) articulates that "coalitions are built via recognition of one's own group position and seeing how the social location of groups has been constructed in conjunction with one another. Empathy, not sympathy, becomes the basis of coalition." (p. 247). This is the clear distinction between Collins and Ahmed's understandings of empathy. Whereas Ahmed critiques empathy for being a passive means of engaging in social justice issues, Collins argues that empathy requires the self-reflexivity and a critical gaze at one's positionality that Ahmed states coalition-building through empathy lacks. Ahmed and Collins both agree that self-reflexivity is required for a meaningful coalition to occur, but they depart ways in their understanding of the possibility of empathy as a means to achieve this. Collins (2000) elucidates her understanding of empathy in the following example,

> It becomes more difficult, for example, for U.S. White women to retain moral credibility as survivors of sexual violence without simultaneously condemning the benefits that accompany racial violence enacted on their behalf. Similarly, claims by some African-American men that racial oppression is more fundamental than gender oppression sound hollow in a context of shirked responsibility for their violence against African-American women. Both cases reflect how White women and African-American men both experience

> the victimization that can serve as a foundation for building empathy with other groups and bear some responsibility for systemic violence targeted to other groups (p. 247).

Burke's understanding of empathy aligns closely with Collins' approach towards empathy as a tool for feminist coalition-building across relations of power and racial privileges. Empathy requires self-reflexivity of one's locations in the nexus of oppression, as well as acknowledgement of one's complicity to the violence that targets other groups. These are conversations that cannot be disconnected from one another. We are all uniquely positioned in social locations that afford us privileges, and that oppress us (Frye, 2004). A white woman's experience of systemic violence as a result of her gendered oppression within systems of patriarchy does not halt the benefits afforded to her as a result of her privileged position within systems of white supremacy and settler colonialism. Nor should the systemic violence inflicted on white women be discounted because of her otherwise privileged status. White women and non-white women's experiences of sexual violence are informed by different locations in the nexus of patriarchy, colonialism, and white supremacy. Sexual violence against women is a strategy of domination that is inscribed in the junctures of this multi-axis nexus.

Therefore, while white women may be subjected to sexual violence because of their subordinated location in systems of patriarchy, Black women are subjected to sexual violence because of their subordination in the intersecting systems of patriarchy and white supremacy. These are systems of power that cannot be separated from one another, nor can they be equated to non-Black women's experiences without losing sight of the patterns of violence Black women experience *as Black women, specifically*. Although white women may be able to empathize with Black women through a shared experience of sexual violence, the contexts within which Black women's experiences of sexual violence occur are conditioned by, amongst other things,

systemic racialized oppression that white women benefit from and are implicated in. Therefore, in order to meaningfully empathize, build solidarity, and support survivors across cultural, ethnic, gendered, sexed, classed, and religious terrains, white women, must reckon with the uncomfortable reality that their privilege outside of gender is constituted by systemic violence against non-white women.

Active empathy, rather than passive empathy, can be a productive political strategy for anti-sexual violence organizing because it requires self-reflexivity and in-depth attention to intersecting locations of oppression and privilege from the outset. A necessary principle for white women's engagement with #metoo is to reflectively situate themselves through ongoing questioning of whether or not their engagement is actively recognizing and attending to their privileges from white supremacy and settler colonialism, and listening, rather than distancing, from the necessary criticisms raised by women of colour about the way women of colours' oppression ensures white women's privileges.

Empathy is a tie that binds survivors together across these terrains, both in the shared understandings of violence that fosters solidarity and in recognition of positions of privilege and power in different and unequal social locations (Collins, 1998). Burke argues that empathy understood this way produces effective forms of empowerment for survivors. The development of empowerment through empathy is an interaction that also requires further exploration.

Conceptualizing Empowerment

Notions of feminisms empowering qualities have become increasingly common on social media. However, viewing empowerment as a feminist coalition strategy is a source of ample debate. Keren Darmon (2014) notes that digital feminist practices increasingly tend to promote self-

monitoring, disciplining, and individualizing ideas of empowerment by defining the term as a person's individual freedom of self-expression and personal choice in how they behave and present themselves online. This has installed market feminism and commodity feminism rhetorics through ‘Femvertising,' an increasingly popular advertising tactic to sell products by using pro-female messages and imagery that is said to "empower women and girls" (Hunt, 2017). However, it is questionable if buying a t-shirt with the slogan ‘The Future is Female,' or ‘This is What a Feminist Looks Like' is actually empowering for women, particularly when the production of these commodities often relies on the exploited labour of low-income female workers in sweatshops.[15] In this sense, the injection of empowerment into digital campaigns has been approached with skepticism by feminist scholars and activists. The term has been a potent strategy of commodity feminism, devoid of theoretical substance that empowerment as a concept and organizing strategy holds within different feminist perspectives. For this reason, further clarification of how Burke's approach differs from this conceptualization of empowerment is necessary.

For instance, sex-positive feminisms exemplify a growing space where notions of empowerment have been more clearly articulated as a central organizing and consciousness-raising strategy online. Sex-positive feminist frameworks emphasize sexual freedom as an essential component of women's freedom. In the digital sphere, this has manifested in protests against censorship, the objectification of women's bodies, and slut-shaming women for their dress and behaviour. The SlutWalk movement, which began in 2011, is a recognizable example

[15] In 2014, a UK brand Whistles, Elle fashion magazine, and the feminist campaign group The Fawcett Society faced a massive scandal when it was revealed that their collaborative "This Is What a Feminist Looks Like" T-shirts which sold for £43 (73 CAD) were made in Mauritian sweatshops by women who earned less than 62p (1.50 CAD) an hour (Johnston, 2014).

of an online and public protest that promotes a sex-positive framework of empowerment (Darmon, 2014).

However, Burke's approach to empowerment does not align with commodity-driven or sex-positive approaches that increasingly pervade social media. Once again, Burke aligns closer to Patricia Hill Collins (2000) idea of empowerment as a collective political practice of destabilizing oppressive patriarchal and white supremacist structures and discourses. Rodino-Colocino (2018) argues that another critical aspect of the #metoo movement involves "exposing systems of oppression and privilege of which sexual harassment and assault are cause and effect" (p. 97). As Burke has noted,

> [T]he power of this movement of "Me Too," this power of empathy, this power of connection, is really about empowering people to be survivors, to be resilient, and also to make really visible that sexual violence is not about people's individual actions, that this is a systemic problem that then requires different types of responses to deal with how systemic this problem actually is (Burke in González & Goodman, 2017).

Burke's approach to #metoo evokes intersectional Black feminist theorizing in the way she conceptualizes empowerment through empathy as a strategy of feminist mobilizing against systemic patriarchal and white supremacist oppression that sexual violence occurs within and further reinforces. In this framework, empathy is the necessary first step for empowerment to be realized. Empathy requires self-reflexivity and identification of privilege in order to foster empowerment. Moving towards positioning ourselves within systemic relations of power, privilege, and oppression makes possible forms of empowerment that will undermine the intersecting constraints and inequalities placed on women across racial, sexed, religious and classed terrains.

#metoo: Empowerment through Empathy

Although Ahmed (2004) has raised her own criticisms of the use of empathy as a strategy for social justice action, her theorizing around affect is particularly salient when we approach Burke's Black feminist framing of empowerment through empathy as an organizing strategy of #metoo. If, as Ahmed theorizes in *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004), emotions are the grounding of social movements and can become a crucial space of political work, then empathy is what forms #metoo's social alliance. It is the affective power of the movement that brings actors into the fold and through which they collectivize and engage in political activity, "in which emotions align some bodies with others, as well as stick different figures together, by the way they move us" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 195). For Burke, this has been the key to creating a safe space for survivors through the #metoo hashtag. Rather than flattening out the movement to address violence against women, *qua* women, Burke stresses that #metoo discussions pay attention to, amongst other things, the raced, classed, and gendered systems of oppression in which sexual violence occurs and has critiqued news media outlets who have attempted to separate #metoo from feminist socio-political, historical knowledge about sexual violence. "No matter how much I keep talking about power and privilege," Burke stated in an interview for *The Nation,* "they [media in coverage of #metoo] keep bringing it back to individuals ... It defeats the purpose to not have those folks centered—I'm talking black and brown girls, queer folks" (Burke in Adetiba, 2017).

What defines the #metoo movement for Burke is not that it coheres around a universal experience of trauma from sexual violence, but rather that a collective is constituted across different (and unequal) social locations and relations of power and oppression because of the affective power of empathy that requires self-reflectivity of power, privilege, and accountability

for intersecting gendered, raced and classed violence to create solidarity amongst survivors across these gendered, raced, and classed hierarchies.

Italian feminist Nira Yuval-Davis (1997) has discussed these forms of structured yet dynamic coalition-building strategies as ‘transversal politics' that operate through both ‘rooting' within a particular social context but also ‘shifting' to engage transversally in dialogue with others who may be operating within the same social context but through different social locations. Transversal dialogue should be "based on the principle of remaining centred in one's own experiences while being empathetic to the differential positionings of the partners in the dialogue, thus enabling the participants to arrive at a different perspective from that of hegemonic tunnel vision" (Yuval-Davis, 1997, p. 19). Burke's understanding of the #metoo movement's coalition strategy as empowerment through empathy is an example of transversal politics in action. In this sense, what constitutes the #metoo movement is the way it has been constructed by, and for survivors, as a *heterogeneous* category, keeping close attention to both the specific and complex contexts in which sexual violence occurs. Several #metoo supporters on Twitter have evoked this framework.

> Black women have been saying #MeToo since slavery (@DrStaceyPatton)
>
> #MeToo Sexual assault affects the LGBTQ+ ppl as much as it does straight.
> None of us are alone, all of us can help stop it (@samueljdonovan, October 15, 2017)
>
> This one goes out to the working women whose #metoo you'll never read cause they're too busy cleaning your home or serving you food […]
> The ones who'll never be online
> The ones who have no legal rights
> The ones who just have to take it
> The ones who are invisible
> Ellas
> (@xeni, October 24, 2017)

These tweets call attention to patriarchy, racialized oppression, and heteronormativity that produce and reinforce sexual violence alongside other intersecting forms of systemic violence. The tweets are evocative of Burke's empowerment through empathy framework by extending empathy in a way that calls attention to heteronormative, gendered, raced, and classed privileges and the relations of power that marginalize groups across their social locations in these systems of power. In turn, empathy is used as a strategy of coalition building, extending support, and empowering survivors by calling attention to, undermining, and destabilizing intersecting systems of racialized, classed, and gendered oppression.

Although Burke has presented a clear feminist framework of #metoo that situates sexual violence and anti-sexual violence activism within structural inequalities and intersecting relations of power, oppression, and resistance, mainstream media coverage of the #metoo movement has often ignored these complexities. Exclusionary politics have shaped the emerging #metoo community and informed whose voices are pushed to the forefront within mainstream media and whose are silenced. Despite the widespread supportive engagement online with the #metoo hashtag, #metoo supporters and sexual violence survivors have experienced no lack of criticism, bullying, and harassment. Clearly, Burke's framework is not the only way the #metoo movement is understood. This is evident in the ample criticism and backlash against #metoo that has come from various other feminist and non-feminist perspectives.

(Anti) Feminist Backlash: New Possibilities and Dangers in Burgeoning #metoo Narratives

Feminist theorizing and activism have always faced backlash that has attempted to challenge its very existence. Feminist organizing and backlash are inextricably linked (e.g. the #120dB campaign, feminist criticism of #metoo as a 'witch hunt' fuelling anti-feminist backlash).

Backlash both thwarts and informs feminism and the cultural conceptions of sexual violence. In many ways, anti-feminist backlash informs the fragmented manifestations of the #metoo movement. For this reason, anti-backlash cannot be dismissed from this project. Understanding backlash, not only to feminist activism and feminist thought but to anti-rape politics and activism, in particular, is vital to engage with.

Feminism theory and activism have always been subject to attack. However, with the rise of far-right extremism and nationalism across the Western world, overt misogyny and racism appear to be increasing. For instance, in January of 2019, a workshop at the London School of Economics lead by Kimberlé Crenshaw was aggressively interrupted by a man who talked over Crenshaw, "shouted misogynist invective" (Hemmings, 2019), threatened staff and students in attendance, and had to be physically removed from the premises. Aarti Narsee, a master's student who was in attendance during the attack recounted of the experience in a submission to the feminist blog *Nasty Woman,*

> Some in the room feared that this man might have a weapon and might have intentions of attacking the feminists in the room (because it has happened before). Others were reminded of past violent personal incidents suffered at the hands of men. Safe to say that this episode will be etched in our memory. Feeling upset about the ordeal, I took to social media to post both the highlight of my day- meeting Prof Crenshaw- and the lowlight- toxic masculinity. Many people were supportive and sympathetic. One man apologised to me, stating that it was horrific that the gender students had to deal with this. Another, however, chose to respond, "You need to get over your fears at some point right?" I was livid. To imply that women are the ones who need to change their behaviour is problematic and outrageous. I responded sarcastically, as I usually do to these types of comments. This was followed by another message: " I think everyone needs to change their behaviour actually, but you know how these feminists are…Always ready to defend ‘women' at the drop of a hat." I cannot even put into words the rage that filtered through my body from head to toe as I read this message. My responses that floated through my head: "Is it you who is getting raped, murdered or beaten by your male intimate partner, or you who is cat called when you walk around everyday, or you who doesn't get paid as equally as your male colleague or you who feels a ball of fear welling up inside of you when you walk home at night and see a

> man across the street? While we won the battle for that day, the war was far from over (Narsee, 2019).

Intersectional feminist spaces are treated with hostility, and the women who create these spaces are attacked, maligned, and undermined on a daily basis. In her official statement of response about the attack, LSE Gender Department head Clare Hemming notes,

> Attacks on feminism and feminists are becoming commonplace across the globe. From Brazil to Sweden, right wing populism relies on racism, misogyny and homophobia to entrench hatred as a fundamental part of how it flourishes. […] Such attempts to disrupt feminist spaces are familiar from repeated attempts to silence feminist work and generate a climate of hostility towards feminist, anti-racist, anti-homophobic practice. These attacks are not new of course - those interrogating the naturalness of gender, race or sexuality hierarchies have always been positioned as a threat to family and nation - but they have a new intensity in the context of the current increase of right wing nationalisms and populisms. And this is of course why we need intersectional theorising more than ever. (Hemmings, 2019)

Feminist spaces have increasingly come under attack as right-wing nationalism, and the sexism, racism and homophobia it reinforces have intensified in recent years across the globe. Canada has not been immune to this uptick in overt far-right extremism. A *Globe and Mail* investigation of a far-right private online chatroom called the Canadian Super Players found that users strategized pathways to promote anti-immigration, anti-Semitic, Islamophobic, sexist, homophobic, and racist messaging in mainstream politics (Carranco & Milton, 2019). These far-right spaces hold strong anti-feminist sentiments. For instance, one user who went by the online handle ‘Rusty' and who claimed to be a member of the Canadian Armed Forces recounted for the amusement of other members several incidents where he physically harassed his female co-workers. Rusty and other members would discuss their yearning for a Canadian white ethnostate, eagerly talking about RaHoWa or the ‘Racial Holy War,' the day "whites would rise up and take back what was, in their view, rightfully theirs from non-whites and feminists in Canada" (Carranco & Milton, 2019).

As a movement widely understood to endorse feminist sentiments (despite debates within), it is understandable why white supremacist and heteropatriarchal subcultures of what seems to be a rapidly expanding ‘far-right' have been home to some of the most incendiary backlash against #metoo. Anti-feminist critic and British personality Piers Morgan has made several derogatory remarks towards other high-profile celebrities and organizations who have rallied behind the #metoo movement. After Gillette's 2018 SuperBowl ad, "The Best a Man Can Get" aired with a pointed message for men about sexual harassment and the #metoo movement, Morgan tweeted,

> I've used @Gillette razors my entire adult life but this absurd virtue-signalling [politically correct] guff may drive me away to a company less eager to fuel the current pathetic global assault on masculinity.
> Let boys be damn boys.
> Let men be damn men.
> (@piersmorgan, January 14, 2019)

Often the imagined subjects of anti-feminist backlash is the angry, white, cis-gendered male. Although this is often the case, anti-feminist sentiments are far more pervasive and extend further than male-dominated far-right extremist online chatrooms. For instance, the term ‘getting me too'd' is a term coined by Black American rapper Kanye West that is defined on *Urban Dictionary* as an instance, "when a woman Ruins Your Life by accusing you of sexual assault or sexual harassment without any evidence or pass the time that any evidence could be collected" (Urban Dictionary, 2018). West has publicly defended a number of prominent men who have been accused of sexual assault and misconduct through the #metoo movement. These include rappers A$AP Rocky, Tekashi 6ix9ine, and comedian Louis C.K.

In addition, the effects of #metoo backlash have gone beyond online harassment, critical remarks, and derogatory comments in the Twitterverse. In fact, following the ‘Weinstein effect,'

in which several high-profile men were publicly denounced and ousted from their professions, a growing number of men have reported feeling reluctant to work with or mentor women in the workplace (Gourguechon, 2018). In other words, the response has been to shut women out, take away opportunities for advancement or educational development, and remove support from their colleagues. The fear ingrained within these sentiments, whether they are explicit or subversive, paints #metoo as a dangerous form of 'vigilante justice' women have taken up to take down powerful men. Tamara Burke has commented on these anti-#metoo sentiments in her TedTalk,

> And then, there's the backlash. We've all heard it. "The Me Too Movement is a witch hunt." Right? "Me Too is dismantling due process." Or, "Me Too has created a gender war." The media has been consistent with headline after headline that frames this movement in ways that make it difficult to move our work forward, and right-wing pundits and other critics have these talking points that shift the focus away from survivors. So suddenly, a movement that was started to support all survivors of sexual violence is being talked about like it's a vindictive plot against men. (Burke, 2018)

As the #metoo movement is being picked up and narrated outside of the confines of its online community, it is also entering into mainstreams that are deeply enmeshed in these white supremacist, anti-immigration, nationalist socio-political manifestations. Yes, perhaps the #metoo movement is introducing feminist thought to new masses at an unprecedented, mainstream scale in direct opposition to the current anti-feminist socio-political climate, but the intensification of racism and white supremacist sentiments cannot be separated from this conversation nor can be disconnected from feminism itself. This is evident in the way the #metoo movement acts as a springboard for white supremacist and nationalist extremism.

The United States President's comments have been perhaps the most notable example. Siding with the accused, among whom he is also included, Trump has argued that the #metoo movement is a political tool to 'take down' powerful men. In this way, backlashers have

weaponized victimization against sexual assault survivors. Using the ‘man-hating feminist' trope, so the argument goes, "#metoo is not addressing violence, it is inflicting violence against men!"

In Germany, the #120dB campaign was used to promote anti-immigration politics and white supremacy through the growing popularity of the #metoo movement in 2018. The hashtag, which referenced the volume of most pocket alarms carried by some women as a defence against street harassment in Europe, appeared in January 2018 alongside a video that blamed immigrants and refugees for sexual violence in Europe. The video invited women to join the ‘resistance' by sharing their experiences of ‘imported violence' (Mast, 2018). At the same time, a number of far-right extremists who supported the #120dB campaign derided the high-profile women who were using the #metoo platform to speak out against Harvey Weinstein and other high-powered white men in Hollywood. The #120dB campaign actively piggy-backed off of the heightened public sensitivity to gender-based violence to promote racist, anti-immigrant sentiments to white women.

These more subversive form of backlash are harder to identify because rather than outright admonishing women and inciting further violence against women, misogyny, victim-blaming, and rape culture narrative, as seen in the comments by Piers Morgan and within the Canadian Super Players chatroom, they attempt to appeal to white women specifically through racist tropes of the predisposition of people of colour to criminal behaviour. The supposed threat of Black men raping white women has been a longstanding and particularly deleterious racist stereotype, with false accusations resulting in brutal, public lynching of Black men and boys (Tambe, 2018).

The way the #metoo movement is operating online and in the mainstream media are incredibly varied and often contradictory because of these layered attacks and forms of anti-feminist backlash that are launched against – and also through – the #metoo movement. The backlash, in many ways, further incited engagement with #metoo, as anti-sexual violence advocates weighed in on the #metoo movement via critiques and admonishments of rape cultural narratives and misogynistic behaviour by anti-#metoo backlashers.

> Probably my top grievance with men's retaliation against the #MeToo movement is that this is the most they've ever thought about sexual assault, while every day since I was 18 I've taken my birth control and thought to myself "If I get raped at least I can't get pregnant (@sarahbuerker, October 22, 2018).

It is important however to understand the complexity of backlash and how it works to inform and intervene upon the #metoo movement, whether it be overt forms of backlash against women and feminism as a broad category, or more subversive, but no less dangerous, forms of white supremacist anti-feminist backlash that are intended to appeal to white women. These forms of anti-feminist backlash engage with the #metoo movement in ways that make it particularly important to question the power and possibilities for the production of anti-Black, anti- intersectional, and white supremacist frameworks of the #metoo movement, like the #120dB campaign, that cannot be so easily dismissed as anti-feminist invective.

Therefore, the war Narsee (2019) describes in her blog post is not only between feminists and the anti-feminists who interrupt and challenge the physical and digital feminist spaces created by women of colour. Although the attack on Crenshaw at LSE and the subsequent belittling of Narsee's experience is a clear example of the vitriol and hatred that has long been thrown at feminism in general, this battle is not merely a fight between ‘feminists' as a universal, or easily defined group, and ‘anti-feminists' as a universal, or easily defined opposing group.

This is a layered attack constituted by the nexus of intersectional power relations that exist *within feminism itself.*

Feminist Culpability in Anti-#metoo Backlash

As I have argued throughout this project, the type of feminisms picked up and promoted within mainstream media coverage of #metoo are largely devoid of intersectional theory and practice. Burke vocalizes the ongoing concern of marginalizing intersectional thought as the #metoo is mainstreamed in an interview with Elizabeth Adetiba for *The Nation,*

> Elizabeth Adetiba: When you learned that white Hollywood had taken #MeToo and ran with it, did you worry that the intent behind your work—centering marginalized people—would be whitewashed?
>
> Tarana Burke: I did worry about that. My initial fear is that the iteration I was seeing online was going to move the conversation in a different direction, and that I would not be able to amplify my voice. […]
>
> Elizabeth Adetiba: When you say that the conversation would be moved in a different direction…
>
> Tarana Burke: I mean moving away from marginalized people. And to some degree, it's still happening. The conversation is largely about Harvey Weinstein or other individual bogeymen. No matter how much I keep talking about power and privilege, they keep bringing it back to individuals. It would be very easy to get swept up and change directions and change the focus of this work, but that's not going to happen. It defeats the purpose to not have those folks centered—I'm talking black and brown girls, queer folks. There's no conversation in this whole thing about transgender folks and sexual violence. There's no conversation in this about people with disabilities and sexual violence. We need to talk about Native Americans, who have the highest rate of sexual violence in this country. So no, I can't take my focus on marginalized people (Adetiba, 2017).

Taking these factors into consideration adds another layer of complexity to the way the #metoo movement might be described. Namely, feminism is complicit in anti-#metoo backlash, insofar as the mainstream discourse of #metoo has intentionally divested from the ongoing and consistent calls from Burke and her interlocutors to center the voices, knowledge, and experiences of marginalized women. With this, mainstream #metoo discourse diverges from

Burke's intersectional framework. Therefore, when discussing the mainstream #metoo movement, the role of post-feminisms and anti-feminist backlash in framing its current pathway must be considered. I trace the intimate ties between anti-feminist backlash and feminist intellectual production by using the notion of #metoo being a ‘witch hunt,' which is often assumed to be an anti-feminist pushback against the movement, when in fact, the association was initiated by a collection of white feminists.

