



18

Men and #MeToo: Mapping Men's Responses to Anti-violence Advocacy

Michael Flood

Men's responses to #MeToo, and other forms of feminist advocacy on rape and sexual harassment, range from enthusiastic support to hostile backlash. There are common forms of resistance among men to these campaigns, including defensive denials that men's violence is routine, a focus on 'other' men, and complaints that #MeToo has 'gone too far' (see Fileborn & Phillips, this collection). And for many men, there is simply mute discomfort. Masculinity is implicated directly in men's perpetration of rape and sexual harassment, but also in men's widespread inaction or complicity in the face of men's violence against women. At the same time, #MeToo has prompted valuable public scrutiny of the narrow and dangerous ideals of masculinity which inform men's violence toward women.

#MeToo's call to action among men comprises three key tasks. First, #MeToo asks men to listen to women, in order to recognize men's violence against women as common, serious, and wrong. Second, #MeToo asks that men reflect on and change their own behavior and everyday relations with women and other men. Third, #MeToo asks that men

M. Flood (✉)

Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, QLD, Australia

e-mail: m.flood@qut.edu.au

© The Author(s) 2019

B. Fileborn, R. Loney-Howes (eds.), *#MeToo and the Politics of Social Change*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-15213-0_18

285

contribute to social change, both by challenging other men and by contributing to wider efforts to shift the systemic gender inequalities that form the foundation of sexual harassment and abuse. For each, this chapter assesses to what extent men have taken up this task and the common forms of resistance many men show. The chapter thus traces the contours of men's responses to #MeToo: what we know about how #MeToo has produced change and how it has not.

The data with which to assess #MeToo's impact are limited. Although #MeToo certainly has significant cultural presence and grassroots mobilization in a wide variety of countries (see Garibotti & Hopp; Zeng, this collection), most of the available surveys on awareness of the campaign come from the Global North and particularly the US. Even less is known about how #MeToo's impact plays out among intersections of gender, ethnicity, class, and other forms of social difference and inequality (see Kagal, Cowan & Jawad; Ryan; Ison, this collection). Note that, while #MeToo has prompted public attention also to the harassment *of men*, which is largely by other men, in reviewing men's responses to #MeToo, I focus here on men's violence against women and on responses among men related to this.

Men: Listen to Women

For #MeToo to have affected men's awareness of sexual harassment and other forms of violence against women, men themselves must have heard of the campaign. We should not overestimate #MeToo's reach among men. In a US survey of men aged 18–55, close to half (41%) had never heard of #MeToo (Editors of GQ, 2018), while in another, nearly one-quarter of employed men said that they had not heard of #MeToo (Koeze & Barry-Jester, 2018). In a UK survey among adults over August–September 2018, more than half (57%) had not heard of the movement (Fawcett Society, 2018).

One sign that a campaign or movement is contributing to social change is if people discuss it or the issues it raises among their peers. Yet, research from the US and the UK finds that most men have not had conversations about #MeToo or sexual harassment despite having heard of

#MeToo. In a US survey of men aged 18–55, 47% of men had not discussed #MeToo, with anyone, ever (Editors of GQ, 2018). In a UK survey, only 28% of men had had conversations about sexual harassment with a same-sex other, compared to 34% of women, and only 31% of men had done so with a woman. Young men in the UK were more likely than older men to have had conversations with their peers: 54% of men aged 18–34 had done so, compared to 27% of those 35–54 and only 16% of those aged 55 and older (Fawcett Society, 2018).

Despite men's levels of ignorance of #MeToo, the campaign does seem to have prompted greater awareness of sexism and gender inequalities. In one US survey, close to half of men (44%) agreed that recent stories about sexual harassment have changed their view about how women are treated in society (NBC News and the Wall Street Journal, 2017). #MeToo's effects here may be greater among younger men. Among young men aged 18–25, 61% said they have thought about how society enables sexist behavior among men since the initiative began, and 59% said the movement has made them think about how difficult the world is for women (MTV News, 2018).

There are signs of shifts in social norms in terms of what behaviors are perceived as acceptable or unacceptable. In a UK survey, a little over half of men (53%) agreed that 'In the last 12 months there has been a change in what behavior other people think is and isn't acceptable'. In contrast to other findings, agreement here was not higher among younger cohorts, with similar levels of agreement among younger and older men (Fawcett Society, 2018). However, while older men in the UK felt that there had been a change in *other* people's ideas about what is and isn't acceptable, they were far less likely than younger men to say that *they* themselves thought differently about such things.