The Witch-Hunt

The #metoo movement has been likened to a ‘witch hunt' where "the witches are quite clearly the witchy women calling out men regarding sexual overtures." (Harris, 2018, p. 254). The term ‘witch hunt' used to refer to the #metoo movement is most commonly associated with vocal anti-feminists like Piers Morgan and Donald Trump. However, the term attachment to the #metoo movement did not find its beginning from far-right extremists or staunch anti-feminist critics. The comparison first appeared in an essay signed by 100 French celebrity women and businesswomen, including actress Catherine Deneuve, submitted to the French newspaper *Le Monde* and in an Op-Ed in the *New York Times* written by Daphne Merkin, a feminist literary critic and novelist.

Referring to France's equivalent of #metoo, #balancetonporc (or "squeal on your pig"), the letter signed by Deneuve contends that the "fever to send the ‘pigs' to the slaughterhouse is far from helping women to become autonomous" and instead "serves the interests of the enemies of sexual freedom, religious extremists, the worst reactionaries and those who deem, in the name of a conception of goodness and Victorian morality, that women are children with adult faces who want to be protected" (DeKlassey, 2017). "These are scary times, for women as well as men," states Merkin, "There is an inquisitorial whiff in the air, and my particular fear is that in

true American fashion, all subtlety and reflection is being lost. Next we'll be torching people for the content of their fantasies" (Merkin, 2018). Psychoanalyst Adrienne Harris (2018) notes in response to Deneuve and Merkin's comments,

> [N]otice that something odd has happened to this term [witch hunt]. Historically, in witch-hunts, women were the witches under pursuit and likely to be drowned or burned at the stake when apprehended. The attack was usually undertaken under religious orthodoxy and usually by men. Curiously, or not so curiously, we have flipped the genders and here the contemporary 2018 witchcraft is nasty women coming after men (Harris, 2018, p. 254).

Deneuve and Merkin's criticisms of the #metoo movement may initially seem odd because of their otherwise feminist viewpoints. Deneuve is a vocal advocate for pay equality and women's reproductive rights. Merkin is a recognized feminist journalist, often writing on topics including, as she states on her personal website, "family, religion, and sex" and has written articles in the New York Times almost exclusively about women and gender. This includes "pieces on women's fear of ageing, women's obsessions with their handbags, gender issues and the concept of ‘Jolie laide,'" the term for a woman who is thought to have an attractive face despite having conventionally ugly features (Merkin, n.d.). What is more, Deneuve and Merkin are independently wealthy, career-oriented, and entrepreneurial women who advocate for gender equality in the workplace and speak openly about divorce, sex and sexuality, as well as abortion.

Considering all this, why are two women postured clearly in the heart of the imagined ‘feminist' archetype attacking the #metoo movement? To understand this requires further analysis and contextualization of the way #metoo can be understood through sex-positive feminism and post-feminism. These frameworks, I argue, inform a number of the fragmented narratives of the #metoo movement in addition to being potent sites of feminist anti-#metoo backlash. At the same time, these frameworks are not mutually exclusive, nor do they dismiss #metoo entirely. Rather, the backlash against #metoo is motivated by a desire, not for complete

rejection, but reconfiguration. These sorts of interventions have created new manifestations of #metoo narratives. The following sections discuss how this has unfolded across sex-positive feminism and post-feminism.

Sex Positive Feminism and #metoo

Sex-positive feminism is a movement that began in the early 1980s, which centers on the idea that sexual freedom is an essential component of women's freedom and gender equality. Sex-positive feminism largely emerged during this time as a response to a growing anti-pornography sentiment within some feminist circles. Anti-pornography feminists argued that pornography was a central explanation of women's oppression. The intense debate between anti-pornography and sex-positive feminists is often referred to as the ‘sex wars' of the early 1980s.

Today, sex-positive feminism has developed into a framework that encompasses more than this single issue. Sex-positive feminism promotes women's sexual expression and sexuality as a means through which women can resist patriarchal conceptions and controls of sex and sexuality. Sex-positive feminism also influenced the development of queer theory, noting that sexuality could not be subsumed under gender and required its own analysis. However, sexual violence and the sexual objectification and exploitation of women and girls remains a thorny topic within sex-positive feminism. Sex-positive feminists have been notable critics of statutory rape laws because they argue that they often operated in gendered ways by imagining a ‘good girl' victim who is too naïve to be capable of making decisions for her own bodily autonomy. Nancy Erickson and Mary Ann Lamanna (1990-1991) argue that statutory rape laws are often controlling rather than protective for young adult and teenage women because they reinforce "the law's historic role [of] protecting the female's chastity as valuable property" (p. 221).

In the case of the #metoo movement, understanding #metoo through as a sex-positive framework becomes complicated when inspecting the actions of Charlie Rose and Harvey Weinstein that involved trading sexual favours for promotions and film roles. As Tambe (2018) notes, sex-positive feminisms often attempt to normalize a view of sex as transactional. After all, "In many contexts — both within and outside marriage — sex is exchanged for security, affection, and money" (Tambe, 2018, p. 200). This framing attempts to attenuate the idea that transactional sex and sex work are necessarily exploitative or coercive. At the same time, sex-positive feminism can be criticized for neglecting to recognize that transactional relationships often do not include two consenting parties on equal footing. Thus, #metoo and its attention to the more ‘negative' forms of sex and sexual violence do not fit neatly into a sex-positive framework because this is simply outside of an epistemological framework that focuses on the liberating and redemptive qualities of sex. Sex-positive feminism tends to focus on the freedoms and liberties to be gained from sexual expression for women, rather than the prevalence of sexual violence, abuse, and exploitation. For instance, the view of sex as a form of resistance to patriarchal control and oppression is outside of Burke's central framing of sexual violence as both a strategy and foundation of Black women and girls' oppression and exploitation.

Although Merkin and Deneuve do not claim the title, they present critiques of #metoo that partially align with a sex-positive framework. For instance, a significant criticism within the letter signed by Deneuve was that the #metoo movement, "serves the interests of the enemies of sexual freedom" and uses conceptions of women and sex that overlook women's autonomy and attempt to repress women's sexual liberation (DeKlassey, 2017). In Merkin's (2017) article she states that one of the most troubling aspects of #metoo is "that we seem to be returning to a victimology paradigm for young women, in particular, in which they are perceived to be — and

perceive themselves to be — as frail as Victorian housewives. […] Some are now suggesting that come-ons need to be constricted to a repressive degree. […] Stripping sex of eros isn't the solution."

Coming from a sex-positive perspective, Merkin seems to misread the #metoo movement entirely. Although exceptions exist, the sex-positive framework of feminism Merkin delivers overlooks the ongoing existence and prevalence of sexual violence. Merkin instead opts to present sex and sexuality as an opportunity for individual agency, bodily autonomy, and liberation. Recognition of Black, Indigenous and minority women who are located in an intersecting nexus of power where their sex and sexuality are often externally objectified is absent here (Collins, 1986). The ‘Indian squaw' trope has pervaded Canadian history and portrays Indigenous women as inherently licentious and "imbued with sexual sin" (Razack, 2016). Yet these forms of sexual objectification in which racialized and colonized women are denied the space of self-valuation and self-determination afforded to white women in feminist liberation efforts are overlooked entirely within Merkin and Deneuve's understanding of sexual freedom as an inherently universal value for women's liberation. Sexual exploitation and objectification of Black and Indigenous women's bodies remain a pervasive issue. Canada currently faces a crisis of forced trafficking of young Indigenous girls in sex trafficking rings between Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019, p. 565). These realities for Indigenous women and girls are overlooked by Deneuve and Merkin, indicating another instance where #metoo discourses are de-centring intersectionality and marginalized women.

Although these conversations have everything to do with sex and sexuality, they remain, by and large, outside of the scope of sex-positive feminism. The #metoo movement, as promoted through a Black intersectional feminist framework, centralizes the issues of sexual violence, exploitation and objectification because these are inseparable from racialized and colonized women's constructions of reality. However, Merkin and Deneuve cannot contend with this because their sex-positive frameworks do not accommodate intersectional feminist thinking. As such, they view the #metoo movement as a threat to feminism, because it does not promote a view of gender equality and empowerment that aligns with (presumably white, neoliberal) women's sexual liberation as the road to freedom.

However, Merkin and Deneuve are not the only examples of how sex-positive frameworks have contended and reconfigured the #metoo movement. Some sex-positive feminists have viewed #metoo as a potential opportunity to promote and advance sex-positivity in ways that acknowledge the importance of addressing sexual violence. In the *Abolition Journal,* Brooke Lober (2018) introduces sex-positive feminist Breanne Fahs' (2014) notion of ‘freedom from' and ‘freedom to' in order to present a more sophisticated analysis of #metoo in the lens of sex-positivity. Sex-positive feminism has focused predominantly on ‘freedom to' formats of sex. This is the type of sex-positive feminism promoted by Merkin and Deneuve, which focuses on the way sex can contribute to the advancement of women's freedom by expanding sexual expression and sexual diversity. Far less work has addressed women's needs for ‘freedom from' the oppressive mandates and patriarchal controls on sexuality, particularly how these needs are exacerbated by a nexus of multiple oppressive mandates (Fahs, 2014, p. 267). In relation to the #metoo movement, Lober (2018) calls upon sex-positive feminism to "mobilize in movements for freedom from sexual obligation, including the everyday sexism

embedded in gendered requirements of heteronormativity." As Lober (2018) states, "the #MeToo movement facilitates the creation of new cultural space to address sexual violence, sex-positivity can provide a necessary supplement to this feminist reclamation of self-determination" (Lober, 2018).

Therefore, not all sex-positive feminists view the #metoo movement in such threatening terms. Sex-positive feminism has the potential to expand efforts within the #metoo movement to advance women's sexual freedom through a ‘freedom from' framework, as opposed to the more conventional ‘freedom to' framework promoted by Merkin and Deneuve. ‘Freedom from' sex-positive frameworks attend to the way sex and sexual expression are controlled, exploited, and objectified, making this framework more complementary with intersectional and Black feminist frameworks of anti-sexual violence work that have understood women of colour's sexual objectification and exploitation as a central condition and production of white supremacy, settler colonialism, and heteropatriarchy (Collins, 2000). Freedom from these constraints is made possible through self-determination and self-valuation (Collins, 2000). What Lober (2018) and Fahs (2014) ‘freedom from' framework understands that a ‘freedom to' framework does not is that women's freedom to their own self-determination and self-valuation is not universal, but instead specified to the most privileged of women. That is, white women.

Sexual exploitation, objectification and sexual violence are rooted in the long history of white supremacy and settler colonialism in Canada. Freedom from these forms of violence must be established before sexual liberation may occur. Where Merkin and Deneuve assume these freedoms have already been established, an intersectional framework recognizes that they remain persistent issues, particularly for non-white women.

The #metoo movement, as an anti-sexual violence movement, has been a topic of understandable acrimony within sex-positive feminism. However, sex-positive feminism can, and indeed does, align with an intersectional understanding of the #metoo movement. However, Merkin and Deneuve neglect to recognize important racialized and classed inequalities amongst women. Herein lies the second framework informing Merkin and Deneuve's backlash against the #metoo movement, their post-feminist assumptions that particular signposts of gendered equality have already been reached.

Post-Feminism and #metoo

Author and journalist Susan Faludi (1991) argues that media has been central in dismissing and discrediting feminist activism. Coverage of women and feminism within mainstream media has tended to over-inflate feminist gains in achieving gender equality, whether this is in workplace harassment laws, opportunities and access for jobs, education, healthcare, or in sexual assault legal reform. "In the era of post-feminism and feminist backlash, feminism is assumed to have met its aims and to have gone past a stage of popularity; in other words, a 'pastness of feminism' is presupposed" (Fotopoulou, 2016, p.8; Cohn, 2013).

The equality of the sexes is further confirmed through popular media and public fascination with the violent capacities of women and girls. Stories about aggressive women and girls continue to capture ample public attention and curiosity. When women and girls are presented as being capable of equally violent behaviour as men, equality of their prevalence is often inherently assumed, regardless of the lack of evidence to this end (Snider & Minaker, 2006). Interest in violent young women and 'lady killers' is exemplified by the widespread popularity of prison dramas like *Orange Is the New Black* and popular *Dr. Phil* episodes about violent teenagers like 14-year-old Danielle Bregoli. These stories prop up notions that not only

has equality been achieved, but "voices in media and government began proclaiming that the pendulum had swung too far. Men, it was claimed, were now the disadvantaged and oppressed sex" (Minaker & Snider, 2006, p. 765). As Minaker and Snider (2006) note, when gender equality is assumed to have already been achieved, ongoing feminist activism is viewed as superfluous. This is where post-feminism gets its start.

Because white women have seen vast improvements in equality, whether this is through labour organizing for greater pay equity, increasing access to education, or reformed sexual assault laws, the assumption becomes that feminist activism can focus on other frontlines for gender equality. However, many women continue to face increasing pay inequities, heightened precarity, ongoing vulnerability to physical and sexual violence, and restrictions on affordable healthcare services. In the United States, for example, legislative restrictions on abortions in Alabama are the most detrimental to poor women who cannot travel out of state to seek these services (Durkin, 2019). Also, Black and Indigenous women continue to face staggering rates of sexual assault and homicide in Canada. Indigenous women are approximately 3.5 times more likely to be murdered or go missing than white women in Canada (Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 2014). Yet, post-feminism tends to overlook these issues.

Clearly, the #metoo movement is not superfluous. Addressing the intersecting power relations within which sexual violence occurs is urgently needed. However, anti-sexual violence movements like #metoo can be met with general apprehension as a result of post-feminist assumptions that sexual assault reforms, comprehensive workplace sexual harassment policies, and the increasing cultural intolerance for sexual violence that women have benefitted from are indications that sexual violence is no longer a gendered issue. Efforts to include the ‘invisible

male victims' of sexual violence have become a space of pointed retaliatory action that positions sexual violence is a gender-neutral issue. In particular, Daphne Merkin's (2018) critiques of #metoo share traces of this post-feminist presumption of gender equality already established on the issue of sexual violence when #metoo entered the scene.

> Grow up, this is real life," I hear these same feminist friends say. "What ever happened to flirting?" and "What about the women who are the predators? […] These are scary times, for women as well as men (Merkin, 2018).

In the letter signed by Deneuve (2018), their sympathies lay with the men who, "are sanctioned in their work, pushed to resign, etc., when their only wrongdoing was to touch a knee, try to steal a kiss, speak about intimate things during a professional dinner or send messages that are sexually loaded to a woman who wasn't attracted to them." Despite recognizing, however, diluted the examples were, that sexual harassment against women still occurs, consistent reactionary responses attempted to emphasize the male victims of the #metoo movement.

These arguments can be understood when situated within a post-feminist framework that pre-supposes gender equality has already been met. When the assumption is made that men and women are equally likely to be perpetrators of sexual violence to one another, then sexual violence is understood as a gender-neutral issue, when this is not the case. Merkin's reminder that ‘women can be predators too' is true. However, the use of this statement to attempt to undermine anti-sexual violence work is problematic in that it conflates capacity with reality. Statistics Canada consistently reports that "sexual assault is a highly gendered crime wherein women are most often the victims and men are most often the perpetrators." (Rotenberg, 2017b). In an analysis of police-reported sexual assaults from 2009 to 2014 in Canada, 87% of victims were female, and 13% were male (Rotenberg, 2017b).

Despite this, sympathy for the men accused of sexual violence is understood and championed in a post-feminist framework because the threat comes not from the men who make sexual advances, which are in this case also misrepresented through loosely attached sex-positive notions that sexual advances are generally inoffensive, well-meaning, and even potentially liberating for women. Instead, the threat to gender equality is said to come from those women who argue that gender equality has not been achieved. This argument undermines post-feminist epistemology entirely. Taken together, Deneuve and Merkin present arguments against the #metoo movement through sex-positive and post-feminist frameworks that, when taken together, not only misrepresent sex-positive feminism but is not able to resolve itself with the #metoo movement's very existence.

However, post-feminism should not be conflated with anti-feminism. Rosalind Gill (2007) describes post-feminism as a complex "entanglement of feminist and anti-feminist ideas." Michelle Lazar (2007) notes that,

> [Backlash] discourse is partly a reactionary masculinist backlash against the whittling away of the patriarchal dividend. However, it is equally important to recognize that some third-wave feminists also contribute to this discourse, albeit in different terms. For them, this is a time for celebrating women's newfound power and achievements […]One of the problematic assumptions of post-feminist discourse is that women can ‘have it all' if only they put their minds to it or try hard enough, which reframes women's struggles and accomplishments as a purely personal matter, thus obscuring the social and material constraints faced by different groups of women. (p. 154)

Post-feminism tends to present structural and collective problems as personal issues. This is an aspect of the mainstream #metoo in the media and Hollywood that Burke has publicly critiqued on multiple occasions. What is more, Lazar (2007) alerts us to the way post-feminist perspectives are reminiscent of and overlap with, feminist perspectives and practices

predominantly developed by white, upper-middle-class women and address very specific – yet assumed universal – struggles and achievements that pertain to these women.

Journalist Moira Donegan has argued that the #metoo movement reveals a precise tension within feminism today that calls to attention the challenge post-feminism and individualist sentiments pose to the #metoo movement. The rift, Donegan argues the #metoo movement reveals, exists between an ethos of individualism and self-sufficiency—or "pulling yourself up by your own bootstraps"—and the collective liberation approach represented by the #metoo movement (Donegan, 2018).

> The rift is between visions of how to undertake the feminist project, of which tactics are best: whether through individual empowerment or collective liberation. But there is a greater moral divide between these two strands of thought, because #MeToo and its critics also disagree over where to locate responsibility for sexual abuse: whether it is a woman's responsibility to navigate, withstand and overcome the misogyny that she encounters, or whether it is the shared responsibility of all of us to eliminate sexism, so that she never encounters it in the first place (Donegan, 2018).

Whereas the #metoo movement presented by Burke focuses on community and solidarity, feminist critics of the movement tend to champion a predominantly Western, white, middle-class perspective of sexual violence, aligning with Betty Friedan's thought that anti-rape activism has hindered feminist progress. Frieden writes,

> Obsession with rape, even offering Band-Aids to its victims, is a kind of wallowing in that victim-state, that impotent rage, that sterile polarization. The like aping of machismo or obsessive careerism, it dissipates our own well-springs of generative power (Friedan, 1981, p. 257).

However, Donegan's bifurcation of ‘feminists for #metoo' and ‘feminists against #metoo' is far too simplistic. #metoo has emerged in ways that are resistant to forms of feminism that assume equality has already been met but also been further developed and defined by the critiques and comments from post-feminist and anti-feminist backlash as well.

Take, for instance, the continued emergence of Burke's intersectional approach alongside, and in opposition to, the mainstream #metoo movement, which has diverged from intersectional theory and practice. As with the example of #120dB, there is nothing inherently 'feminist' about the #metoo movement. Anti-feminist backlash does not always outright dismiss things that present themselves as feminist. Sometimes they reconfigure them to promote anti-feminist messaging. These tendencies mean much less emphasis should be placed on understanding what #metoo is, and instead focus our attention of what #metoo has the possibility of doing, both for the potential advancement of different, and at times, conflicting feminist movements, and its dangers of undermining feminism and instead promoting racist, anti-feminist messaging. These considerations further complicate the #metoo's place in feminist agendas.

Concluding Remarks: The Fragmented Narratives of #metoo

Tambe (2018) urges for further research to situate the #metoo movement within the socio-political context in which these exclusions occur. Taking up this call, this chapter has detailed a number of the tensions through which divergent feminist, anti-feminist, and post-feminist perspectives of the #metoo movement has emerged. However, there is still a need for a broader consideration of how feminism that continues to exist on the margins, practiced and produced by women on the margins, is treated within today's socio-political climate.

Other criticisms of the #metoo movement have come from feminists who do not argue that the movement is backpedalling on advances to women's sexual freedoms and gender equality. Instead, they argue that the movement is not doing enough to live up to its own political goals and values. For instance, Tambe (2018) also cautions researchers to recognize the way the movement's mainstream media coverage has left women of colour and marginalized women out of the conversation (Tambe, 2018).

> [O]bviously, sexual violence and harassment are not white women's problems alone. […] But if we look at US media coverage of the [#MeToo] movement and the most striking spokespersons as well as casualties in recent scandals, it is certainly white women's pain that is centred in popular media coverage (Tambe, 2018, p. 198)

Although the growing dominance of #metoo has brought feminist discussions to the forefront of several mainstream forums, Tambe (2018) notes that the voices and opinions are picked up and promoted in these forums as spokespersons and authorities are often white and middle to upper-class women.

Therefore, the criticisms of #metoo raised by feminists have to do with how well it aligns or does not align with different feminist epistemologies, frameworks, and goals. When criticisms are launched against #metoo for not aligning with a specific feminist framework, this both ascribes a meaning to #metoo, as not being adequate or being oppositional to feminism in some way, and then prescribes a new meaning to become ‘more feminist' by adapting it into their framework and advancing the goals central to that framework. For that reason, I do not situate #metoo as belonging to a specific feminist framework or feminist epistemology, regardless of the original framework it was founded upon. This chapter set out to elucidate a number of the competing frameworks that are simultaneously attempting to reconfigure the #metoo movement and criticizing other attempts to do so when they contradict or undermine their epistemological assumptions and goals.

At the same time, I come to this reasoning through an intersectional feminist framework that understands violence to be relationally constituted within webs and systems of patriarchal, colonial, and white supremacist power and oppression. I also extend analytical inquiry by employing post-structural feminist ontological assumptions of these systems of power and oppression and social locations to be not only relationally contested but also constantly

emerging, fragmenting, and never fully intelligible or concrete. It is from these frameworks, acting in tandem, that possibilities for resistance to and undermining of these systems can be realized and understood in their complexity.

This chapter provides a number of different answers to the question, "what is #metoo?" The fragmentation and conflict across different feminist perspectives reveal that defining #metoo is a challenging task. What is more, the use of the term ‘Me Too' and what evoking it is meant to signify changes across contexts. Since its emergence as first a slogan specific to Black women and girls, to a viral hashtag, and then a social movement in its own right, ‘Me Too' has found itself attached to several different, yet not unrelated problems, some of which are identified above. These include sexual violence against Black women and girls, sexual harassment in the workplace, intimate partner and family violence, hegemonic toxic masculinities, and campus rape culture. Opponents describe #metoo as instigating a war between genders, attacking due process, and some have even reduced #metoo down to a slang verb that operates on an underlying assumption that getting ‘me too'd' is the real harm to come from the movement. Many anti-feminists have felt more than welcome to use the ‘witch hunt' description first provided by Deneuve, Merkin and supported by a number of white feminist and post-feminist interlocutors.

As ‘Me too' has shifted from a slogan attached to the specific, yet collective (Collins, 2000), plight and concerns of Black women and girls to an online social movement and global community for survivors, encapsulating more broadly, defining what ‘#MeToo' really ‘*is*' has become increasingly challenging. If we were to attempt to ground #metoo to a definition, would it be enough to turn back to the base definition first used by Tarana Burke? Not necessarily. Despite Burke's definition containing an intersectional ideology of ‘Me Too's' promising

qualities, the pain and perspectives at the intersections of racial and gender violence are generally invisible in the mainstream media coverage of the #metoo movement (Tambe, 2018). Alternatively, it is not productive to abide by the critiques of Deneuve and others who dismiss the movement as a ‘witch hunt.' The perspectives presented here fall into several post-feminist traps by assuming equality has already been met and focuses on cherry-picked sex-positive values of women's sexual freedom, while also attempting to depoliticize sexual violence by framing it as a personal problem, rather than a public issue. Women's individual perseverance is thought to be the way forward rather than building collective empowerment to challenging patriarchal oppression at the intersects.

The problem with asking what #metoo ‘is,' is that it exists as all of these things, all at once. #metoo cannot be concretely grounded within the parameters of any one definition without amputating it from the other conflicting definitions that have been imperative to the refinement and clarification of another one. It is improbable, if not impossible, to situate any of the above frameworks as the authoritative perspective on #metoo without leaving out essential criticisms or requiring one to reckon with substantial silences therein. The very attempt at grounding the term ‘Me Too' produces problematic exclusions of what it is *not.* Thus, an attempt to define ‘Me Too' at this stage does not capture any pre-existing ‘essence' or universally agreed upon central tenet.

Instead, the act of presenting a definition is a determination made by and through an exercise of force which subjugates, delegitimates, or otherwise silences competing descriptions (Derrida, 1990). It is a claim made through the deployment of power, imbued with ethico-political stances and interests (Foucault, 1980). The problems of which are particularly evident in Tambe (2018) and Burke's (2017) criticisms of the white feminist co-optation of the #metoo

movement in mainstream media outlets. Tacitly accepting that the #metoo movement is an intersectional feminist project, or as a witchhunt, or as another of a multitude of descriptions the term has been given, takes for granted the particular politics underscoring them that attempt to legitimate their perspectives by themselves, through themselves, and by silencing competing remarks. The problem with this always rests in the silences one is left to reckon with.

This encompasses only a few definitions of the #metoo movement that have been provided, adapted, and critiqued. Although defined by Burke as a safe online space and social movement constructed from the vantage point of survivor's lives, cohering through the affective power of empathy, this definition has been re-oriented, re-focused, and rejected by different feminist epistemologies. Although some critiques outside of, and within various feminist perspectives consider the #metoo movement a ‘witch hunt', threatening to undo feminist inroads for women's sexual liberation and individual empowerment, other feminists have argued that the movement must reckon with its silences because it is being hijacked by white feminist paradigms (Purtill, 2017). As one twitter user noted,

> I'm going to come right out and say this - White Women: Please stop taking credit for the ideas and creativity of WOC. Tarana Burke who founded the #metoo movement is a prime example of this. This has happened all too often to me throughout my life and I'm not here for it (@AveryFrances, November 6, 2018).

Just as the narratives within the #metoo movement are complex and fragmented, so too are its implications. The varied legal and extra-legal influences of the #metoo movement are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5: FRAGMENTED TRAJECTORIES: THE TRANSFORMATIVE POSSIBILITIES OF THE #METOO MOVEMENT

I just found out the man who sexually assaulted me was just sentenced to jail time. It's so many years and so many survivors late. But he is finally where he belongs. #metoo
(@KristinRaworth, September, 25, 2019)

I think #MeToo has shown the power and, crucially, the limitations of storytelling as a political tool. So beyond telling our stories, what collective action can women take to fight sexist oppression? We can strike.
(@MoiraDonegan, November 2, 2018)

Despite its relative infancy, some argue that the #metoo movement has already created transformative changes. For instance, the Canadian Women's Foundation has recently launched a national movement called AFTERMETOO that is intended to activate legal and extra-legal responses to sexual violence in Canada following the #metoo movement (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2018). Linguistically, #metoo marks a shift in social attitudes towards sexual violence. In many ways, #metoo seems to have fundamentally shifted the conversation about sexual violence.

Structure of Chapter

Chapters 3 and 4 have respectively elucidated the conditions that made the emergence of the #metoo movement possible and a number of the tensions between and across feminist, post-feminist, and anti-feminist perspectives that have engaged with #metoo. The purpose of this chapter is to extend this discussion into the #metoo movement's fragmented trajectories, or the multi-faceted implications the #metoo movement may have as it enters into new legal and extra-legal terrains. I explore how law enforcement and criminal justice agencies have mobilized, or neglected to mobilize, a series of strategies intended to address long-standing issues in the way the criminal justice system and police respond to sexual assault reports.

In addition, I launch comparative analysis of the #metoo movement to the Battered Women's Movement (BWM) in order to situate #metoo within the longer history of feminist anti-sexual violence organizing and engagement with the criminal justice system, as well as to provide much needed insights into the issues that remain at stake in the way conventional justice mechanisms handle sexual violence. As of yet, situating #metoo within the longer history of anti-sexual violence feminist activism has not been widely discussed. This chapter addresses this gap by tracing the implications of #metoo and comparing these to the legal and extra-legal influences of the BWM.

These examples highlight the potency of #metoo's capacity to change criminal justice sexual assault policies and the culture surrounding sexual violence, they also reveal several potential dangers within #metoo praxis as it is increasingly popularized and translated into conventional justice mechanisms. Here I re-visit my theoretical remarks from chapter 2, introducing Carol Smart's critiques about the relationship between feminism and law. From this, I argue for feminist anti-sexual violence mobilization through #metoo to resist the subversion of actual attempts to ameliorate the issue at the root cause by settling for surface-level changes. This leads me to an alternative framework of #metoo, which is perhaps one of the central theoretical interventions of this thesis. #metoo is more than a form of digital activism, it is an alternative justice mechanism through which the very tenets of justice can be reconsidered by, and for, Survivors. First, I discuss the significant implications that came out of the mass disclosures that arose from the #metoo movement fervour.

A Review of the Current Influence of the #metoo Movement: Surface Level Changes or Truly Transformative?

The Influence of Mass Disclosure

The #metoo movement appears to have produced a culture of intolerance for sexual violence. In many of the high-profile scandals, the names of alleged assaulters became trending topics online as Twitter users categorically were denouncing their actions and calling for their immediate resignation.

> So the numbers growing. The mighty rich and powerful are being brought down. The tide has turned. It is watershed moment. Thank you to #metoo. Thank you ALL for courage against sexual predators & rapists. Moore and Trump must resign too. Spacey and Weinstein behind bars (@cindybartonric, November 7, 2017).
>
> #Madrespect for Patrick Brown's staff who resigned out of principle. Also, mad respect for the #metoo movement for making the world a safer place for our daughters and sisters. Sorry, Patrick, you should've just resigned tonight (@zeehamid4, January 24, 2018)

These calls were often met. The *New York Times* reports that in the first year following the #metoo hashtag going viral, over 200 prominent men in news media, government, and entertainment, lost their jobs following public allegations of sexual assault and sexual harassment. What is more, nearly half of their replacements were women. Robin Wright replaced Kevin Spacey as lead actor in *House of Cards,* Christiane Amanpour replaced Charlie Rose as a PBS television host, and Tina Smith replaced Al Franken as a Senator from Minnesota (Carlsen, Salam, Miller, Lu, Ngu, Patel, Wichter, 2018). The *New York Times* article optimistically reported that the "#MeToo movement shook, and is still shaking, power structures in society's most visible sectors" and inferred that "women are starting to gain power in organizations that have been jolted by harassment, with potentially far-reaching effects" (Carlsen et al., 2018).

In reality, these public oustings may not be dismantling the patriarchal and misogynistic power structures in news media, government, and entertainment. Few women have been appointed as permanent replacements. Instead, women are being called up to operate as interim

leaders at a time of massive organizational crisis, where the chance and consequences of failure are higher. Women are being tasked with fixing the organizational and public relations disaster of their predecessor's scandal(s). What is more, women of colour and other marginalized women remain vastly underrepresented in leadership positions (American Association of University Women, 2016; Smith, 2019). This is a troubling pattern and one that consistently is overlooked in the news media, which has lauded this influx of women in leadership as an indicator of the far-reaching gains in workplace leadership diversity and gender equality that the #metoo movement has created. Clearly, these gains come with significant responsibilities, and when considering the positive effects of increasing the number of women in leadership, these benefits are not being felt evenly; the ongoing struggles and constraints of women at the intersections of heteropatriarchal oppression, white supremacy, and settler colonial domination, are consistently overlooked in discussions of #metoo's transformative effects.

What is particularly troubling about these supposedly far-reaching effects of #metoo is how temporary they have been. As more time passes and stories of misogynistic and predatory behaviour slowly exit newsstands and the trending topics section on Twitter, many of the men at the heart of #metoo scandals are returning to the fold. After multiple allegations of sexual harassment and assault emerged, almost all of comedian Louis C.K.'s bookings were cancelled. However, after a period of 10 months, Louis made a slow return to the stage. Louis has reportedly taken this time to develop a new set. His new ‘redemption tour' even opens with a joke about one of the allegations made against him (Goldapp, 2019). Former Ontario PC Party Leader Patrick Brown was forced to resign by his caucus after allegations of sexual misconduct with a former staff member came to light in 2018 (CBC News, 2018; Crawley & McLaughlin, 2018). Despite his bruised political career, Brown was able to win the mayoral election in

Brampton and has found a way to leverage his scandal into a new revenue source by publishing a memoir about his ‘political takedown' (Merali, 2018). This begs an important question, is the #metoo movement actually shifting the culture around sexual violence or just temporarily pacifying public outrage?

The swift moral denunciations of assaulters in the fervour of #metoo's mass disclosures have not necessarily led to transformative change. At the same time, the effects of #metoo cannot be predetermined. They are continually emerging, turning back on itself, and as seen in Louis' ability to create a new comedy set about the allegations against him, some responses hold the dangerous capacity to reinscribe the very same predatory behaviours and oppressive rape culture narratives that #metoo advocates intended to eradicate. As such, all actions that were taken to denounce assaulters in the height of the #metoo movement cannot be assumed to produce long-term and ameliorative changes.

Although "the rush to identify and punish bad guys is appealing as praxis because the politics of moral indignation, combined with the saleability of finger-pointing in sensation-seeking media, generates instant publicity, making this form of consciousness-raising comparatively simple" (Snider, 1998, p. 2), criminologist Laureen Snider (1998) argues that deep-seated social problems like sexual violence, domestic assault and other forms of gender-based violence, can only be addressed through ideological and structural change. Snider (1998) pays specific attention to the problematic ideologies of justice as punishment, arguing that policies of criminalization thwart anti-sexual violence action. Publicly naming and shaming assaulters may be a provocative tool for enacting social justice. However, it also reinscribes a punitive model of justice that is counterintuitive to feminist social action. Punitive strategies are

consistently documented in critical and feminist criminological research to be an ineffective response to violence against women (Martin, 1998; Erez, 2002; Hall, 2015). After all, incarceration does not reduce the likelihood of re-offending. Instead "it makes those subjected to it more bitter, resentful, misogynous, and significantly less employable" (Snider, 2008, p. 39) and becoming ‘tougher' on violence through, for instance, zero tolerance charging policies in domestic violence cases has resulted in counter-charging – the practice of laying charges against the complainant instead of, or in addition to the accused offender if there is any indication of retaliatory violence (Snider, 1998).

Legal reforms have certainly helped women, but they have also caused additional, undue harm. Many legal reforms have only had a limited effect on transforming the criminal justice system's traditional response to violence against women. As criminologist Edna Erez (2002) states about criminal justice responses to domestic violence,

> Stereotypical views of battered women and abusive relationships held by law enforcement agents continue to underlie police and court practices. Conceptions of wife abuse as "family violence" and the myth of wife battering as "mutual combat" have compromised attempts to treat battering cases as crimes and stymied efforts to protect women from violent men. Victim-blaming attitudes occasionally held by police, prosecutors, judges, and other court staff in wife battering cases may distort the reality of domestic violence dynamics, play down the danger posed to women in abusive relationships and inhibit battered women from utilizing the system.

If the over-arching aim of feminist anti-violence activism is to find lasting solutions by advancing a culture of intolerance for violence against women, and if the #metoo movement is to promote strategies to this end, then further enquiry must investigate the mechanisms that predominate, and ask if these efforts will "change the policies, institutions and attitudes which reinforce violent responses in the first place" (Snider, 1998, p. 2).

I am not positing that the #metoo movement is incapable of producing transformative changes in the culture surrounding sexual violence and improve police and other legal administrators' response to sexual violence. In this chapter, I argue that the #metoo movement has the potential to bring about paradigmatic changes, but the strategies currently being lauded in popular culture and media to be doing so, are falling short of this goal. I contend that these issues are rooted in #metoo praxis that embraces agendas of punishment and in the way feminist activism that seeks ameliorative social action is taken up and translated into criminal justice reform, rhetoric, and policy.

The #metoo movement signifies a practice of seeking justice in ways that have been initiated outside of the conventional justice mechanisms of the criminal justice system. But as #metoo continues to emerge, it has also formed tenuous bonds with traditional justice mechanisms. This holds a simultaneous capacity for producing new inroads for advancing Survivor-centered approaches to sexual violence in the criminal justice system, and also the dangerous possibility of being translated into heteropatriarchal, settler colonial, and white supremacist discourses that underscore criminal justice mechanisms. For this reason, a deeper exploration of legal mechanisms that are conventionally tasked with responding to sexual violence is needed.

Contemporary Socio-Legal Feminist Engagement with #metoo

Feminist criminology and socio-legal studies are home to a rich debate about the relationship between feminism and law. At the crossroads of both, research into #metoo has only just begun.[16] The dearth of feminist socio-legal and criminological inquiry into #metoo may have

16 Research is underway. For instance, with an eye turned towards the #metoo movement, feminist legal scholar Lise Gotell is currently researching the lack of resources for sexual assault survivors in the criminal justice system.

more to do with the recency of the #metoo movement than oversight of the movement's importance.

For instance, in an Op-Ed written for *The New York Times,* feminist legal scholar Catherine MacKinnon (2018) argues that the #metoo movement has gone further than sexual harassment laws to admonish misogynistic behaviours and challenge rape culture mythologies. Mackinnon (2018) envisages the relationship between law and the #metoo movement as follows: As the first law in the United States to view sexual violence and harassment in terms of inequality, sexual harassment law laid the groundwork for the #metoo movement. However, these laws, which were meant to 'equalize' men and women, were fraught with problems. Whether it's the numerous instances where women have been discredited and maligned in the courtroom, weighing a powerful man's reputation, career, and mental wellbeing as more important than the victim's needs or the use of insistent denial in 'he-said-she-said' battles as proof enough that an assault did not occur, legally prohibiting sexual violence did not stop women from being attacked, nor did it ensure men were punished. But MacKinnon (2018) argues that it was sexual harassment law and its description of sexual violence through the lens of inequality that brought about the #metoo movement. The movement has set a target on the problematic rape mythologies present within sexual harassment law and jurisprudence. What is more, the movement's challenge of sexual harassment law and the administration of sexual harassment law is gaining traction, not because feminist critique has suddenly entered the scene, but because "power is paying attention." As MacKinnon (2018) explains,

> Powerful individuals and entities are taking sexual abuse seriously for once and acting against it as never before. No longer liars, no longer worthless, today's survivors are initiating consequences none of them could have gotten through any lawsuit […] because

> they are being believed and valued as the law seldom has. Women have been saying these things forever. It is the response to them that has changed.

With this, MacKinnon (2018) anticipates that #metoo's influence on changing social and cultural attitudes will change law too. The #metoo movement could help equalize the legal playing field for complainants by calling for a re-evaluation of the statute of limitations on sexual harassment and prohibiting or limiting the use of nondisclosure agreements in the US context.

I do not disagree with MacKinnon on these fronts. The #metoo movement can – and presumably will – have the power, if advanced effectively, to challenge the patriarchal hegemony of law. However, my path diverges with MacKinnon in the way I conceptualize the relationship between law and the #metoo movement and the potential implications of the #metoo movement on the law and criminal justice system.

In the way MacKinnon relates #metoo and law, she asks the question, "how can #metoo transform law?" However, she does not ask, "should we turn to law at all?" In neglecting to ask this question, MacKinnon could be contradicting herself because she does not consider how the #metoo movement may be posing a direct challenge to law and its power. For example, MacKinnon acknowledges that laws meant to guarantee "equality under the Constitution for all" do not necessitate a slowing or stopping of inequality under the law.

> It is widely thought that when something is legally prohibited, it more or less stops. This may be true for exceptional acts, but it is not true for pervasive practices like sexual harassment, including rape, that are built into structural social hierarchies. Equal pay has been the law for decades and still does not exist. Racial discrimination is nominally illegal in many forms but is still widely practiced against people of color. If the same cultural inequalities are permitted to operate in law as in the behavior the law prohibits, equalizing attempts — such as sexual harassment law — will be systemically resisted (MacKinnon, 2018).

Despite recognizing that equalizing attempts have not historically been shown to eradicate inequality, MacKinnon only contends with #metoo's potential insofar as it can advances ‘equalization' under the law. The goal MacKinnon envisions of the #metoo movement is equality. As she notes,

> The only legal change that matches the scale of this moment is an Equal Rights Amendment, expanding the congressional power to legislate against sexual abuse and judicial interpretations of existing law, guaranteeing equality under the Constitution for all (MacKinnon, 2018).

As Minaker and Snider (2008) remind us, "since the goals of feminism have always been to empower and ameliorate women's lives, not simply to analyse different forms of patriarchy or to equalize oppression, fighting for equal-opportunity punishment may well be counter-productive" (pp. 774-5). So too, the goal of promoting a substantive equalization of treatment under sexual harassment law may be counter-productive to the purposes of the #metoo movement to eradicate sexual violence. This issue lies within MacKinnon's conceptualization of the relationship between #metoo and sexual harassment law as dialogical; sexual harassment law setting the preconditions for #metoo, and #metoo extending and advancing what sexual harassment law can provide to women. Although MacKinnon’s calls for a substantive equality within sexual harassment and human rights law is imperative, in viewing the relationship this way, MacKinnon does not recognize how the #metoo movement could be posing a direct threat to law's power to dictate when and how we respond to sexual violence altogether.

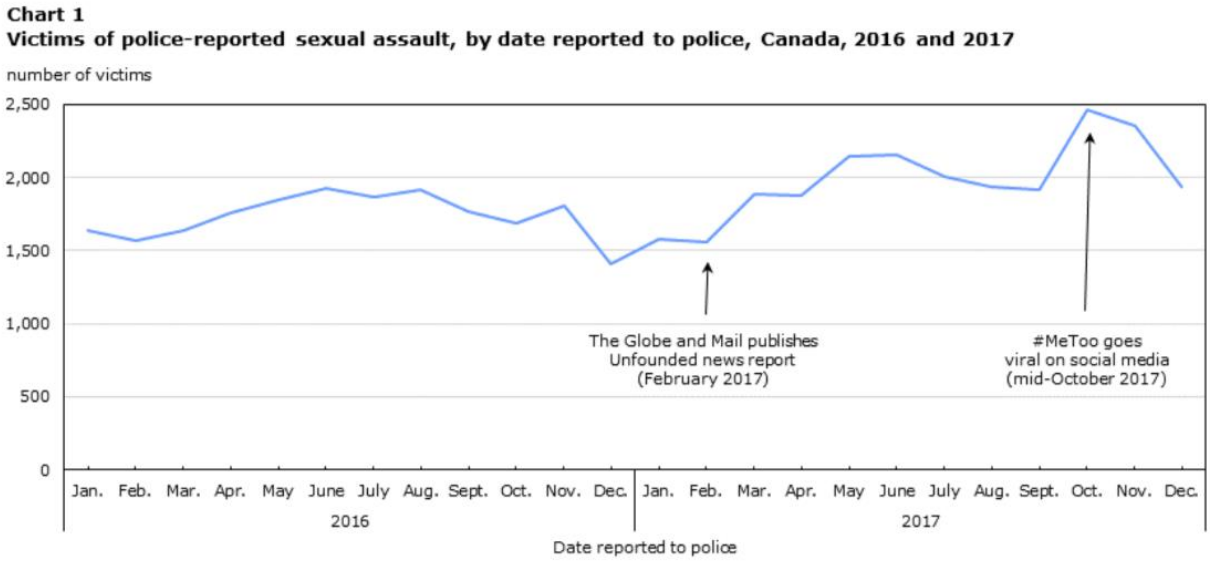
Legal responses (or the lack thereof) to the #metoo movement

Police are often the first line of contact through which women enter into the formal justice mechanisms that report on, intervene in, investigate, and respond to a number of forms of sexual violence, including sexual assault. The #metoo movement has already had a pronounced effect on law enforcement agencies in Canada. Statistics Canada has tracked the ‘#metoo effect' on the

criminal justice system. Rates of police-reported sexual assault spiked in the three months following the #metoo hashtag going viral on social media, compared to both the reporting trends earlier in 2017 and the reporting trends during the same period the previous year (Rotenberg & Cotter, 2018).

In addition, the #metoo movement produced greater visibility of the high attrition rates of police-reported sexual assault cases. The *Globe and Mail's Unfounded* investigation was released a few months before the #metoo movement went viral and spotlighted this issue (Doolittle, 2017a; 2017b; 2018). The study revealed that police officers dismissed approximately one in five sexual assault reports as unfounded (Doolittle, 2017a). For a criminal incident to be considered unfounded, it must be determined through a police investigation that the offence reported did not occur, nor was it attempted. The national unfounded rate for sexual assault claims averages around 20%, nearly twice as high as the rate for physical assault (11%) and dramatically higher than many other violent crimes (Doolittle, 2017a). These findings are troubling because false, malicious, or mistaken reports of sexual assault are exceedingly rare (Lisak, Gardinier, Nicksa, & Cote, 2010). The *Unfounded* investigation found that these high rates of unfounded sexual assault cases were not a result of false accusations, but instead revealed systemic patterns of bias, and rape culture narratives within police responses to women's sexual assault reports. "When complaints of sexual assault are dismissed with such frequency, it is a sign of deeper flaws in the investigative process," the report states. Problems arise from, amongst other things, "inadequate training for police; dated interviewing techniques that do not take into account the effect that trauma can have on memory; and the persistence of rape myths among law-enforcement officials" (Doolittle, 2017a).

Fig. 8: Rates of Police-Reported Sexual Assault during the Unfounded investigation release and the #metoo movement (Rotenberg & Cotter, 2018).



Note: Sexual assault offences include sexual assault level 1, level 2, and level 3. Counts are based on the number of victims where the most serious violation in the incident was sexual assault. This chart does not take into account changes in population counts. The report date is the date when the incident became known by the police or was reported to the police. Excludes incidents where the age or sex of the victim was unknown or over 89 years of age (<1%).
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

In 2017, several police agencies across Canada announced that they would review their unfounded sexual assault cases to determine if they required further investigation. Fredericton and Calgary Police services formed pilot projects with local sexual assault organizations to review the impact of gender bias and rape mythologies in the investigative process (Fraser, 2018; Canadian Government News, 2017). Several agencies also have re-opened investigations into some of the cases that the *Unfounded* report spotlighted. In addition, one of the most notable outcomes of the *Unfounded* investigation was the conviction of Brian Lance for sexual interference. In the 1990s, a 14-year-old Survivor had reported Lance for sexual abuse, but the interviewing police officer dismissed her report because she giggled during the interview (Doolittle, 2018). Law enforcement and crime analyst sectors have taken the *Unfounded* report and the heightened attention to sexual violence seriously. In fact, by early 2018, Statistics Canada released data on unfounded rates of sexual assault reports for the first time in two

decades. This preliminary data suggests that fewer sexual assault reports are being dismissed as unfounded claims (14% in 2017, compared to 17% in 2016) (Greenland & Cotter, 2018), however these rates still exceed the rates of false reporting, which is estimated to range from 2% to 10% of all sexual assault claims reported to police (Lisak, Gardinier, Nicksa, & Cote, 2010).