If the task is to listen to and believe women, there are numerous forms of resistance to this. Men may recognize only the bluntest forms of violence, emphasize that harassment is perpetrated by a deviant minority, raise concerns about false allegations, and protest that #MeToo has 'gone too far'. Such responses reflect typical gender gaps in understandings of gender and violence. Men's understandings of men's violence against women are consistently poorer than women's, as international surveys of community attitudes document (Herrero, Rodríguez, & Torres, 2017).

While many men agree that sexual harassment is unacceptable, often they recognize only the bluntest and most grotesque abuses of power. This is similar to perceptions of sexual assault, where assaults by a stranger, in a public location, using a weapon, and involving serious injury dominate the community's perceptions of 'real rape'. Sexual harassment can be classified into three forms: (1) sexual coercion (sexual blackmail, threats aimed at receiving sexual cooperation, or physical attacks), (2) unwanted sexual attention (unwelcome sexual advances, touching, explicit sexual remarks), and (3) gender harassment (telling sexist jokes, offensive gendered commentary, exposing pornographic materials at work, etc.) (Holland, Rabelo, Gustafson, Seabrook, & Cortina, 2016; Maass, Cadinu, & Galdi, 2013). Gender harassment is the most common form of sexual harassment, but also the least likely to be viewed as such (Holland et al., 2016). Instead, men (and women) are more likely to recognize the first two forms as sexual harassment, involving unwanted sexual advances and particularly those comprising quid-pro quo coercion, in which an individual who holds power provides advantages (e.g., hiring) or withholds disadvantages (e.g., firing) in exchange for sexual favors. One journalist, referring to Harvey Weinstein, the film producer whose perpetration of sexual coercion and harassment sparked the #MeToo mobilization, describes:

the Weinstein problem: the fact that many harassers see harassment as limited to grotesque abuses of power, whereas their own actions can be excused as merely a case of misread signals, inept attempts at seduction, harmless flirting. They hear the Weinstein stories and think: Oh, I'm not so deviant after all. And anyway, that guy is worse. (Lewis, 2017)

Many men also mistakenly see violence against women as perpetrated by only a tiny minority of deviant men. 'Not all men!', they say, in what is a common rallying cry for those who feel that feminist critiques unfairly tarnish all men. Indeed, '#NotAllMen' was a popular hashtag in 2014–2015, with some women responding '#YesAllWomen'—that is, that all women deal with sexism and violence on a daily basis (Plait, 2014). Similar responses are visible in countries across the world, such as 'Don't accuse men!' in Denmark (MÄN, 2018). The statement 'Not all

men' can express men's rejection of the feminist insight that perpetration and perpetrators are common in society but also a more personal rejection of the request that they critically examine their own behavior. I return to the latter below.

Men's willingness to listen to and believe victims and survivors is stymied by pervasive narratives of women as false accusers (see Franks, this collection). It has long been asserted and assumed that women 'cry rape'—that women often invent allegations of rape for malicious, vengeful, and other motives (Lisak, Gardinier, Nicksa, & Cote, 2010). The reality is, instead, that false reports of sexual assault are rare, as a series of studies and examinations of crime data have shown (Kelly, 2010; Lisak et al., 2010). Despite this, there is widespread support for the idea that women often make false allegations, of both rape and domestic violence. For example, in Australia, a 2017 national survey found that 33% of men agreed with the statement that 'many allegations of sexual assault made by women are false', while just under half of men (49%) agreed that 'Women going through custody battles often make up or exaggerate claims of domestic violence in order to improve their case' (Webster et al., 2018).¹ In a US survey of 6251 adults in early 2018, one-third (31%) agreed that women falsely claiming sexual harassment or assault is a 'major problem', and close to half (45%) agreed that it is a 'minor problem', with only 22% seeing it as 'not a problem' (Pew Research Centre, 2018). At the same time, close to half (46%) agreed that women not being believed is a 'major problem' and one-third (34%) saw it as a 'minor problem'.

There is a troublingly widespread concern about young men, in particular, being the victims of false allegations. A survey among US adults in October 2018 found that more than half were *equally* concerned for victimized women and falsely accused men, while one in six were *more* concerned about falsely accused men. Of all adults, 57% reported that they were equally concerned about young women and the sexual harassment and assault they could suffer and young men and the false allegations of sexual harassment or assault they could suffer, 15% were more concerned about the latter, and only 17% about the former (Morning

¹ The figures for women were 23% and 37%, respectively.