The #metoo movement has already had a pronounced influence on Canada's criminal justice system. More sexual assault cases are coming into the purview of law enforcement, and fewer of these incidents are being classified as unfounded reports. These effects have widely been accepted as positive signs that the #metoo movement is on a path to make transformative changes in how the criminal justice system understands and responds to sexual assault. However, there are several troubling ways that legal responses to sexual assault have remained relatively unaffected by #metoo.

Half (47%) of sexual assaults reported to police after #metoo were incidents that had taken place recently. This is consistent with reporting trends before #metoo, as well. The literature on sexual assault reporting trends has consistently shown that the types of sexual assault most likely to be reported are cases where the perpetrator is a stranger, and incidents of stranger perpetrated sexual assault these are most likely to be reported soon after the assault occurs (Rotenberg & Cotter, 2018). Yet, sexual assault is much more likely to be perpetrated by a friend, acquaintance, family member, intimate partner or ex-intimate partner than a stranger (Conroy & Cotter, 2017). Therefore, the reporting spike after #metoo may not be capturing a greater extent of the cases of sexual assault that predominate. Demographic trends in who reports to police also remain unchanged by #metoo. Young women and girls continue to have the highest rates of police-reported sexual assault (55% before #metoo and 56% after #metoo)

(Rotenberg, 2017b; Rotenberg & Cotter, 2018). However, there remains a dearth of information collected about the reporting habits that include demographic information on race and ethnicity, socio-economic status, and sexual orientation. This information is sorely missed as it remains unclear whether or not the #metoo movement has accommodated greater police awareness of the nature and extent of sexual violence against women of colour, Indigenous women, queer women, transgender and non-binary people, and women located at multiple intersects of these and other social locations.

Although some law enforcement agencies have responded to the *Unfounded* investigation by consulting and partnering with women's shelters and sexual assault organizations, these initiatives have not been widespread. For instance, law enforcement agencies in Simcoe County were reticent to accept the report's findings, arguing that the reported high number of unfounded cases in their jurisdiction were a result of flawed data entry, and not a result of shoddy investigation practices, gender bias, or rape mythology (Barrie Advance, 2017).

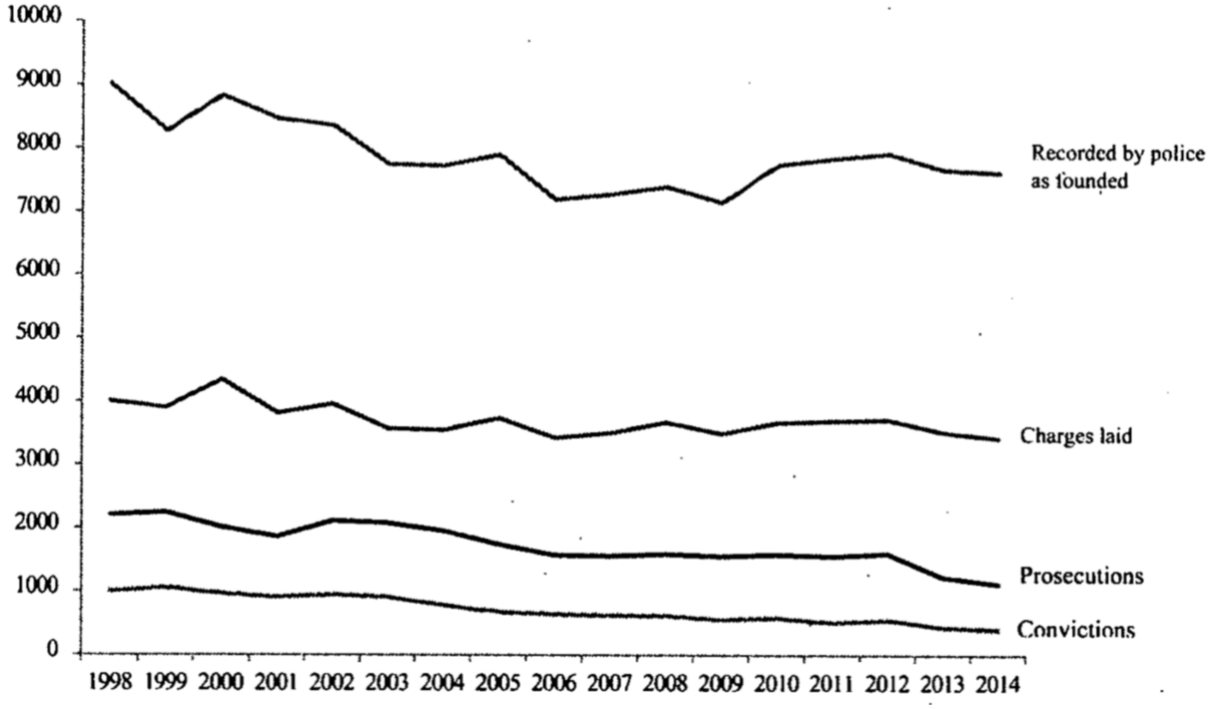
With the dramatic spike in reports following #metoo going viral in 2017, as well as the numerous law enforcement agencies who are re-opening unfounded cases, it would be fair to reason that Canada's courts are set to experience an influx of sexual assault cases going to trial. Curiously, this does not seem to be the case. Compared with before #metoo, fewer charges could be laid after #metoo because fewer alleged offenders could be connected to the assault (Rotenberg & Cotter, 2018). Even when an alleged offender could be identified, the proportion charged with an offence did not increase (Rotenberg, 2018a). Therefore, increased reporting has not led to an increase in charges or convictions.

Although the #metoo movement has been shown to increase the number of sexual assault incidents reported to police, this may not be a good measure of the movement's ‘success.' The attrition rates of sexual assault cases recorded by police remains a long-standing and pervasive issue. Even when women are believed, and reports are classified as founded by police, issues persist in the responses provided to women. As seen in Figure 9, from 1998 to 2014, of those sexual assaults that were reported to police in Ontario, and that police classified as ‘founded,' virtually half did not lead to charges, and a slim minority lead to a prosecution or conviction. As criminologist Holly Johnson (2017) notes, women's reluctance to involve police is often grounded in concerns about "being blamed or judged, shame and embarrassment, fear of retaliation by the perpetrator, a belief that police would not, or could not, do anything about it, and fears about how they will be treated by the police or the trial process" (p. 37). These are all barriers that have not changed after #metoo.

What is more, formal, punitive justice mechanisms are rarely cited by domestic and sexual assault Survivors as crucial tenets of their perceptions of justice. As Joanne Minaker (2001) notes from her research with intimate partner violence Survivors, the punishment of the offender is often of low priority or not included in definitions of justice at all. From the Survivor's standpoint, safety, survival, and improving one's quality of life are cited more commonly as indicators of justice (Herman, 2005; Minaker, 2001; van Wormer, 2009). Yet, even when subscribing to the formal legal mechanisms of justice through punishment, the techniques employed to this end by the criminal justice system rarely produce its own idealized ‘just' outcome – even when the sexual assault is believed to have occurred. Thus, the mechanisms for justice used by the criminal justice system: that this, an adversarial process that results in the

punishment of the offender, is not only rarely helpful for the Survivor, but they are also seldom mobilized.

Fig. 9: Gap Between Sexual Assault Recorded by Police as Founded and Convictions in Ontario (Johnson, 2017).



An unfortunate and long-standing issue that #metoo has brought to the fore is the deleterious effects speaking up can have for Survivors. Dr. Christine Blasey Ford's, non-consensual testimony[17] of her sexual assault and the lack of recourse taken against Brett Kavanaugh serves as a stark reminder that although the specific techniques used to undermine and malign survivors in the courtroom may be changing, the systems of patriarchal power that operate within legal proceedings remain largely unchanged.

17 I frame Dr. Blasey Ford's testimony as non-consensual to emphasize that Ford never consented to have her name published.

Although #metoo has led to increased police involvement in sexual assault cases, it does not necessarily relate to changes in the practices of the courts. To further explore why legal responses to #metoo have been sporadically and unevenly mobilized, this discussion must be contextualized within the longer history of feminist anti-violence activism that backdrops the current #metoo era.

The Battered Women's Movement: An Example of the Promises and Dangers of Feminist Engagement with the Criminal Justice System

The #metoo movement does not exist in a social vacuum. #metoo is emerging upon a backdrop of a long history of anti-sexual violence mobilization. The Battered Women's Movement (BWM) was particularly instructive in reforming sexual assault law and criminal justice response to interpersonal violence and sexual violence in the 1980s and 1990s. I use the Battered Women's Movement (BWM) as an exemplary case of how feminist anti-violence activism has attempted to produce transformative legal reforms and policy changes that were sought to address, and potentially eradicate, wife abuse and other forms of physical violence against women. The transformative capacity envisaged by the BWM is similar to the contemporary #metoo movement, in which news media and many supporters have expressed hopefulness that #metoo's endeavours could (and would) produce a culture of intolerance for gender-based violence and affect legal and extra-legal reforms that would address it's root causes.

Feminist criminology and socio-legal studies widely explore, analyze and critique law and juridical practice as it relates to gender-based violence. Much of this literature has investigated the pronounced influence of feminist anti-violence movements on criminal justice and legal reforms across Canada's history. The BWM of the 1960s and 1970s was a particularly

influential instance of feminist anti-violence organizing, which "attempted to transform wife abuse from a private trouble to a public issue" (Minaker, 2001, p. 77).

Situating #metoo within the longer history of anti-sexual violence organizing in Canada that has also attempted to eradicate sexual violence at one time or another makes possible valuable comparative insights. Contextualizing #metoo provides knowledge into what (if anything) the #metoo movement does differently from prior attempts to ameliorate sexual violence against women that, despite significant inroads they may have made, have not yet eradicated the root causes that produce the conditions necessary for sexual violence to occur.

Sexual violence has not always been a central issue within the feminist movement. As feminist scholars who have traced the historical emergence of anti-rape and anti-sexual violence activism have noted, sexual violence remained outside the purview of first wave feminist activism (Bevacqua, 2000). Whereas first wave feminism largely endeavoured to move women out of the private sphere and into the public sphere, second-wave feminists began critiquing the gendered public and private divide altogether. Part and parcel of this argument were second wave activists and scholars during this time, including Susan Brownmiller (1993), who argued that the issues of wife battering and violence against women that occur in the private sphere of the household, were political issues that should be brought into the public sphere to create legal protections for women from these forms of violence.

The Battered Women's Movement (BWM) emerged during this time as an effort to raise public awareness of, and increase protections from, wife battering. Wife battering was a term used to refer to physical violence perpetrated by husbands against their wives (Bevacqua, 2000). A central effort within the BWM was to identify and address sexual violence perpetrated by

husbands against their wives because rape laws did not recognize sexual violence within the confines of marriage to be a criminal offence.

Since 1892, Canada's Criminal Code narrowly defined rape as an act of penile/vaginal penetration, husbands could not be charged for raping their wives, and the credibility of a woman's story was measured against her pervious sexual conduct (Tremblay, 2013). The efforts of second-wave liberal feminists and the BWM were instructive in pushing for legal reforms that would challenge these patriarchal constructions of rape and gender-based violence in law and jurisprudence (Brownmiller, 1999). Over the latter half of the 20th century, calls for change gained traction in the public sphere as governments and NGOs began supporting research into anti-rape initiatives as well as education and awareness campaigns (Bevacqua, 2000; Tremblay, 2013).

Efforts advanced by the BWM to this end included calling upon and working alongside government agencies to construct and fund shelters for ‘battered women'[18] and their children, increasing public awareness, education, and intolerance of ‘wife abuse', implementing criminal penalties for ‘wife abuse', and improving protections and support for ‘battered women' who enter into the criminal justice system through the creation of rape crisis centres (Minaker, 2001). In sum, the BWM moved to politicize the personal by calling upon public bodies, and the criminal

18 'Battered women' was a term used by second-wave feminists to refer to female victims of male intimate violence, and ‘wife abuse' was used to refer to the action, recognizing the inherently gendered nature of these abuses. I used these terms with quotation marks to remain consistent with the terms and language accepted by second-wave feminists but also to indicate my own uneasiness with these terms, which tends to imply victimhood as a master status, limits the definitional boundaries of gender-based violence to its physical forms, and reinforces heteronormative assumptions of the nature and context of intimate partner violence.

justice system, in particular, to act on behalf of ‘battered women', by attempting to prevent domestic violence, provide resources to protect and support ‘battered women', and secure strict penalties for ‘wife abuse' (Minaker, 2001). Although the BWM sought to advance ‘wife abuse' as a public issue, and not just a criminal one, enacting criminal justice reforms on behalf of ‘battered women' became one of the BWM's primary endeavours and ultimately one of the movement's most successful campaigns. Implementing legislative changes and criminal justice reforms posed, if successful, a significant inroad through which the seriousness of violence against women could be effectively instilled in the public consciousness and a broader culture of intolerance for intimate partner violence could be cultivated.

For this reason, the BWM focused extensive efforts on getting law enforcement and criminal justice agencies to take domestic violence as seriously as other crimes. This would require a multi-faceted campaign. Not only would comprehensive laws need to be written into the criminal code that prohibited ‘wife abuse', but they would also need to ensure that law enforcement agents and legal practitioners were educated in feminist understandings of gender-based violence and worked to dispel the gendered double standards that would typically inform court-room proceedings in sexual assault trials, and rape mythologies that remained embedded in many legal administrators ideas of sex and sexuality (Loewen, 2015).

By the early 1980s, significant milestones to this end were achieved. Marital rape became recognized as a criminal act under the Criminal Code; rape was legally redefined as the gender-neutral crime of sexual assault to highlight the violent, rather than merely sexual nature of the offence; and rape shield provisions were passed, restricting the introduction of women's sexual history into trial proceedings (Tremblay, 2013). Further changes came in the 1990s when

restrictions were placed on introducing women's therapeutic records into court. Consent was legally redefined so that mistaken belief that consent was given could no longer be used as a defence. Consent was redefined as a voluntary agreement. The defense of mistake belief in consent was limited by a new “reasonable steps” provisions that placed the onus on the alleged offender to show that he took steps to ascertain consent as a precondition for using this defence (Tremblay, 2013).

Legal reforms went beyond legislative changes. By 1985, most Canadian jurisdictions had implemented a ‘zero tolerance' policy for family violence, which required police to lay a charge in all cases of domestic violence, regardless of the victim's wishes. It was thought that "transferring the onus of laying charges to the police and Crown prosecutors removed the pressure from the victims, sending a clear message that spousal assault is not a private matter, but a serious and unacceptable social problem and a clear violation of the law" (Statistics Canada, 2006). In 1990, Winnipeg established the first Family Violence Court in which Crown attorneys and judges were trained to "recognize the specificity of abuse between intimate patterns and accord sensitivity in these matters" (Minaker, 2001, p. 77). Over the course of the following 20 years, specialized family and domestic violence courts were established across Canada and were mandated to provide mechanisms in the criminal court system that accommodated the unique dynamics of family violence and ‘wife abuse', facilitate intervention and prosecution of family violence cases, increase offender accountability, and provided support to victims (Federal Provincial Territorial Working Group, 2003).

These were all significant and hard-won victories for feminist law reformers. However, socio-legal and criminological feminists remain divided about the efficacy of criminal justice

reform as a primary means through which they should focus their efforts. One of the one hand, some feminists note that the BWM has successfully politicized the personal. New legal and extra-legal supports for ‘battered women' exist that were not available before, government monies were allocated to creating and funding women's shelters across Canada, and despite the flaws, domestic violence against women has widely understood as a serious problem within the public consciousness (Ursel, 1991; 1996). For instance, whereas standard police practices before the late 1970s and early 1980s often involved avoiding arrest, "policing today (at least on the books) emphasizes domestic violence as a criminal act and arrest as the primary response" (Minaker, 2001, p. 77). Indeed, the BWM was effective in bringing violence against women further into the public view and increasing awareness of the nuances and complexity of violence against women, and provided the impetus for many legislative, juridical and criminal justice reforms.

On the other hand, some feminists have criticized the increasing prevalence of criminalization policies. Many argue that implementing zero tolerance charging and harsher convictions have been detrimental for feminist anti-violence efforts (Minaker, 2001; Snider, 2008). Namely, because the governmental response to BWM was primarily a criminal justice one, public monies were allocated to extend the use and length of punitive strategies in domestic and sexual violence cases. In effect, many of these criminal justice reforms that feminist activist engagement procured over the last four decades has counterintuitively resulted in resources and government monies expanding Canada's surveillance and prison industries, rather than investing public funding into extra-legal services like women's shelters and women's health services that directly provide support for Survivors themselves (Snider, 2008).

Incarceration does not reduce the likelihood of re-offending, exacerbating the issue. Instead, "it makes those subjected to it more bitter, resentful, misogynous, and significantly less employable" (Snider, 2008, p. 39). What is more, in the case of interpersonal violence, zero tolerance policies have resulted in the unintended effect of counter-charging – the practice of laying charges against the complainant instead of, or in addition to the accused offender, if there is any indication of retaliatory violence (Snider, 1998). Not only has this resulted in women facing charges when they report their abuse to police, but it can have detrimental far-reaching consequences for the women who report. For instance, in Minaker's (2001) analysis of survivor's experiences after reporting their abusive husbands or partners to the police, an immigrant woman by the name of Lory who reported her partner's abusive behaviour to police resulted in a custody battle over her three children, which she lost (Minaker, 2001). These stories about the consequences that precipitate from zero tolerance policies and counter-charging are unfortunately common and profoundly devastating. Although counter-charging is a problem specific to cases of domestic violence and not sexual violence more broadly, these problems are important to flag in relation to the #metoo movement's similar efforts to rethink how legal practitioners and the legal method understands sand addresses gender-based violence.

These questions about the 'success' or 'failure' of the BWM play into a longer, larger, and ongoing debate within feminist socio-legal thought, one which lies at the core of the tenuous relationship that connects feminisms and law and therefore, at the heart of discussions about the implications of #metoo movement. That is, can the criminal justice system attend to Survivor's needs, and can it understand feminist anti-violence theory and activism at all? Questions remain as to whether or not the legal method can account for and make sense of the complex realities of

women's experiences of sexual violence. The #metoo movement has harkened back to this question once again.

Sexual violence against women is a significant public issue. Numerous anti-violence efforts, including the BWM, Take Back the Night marches, and now, the #metoo movement have all re-iterated this same message. Carol Smart's understanding of the shortfalls and the necessity of feminism to engage with law, particularly in the case of sexual assault, inform the scope and urgency of returning to her work to question this '#metoo era' we currently reside within.

Lost in translation: The Feminist Husks of Criminal Justice Sexual Assault Reform

Feminist socio-legal scholar Carol Smart reminds us that legal systems are founded upon and operate through patriarchal conceptions of reason, objectivity, and truth that inherently set themselves in opposition to feminist ways of knowing (Smart, 2002). Therefore, attempting to create substantive change through the criminal justice system requires feminist ontology to undermine itself by accepting laws epistemologies and rationalities for challenges to be heard (Smart, 2002). Some critics argue that feminist efforts like the BWM that have, whether it was intended or not, relied on criminal justice agencies to garner legitimacy, were 'unsuccessful' for this reason (Smart, 2002). No matter how successful feminist efforts are at advocating for legal reforms and motivating a criminal justice response to particularly egregious cases of gender-based violence, "women still do not control the results" (Snider, 1994, p. 93) when criminal justice discourses translate sexual violence into legal definitions of sexual assault and consent. Survivors, scholars, and other experts on gender-based violence are rarely consulted in the formulation and implementation of criminal justice reforms. This is why Minaker (2001) argues that evaluating the influence of feminist engagement with the state requires "attention not simply to whether the state responses but also to an analysis of the specific nature of that response" (p.

78). While extra-legal reforms led to the creation and funding of women's shelters, the nature of the state's response to feminist anti-violence efforts like the BWM has primarily been through the lens of criminal justice, where the power and authority to design and implement reforms remain inside the grasp of the legal system, a system that remains imbricated within and operate through patriarchal, white supremacist, and settler colonial relations of power.

As Smart (2002) asserts, law and the practice of the traditional legal method – that 'Truth' exists objectively out there and can be uncovered by following the neutral and unchallenged procedures of law – is anything but neutral. The practices of law to define 'Truth' is developed from a white, male, heteronormative standpoint. When women enter the court to testify about their experiences of sexual assault, their abuse is filtered through a mesh of what Smart calls 'legal relevances.' This refers to the way law decides which parts of the woman's abuse(s) 'count' within the courtroom in deciding the nature of the crime that has been committed, if any crime has been committed at all. Often, this filter focuses on quantifying (e.g. "how many times did your abuser rape you?"), physically describing (e.g. "did you have any marks on your body, and where?") and isolating behaviours (e.g. "when did the attack take place, and where?"). However, "women [do] *not* experience abuse by the number and location of blows *nor* as being separate and distinct from their everyday lives. Therefore, presenting their experience [..] this way [is] almost untenable" (Smart, 2002, p. 92, emphasis in original). Joanne Minaker (2001) indicates that even in the specialized Family Courts in Manitoba, where judges are trained to be sensitive to the complex relationship contexts in which gender-based violence often occurs, psychological forms of abuse that are interwoven into the experience of domestic violence against women are often not acknowledged by police or the court. Overall, the way women know, and experience

violence are lost in the translation of sexual violence into its legal definition. This remains particularly salient for women of colour and marginalized women. As Minaker (2001) notes,

> Even though women's biographies and social locations have everything to do with experiences that brought them into contact with the [criminal justice system], they have almost nothing to do with the encounters in the [criminal justice system]. […] Gender, race, and class hierarchies impose particular constraints on the women's lives, yet these remain, by and large, absent from the law's view of sexual violence (p. 103).

Evident in Minaker's words is what Smart's socio-legal theory asserts. Women's heterogeneous realities of sexual violence are untranslatable into the legal relevances of the court. But the goal is not simply to attempt to implement an alternative truth regime (Nelund, 2015) into the criminal justice system. As Smart (2002) reminds us, to have women's experiences recognized as a 'truth' to be acknowledged by law, actionable change is counterintuitively reduced to "accepting law's terms in order to challenge law" (Smart, 2002, p. 10). Efforts on this front lose the capacity to challenge those white, male, and heteronormative tools that are used to deploy and sustain legal power, undermining feminist knowledge and politics in the process. The result is a hollowing out of the feminist epistemologies, values, and goals at the heart of anti-sexual violence organizing, reducing efforts for transformative social change into symbolic and surface-level fixes that do not address law's implication in sustaining the conditions necessary for sexual violence to occur, and the criminal justice systems culpability in normalizing sexual violence by neglecting to adequately respond when it occurs. New legal reforms, policies, and practices present little more than a symbolic husk of feminist social action. Legal responses may appear to be incorporating feminist critique and implementing transformative changes, but the specific nature of these responses is devoid of the critical challenging of formal justice mechanisms of law and the criminal justice system that transformative change requires.

Smart (2002) argues that feminist efforts to abolish sexual violence should steer away from strategies that tacitly accept and legitimate the legal system and reinforce it's authority to define what knowledge is 'true,' just as efforts to promote alternative truth regimes should be avoided, as these efforts fall into the same traps. Such efforts, which encumbered many of the strategies of the BWM to advance criminal justice reform, reifies the legal method, accepting its 'rightful' power to define what experiences are relevant to law and in doing so, it accepts laws claim to be the purveyor of objective reality. In short, Smart (2002) argues that feminism of this brand gives law too much power to the detriment of its own cause. Through this, we might understand why sentencing decisions that came in response to feminist efforts to abolish violence against women, have often backfired. Today, #metoo is at the precipice of falling into these same traps. Feminists must ask themselves about the value of turning to law and the criminal justice system to address sexual violence, and the benefits and dangers of its implications.

Turning to Law, or Turning Law out? The transformative potential of #metoo as an alternative justice mechanism

This chapter has indicated several dangers of turning to law. Indeed, I agree with Smart (2002) to the extent that the criminal justice system reveals time and again, the inadequacy of the criminal legal approach to resolving sexual violence. However, the question remains, if not law and the criminal justice system, then what? What are the potential benefits and consequences if anti-sexual violence activism did not invest their considerable energies into legal and criminal justice reform, and instead, advanced an alternative framework of justice? It could be very productive to think of the #metoo movement as an alternative justice mechanism because it has emerged outside of the formal mechanisms of the criminal justice system. In addition, viewing #metoo as an alternative justice mechanism recognizes that online anti-sexual violence advocacy and

activist labours are in and of themselves, a means through which justice can occur, and does not require translation into legal discourse.

As I introduced in chapter 3, technological advancements of new media make possible what Anastasia Powell (2015) calls techno-social counter publics. These are spaces in new and social media where "culturally and discursively marginalized or silenced groups engage in resistant and/or critical speech that is ordinarily delegitimized and excluded from the public sphere" (Powell, 2015, pp. 579-580). These discursive arenas are made up of members of subordinated groups who "invent and circulate counter discourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs" (Fraser, 2014, p. 67). In doing so, techno-social counter publics are spaces where alternative forms of and mechanisms for justice are produced (Powell, 2015).

#metoo can be viewed as an alternative justice mechanism rooted in the resistant critical speech produced within the techno-social counter publics that *oppose and undermine* the patriarchal, settler colonial, and racist constraints of formal justice mechanisms in the criminal justice system. Some examples of how this has been done include ‘digilante' or digital vigilante tactics, in which social media users activate their own forms of justice. In #metoo, online naming and shaming, as well as calling for the resignation of alleged assaulters, have been the most common form of digilantism.

Viewing #metoo as more than just activism, but as justice work, helps to legitimate anti-sexual violence theory, knowledge, and Survivor's stories, where they exist (Powell, 2015). The implications of this are significant: the counter-public spaces of #metoo can be recognized as more than an activist campaign to get structurally oppressive formal justice mechanisms to be

more sensitive in their state violence. Instead, these labours are legitimated as techniques and tools for seeking justice through the distinct anti-racist, anti-colonial feminist politics of articulation that emerges from, and through the resistive and critical speech that defines #metoo's counter publics. As Powell (2015) states, "in western liberal democracies, we are not perhaps accustomed to applying our concept of 'justice' to the informal mechanisms that exist outside of the state and in civil society. Yet this is a failing, and a barrier in many ways, to developing both our understandings of justice and diversifying the options available to victim-survivors of sexual violence" (p. 582). In other words, this is a way through which the intersectional and Black feminisms that underscore Burke's #metoo framework could be supported. Efforts to empower women and girls of colour and other marginalized women could be centralized. Addressing the specific concerns of Survivors could be viewed as a form of justice in its own right. Rather than rely on an adversarial system, in which truly acknowledging the needs of the victim remains impossible, viewing the counter publics of the #metoo movement as a justice mechanism locates online efforts to support survivors, listen to their stories, advocate on their behalf, and challenge oppressive discourse as a form of justice work.

At the same time, viewing these efforts for justice as inherently better than formal mechanisms is also dangerous as it lends to tacit acceptance of an alternative truth regime, which can have equally deleterious effects (Nelund, 2015). For example, Canadian novelist Margaret Atwood (2018) penned a column in the *Globe and Mail* warning of the dangers of online vigilante justice. Atwood detailed her own experience of being admonished by other feminists for supporting a University of British Columbia employee who was fired after being accused of a sexual assault claim. She warned that the culture 'condemnation without trial' has been a dangerous practice in many violent episodes of human history, including the Salem witch trials.

Although recognizing that the forms of vigilante justice seen in #metoo are a symptom of inadequacies in the formal channels to deal with sexual assault, including the criminal justice system, she warns of the danger that turning to extra-legal power structures, particularly those emerging with pace and without foresight, morphing the movement from a fight against the war on women into a war amongst women (Atwood, 2018)

This warning is particularly important when considering that Twitter and Facebook are not value-free technologies and may impede feminist social action. Social media platforms are the property of massive corporations with capitalist interests at stake in online social and political organizing. Further, the people who populate the STEM and tech corridors that have created the innovations necessary for digital feminist activism to take hold have shown a well-documented propensity for promoting racism and sexism. The mathematical formulations that drive automated decisions on the web are imbued with these values. This is what Safiya Umoja Noble (2018) calls algorithmic oppression, understanding that patriarchal, colonial, and white supremacist systems of power and domination are "not just a glitch in the system but, rather, is fundamental to the operating system of the web" (Noble, 2018, p. 10).

> In addition, #metoo is not, inherently, a safe space for disclosure, because shaming, victim-blaming, and backlash are rampant within online spheres just as they are within the conventional criminal justice zones. As Powell notes, "[C]ommunications technologies, and social media, in particular, have been used to extend the harm of sexual violence through further harassing, humiliating, shaming and blaming survivors itself demonstrates how technologies are not unproblematically 'liberatory' for women" (Powell, 2015, p. 579).

We must also take into account that although #metoo originated within techno-social counter publics, it seems in many ways to be increasingly 'whitestreamed.' The A-list celebrity advocates of #metoo predominantly have inscribed Western liberal feminist conception of sexual violence and justice. Thus, new media counter-publics capacities for producing alternative

justice mechanisms have promising potential benefits but are plagued by these significant dangers that must be addressed in order to mobilize woman's movement that champions anti-white supremacy and anti-colonialism as well.

At the same time, it is essential to note the ways that alternative justice mechanisms can operate in tandem with, and even end up informing, formal justice mechanisms. Notable examples of this have been restorative justice initiatives that are often positioned as diversionary programs or extended arms of the criminal justice system. Addressing intimate partner violence and sexual violence through restorative justice processes has been attempted in Australia and New Zealand (Daly, Bouhours, Broadhurst, & Loh, 2013; Ronken & Lincoln, 2001),the United States (Koss, 2014; Hopkins & Koss, 2005), and Canada (Sawatsky, 2009; Hannem & Petrunik, 2007) with varied success in resolving these aforementioned issues feminists have raised about relying on criminal justice mechanisms to address sexual violence. However, these programs can fall into the same traps that feminist engagement with the legal system is prone to (Joyce-Wojtas & Keenan, 2016; Herman, 2005). Namely, many criminologists have asked by attaching to the criminal justice system, how much do alternative or restorative justice mechanisms undermine their own base logics?

Nevertheless, outright dismissal of the criminal justice system as a lost cause is not a productive path. Dismissing formal justice mechanisms would uncritically overlook these ongoing debates within feminist thought. Rather than dismissing formal justice mechanisms, I argue that the problems with the criminal justice responses to sexual violence indicate a greater impetus for feminist engagement with law. It is precisely because law and the criminal justice system is founded upon and reinforces patriarchal orders and settler state domination that they

must remain a central focus of feminist work (Smart, 2002). #metoo can, and perhaps hopefully, will work in tandem with criminal justice to reform sexual assault law and criminal justice responses. One supporter of this approach is feminist legal scholar Catharine MacKinnon (2018), who asserts that the #metoo movement has put a spotlight on rampant issues within the sexual harassment laws, including non-disclosure agreements, that tend to protect powerful, white, rich men and pressure women into silence. MacKinnon (2018) argues that the #metoo movement can have practical applications by advancing a feminist politics for legal change by, amongst other things, advocating for legislative and policy changes that limit the usage of non-disclosure agreements. Indeed, feminist anti-rape and anti-violence movements have often worked alongside formal justice mechanisms and have made substantial gains in rape law reform. Getting government agencies to taken violence against women is a necessary cause, however it has historically been shown not be a sufficient approach to ameliorate sexual violence.

Yet, organizations and institutions that have responded to the #metoo movement have done so by attempting to translate #metoo and anti-sexual violence activism into their institutional and organizational lexicons. These efforts, by their nature, serve the interests of the institutions that authorize it, and "all too frequently they emphasize institutional, bureaucratic goals (primarily financial survival) over broader social movement goals" (Luft & Ward, 2009, p. 23). It is for this reason why further questioning of the implications of the #metoo movement is urgently needed.

Concerns about the dangers of turning to law to address sexual violence are well-warranted. Carol Smart (2002) notes that the ‘rape trial' is doing more than deciding the guilt or innocence of the accused. It is a space where a rape story is translated through androcentric legal

discourses into a sexual fantasy. It is a space where legal discourse wields masculine power in technically precise and seemingly innocuous ways to undermine women's experience and knowledge of sexual violence.

> We know that a woman's account of her abuse is always filtered through a mesh of legal relevances about, for example, consent, intention, corroboration, and so on. Her story is reconstructed into a standard form of sexual fantasy or even pornography in which she becomes the slut who turns men on and indicates her availability through every fibre of her clothing and demeanour. The only difference between the rape story and the standard fantasy is that in the former, she complains (Smart, 2002, p. 205).

This is one of the numerous critiques feminists have raised about legal discourses of sexual violence against women.

Law is an important site of feminist struggle (Smart, 2002). Recognizing that it is counterintuitive to turn to law does not mean that feminists might be better suited to turn away from engaging with law entirely. On the contrary, by recognizing the masculinist culture signified and upheld by law and juridical practice, feminists should be urged to challenge the criminal justice system with greater intensity. As Carol Smart (2002) notes,

> There is a congruence between law and what might be called a ‘masculine culture' and that in taking on law, feminism is taking on a great deal more as well. Ironically it is precisely for this reason that law should remain an important focus for feminist work, not in order to achieve law reforms (although some may be useful) but to challenge such an important signifier of masculine power (p. 8).

In saying this, Smart does not presuppose that law is the appropriate site through which we should address the issue of sexual violence. In some ways, the #metoo movement is an outcome of women's disinterest in engaging with the adversarial legal method and skepticism of these mechanisms being able to produce just outcomes that will adequately meet their unique needs (Macnab, 2018). For instance, Deepa Matto, legal director at the Barbra Schlifer Clinic stated, "from the legal perspective, […] there are many women who come to us who do not want to

engage with the adversarial system and want to engage with something else" (Matto in Macnab, 2018). In Mattoo's eyes, the #metoo movement is a technologically advanced avenue for women to continue to do what they have done for centuries – find support amongst other women and warn each other about violent men without having to rely on police, judges, and Crown Attorneys (Macnab, 2018).

Concluding Remarks: Challenging the Authority of Criminal Justice Responses through The #metoo Movement

The #metoo movement has had an effect on the criminal justice system, but current legal responses have been too limited in scope and reach to produce transformative change. Identifying if legal and extra-legal mechanisms are responding to the #metoo movement is not enough. This chapter has analyzed how law is (or is not) mobilizing in the #metoo era, what this mobilization looks like, what the #metoo movement may to doing to destabilize the authority of law by discussing the benefits and consequences of promoting the #metoo movement as an alternative justice mechanism. What is clear, however, is that the #metoo movement exemplifies a place where the power and authority of the criminal justice system are seriously questioned. For this reason, it is important to question whether #metoo needs to rely on formal justice mechanisms at all, or if activating through #metoo may be considered a form of justice in its own right.

Sexual assault remains one of the most pervasive, yet underreported crimes in North America (Benoit et al., 2016; Brennan and Taylor-Butts 2008; Kaufman 2008; Luce et al. 2010). In Canada, violent crime rates are declining (Perreault, 2015), but sexual assault rates remain stable. Despite its prevalence, less than 2 out of every ten sexual assaults are reported to police (Conroy & Cotter, 2017). These trends have been long-standing, until now. In October of 2017,

reports of sexual assault to law enforcement agencies dramatically increased by 25% in the three months following October 2017 compared to the rates from the three months before October 2017 (Rotenberg & Cotter, 2018). This increase is believed to have been caused by the viral #metoo hashtag sweeping across social media platforms (Conroy & Cotter, 2017).

The authority to define sexual violence, lay charges, and prosecute offenders resides predominantly within the domain of law. However, the #metoo movement has challenged this authority. #metoo has become a platform where (predominantly female) sexual assault survivors can identify and call out the behaviours of their (predominantly male) assaulter(s). For many #metoo supporters, these swift actions seem to represent the promise that social progress is happening. Instead of meeting women's accusations with immediate skepticism, it seems that workplace authorities and society at large are more willing to believe women's claims that their male co-workers are guilty of sexual harassment and assault. As it has unfolded thus far, the #metoo movement seems to be an avenue where the power to accuse and dole out punishment has shifted, in part, from law to women who disclose outside its confines.

Anti-feminist backlash proponents have been critical of this shift, arguing that allowing women to act as judge and executioner in the court of public opinion undermines the due process of the legal method. The argument goes: law, in its blind, and inherently just process, should remain the sole proprietor of the power to define sexual violence, decide when it has or has not occurred, and administer reasonable punishment. By inherently believing what they post online, women hold an instant power to end a man's career and make him a social pariah. What is more, this can be done at the click of a button. Who is to say that this power will not be abused? Particularly captivating has been the public fear stoking of U.S. President Donald Trump, who

has retaliated against the #metoo movement by amplifying the supposed prevalence of false accusations. Siding with the accused, among whom he is also included, Trump has argued that the #metoo movement is a political tool to ‘take down' powerful men. In this way, backlashers have weaponized victimization against sexual assault survivors. Using the ‘man-hating feminist' trope, so the argument goes, "#metoo is not addressing violence, it is inflicting violence against men!"

Less explicit is the way this fear has manifested in the everyday situations in which men and women find themselves. For instance, following #metoo, a growing number of men have reported being increasingly reluctant to work with or mentor women in the workplace (Gourguechon, 2018). In other words, the response has been to shut women out, take away opportunities for advancement or educational development, and remove support from their colleagues. The fear ingrained within these sentiments, whether they are explicit or subversive, paints #metoo as a dangerous form of ‘vigilante justice' women have taken up to take down powerful men.

This argument can be compelling. However, we find two assumptions being made here that discredit the argument. First, this argument relies on a worn-out rape myth mentality of women's inherent deceptiveness. With rates estimated to range around 2% to 10% of all reports of sexual assault to police in the United States, false accusations are the exception, not the norm (Lisak, Gardinier, Nicksa, & Cote, 2010). Numerous examples can be pointed out to solidify that women, by and large, *do not* mount false accusations for personal gain. For example, Dr. Christine Blasey-Ford has faced an onslaught of social, emotional, and economic tolls including public disparagement of her character, death threats, revictimization and traumatization as she

was forced to recount her abuse on international television, required time away from work, forced relocation, amongst other things. These detriments are not relegated to only the highly publicized cases. Instead, they are felt widely and have been identified as some of the reasons why the majority of women do not report their sexual abuse or, like Dr. Blasey-Ford, wish to remain anonymous (Rotenberg, 2018).

The second assumption under skirting the anti-feminist argument against #metoo is the notion that law holds the rightful authority to define what is true and that the legal method can be used to seek out that truth. As many feminist scholars remind us, law is founded upon and continues to be practiced through a white, male, and heteronormative lens (Crenshaw, 1989; Smart, 2002). Feminists often contest laws definitions of gender-based violence because they discount women's knowledge of their own experience (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1989; Smart, 2002). Thus, by leaning upon law to undermine the movement, backlashers have opened the door for these feminist criticisms of law to enter discussions surrounding #metoo. But is the #metoo movement really doing what backlashers fear and shifting the power to define, judge, and prosecute away from law and into the hands of women? Also, if law can so easily be used to discredit women's experiences of sexual violence, then should we turn to law to define, identify, and respond to sexual violence in the first place? Instead, does the movement reveal, in fact, the inadequacies of law and provide a platform in which feminists can launch a challenge of law's power?

These questions of law are asked in varying ways and to varying degrees during many feminist anti-violence social movements across time, including but not limited to the Battered Women's Movement (Minaker & Snider, 2006) and Take Back the Night Rally protests (Gotell,

2011). Although the #metoo movement has been shown to increase the number of sexual assault incidents reported to police, this may not be a good measure of the movement's ‘success.' With the dramatic spike in reports following #metoo going viral in 2017, as well as the numerous law enforcement agencies who are re-opening unfounded cases, it would be fair to reason that Canada's courts are set to experience an influx of sexual assault cases going to trial. Curiously, this does not seem to be the case. Compared with before #metoo, fewer alleged offenders could be connected to the assault by police after #metoo to charge them (Rotenberg & Cotter, 2018). When an alleged offender could be identified to be connected to the sexual assault, the proportion of alleged offenders charged did not increase (Rotenberg, 2018a). Therefore, increased reporting has not led to an increase in charges, trials, or convictions.

Although #metoo has led to increased police involvement in sexual assault cases, it does not necessarily relate to changes in the practices of the courts. This brings with it essential questions about the legal system itself, introducing questions that sit at the heart of feminist socio-legal and criminological studies about whether or not the adversarial legal method can account for and make sense of the complex realities of women's experiences of sexual violence. In chapter 5's mapping of the trajectories for #metoo, I offer an alternative framework in which we might rethink the productive possibilities of the #metoo movement. I return to Anastasia Powell's notion of informal justice mechanisms in the techno-social counter publics of new media to develop this argument. I question whether or not we should approach the #metoo movement as an alternative framework of justice through which the mystical authority of formal legal and extra-legal mechanisms for justice in cases of sexual assault can be challenged. The purpose of this is not to discount the productive capacities of turning to law and other extra-legal institutions to create and implement positive Survivor-centered legal and extra-legal reforms.

These remain important spaces where anti-sexual violence strategies, perspectives, and cultures must be introduced. Rather, I argue that the perceived authority or legitimacy of the #metoo movement's capacity to affect social change should not be limited to these zones. I argue that the pathway forward is not to attempt to posit alternative ‘knowledges' from the standpoint of women, *qua* women, with the aim for law to legitimate it. Instead, the #metoo movement presents a new opportunity to "analyse law in a way which recognizes the power of law to disqualify or silence, yet does not seek to posit an alternative truth as the main strategy to resist legal discourse" (Smart, 1990, p. 200). #metoo presents an entryway for the production of new and alternative frameworks of justice, but also must be approached with caution because the issues of whitestreaming the #metoo movement have not been resolved.

This chapter has considered how framing the #metoo movement as an alternative justice mechanism offers a pathway to create transformative change, and also noting potential challenges within this approach. With this, I turn attention to the sixth and final chapter of this thesis, which revisits #metoo's fragmented beginnings, narratives, and trajectories.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUDING REMARKS

Use your voice to protect others, spread awareness, and eradicate sexual harassment/assault for future generations #metoo #togetherwecan (@metoo_anonymous, October 17, 2017).

This concluding chapter revisits the three research questions central to this thesis. I extend this conversation through several key considerations that feminists, researchers, activists and service workers should take from this work and attend to in order to advance ameliorative anti-sexual violence strategies instead of subversion/conversion strategies where intersectional epistemologies are often overlooked.

Revisiting #metoo's fragmented beginnings, narratives, and trajectories

This thesis was concerned with three central questions: 1) Where did the #metoo movement come from?, 2) What is the #metoo movement?, and 3) Where is the #metoo movement going?

Chapter 2 presented the bricolage of post-structural, Foucault-inspired feminisms and intersectional feminisms that framed these questions. The key advantage of situating this project in theoretical discussion with post-structural and intersectional feminisms is that it presents a critical reading of the multiplicity of discourses that are deployed to dominate, or are dominated, resist, or are resisted through the #metoo movement with a central focus on how white supremacy, patriarchy, colonialism, and other intersecting systems of power are informing and intervening in #metoo's emergence.

Methodological remarks and considerations were derived from theory and guided my analytical path. Namely, by positioning intersectionality, as Rita Dhamoon (2011) does, as a 'matrix of meaning-making.' I expanded upon this framework by introducing genealogical analysis, specifically writing a history of the present (Garland, 2014). I maintain that this is a

productive method of inquiry that has not yet been attempted in relation to the #metoo movement. I further posited that writing a history of the present of the #metoo movement does not merely benefit from an intersectional framework, it requires it. Situated comparisons of processes of othering and normalization provide an additional layer of complexity to intersectional notions of power and oppression as a web or nexus. Expanding genealogical analysis to include intersectionality, I start from the theoretical assumption that everyone is, to varying degrees, implicated within the conditions that make oppressive power systems and processes possible. This presents the impetus for considering positionality and self-reflexivity as a central component of research and also poses essential considerations for advancing anti-oppressive knowledge into the #metoo movement.

Chapter 3 engaged with the first research question, that is, *where did the #metoo movement come from?* I answered this by reviewing the current feminist literature on the rising prominence of digital feminist activism and 'hashtag feminism.' The central goal of this chapter was not simply to identify the rooted 'origins' of #metoo, but to discuss a number of historical and socio-political conditions that made possible the popular resurgence and virality of the #metoo movement in 2017. I did so by tracing three conditions of #metoo's possibility.

First, I argue that the emergence of techno-social counter publics through social media (Powell, 2015) was a crucial condition for the #metoo movement. Social media and new digital communications technologies are growing spaces where feminist counter-discourses are proliferating. Social media has been a rich site for anti-racist, anti-sexist, and anti-homophobic counter-discourses in large part because of the non-hierarchal, user-generated, and networked organization of social media platforms like Twitter Instagram, and Facebook, facilitating horizontal and transnational dialogue, solidarity, and support. This has led to a general

hopefulness amongst digital feminist activists and scholars that techno-social counter public engagement will present a strong challenge to androcentric, heteronormative, and white supremacist dominant discourse that suppresses opposing or alternative knowledges, voices, and experiences, online, and in society more broadly. However, at the same time, as social media opens new doors, it also presents new modes of exclusion and marginalization. Access to and literacy in digital technologies remain highly contingent on class, age, ability status, and geographic location. In addition, social media is rife with misogyny and anti-feminist backlash. But these rhetorics are not merely a result of the way users engage with social media, digital communications technologies and infrastructure emerge from and reproduce sexist, and anti-Black ontologies (Noble, 2018).

Second, I argue that the fervent efforts of the predominantly Black men and women who made police brutality an irrefutable topic of national conversation through the Black Lives Matter Movement in 2014 that created a new precedent for digital activism that set the tone of the #metoo movement's popular resurgence in 2017. Black Lives Matter has remained one of the most widely visible and powerful examples of digital activism that developed into a wide-spread social movement. This did not come easily, as the me too. movement founder, Tarana Burke, states about the Black Lives Matter movement, "It took us taking it to the street en masse for them to look at the issue of police brutality because of Black Lives Matter. Literally, human beings going into the streets with signs and protest and interrupting everyday reality in order for it to become a mainstream media event" (Burke in Jeffries, 2018). The shifting context and public perceptions of digital activism as a result of Black Lives Matter greatly conditioned the #metoo movement's popular resurgence in 2017 and made possible the almost immediate

legitimacy for the movement once it was picked up within popular media and celebrity discourse.

Third, I traced how the Hollywood scandals that catalyzed #metoo's massive media presence strictured the feminist ontologies that dominated media discourse. This popular resurgence has diverged from Tarana Burke's approach and much of the non-centralized organizing and discourse found in #metoo's counter public spaces online. The mainstream resurgence of #metoo has presented a highly exclusionary feminist reading of sexual violence and harassment that imagines white, middle-to-upper class, heteronormative women as the normative subject within feminist anti-sexual violence thought. This has led many intersectional feminist scholars and activists to ask whether or not #metoo is a white woman's movement (Tambe, 2018; Onwuachi-Willig, 2018; Union in Chavez, 2017). I engaged with a number of important critiques. Black, Indigenous, post-colonial, and intersectional feminist activists and scholars have criticized the #metoo movement's co-optation within mainstream discourse through a predominantly white perspective. I paid specific attention to Sandy Grande's (2004) notion of 'whitestreaming' feminism to describe how framing the issue of sexual violence through an assertively white, upper-class perspective and removing intersectional critique of institutional, structural, and cultural inequalities was a clever, if not intentional, strategy that made #metoo palatable within mainstream and celebrity discourse. 'Whitestreaming' #metoo removed the discomfort of reckoning with white privilege, complicity in the oppression of non-white women that Burke and other intersectional feminists have emphasized as crucial tenets of doing intersectional and anti-oppressive anti-sexual violence work.

Chapter 4 engaged with the second research question, *what is the #metoo movement?* Where Chapter 3 traced a number of the conditions through which the international fervour

surrounding the #metoo movement in 2017 emerged. Chapter 4 explored a number of the fragmented feminist, post-feminist, and anti-feminist narratives that have instructed the #metoo movement's lines of flight. This chapter focused on a number of contested frameworks through which the #metoo movement is narrated and understood. Specifically, I located Tarana Burke's prior, 'me too. Movement' and her 'empowerment through empathy' framework for anti-sexual violence activism as an often-overlooked prior emergence, which was subsequently retrofitted onto the #metoo movement quickly after Alyssa Milano's #metoo tweet went viral online. I also discussed the role of post-feminist frameworks and both feminist *and* anti-feminist backlash against #metoo in its emergence and its position within feminist activism. I focused specific attention on the framing of the #metoo movement as a 'witch hunt.' The backlash against #metoo is commonly associated with prominent anti-feminist critics of #metoo, including Donald Trump and Piers Morgan. However, this chapter revealed that some of the most deleterious backlash against #metoo, including the 'witch hunt' connotation, was first launched and found some of its most active support from high-powered women within politics, entertainment, and business. These groups reflect the challenge #metoo has posed to the sex-positive and corporate feminisms presented by these women.

The fragmentations and conflicts amongst and across feminist approaches to the #metoo movement also revealed the challenge defining #metoo poses. Further, the inquiry into various forms of supportive and combative feminist engagement with the #metoo movement indicates a key insight into #metoo's relation to feminism. When criticisms are launched against #metoo for not aligning to a specific feminist framework, it ascribes a meaning to #metoo, as not being adequate or being oppositional to feminism in some way. It then prescribes a new meaning to become 'more feminist' by adapting it into their framework, doing so attempts reconfigure the

#metoo movement in order to advance the goals central to that framework. #metoo cannot be concretely grounded within the parameters of any one feminist definition without amputating it from the other conflicting definitions that have been imperative to the refinement and clarification of another one. Tacitly accepting that the #metoo movement is an intersectional feminist project, or as a witch hunt, or as another of a multitude of descriptions the term has been given, takes for granted the particular politics underscoring them that attempt to legitimate their perspectives by themselves, through themselves, and by silencing competing remarks.

Chapter 5 explored the third research question, that is, *where is the #metoo movement going?* Building off the exploration of the #metoo movement's emergence and its tenuous relations to various feminist frameworks, this chapter extended theorization further by exploring the implications of #metoo, paying particular attention to law and the criminal justice system. Seen in this chapter, although the #metoo movement has led to increased police involvement in sexual assault cases, it does not necessarily relate to changes in the practices of the courts. This interrogation brings with it essential questions about the legal system itself. It introduces questions that sit at the heart of feminist socio-legal and criminological studies about whether or not the adversarial legal method can account for and make sense of the complex realities of women's experiences of sexual violence (Smart, 2002). In chapter 5's mapping of the fragmented trajectories for #metoo, I offered an alternative framework in which we might think of the productive possibilities of the #metoo movement. I returned to Anastasia Powell's notion of informal justice mechanisms in the techno-social counter publics of new media to develop this argument. I questioned whether or not we should approach the #metoo movement as an alternative framework of justice through which the mystical authority of formal legal and extra-legal mechanisms for justice in cases of sexual assault can be challenged. There have been

numerous movements, such as the Battered Women's Movement, that have proposed more effective justice mechanisms for sexual violence survivors and pursued visions of legal reform that were viewed as a means through which the problem of sexual violence would be ameliorated. We know now that the eradication of sexual violence has never come. As the general hopefulness that the #metoo movement may be the movement to finally reach this goal, the urgent need for further critical inquiry into the implications of the #metoo movement, is revealed. This thesis marks a preliminary exploration to this end and has opened up a number of further considerations that can guide scholarly and activist work to this end.

Further Considerations

#metoo is more than a buzzword. It is a call to action. It exemplifies the power of collective action through storytelling, critique, and consciousness-raising. When asked what she envisioned the #metoo movement would produce, Tarana Burke stated,

> I think that what we have to do is be really proactive in our communities. Really drill down to the most basic in our communities. We have to find ways to interrupt sexual violence everywhere, every day, all the time. What my lane is, is helping people to figure that out. And also finding real, legitimate ways to support survivors. As many organizations and advocacy agencies that we have across the country, there are still so many communities without resources. And so, part of my work is also teaching us, again, take what you have and make what you need (Burke in Jeffries, 2018).

Burke's passage reasserts her focus on grassroots organizing and community-based and context-specific approaches to supporting survivors and addressing sexual violence. I reiterate Burke's call here. Efforts to provide meaningful support to survivors are primarily taken up by organizations and agencies that cater to a specific community or neighbourhood. This includes but is not limited to local women's shelters and anti-sexual violence advocacy groups. The WIN House, which has provided shelter for hundreds of women and children over the last five decades in Edmonton, is a notable example of this. WIN House began via a grassroots effort amongst a

handful of Edmontonians who, in 1968, created the first women's shelter in the city (Gordey, 2019).

Community support comes in many forms. For instance, many student groups have emerged that have tackled the dramatic issues of sexual assault on post-secondary campuses and have been outspoken advocates for campus sexual assault policy reform. Some groups, like Justice For Women at the University of Manitoba, or Silence is Violence at the University of Toronto, primarily address the issues affecting their school communities, while groups like Students for Consent Culture, work hand-in-hand with these student-run anti-sexual violence groups to develop a national network of solidarity, and support, share knowledge, and build a broader community of student advocates across Canada. In terms of immediate support and on-the-ground social action, these efforts are only as effective as their suitability to the specific community it serves. This fact is readily apparent to these organizations and agencies. However, access to these supports and resources remains a consistent issue due in part to the under-funding of these services by universities and government, coupled with a high demand that often leaves staff, students, volunteers and service workers over-extended and survivors waiting for access to their services.

I agree with Burke's call for finding meaningful ways to support survivors at the local level, but I extend another call that departs from her "take what you have and make what you need" position. We, as feminists, activists, practitioners, scholars, and survivors, must look beyond the limitations of the current state of financial and social support for expanding resources and support for Survivors. We must call upon local, provincial, and federal governments to expand funding for Survivor-centred approaches to anti-sexual violence, including increasing funding for current survivor support organizations and anti-sexual violence agencies. We must also

continue to hold corporations and policy makers to account for their own racist and misogynistic culture that breeds sexual violence and workplace harassment. In turn, it is the responsibility of governing bodies, whether this is in workplaces, government agencies, or university campuses, to listen to and act on these calls. Consulting groups include but are not limited to sexual violence scholars and experts, anti-sexual violence agencies and student groups, community shelters, and the diverse population of Survivors. Active and meaningful consultation is imperative in order to implement Survivor-centered sexual violence and harassment policies and meaningfully reckon with ongoing systems of inequality and power imbalances that breed sexual violence and diminish or deny Survivor's experiences within adversarial investigatory practices.

Moving past considerations for expanding supports for Survivors, I presented some more abstract considerations for feminists, researchers, practitioners, and activists who are similarly engaging in the necessary work of activating and implementing social change through #metoo. As I discussed in Chapter 5, we must question the authority placed on dominant legal and extra-legal approaches to anti-sexual violence work (Smart, 2002), and both re-evaluate and re-value the productive possibilities of seeking justice within counter public spaces and using #metoo as a space to promote alternative justice mechanisms that centralize survivors experiences, concerns, knowledge, and needs (Powell, 2015). The pathway forward is not to attempt to posit alternative 'knowledges' from the standpoint of women, *qua* women, with the aim for law to legitimate it. Instead, the #metoo movement presents a new opportunity to “analyse law in a way which recognizes the power of law to disqualify or silence, yet does not seek to posit an alternative truth as the main strategy to resist legal discourse” (Smart, 1990, p. 200). #metoo presents an entryway for the production of new and alternative frameworks of justice, but also must be

approached with caution because the issues of whitestreaming the #metoo movement have not been resolved.

Researchers, practitioners, and activists must keep in mind the dangers inherent to this work, whether this is whitestreaming #metoo by presenting white perspectives as normative or giving systems that are implicated in patriarchal, colonial, and white supremacist oppression too much power to design and define what justice after #metoo looks like. This work is always dangerous and never complete. A feminist post-structural epistemology informs this project, and for this reason, it is not my prerogative to present a vision of prescriptive recommendations that I argue will finally bring us to the horizon of a world free from sexual violence. However, I do argue that we can learn from the successes and failures of our past endeavours to bring us closer to that horizon; a horizon where anti-sexual violence activism centralizes intersectional epistemologies, and where efforts to eradicate sexual violence are inextricably linked to challenges to oppressive webs of power, and interconnected racial and class violence therein. This is a horizon that is always in the distance, always to come, and therefore, always something to work towards (Derrida, 1990).

Part of the challenge of attempting to activate transformative change from the #metoo movement is that the emergence of the #metoo movement is both fragmented and ongoing. The #metoo movement is not an isolated moment or event. Rather, #metoo is part and parcel to a longer history of anti-sexual violence organizing, a history that has been, up until this point, overlooked within the preliminary scholarly discussion about #metoo. In an attempt to address this gap, I have traced the #metoo movement's fragmented origins, narratives, and trajectories. The central argument and key finding that can be taken from this project is that the #metoo movement exists as a contested techno-social counter public, and holds shifting positions in

relation to feminist, post-feminist, and anti-feminist thought. Further, the movement holds many potential consequences and benefits for law, culture, and society. The #metoo movement marks an important moment of feminist organizing, but one that remains to be fully understood.

To partially address this gap, I presented a new intervention by arguing that nothing about the #metoo movement is *inherently* feminist, nor is there an *inherent-ness* to #metoo's feminism. The contrasts, conflicts, and contradictions within #metoo and across its relations to feminist activism and scholarship, as well as post-feminist and anti-feminist conditions, co-optation and backlash that have been traced across this thesis supports this argument. This thesis set out to address three exploratory research questions about the #metoo movement and made the argument against essentializing #metoo as a feminist movement, and used #metoo movement as an exemplative case to work through the fragmented ontologies of feminism more broadly.

The total effects of #metoo remain to be seen. However, the #metoo movement has revealed the power of collective voice. It has re-instated the force of a collective social movement. As Collette Reilly stated on Twitter, "I think the #MeToo strength has been in bringing people together, reduce isolation and use the power of the collective to create change. One voice is easily drowned out. Many aren't. The fact that we're having these conversations shows it works" (@Collette_Reilly, 2018). What 'works' about the #metoo movement is its consciousness-raising abilities, which reveal how #metoo operates as more than a form of hashtag activism, but as an informal, alternative justice mechanism. In framing #metoo as a justice mechanism, we can take to task the formal justice mechanisms within criminal justice as within university sexual assault policies and procedures.

> Law is an instrument of power, not an instrument of justice. We need to think about what delivers justice to survivors, what puts survivors' needs as a central question, what will put an end to that behavior, what will address racial inequity." #AtlanticJustice #MeToo #CopsToo (@dreanyc123, May 3, 2018)

This is the true power of #metoo, one which brings to bear the possibility for the #metoo movement to challenge the mystical authority of formal justice mechanisms and realize a path to justice that centralizes the multiplicity of Survivor's needs and concerns.

REFERENCES

Adetiba, E. (2017, November 17). Tarana Burke Says #MeToo Should Center Marginalized Communities. *The Nation*. Retrieved from https://www.thenation.com/article/tarana-burke-says-metoo-isnt-just-for-white-people/

Ahmed, S. (2004). *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (1 edition). New York: Routledge.

Alamdari, N. (2018). *"Hollywood and beyond": An intersectional analysis of how Teen Vogue covered the #MeToo movement* (Thesis, University of Missouri--Columbia). Retrieved from https://mospace.umsystem.edu/xmlui/handle/10355/67607

Almukhtar, S., Gold, M., & Buchanan, L. (2018, February 8). After Weinstein: 71 Men Accused of Sexual Misconduct and Their Fall From Power. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/11/10/us/men-accused-sexual-misconduct-weinstein.html, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/11/10/us/men-accused-sexual-misconduct-weinstein.html

@Alyssa_Milano. (2017, October 15). Alyssa Milano on Twitter: "If you've been sexually harassed or assaulted write 'me too' as a reply to this tweet. https://t.co/k2oeCiUf9n" / Twitter. Retrieved August 7, 2019, from Twitter website: https://twitter.com/Alyssa_Milano/status/919659438700670976

@Alyssa_Milano. (2019, October 16). Alyssa Milano on Twitter: "I was just made aware of an earlier #MeToo movement, and the origin story is equal parts heartbreaking and inspiring https://t.co/tABQBODscE" / Twitter. Retrieved August 30, 2019, from Twitter website: https://twitter.com/Alyssa_Milano/status/920067975016624128

American Association of University Women. (2016). Barriers and Bias: The Status of Women in Leadership. Retrieved August 18, 2019, from AAUW: Empowering Women Since 1881 website: https://www.aauw.org/research/barriers-and-bias/

Anderson, M. (2015, August 28). Men catch up with women on overall social media use. Retrieved May 17, 2019, from Pew Research Center website: https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/08/28/men-catch-up-with-women-on-overall-social-media-use/

Anderson, M., & Toor, S. (2018, October 11). How social media users have discussed sexual harassment since #MeToo went viral. Retrieved May 6, 2019, from Pew Research Center website: https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/10/11/how-social-media-users-have-discussed-sexual-harassment-since-metoo-went-viral/

Anzidei, M. (n.d.). #MeToo: The stories of sexual assault you haven't heard. Retrieved May 6, 2019, from North Jersey website: https://www.northjersey.com/story/news/2017/12/11/metoo-stories-sexual-assault-you-havent-heard/924437001/

Arvin, M., Tuck, E., & Morrill, A. (2013). Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy. *Feminist Formations*, *25*(1), 8–34. https://doi.org/10.1353/ff.2013.0006

Atwood, M. (2018, January 13). Am I a bad feminist? *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/am-i-a-bad-feminist/article37591823/

@aurabogado. (2017, October 16). #MeToo was started by Tarana Burke. Stop erasing black women. [Tweet]. Retrieved June 13, 2019, from @aurabogado website: https://twitter.com/aurabogado/status/919970867131555845?lang=en

Barrie Advance. (2017, March 9). Coding may be culprit in many "unfounded" Simcoe County sex assaults. *Barrie Advance (Barrie, Ontario)*, p. 1. Retrieved from

http%3A%2F%2Flink.galegroup.com%2Fapps%2Fdoc%2FA485818166%2FCPI%3Fu%3Dedmo69826%26sid%3DCPI%26xid%3Ddcadaa6c

Benoit, C. (2015). Are All Sex Workers Victimized? *Canadian Institute of Health Research*, (5), 2.

Benoit, C., Shumka, L., Phillips, R., Kennedy, M. C., & Belle-Isle, L. M. C. (2016). *Issue brief: Sexual violence against women in Canada*. Retrieved from Status of Women Canada website: http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/10049251

Bevacqua, M. (2000). *Rape On The Public Agenda: Feminism and the Politics of Sexual Assault*. Boston: Northeastern.

Bilge, S. (2013). Intersectionality Undone: Saving Intersectionality from Feminist Intersectionality Studies1. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, *10*(2), 405–424. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X13000283

Bilge, S. (2014). Whitening intersectionality. *Racism and Sociology*, *5*, 175.

@bindasladki. (2017, October 15). If you aren't okay w posting #MeToo, know this: 1. I believe you. 2. You don't have to speak up to be brave. Living in the after is brave. [Tweet]. Retrieved May 15, 2019, from @bindasladki website: https://twitter.com/bindasladki/status/919744918641434626?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E919744918641434626&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bustle.com%2Fp%2F36-me-too-tweets-that-will-shatter-you-2920220

Black Lives Matter. (n.d.). About Black Lives Matter: Herstory. Retrieved May 17, 2019, from https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/herstory/

Blais, T. (2016, March 1). Edmonton man imprisoned for beating death of transvestite sex-trade worker | Edmonton Journal. Retrieved June 27, 2019, from

https://edmontonjournal.com/news/crime/edmonton-man-imprisoned-for-beating-death-of-transvestite-sex-trade-worker

@boho_travel. (2017, October 15). My supervisor asked me to step into the bathroom so he could show me how to do the inventory. He pinned me against a wall. #MeToo [Tweet]. Retrieved May 15, 2019, from @boho_travel website: https://twitter.com/boho_travel/status/919745736824315904?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E919745736824315904&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bustle.com%2Fp%2F36-me-too-tweets-that-will-shatter-you-2920220

Boler, M. (1997). The risks of empathy: Interrogating multiculturalism's gaze. *Cultural Studies*, *11*(2), 253–273. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502389700490141

Bosworth, M. (1999). *Engendering resistance: Agency and power in women's prisons /*. Aldershot, England : Dartmouth ;

Bowal, P. (2018). #MeToo and wrongful dismissal. *LawNow Magazine*, *42*(4), 57–60. Retrieved from https://commentary.canlii.org/w/canlii/2018CanLIIDocs48?zoupio-debug#!fragment/zoupio-_Toc3Page59/(hash:(chunk:(anchorText:zoupio-_Toc3Page59),notesQuery:'',scrollChunk:!n,searchQuery:'Jian%20Ghomeshi',searchSortBy:RELEVANCE,tab:toc))

Bowleg, L. (2008). When Black + Lesbian + Woman ≠ Black Lesbian Woman: The Methodological Challenges of Qualitative and Quantitative Intersectionality Research. *Sex Roles*, *59*(5), 312–325. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9400-z

Brennan, S., Taylor-Butts, A., & Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. (2008). *Sexual assault in Canada, 2004 and 2007*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

Brownmiller, S. (1993). *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* (Reprinted edition). New York: Ballantine Books.

Brownmiller, S. (1999). *In Our Time: Memoir of a Revolution* (1st edition). New York, New York: The Dial Press.

Bucik, A. (2016). *Canada: Discrimination and Violence against Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Women and Gender Diverse and Two Spirit People on the Basis of Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Gender Expression* (p. 12). Egale Canada Human Rights Trust.

Burke, T. (2018). *Me Too is a movement, not a moment*. Retrieved from https://www.ted.com/talks/tarana_burke_me_too_is_a_movement_not_a_moment?language=en

Butler, J. (1995). Contingent Foundations. In S. Benhabib (Ed.), *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange* (pp. 35–58). Routledge.

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender Trouble: Tenth Anniversary Edition*. Retrieved from http://uml.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=70541&site=ehost-live

Canadian Government News. (2017, May 23). Calgary police adopt Philadelphia Model to review unfounded sexual assaults. *Canadian Government News*. Retrieved from http%3A%2F%2Flink.galegroup.com%2Fapps%2Fdoc%2FA493498849%2FCPI%3Fu%3Dedmo69826%26sid%3DCPI%26xid%3Dbff43906

Canadian Women's Foundation. (2018). AFTERMETOO. Retrieved November 8, 2018, from https://www.canadianwomen.org/aftermetoo/

Carastathis, A. (2016). *Intersectionality: Origins, Contestations, Horizons*. Retrieved from https://muse.jhu.edu/book/48097

Carlsen, A., Salam, M., Miller, C. C., Lu, D., Ngu, A., Patel, J. K., & Wichter, Z. (October 23, 2018). #MeToo Brought Down 201 Powerful Men. Nearly Half of Their Replacements Are Women. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/10/23/us/metoo-replacements.html, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/10/23/us/metoo-replacements.html

Carranco, S., & Milton, J. (2019, April 27). Canada's new far right: A trove of private chat room messages reveals an extremist subculture. *Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-canadas-new-far-right-a-trove-of-private-chat-room-messages-reveals/

@Carrissa_14. (2017, October 15). Rape is the only crime in which the victim becomes the accused. #MeToo [Tweet]. Retrieved May 15, 2019, from @Carrissa_14 website: https://twitter.com/Carrissa_14/status/919732146784407555?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E919732146784407555&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bustle.com%2Fp%2F36-me-too-tweets-that-will-shatter-you-2920220

Carter, S. (1997). *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West*. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt80ncg

CBC News. (2018, January 25). Ontario PC leader calls sexual misconduct allegations "categorically untrue." *CBC News*. Retrieved from https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/ontario-pc-leader-patrick-brown-urgent-conference-1.4502883

Chaney, P. (2013). Mainstreaming intersectional equality for older people? Exploring the impact of quasi-federalism in the UK. *Public Policy and Administration*, *28*(1), 21–42.

Chavez, D. (2017, December 8). Gabrielle Union critiques the #MeToo movement: "I think the floodgates have opened for white women." *AV Club*. Retrieved from https://www.avclub.com/gabrielle-union-critiques-the-metoo-movement-i-think-1821129134

Chesney-Lind, M. (2006). Patriarchy, Crime, and Justice: Feminist Criminology in an Era of Backlash. *Feminist Criminology*, *1*(1), 6–26. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085105282893

Chiose, S. (2018, May 3). Sexual assault policies at universities have students asking: Are these new systems any better than the courts? *Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-sexual-assault-policies-at-universities-have-students-asking-are/

Choo, H. Y., & Ferree, M. M. (2010). Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions, and Institutions in the Study of Inequalities. *Sociological Theory*, *28*(2), 129–149. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9558.2010.01370.x

Christensen, A.D., & Jensen, S. Q. (2012). Doing Intersectional Analysis: Methodological Implications for Qualitative Research. *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, *20*(2), 109–125. https://doi.org/10.1080/08038740.2012.673505

Clark, R. (2014). #NotBuyingIt: Hashtag Feminists Expand the Commercial Media Conversation. *Feminist Media Studies*, *14*(6), 1108–1110. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2014.975473

Clark, R. (2016). "Hope in a hashtag": The discursive activism of #WhyIStayed. *Feminist Media Studies*, *16*(5), 788–804. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2016.1138235

CNN. (2018, January 10). Oprah Winfrey's full Golden Globes speech. In *CNN*. Retrieved from https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/08/entertainment/oprah-globes-speech-transcript/index.html

Cochrane, K. (2013, December 10). The fourth wave of feminism: Meet the rebel women. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/10/fourth-wave-feminism-rebel-women

Cohn, J. (n.d.). Female Labor and Digital Media: Pattie Maes, Postfeminism, and the Birth of Social Networking Technologies. *Camera Obscura: Feminism, Culture, and Media Studies*, *28*, 151–175. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/4406844/Female_Labor_and_Digital_Media_Pattie_Maes_Postfeminism_and_the_Birth_of_Social_Networking_Technologies

Collins, P. H. (1986). Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought. *Social Problems*, *33*(6), S14–S32. https://doi.org/10.2307/800672

Collins, P. H. (1997). Comment on Hekman's "Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited": Where's the Power? *Signs*, *22*(2), 375–381. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3175278

Collins, P. H. (1998). The tie that binds: Race, gender and US violence. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *21*(5), 917–938. https://doi.org/10.1080/014198798329720

Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (Rev. 10th anniversary ed.). New York : Routledge,.

Collins, P. H. (2017). On violence, intersectionality and transversal politics. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *40*(9), 1460–1473. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1317827

Comack, E. (1996). *Women in Trouble: Connecting women's law violations to their histories of abuse*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Conley, T. L. (2019). Hashtag Feminism [Digital Archive]. Retrieved May 17, 2019, from Hashtag Feminism website: https://www.hashtagfeminism.com/

Conroy, S., & Cotter, A. (2017). *Self-reported sexual assault in Canada, 2014* [Juristat]. Retrieved from Statistics Canada website: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2017001/article/14842-eng.htm

Cooney, S. (2017, October 19). Meet the Woman Who Started #MeToo 10 Years Ago. *Time*. Retrieved from https://time.com/4988282/me-too-tarana-burke-interview/

Cooney, S. (2018, February 13). "They Don't Want to Include Women Like Me." Sex Workers Say They're Being Left Out of the #MeToo Movement. *Time*. Retrieved from http://time.com/5104951/sex-workers-me-too-movement/

Craig, E. (2019). *An Examination of How the Canadian Military's Legal System Responds to Sexual Assault* (SSRN Scholarly Paper No. ID 3395850). Retrieved from Social Science Research Network website: https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3395850

Crawley, M., McLaughlin, A., & January 25, 2018. (2018, January 25). Sexual advances by Patrick Brown left woman feeling "anxious," she tells CBC News. *CBC News*. Retrieved from https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/patrick-brown-resigns-ontario-pc-1.4503040

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, (1), 31.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, (6), 1241–1299. https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039

Daly, K., Bouhours, B., Broadhurst, R., & Loh, N. (2013). Youth sex offending, recidivism and restorative justice: Comparing court and conference cases. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, *46*(2), 241–267. https://doi.org/10.1177/0004865812470383

Darmon, K. (2014). Framing SlutWalk London: How Does the Privilege of Feminist Activism in Social Media Travel into the Mass Media? *Feminist Media Studies*, *14*(4), 700–704. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2014.935208

Davis, A. Y. (1981). *Women, race & class*. Retrieved from http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=738888

Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist Theory*, *9*(1), 67–85. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464700108086364

DeKlassey, E. (2019, January 8). Catherine Deneuve Blames #MeToo for Spurring 'Puritanism' – Variety. *Variety*. Retrieved from https://variety.com/2018/film/news/catherine-deneuve-letter-blaming-metoo-puritanism-unfair-punishment-of-men-1202658163/

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2018). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (5th ed., pp. 1–27). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Department of Justice. (2017, January 31). Sexual Assault: JustFacts. Retrieved August 8, 2019, from https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/jr/jf-pf/2017/may02.html

Derrida, J. (1990). Force De Loi: Le Fondement Mystique De L'Autorite Deconstruction and the Possibility of Justice. *Cardozo Law Review*, *11*, 920–1046.

Dhamoon, R. K. (2011). Considerations on Mainstreaming Intersectionality. *Political Research Quarterly*, *64*(1), 230–243. https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912910379227

Donegan, M. (2018, May 11). How #MeToo revealed the central rift within feminism today. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/may/11/how-metoo-revealed-the-central-rift-within-feminism-social-individualist

Doolittle, R. (December 8 2017b). Unfounded: 37,272 sexual-assault cases being reviewed, 402 unfounded cases reopened so far. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/investigations/unfounded-37272-sexual-assault-cases-being-reviewed-402-unfounded-cases-reopened-so-far/article37245525/

Doolittle, R. (February 3, 2017a). Unfounded: Police dismiss 1 in 5 sexual assault claims as baseless, Globe investigation reveals. *Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/investigations/unfounded-sexual-assault-canada-main/article33891309/

Doolittle, R. (2018, September 20). Unfounded case ends with conviction 19 years after police dismissed sexual-assault complaint. *Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-unfounded-case-ends-with-conviction-19-years-after-police-dismissed/

Dreyfus, H. L., & Rabinow, P. (1982). *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. University of Chicago Press.

@DrStaceyPatton. (2017, October 27). Stacey Patton on Twitter: “Black women have been saying #MeToo since slavery.” / Twitter. Retrieved August 31, 2019, from Twitter website: https://twitter.com/drstaceypatton/status/924054141088890880

Duggan, M. (2013). *It’s a woman’s (social media) world*. Retrieved from Pew Research Center website: https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/09/12/its-a-womans-social-media-world/

Duggan, M. (2017). *Online Harassment 2017*. Retrieved from Pew Research Center website: https://www.pewinternet.org/2017/07/11/online-harassment-2017/

Durkin, E. (2019, May 19). "Women will die": How new abortion bans will harm the most vulnerable. *The Observer*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/may/19/abortion-ban-alabama-women-of-color-poor

Eagle, R. B. (2015). Loitering, Lingering, Hashtagging: Women Reclaiming Public Space Via #BoardtheBus, #StopStreetHarassment, and the #EverydaySexism Project. *Feminist Media Studies*, *15*(2), 350–353. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2015.1008748

Edwards, S. Z., Eliana Dockterman, Haley Sweetland. (2017). TIME Person of the Year 2017: The Silence Breakers. *Time Magazine*. Retrieved from http://time.com/time-person-of-the-year-2017-silence-breakers/

@empathywarrior. (2017, October 15). I wish #MeToo was rapists and assailants admitting to being trash humans instead of survivors having to bare their souls. [Tweet]. Retrieved May 15, 2019, from @empathywarrior website: https://twitter.com/empathywarrior/status/919732205601013760?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E919732205601013760&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bustle.com%2Fp%2F36-me-too-tweets-that-will-shatter-you-2920220

Erez, E. (2002). Domestic Violence and the Criminal Justice System: An Overview. *Online Journal of Issues in Nursing*, *7*(1). Retrieved from http://ojin.nursingworld.org/MainMenuCategories/ANAMarketplace/ANAPeriodicals/OJIN/TableofContents/Volume72002/No1Jan2002/DomesticViolenceandCriminalJustice.html

Erickson, N. S., & Lamanna, M. A. (1990). Sex-Bias Topics in the Criminal Law Course: A Survey of Criminal Law Professors. *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform*, *24*, 189. Retrieved

from https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/umijlr24&id=197&div=&collection=

European CEO. (2019, February 28). Vasiliki Petrou – the woman behind Unilever Prestige's healthy culture. Retrieved August 31, 2019, from https://www.europeanceo.com/profiles/vasiliki-petrou-the-woman-behind-unilever-prestiges-healthy-culture/

Fahs, B. (2014). 'Freedom to' and 'freedom from': A new vision for sex-positive politics. *Sexualities*, *17*(3), 267–290. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460713516334

Faludi, S. (1991). *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women* (Anniversary edition). New York: Broadway Books.

Federal Provincial Territorial Working Group. (2003). *Final report of the ad hoc working group reviewing spousal violence policies and legislation*. Ottawa: Justice Canada.

@Femmefeministe. (2017, October 15). We shouldn't have to out ourselves as survivors in order for people to grasp the magnitude of how systemic assault & harassment are. #MeToo [Tweet]. Retrieved May 15, 2019, from @Femmefeministe website: https://twitter.com/Femmefeministe/status/919746707524550656?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E919746707524550656&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.glamour.com%2Fstory%2Fmetoo-women-share-stories-of-sexual-harassment-and-assault-on-twitter

Ferguson, S., & Mcnally, D. (2015). Precarious Migrants: Gender, Race, and Social Reproduction of a Global Working Class. *Socialist Register*, 23.

Fileborn, B. (2014). Online Activisn and Street Harassment: Digital Justice or Shouting into the Ether? *Griffith Journal of Law & Human Dignity*, *2*(1). Retrieved from https://griffithlawjournal.org/index.php/gjlhd/article/view/569

Flax, J. (1990). Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory. In L. Nicholson (Ed.), *In Feminism/Postmodernism,* (pp. 39–62). London: Routledge.

Fotopoulou, A. (2016). *Feminist activism and digital networks: Between empowerment and vulnerability*. London, UK: Springer.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*. New York: Vintage.

Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1980). Two Lectures. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings,* (pp. 78–108). New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1983). On the Genealogy of Ethics: An Overview of Work in Progress. In H. L. Dreyfus & P. Rabinow (Eds.), *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Second edition). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. (1984). *The Foucault Reader* (P. Rabinow, Ed.). New York: Vintage.

Foucault, M. (1990). *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings, 1977-1984* (1 edition; L. Kritzman, Ed.). London New York: Routledge.

Fraser, E. (2018, April 10). Sexual Assault Centre joins police force in review of unfounded sexual assault cases. *CBC News*. Retrieved from https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/fredericton-sexual-assault-centre-city-council-1.4612493

Fraser, N. (2014). *Transnationalizing the Public Sphere* (K. Nash, Ed.). Retrieved from http://login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=798803&site=ehost-live&scope=site

Friedan, B. (1981). *The Second Stage*. Summit Books.

Frye, M. (2004). Oppression. In L. Heldke & P. O'Conner (Eds.), *Oppression, priviledge, and resistance: Theoretical perspectives on racism, sexism, and heterosexism* (pp. 183–192). Toronto: McGraw-Hill.

Garland, D. (2014). What is a "history of the present"? On Foucault's genealogies and their critical preconditions. *Punishment & Society*, *16*(4), 365–384. https://doi.org/10.1177/1462474514541711

Ghadery, F. (2019). #Metoo—has the 'sisterhood' finally become global or just another product of neoliberal feminism? *Transnational Legal Theory*, *10*(2), 252–274. https://doi.org/10.1080/20414005.2019.1630169

Gill, R. (2007). Postfeminist media culture: Elements of a sensibility. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, *10*(2), 147–166. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549407075898

Gillespie, T. (2010). The politics of 'platforms.' *New Media & Society*, *12*(3), 347–364. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444809342738

Goldapp, L. (2019, July 1). We Need To Talk About Louis CK's Addison Improv Shows. Retrieved July 1, 2019, from Central Track website: https://www.centraltrack.com/we-need-to-talk-about-louis-cks-addison-improv-shows/

González, J., & Goodman, A. (2017, October 17). *Meet Tarana Burke, the Activist Who Started #MeToo Campaign to Ignite Conversation on Sexual Assault*. Retrieved from https://truthout.org/video/meet-tarana-burke-the-activist-who-started-metoo-campaign-to-ignite-conversation-on-sexual-assault/

Gonzalez, S., France, L. R., & Melas, C. (2018, October 4). A timeline of the Weinstein scandal's fallout. *CNN*. Retrieved from https://www.cnn.com/2018/04/05/entertainment/weinstein-timeline/index.html

Gotell, L. (2011). Canadian sexual assault: Neoliberalism and the erosion of feminist-inspired law reforms. In C. McGlynn & V. E. Munro (Eds.), *Rethinking rape law: International and comparative perspectives* (pp. 209–223). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Gourguechon, P. (2018, August 6). Why In The World Would Men Stop Mentoring Women Post #MeToo? *Forbes*. Retrieved from https://www.forbes.com/sites/prudygourguechon/2018/08/06/why-in-the-world-would-men-stop-mentoring-women-post-metoo/#3a9d8d8279a5

Gouws, A. (2018). #EndRapeCulture Campaign in South Africa: Resisting Sexual Violence Through Protest and the Politics of Experience. *Politikon*, *45*(1), 3–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2018.1418201

Graham, B. A. (2017, October 18). McKayla Maroney says sexual abuse by team doctor started when she was 13. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2017/oct/18/mckayla-maroney-says-sexual-abuse-by-team-doctor-started-when-she-was-13

Grande, S. (2004). *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Greenland, J., & Cotter, A. (2018). *Unfounded criminal incidents in Canada, 2017* (p. 12) [Juristat article]. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

Grekul, J., Krahn, A., & Odynak, D. (2004). Sterilizing the "Feeble-minded": Eugenics in Alberta, Canada, 1929–1972. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, *17*(4), 358–384. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6443.2004.00237.x

Guardian Music. (2017, October 17). Björk reveals more details of alleged sexual harassment by director. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/music/2017/oct/17/bjork-reveals-more-details-of-alleged-sexual-harassment-by-director

Gunn, C. (2015). Hashtagging from the margins: Women of Color Engaged in Feminist Consciousness-Raising on Twitter. In K. Edwards Tassie & S. m. Brown Givens (Eds.), *Women of Color and Social Media Multitasking: Blogs, Timelines, Feeds, and Community* (pp. 21–34.). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Guynn, J., & della Cava, M. (2017, October 15). Harvey Weinstein effect: Men behaving badly are finally getting fired. *USA Today*. Retrieved from https://www.usatoday.com/story/money/2017/10/25/harvey-weinstein-effect-men-losing-their-jobs-and-reputations-over-sexual-misconduct-charges-bu/796007001/

Hall, R. J. (2015). Feminist Strategies to End Violence Against Women. *The Oxford Handbook of Transnational Feminist Movements*. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199943494.013.005

Hancock, A.-M. (2013). Empirical Intersectionality: A Tale of Two Approaches. *UC Irvine Law Review*, *3*(2), 259. Retrieved from https://scholarship.law.uci.edu/ucilr/vol3/iss2/6

Hankivsky, O. (2014). *Intersectionality 101* (p. 36). Retrieved from Institute for Intersectionality Research and Policy, SFU website: http://vawforum-cwr.ca/sites/default/files/attachments/intersectionallity_101.pdf

Hankivsky, O., Cormier, R., De Merich, D., & Women's Health Research Network (B.C.). (2009). *Intersectionality: Moving women's health research and policy forward*. Vancouver: Women's Health Research Network.

Hannem, S., & Petrunik, M. (2007). Circles of Support and Accountability: A Community Justice Initiative for the Reintegration of High Risk Sex Offenders. *Contemporary Justice Review*, *10*(2), 153–171. https://doi.org/10.1080/10282580701372046

Haraway, D. (1985). A manifesto for cyborgs: Science, technology, and socialist feminism in the 1980s. *Socialist Review*, *15*(2), 65–107.

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies*, *14*(3), 575–599. https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066

Harding, S. (1990). Feminism, Science, and the Anti-Enlightenment Critiques. In L. Nicholson (Ed.), *Feminism/Postmodernism* (pp. 83–106). London: Routledge.

Harrington, C. (2018). Feminist Killjoys and Women Scorned: An Analysis of News and Commentary on the Sexual Violence Allegations Against Julian Assange. *Feminist Criminology*, *13*(1), 87–111. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085116646194

Harris, A. P. (1990). Race and Essentialism in Feminist Legal Theory. *Stanford Law Review*, *42*(3), 581–616. https://doi.org/10.2307/1228886

Harris, A. (2018). Witch-Hunt. *Studies in Gender and Sexuality*, *19*(4), 254–255. https://doi.org/10.1080/15240657.2018.1531514

Harris, K. (2018, September 20). Military to reopen 23 "unfounded" sexual assault cases. *CBC News*. Retrieved from https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/military-sexual-assault-unfounded-1.4831424

Harrison, A. (2018, February 1). Rose McGowan Breaks Down When Confronted About Trans Rights: 'I Didn't Agree to Your Cis F—ing World.' Retrieved June 26, 2019, from Variety website: https://variety.com/2018/scene/vpage/rose-mcgowan-meltdown-barnes-and-noble-book-signing-1202684004/

Hartung, A. (2011, January 14). How Facebook Beat MySpace. *Forbes*. Retrieved from https://www.forbes.com/sites/adamhartung/2011/01/14/why-facebook-beat-myspace/#f03dff1147e9

Hayes, A. (2018, May 11). Tory Burch on female ambition and motherhood in the age of #MeToo. Retrieved August 31, 2019, from Ladders website: https://www.theladders.com/career-advice/tory-burch-on-female-ambition-and-motherhood-in-the-age-of-metoo

Hemmings, C. (2012). Affective solidarity: Feminist reflexivity and political transformation. *Feminist Theory*, *13*(2), 147–161. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464700112442643

Hemmings, C. (n.d.). Anti-feminism and collective response. Retrieved March 19, 2019, from London School of Economics and Political Science website: http://www.lse.ac.uk/gender/news/jan-2019/Anti-feminism-and-collective-response.aspx

Herman, J. L. (2005). Justice From the Victim's Perspective. *Violence Against Women*, *11*(5), 571–602. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801205274450

Hitchens, B. K. (2017). Girl Fights and the Online Media Construction of Black Female Violence and Sexuality. *Feminist Criminology*, 1557085117723705. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085117723705

Hochschild, A., & Machung, A. (2012). *The Second Shift: Working Families and the Revolution at Home* (Revised ed. edition). New York, N.Y: Penguin Books.

hooks, bell. (1981). *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. New York: Routledge.

Hopkins, C. Q., & Koss, M. P. (2005). Incorporating Feminist Theory and Insights Into a Restorative Justice Response to Sex Offenses. *Violence Against Women*, *11*(5), 693–723. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801205274570

Horeck, T. (2014). #AskThicke: "Blurred Lines," Rape Culture, and the Feminist Hashtag Takeover. *Feminist Media Studies*, *14*(6), 1105–1107. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2014.975450

Hornshaw, P. (2018, January 8). Recy Taylor: The Story of the Woman Oprah Praised at the Golden Globes. Retrieved August 25, 2019, from TheWrap website: https://www.thewrap.com/recy-taylor-golden-globes-oprah-winfrey/

Hull, A., Bell-Scott, P., & Smith, B. (Eds.). (1993). *But Some Of Us Are Brave: All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men: Black Women's Studies*. Old Westbury, N.Y: The Feminist Press at CUNY.

Human Rights Campaign. (2019). Violence Against the Transgender Community in 2019. Retrieved June 27, 2019, from Human Rights Campaign website: https://www.hrc.org/resources/violence-against-the-transgender-community-in-2019/

Humphries, D. (2009). *Women, Violence, and the Media: Readings in Feminist Criminology*. UPNE.

Hunt, A. R. (2017). *Selling Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of Femvertising*. Boston College, Boston, MA.

James, S. E., Herman, J. L., Rankin, S., Keisling, M., Mottet, L., & Anafi, M. (2016). *The Report of the 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey*. Retrieved from National Center for Transgender Equality website: http://www.transequality.org/sites/default/files/docs/usts/USTS%20Full%20Report%20-%20FINAL%201.6.17.pdf

Jang, G. (2010). *A matrix of meaning-making. University of the Fraser Valley.* University of the Fraser Valley.

Jeffries, Z. (2018). Me Too Creator Tarana Burke Reminds Us This Is About Black and Brown Survivors. *Yes! Magazine*. Retrieved from https://www.yesmagazine.org/people-power/me-too-creator-tarana-burke-reminds-us-this-is-about-black-and-brown-survivors-20180104

Johansson, M., Johansson, K., & Andersson, E. (2018). #Metoo in the Swedish forest sector: Testimonies from harassed women on sexualised forms of male control. *SCANDINAVIAN JOURNAL OF FOREST RESEARCH*, *33*(5), 419–425.

Johnson, H. (2012). Limits of a Criminal Justice Response: Trends in Police and Court Processing of Sexual Assault. In E. A. Sheehy (Ed.), *Sexual Assault in Canada: Law, Legal Practice and Women's Activism* (pp. 613–634). Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press.

Johnson, H. (2017). Why Doesn't She Just Report It: Apprehensions and Contradictions for Women Who Report Sexual Violence to the Police. *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, *29*, 36–59. Retrieved from https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/cajwol29&i=40

Johnston, C. (2014, November 4). Feminist T-shirts made in ethical conditions, says Fawcett Society. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/04/feminist-t-shirts-made-ethical-conditions-fawcett-society

Joyce-Wojtas, N., & Keenan, M. (2016). Is restorative justice for sexual crime compatible with various criminal justice systems? *Contemporary Justice Review*, *19*(1), 43–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/10282580.2015.1101689

Just Be Inc. (2017). The "me too." Movement. Retrieved April 24, 2019, from Justbeinc website: https://justbeinc.wixsite.com/justbeinc/the-me-too-movement-cmml

@karapgoldman. (2017, October 15). Kara on Twitter: "Was groped by a group of men on subway stairs. They didn't let me pass & mocked me when I yelled in protest. #MeToo. Retrieved August 7, 2019, from Twitter website:

https://twitter.com/karapgoldman/status/919739543338868736?ref_url=https%3a%2f%2fwww.bustle.com%2fp%2f36-me-too-tweets-that-will-shatter-you-2920220

Kaufman, M. (2008). Care of the Adolescent Sexual Assault Victim. *PEDIATRICS*, *122*(2), 462–470. https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2008-1581

Keller, J., Mendes, K., & Ringrose, J. (2018). Speaking 'unspeakable things': Documenting digital feminist responses to rape culture. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *27*(1), 22–36. https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2016.1211511

Khomami, N. (2017, October 20). #MeToo: How a hashtag became a rallying cry against sexual harassment. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/20/women-worldwide-use-hashtag-metoo-against-sexual-harassment

Kincheloe, J. L. (2001). Describing the Bricolage: Conceptualizing a New Rigor in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *7*(6), 679–692. https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040100700601

Koss, M. P. (2014). The RESTORE Program of Restorative Justice for Sex Crimes. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *29*(9), 1623–1660. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260513511537;

LaForme, R. (2018, April 16). Here are the winners of the 2018 Pulitzer Prizes. Retrieved May 15, 2019, from Poynter website: https://www.poynter.org/reporting-editing/2018/here-are-the-winners-of-the-2018-pulitzer-prizes/

LaMotte, S. (2017, November 9). #MeToo: From social campaign to social change? *CNN*. Retrieved from https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/30/health/metoo-legacy/index.html

Larocque, E. (2002). Violence in Aboriginal communities. In K. M. J. McKenna & J. Larkin (Eds.), *Violence against women: New Canadian perspectives* (pp. 147–162). Retrieved from http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/H72-21-100-1994E.pdf

Law, V. (September 25 2018a). How Can We Reconcile Prison Abolition With #MeToo? *Filter Magazine*. Retrieved from https://filtermag.org/2018/09/25/how-can-we-reconcile-prison-abolition-with-metoo/

Law, V. (2018b). #MeToo Behind Bars: When the sexual assaulter holds the keys to your cell. *Socialist View Point*, *18*(3), 73–75.

Lazar, M. M. (2007). Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Articulating a Feminist Discourse Praxis. *Critical Discourse Studies*, *4*(2), 141–164. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405900701464816

Lean In. (n.d.). Now more than ever, men need to do more to support women. Retrieved August 31, 2019, from Lean In website: https://leanin.org/mentor-her

Lindberg, T., Campeau, P., & Campbell, M. (2012). Indigenous Women and Sexual Assault in Canada. In E. Sheehy A. (Ed.), *Sexual Assault in Canada: Law, Legal Practice, and Women's Activism* (pp. 87–110). Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press.

Lisak, D., Gardinier, L., Nicksa, S. C., & Cote, A. M. (2010). False Allegations of Sexual Assualt: An Analysis of Ten Years of Reported Cases. *Violence Against Women*, *16*(12), 1318–1334. Retrieved from https://web.archive.org/web/20180101025446/https://icdv.idaho.gov/conference/handouts/False-Allegations.pdf

Lober, B. (2018, January 26). (re)Thinking Sex Positivity, Abolition Feminism, and the #MeToo Movement: Opportunity for a New Synthesis. Retrieved May 16, 2019, from Abolition website: https://abolitionjournal.org/rethinking-sex-positivity-abolition-feminism-metoo-movement-opportunity-new-synthesis/

Loewen, K. (2015). Rejecting the Purity Myth: Reforming Rape Shield Laws in the Age of Social Media. *UCLA Women's Law Journal*, *22*, 151–166. Retrieved from https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/uclawo22&i=164

Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Reprint edition). Berkeley, Calif: Crossing Press.

Lowery, W. (2017, January 17). Black Lives Matter: Birth of a movement | Wesley Lowery. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/17/black-lives-matter-birth-of-a-movement

Luce, H., Schrager, S., & Gilchrist, V. (2010). Sexual assault of women. *American Family Physician*, *81*(4), 489–495.

Luft, R. E., & Ward, J. (2009). Toward an intersectionality just out of reach: Confronting challenges to intersectional practice. In D. V. & M. Texler Segal (Eds.), *Perceiving Gender Locally, Globally, and Intersectionally* (Advances in Gender Research, Vol. 13). Retrieved from https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/S1529-2126(2009)0000013005/full/html

MacKinnon, C. (2018, February 4). #MeToo Has Done What the Law Could Not. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/04/opinion/metoo-law-legal-system.html

Macnab, A. (2018, March 9). #MeToo pushing accountability for sexual assault outside the courtroom. *Canadian Lawyer Maganize*. Retrieved from https://www.canadianlawyermag.com/legalfeeds/author/aidan-macnab/metoo-pushing-accountability-for-sexual-assault-outside-the-courtroom-15443/

Maglione, G. (2017). Embodied victims: An archaeology of the 'ideal victim' of restorative justice. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, *17*(4), 401–417. https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895816677172

Manikonda, L., Beigi, G., Liu, H., & Kambhampati, S. (2018). Twitter for Sparking a Movement, Reddit for Sharing the Moment: #metoo through the Lens of Social Media. *ArXiv:1803.08022 [Cs]*. Retrieved from http://arxiv.org/abs/1803.08022

Markham, A. N. (2005). "Go ugly early": Fragmented narrative and bricolage as interpretive method. *QUALITATIVE INQUIRY*, *11*(6), 813–839.

Marsh, F., & Wager, N. M. (2015). Restorative justice in cases of sexual violence. *Probation Journal*, *62*(4), 336–356. https://doi.org/10.1177/0264550515619571;

Martin, D. L. (1998). Retribution Revisited: A Reconsideration of Feminist Criminal Law Reform Strategies. *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*, *36*(1), 151–188.

Martinez, G., & Law, T. (2019, June 6). Two Recent Murders of Black Trans Women in Texas Reveal a Nationwide Crisis, Advocates Say. *Time*. Retrieved from https://time.com/5601227/two-black-trans-women-murders-in-dallas-anti-trans-violence/

Mast, N. (2018, 05). Xenophobic German campaign #120dB says domestic abuse by Europeans is less harmful than sexual violence by migrants. Retrieved September 1, 2019, from Media Matters for America website: https://www.mediamatters.org/maga-trolls/xenophobic-german-campaign-120db-says-domestic-abuse-europeans-less-harmful-sexual

McCall, L. (2005). The Complexity of Intersectionality. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *30*(3), 1771–1800. https://doi.org/10.1086/426800

McLeod, J. (2000, June). *Qualitative research as bricolage*. Presented at the Society for Psychotherapy Research, Chicago.

Meloy, M., & Miller, S. (2009). Words That Wound: Print Media's Presentation of Gendered Violence. In D. Humphries (Ed.), *Media and Violence against Women* (pp. 29–56). Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Mendes, K., Ringrose, J., & Keller, J. (2018). #MeToo and the promise and pitfalls of challenging rape culture through digital feminist activism. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *25*(2), 236–246. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506818765318

Merali, F. (2018, November 14). Patrick Brown cites sexual misconduct allegation against Ontario finance minister in new book. *CBC News*. Retrieved from https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/patrick-brown-new-tell-all-book-1.4904663

Merkin, D. (2018, January 20). Opinion | Publicly, We Say #MeToo. Privately, We Have Misgivings. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/05/opinion/golden-globes-metoo.html

Merkin, D. (n.d.). About Daphne Merkin. Retrieved May 16, 2019, from Daphne Merkin website: http://www.daphne-merkin.com/about

@metoo_anonymous. (2017, October 17). Me Too Anonymous on Twitter: "Use your voice to protect others, spread awareness, and eradicate sexual harassment/assault for future generations #metoo #togetherwecan https://t.co/YXzfBhvnKu" / Twitter. Retrieved August 7, 2019, from Twitter website: https://twitter.com/metoo_anonymous/status/920348927542677505

Meyer, M. D. E. (2014). #Thevagenda's War on Headlines: Feminist Activism in the Information Age. *Feminist Media Studies*, *14*(6), 1107–1108. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2014.975451

Minaker, J. C. (2001). Evaluating Criminal Justice Responses to Intimate Abuse through the Lens of Women's Needs [article]. *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, (1), 74.

Minaker, J. C., & Snider, L. (2006). Husband Abuse: Equality with a Vengeance? *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, *48*(5), 753–780. https://doi.org/10.1353/ccj.2006.0053

Mohanty, C. T. (1988). Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses. *Feminist Review*, *30*(1), 61–88. https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.1988.42

@msshanitarenee. (2018, January 7). Shanita Hubbard on Twitter: "When #Oprah spoke the name Recy Taylor I could not stop crying. Racism and sexism have been devouring black women for decades. Our sisters, like Rosa Parks and Tarana Burke, have always been on the frontline screaming this truth. #GoldenGlobes #MeToo #TIMESUP". Retrieved August 7, 2019, from Twitter website: https://twitter.com/msshanitarenee/status/950209875526680576?ref_url=https%3a%2f%2fwww.cnn.com%2f2018%2f01%2f08%2fentertainment%2foprah-speech-social-media-reaction%2findex.html

Munro, E. (2013). Feminism: A Fourth Wave? *Political Insight*, *4*(2), 22–25. https://doi.org/10.1111/2041-9066.12021

@najwazebian. (2017, October 24). Najwa Zebian on Twitter: "When you say #metoo , you're no longer alone in the struggle to be heard. You're now part of #wetoo. And we can change the world together.💪" / Twitter. Retrieved August 31, 2019, from Twitter website: https://twitter.com/najwazebian/status/922858986608750592

Narsee, A. (2019, January 30). Dairy of a feminist student. Retrieved March 19, 2019, from Nasty Women website: https://www.nastywomen.org.za/diary-of-a-feminist-student/

National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. (2019). *Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls* (No. Volume 1a; p. 728). Retrieved from National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls website: https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Final_Report_Vol_1a.pdf

Native News Online. (2018, April 5). New filmâ□"“An Indigenous Response to #MeToo" is an engaging conversation starter. *Kalihwisaks (Oneida, WI)*, p. 41.

Navarrette Jr., R. (2018, October 21). #MeToo meets #BlackLivesMatter | Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. Retrieved August 11, 2019, from https://www.post-gazette.com/opinion/Op-Ed/2018/10/22/lt-div-class-libPageBodyLinebreak-gt-MeToo-BlackLives-lt-br-gt-lt-div-gt/stories/201810220022

Nelund, A. (2015). *Engendering alternative justice: Criminalized women, alternative justice, and neoliberalism*. Retrieved from https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/xmlui/handle/1993/31043

Noble, S. U. (2018). *Algorithms of Oppression: How Search Engines Reinforce Racism*. Retrieved from http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ualberta/detail.action?docID=4834260

Onwuachi-Willig, A. (2018). What About #UsToo?: The Invisibility of Race in the #MeToo Movement. *Yale Law Journal Forum*, 105. Retrieved from https://scholarship.law.bu.edu/faculty_scholarship/331

Open Letter to Le Monde, & Denueve, C. (2018, January 9). Nous défendons une liberté d'importuner, indispensable à la liberté sexuelle. *Le Monde.fr*. Retrieved from https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2018/01/09/nous-defendons-une-liberte-d-importuner-indispensable-a-la-liberte-sexuelle_5239134_3232.html

OurTurn. (2017). *OurTurn: A National, Student-led Action Plan to End Campus Sexual Viiolence*. Retrieved from OurTurn website: https://ssmu.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/our_turn_action_plan_final_english_web.pdf?x26516

Palmater, P. (2016). Shining Light on the Dark Places: Addressing Police Racism and Sexualized Violence against Indigenous Women and Girls in the National Inquiry Special Issue: Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women Conference. *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, *28*, 253–284.

Patten, D. (2019, July 8). Harvey Weinstein's Latest New Lawyers Strike No Delay Deal With Judge Over Rape Trial Start Date. Retrieved July 31, 2019, from Deadline website:

https://deadline.com/2019/07/harvey-weinstein-new-lawyers-new-york-rape-trial-date-remains-1202640490/

Percy, J. (2019, February 12). The Life of an American Boy at 17. *Esquire*. Retrieved from https://www.esquire.com/news-politics/a26016236/the-american-boy-at-17/

Perreault, S. (2015). *Criminal victimization in Canada, 2014* (Juristat. Vol. 35, No. 1 No. 85-002-X.). Retrieved from Statistics Canada website: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/85-002-x/2015001/article/14241-eng.pdf?st=8433_j-R

Perry, I. (2004). *Prophets of the Hood: Politics and Poetics in Hip Hop*. Durham: Duke University Press Books.

Pew Research Center. (2018, February 5). Demographics of Social Media Users and Adoption in the United States. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from https://www.pewinternet.org/fact-sheet/social-media/

Phipps, A. (2019). "Every woman knows a Weinstein": Political whiteness and white woundedness in #MeToo and public feminisms around sexual violence. *Feminist Formations*. Retrieved from http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/id/eprint/83531/

@piersmorgan. (2019, January 14). Piers Morgan on Twitter: "I've used @Gillette razors my entire adult life but this absurd virtue-signalling PC guff may drive me away to a company less eager to fuel the current pathetic global assault on masculinity. Let boys be damn boys. Let men be damn men. https://t.co/Hm66OD5lA4" / Twitter. Retrieved September 1, 2019, from Twitter website: https://twitter.com/piersmorgan/status/1084891133757587456

Potter, H. (2006). An Argument for Black Feminist Criminology: Understanding African American Women's Experiences With Intimate Partner Abuse Using an Integrated Approach. *Feminist Criminology*, *1*(2), 106–124. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085106286547

Powell, A. (2015). Seeking rape justice: Formal and informal responses to sexual violence through technosocial counter-publics. *Theoretical Criminology*, *19*(4), 571–588. https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480615576271

Price, L. S. (2005). *Feminist frameworks: Building theory on violence against women*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Pryse, M. (1998). Critical Interdisciplinarity, Women's Studies, and Cross-Cultural Insight. *NWSA Journal*, *10*(1), 1–22. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4316551

Purtill, C. (2017). #MeToo hijacked black women's work on race and gender equality. Retrieved June 15, 2019, from Quartz at Work website: https://qz.com/work/1147950/metoo-hijacked-black-womens-work-on-race-and-gender-equality/

Razack, S. h. (2016). Gendering disposability. *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, *28*(2), 285–307. https://doi.org/10.3138/cjwl.28.2.285

Rentschler, C. (2015). #Safetytipsforladies: Feminist Twitter Takedowns of Victim Blaming. *Feminist Media Studies*, *15*(2), 353–356. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2015.1008749

Richie, B. (2018). *Compelled to Crime: The Gender Entrapment of Battered, Black Women*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315656557

Riera, T. (2015). *Online Feminisms: Feminist Community Building and Activism in a Digital Age*. Scripps College.

Rodino-Colocino, M. (2014). #YesAllWomen: Intersectional Mobilization Against Sexual Assault is Radical (Again). *Feminist Media Studies*, *14*(6), 1113–1115. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2014.975475

Rodino-Colocino, M. (2018). Me too, #MeToo: Countering cruelty with empathy. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, *15*(1), 96–100. https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2018.1435083

Ronken, C., & Lincoln, R. (2001). Deborah's Law: The Effects of Naming and Shaming on Sex Offenders in Australia. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, *34*(3), 235–255. https://doi.org/10.1177/000486580103400303

Ross, J. (2018). *What the #MeToo Campaign Teaches About Stop and Frisk* (SSRN Scholarly Paper No. ID 3225923). Retrieved from Social Science Research Network website: https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3225923

Rotenberg, C. (2017a). *From arrest to conviction: Court outcomes of police-reported sexual assaults in Canada, 2009 to 2014* (Juristat Article No. 85-002–X; p. 57). Ottawa, ON: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

Rotenberg, C. (2017b). *Police-reported sexual assaults in Canada, 2009 to 2014: A statistical profile* (p. 29) [Juristat article]. Ottawa, ON, Canada: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

Rotenberg, C., & Cotter, A. (2018). *Police-reported sexual assaults in Canada before and after #MeToo, 2016 and 2017* (p. 27) [Juristat article]. Ottawa, ON, Canada: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

Rottenberg, C. A. (2018). *The Rise of Neoliberal Feminism*. Retrieved from http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/oso/9780190901226.001.0001/oso-9780190901226

Royal Canadian Mounted Police. (2014). *Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women: A National Operational Overview*. Retrieved from http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/en/missing-and-murdered-aboriginal-women-national-operational-overview

Salter, M. (2013). Justice and revenge in online counter-publics: Emerging responses to sexual violence in the age of social media. *Crime, Media, Culture*, *9*(3), 225–242. https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659013493918

Salvino, C., & Spencer, C. (2019). *Out Turn: One Year Later* (p. 74). Retrieved from Students for Consent Culture Canada website: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5bc4e7bcf4755a6e42b00495/t/5ca4bd76652dea6fb0eec244/1554300288926/SFCC_report_en_final.pdf

@samandea. (2017, October 21). #metoo and I never told anyone because I thought it was my fault for sending the wrong signals... [Tweet]. Retrieved May 15, 2019, from @samandea website: https://twitter.com/samandea/status/921650803412295680

@samueljdonovan. (2017, October 15). Sam Donovan on Twitter: "#MeToo Sexual assault affects the LGBTQ+ ppl as much as it does straight. None of us are alone, all of us can help stop it." / Twitter. Retrieved August 31, 2019, from Twitter website: https://twitter.com/samueljdonovan/status/919735224698884096?ref_url=https%3a%2f%2fwww.inverse.com%2farticle%2f37439-me-too-stories-social-media-sexual-assault

Sandberg, S., & Pritchard, M. (2019, May 17). Commentary: The Number of Men Who Are Uncomfortable Mentoring Women Is Growing. Retrieved August 31, 2019, from Fortune website: https://fortune.com/2019/05/17/sheryl-sandberg-lean-in-me-too/

Sawatsky, J. (2009). *The Ethic of Traditional Communities and the Spirit of Healing Justice: Studies From Hollow Water, the Iona Community, and Plum Village*. Retrieved from http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=278609&site=ehost-live

Scott, J. W. (1992). Experience. In A. M. Alonso & J. Butler (Eds.), *Feminists Theorize the Political* (pp. 22–40). Retrieved from https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=1ee37ac0-34dc-e711-80cd-005056af4099

@shannonmstirone. (2017, October 15). Let me just cut to the chase with the #metoo trend. Dear men, nearly every woman you know has been sexually assaulted or harassed. [Tweet]. Retrieved

May 15, 2019, from @shannonmstirone website: https://twitter.com/shannonmstirone/status/919749896940302336?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E919749896940302336&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.glamour.com%2Fstory%2Fmetoo-women-share-stories-of-sexual-harassment-and-assault-on-twitter

Simpson, A. (2016). The State is a Man: Theresa Spence, Loretta Saunders and the Gender of Settler Sovereignty. *Theory & Event*, *19*(4). Retrieved from https://muse.jhu.edu/article/633280

Smart, C. (1990). Law's Power, the Sexed Body, and Feminist Discourse. *Journal of Law and Society*, *17*(2), 194–210. https://doi.org/10.2307/1410085

Smart, C. (2002). *Feminism and the power of law*. Retrieved from http://login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat03710a&AN=alb.7649847&site=eds-live&scope=site

Smith, M. (2019, May 2). Towards Closing the Diversity Gap in Research Chairs. Retrieved August 18, 2019, from Academic Women's Association website: https://uofaawa.wordpress.com/2019/05/02/towards-closing-the-diversity-gap-in-research-chairs/

Snider, L. (2008). Criminalising violence against women: Solution or dead end? *Criminal Justice Matters*, *74*(1), 38–39. https://doi.org/10.1080/09627250802476833

Snider, L. (1994). Feminism, Punishment and the Potential of Empowerment. *Canadian Journal of Law & Society / La Revue Canadienne Droit et Société*, *9*(01), 75–104. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0829320100003513

Snider, L. (1998). Towards Safer Societies: Punishment, Masculinities and Violence Against Women. *The British Journal of Criminology*, *38*(1), 1–39. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.bjc.a014214

Snyder, C., & Lopez, L. (2017, December 17). Tarana Burke on why she created the #MeToo movement — and where it's headed. Retrieved April 24, 2019, from Business Insider website: https://www.businessinsider.com/how-the-metoo-movement-started-where-its-headed-tarana-burke-time-person-of-year-women-2017-12

Snyder, Z. K. (2009). What about women? Representations of women in media, crime and violence textbooks. In D. Humphries (Ed.), *Women, Violence, and the Media: Readings in Feminist Criminology* (pp. 99–116). Boston: Northeastern University Press.

@spideyhollandx. (2017, October 15). At 16, my 36 year old co-worker told me he was gonna "spank me for being a naughty girl" I stayed silent because I was scared #MeTohttps://twitter.com/womensmarch/status/919705604075216896 … [Tweet]. Retrieved May 15, 2019, from @spideyhollandx website: https://twitter.com/spideyhollandx/status/919743711357087744?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E919743711357087744&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bustle.com%2Fp%2F36-me-too-tweets-that-will-shatter-you-2920220

Squires, J. (2010). Beyond Multiple Inequalities: Transversal Intersectionality, Diversity Mainstreaming and Participative Democracy. *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*, (2–3). https://doi.org/10.7146/kkf.v0i2-3.28017

St. Pierre, E. A., & Pillow, W. (2000). Introduction: Inquiry Among the Ruins. In E. A. St. Pierre & W. Pillow (Eds.), *Working the Ruins: Feminist Poststructural Theory and Methods in Education* (pp. 1–24). New York: Routledge.

Statistics Canada. (2006). Measuring Violence Against Women: Statistical Trends 2006: Prevalence and severity of violence against women. Retrieved May 15, 2019, from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-570-x/2006001/findings-resultats/4144393-eng.htm

Statistics Canada. (2009). *Measuring Crime in Canada: Introducing the Crime Severity Index and Improvements to the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey* (No. 85-004–X; p. 45). Ottawa.

Statistics Canada. (2018, July 23). The Daily — Unfounded criminal incidents in Canada, 2017. Retrieved July 25, 2018, from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/180723/dq180723c-eng.htm

Sterritt, A. (2018, October 26). Indigenous #MeToo catching fire in B.C. First Nations communities. *CBC News*. Retrieved from https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/indigenous-metoo-movement-slowly-catching-fire-in-bc-1.4878759

Stubbs-Richardson, M., Rader, N. E., & Cosby, A. G. (2018). Tweeting rape culture: Examining portrayals of victim blaming in discussions of sexual assault cases on Twitter. *Feminism & Psychology*, *28*(1), 90–108. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353517715874

Students for Consent Culture Canada. (2019). Our Impact. Retrieved August 19, 2019, from Students for Consent Culture website: https://sfcccanada.org/impact

Tambe, A. (2018). Reckoning with the Silences of #MeToo. *Feminist Studies*, *44*(1), 197–202.

Team CASSIUS. (2018, March 21). BLACKIPEDIA: What Is 'Intersectionality'? Retrieved August 9, 2019, from Cassius website: https://cassiuslife.com/54881/what-is-intersectionality/

Thapar-Björkert, S., & Tlostanova, M. (2018). Identifying to dis-identify: Occidentalist feminism, the Delhi gang rape case and its internal others. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *25*(7), 1025–1040. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1435511

Thrift, S. C. (2014). #YesAllWomen as Feminist Meme Event. *Feminist Media Studies*, *14*(6), 1090–1092. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2014.975421

Time's Up. (2019). History. Retrieved June 11, 2019, from TIME'S UP Now website: https://www.timesupnow.com/history

TODAY. (2018). *MeToo Creator Tarana Burke And Alyssa Milano: 'It's Not Just A Moment, It's A Movement.'* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MxuZB-K_Q1A

Todd, Z. (2016). An Indigenous Feminist's Take On The Ontological Turn: "Ontology" Is Just Another Word For Colonialism. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, *29*(1), 4–22. Retrieved from http://login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=30h&AN=113944197&site=eds-live&scope=site

Tremblay, L. (2013, Summer). Sexual Assault. *Herizons; Winnipeg*, *27*(1), 28-29,31. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1429236159/abstract/EF66C3B0E94B4CD0PQ/1

Urban Dictionary. (2018). Metoo'd. Retrieved March 14, 2019, from Urban Dictionary website: https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Metoo%27d

Ursel, J. (1991). Considering the Impact of the Battered Women's Movement on the State: The Example of Manitoba. In E. Comack & S. Brickley (Eds.), *The Social basis of law: Critical readings in the sociology of law*. Retrieved from https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18781361

Ursel, J. (1996). The Battered Women's Movement and the Canadian State. In C. Andrew & S. Rodger (Eds.), *Women and the Canadian State*. Retrieved from https://www.mqup.ca/women-and-the-canadian-state-les-femmes-et-l-etat-canadien-products-9780773515130.php

van Wormer, K. (2009). Restorative justice as social justice for victims of gendered violence: A standpoint feminist perspective. *Social Work*, *54*(2), 107-116 10p. Retrieved from http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=c8h&AN=105493788&site=ehost-live

Variety Magazine. (2018). *Tarana Burke: Variety Power of Women Cover Shoot*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=za0m8G2eqXI

Wagmeister, E. (2018, April 10). Tarana Burke Wants to Shift the Me Too Conversation. *Variety*. Retrieved from https://variety.com/2018/biz/news/tarana-burke-me-too-founder-sexual-violence-1202748012/

Washington, P. A. (2001). Disclosure Patterns of Black Female Sexual Assault Survivors. *Violence Against Women*, *7*(11), 1254–1283. https://doi.org/10.1177/10778010122183856

Weedon, C. (1996). *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* (2 edition). Cambridge, Mass: Wiley-Blackwell.

Weiss, K. G. (2010). Too Ashamed to Report: Deconstructing the Shame of Sexual Victimization. *Feminist Criminology*, *5*(3), 286–310. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085110376343

Williams, S. (2015). Digital Defense: Black Feminists Resist Violence With Hashtag Activism. *Feminist Media Studies*, *15*(2), 341–344. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2015.1008744

Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research*, *8*(4), 387–409. Retrieved from https://eclass.srv.ualberta.ca/pluginfile.php/3684556/mod_resource/content/2/Wolfe%202006.pdf

@womensmarch. (2017, October 15). To all the women sharing stories of sexual assault and sexual harassment, thank you for your bravery to speak up. You are not alone. #MeToo [Tweet]. Retrieved May 15, 2019, from @womensmarch website: https://twitter.com/womensmarch/status/919705604075216896?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E919705604075216896&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.glamour.com%2Fstory%2Fmetoo-women-share-stories-of-sexual-harassment-and-assault-on-twitter

@xeni. (2017, October 24). Xeni Jardin on Twitter: “this one goes out to the working women whose #metoo you’ll never read cause they’re too busy cleaning your home or serving you food” / Twitter. Retrieved August 31, 2019, from Twitter website: https://twitter.com/xeni/status/922886587783852032

Yancy, G. (2014). *White Self-Criticality beyond Anti-racism: How Does It Feel to Be a White Problem?* (Reprint edition). Lexington Books.

Young, T., & Yarbrough, J. (1993). Reinventing sociology: Mission and methods for postmodern sociologists. *Weidman, MI: Red Feather Institute*. Presented at the Transforming Sociology Series, Red Feather Institute.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1997). Women, Citizenship and Difference. *Feminist Review*, *57*(1), 4–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/014177897339632