Consult, 2018). This focus on men's subjection to false allegations received endorsement from the highest political figure in that country, with US President Donald Trump commenting in October 2018 that it is 'a very scary time for young men in America, when you can be guilty of something that you may not be guilty of'. Yet, false allegations of violence and abuse are far less common than false denials of perpetration (Jaffe, Johnston, Crooks, & Bala, 2008). Indeed, men are far more likely to be sexually assaulted themselves—230 times as likely, according to the UK numbers—than they are to be falsely accused of sexual assault (Lee, 2018).

#MeToo does not seem to have dented men's belief in false allegations. If anything, this belief has worsened over the past year, at least in the US. An Ipsos poll in 2018 found that men's agreement that 'Those who report being the victims of sexual harassment should be given the benefit of the doubt until proven otherwise' declined from 74% to 68% over the 10 months from December 2017 to October 2018 (while women's higher levels of agreement remained steady). Similarly, a YouGov poll found that agreement that 'False accusations of sexual assault are a bigger problem than unreported assaults' increased over November 2017–September 2018, from 16% to 20% among men and 13% to 18% among adults (YouGov, 2018). In October 2018, Ipsos found that over half of men (57%) agreed that, 'False accusations of sexual harassment against men are very common', as did half (48%) of women. One-third of men (36%) reported worrying that they will be unfairly accused of sexual harassment, while close to one-third of women (30%) reported worrying that a man they care about will be unfairly accused. Republican voters had consistently more harassment-supportive attitudes than Democrat voters (Ipsos, 2018).

The belief that men are often the victims of women's false allegations of harassment and assault contributes to the wider perception that #MeToo has 'gone too far'. Popular and social media commentary includes common claims that #MeToo has brought a repressive and unjust regime of sexual McCarthyism, a 'sex panic', a 'police state', a 'witch-hunt', and so on (Garber, 2018). Men's perceptions here are one expression of backlash, a response by members of a dominant group who feel threatened by challenges to their privilege by disadvantaged groups

(Flood, Dragiewicz, & Pease, 2018; Rosewarne, this collection). This also can be seen as a form of 'aggrieved entitlement', an effort to restore traditional, patriarchal forms of manhood as men's experiences of unquestioned entitlement come under challenge (Kimmel, 2013).

It should not surprise us that significant numbers of men see themselves as the victims of an unjust #MeToo regime, given the prevalence of anti-feminist beliefs in male disadvantage. For example, in a national survey of Australians aged 16 and above in March 2018, 41% of males (and 23% of females) agreed that 'Political correctness gives women an advantage in the workplace', while 42% of males (and 23% of females) agreed that 'Men and boys are increasingly excluded from measures to improve gender equality' (Evans, Haussegger, Halupka, & Rowe, 2018). Lest one assume that these anti-feminist beliefs were concentrated only among older men in Australia, Millennial young men in their mid-20s to late 30s had some of the highest levels of agreement. Similar findings come from the US. For instance, a survey of 777 young men aged 11–24 undertaken in early 2017 demonstrated substantial levels of agreement with the ideas that 'men/boys are held to a higher standard than women/girls' (43% agreed, 31% neutral), 'men/boys are punished just for acting like men/boys today' (32% agreed, 32% neutral), and 'women/girls receive special treatment' (37% agreed, 30% neutral) (Joyful Heart Foundation, 2018).

Men: Put Your Own House in Order

#MeToo also asks men to 'put their own house in order': to reflect on their own behavior and to ensure that they behave in respectful and gender-equitable ways. The campaign thus asks that men consider the impact and meaning of their behavior *for women*. Certainly, there are signs that some men are doing this, from four US surveys:

- Half of men (49%) said that recent stories about sexual harassment had made them think about their own behavior around women (while half disagreed) (NBC News and the Wall Street Journal, 2017). Higher

proportions had done so among younger than older men, and among Democrat than Republican men.

- Among men aged 18–55, over one-third of men (38%) said that #MeToo had made them re-evaluate their past sexual experiences (Editors of GQ, 2018).
- Among young men aged 18–25, one-third agreed that, ‘I’m worried something I’ve done could be seen as sexual harassment’ (MTV News, 2018).
- Among men who had heard of #MeToo, one in three said they thought about their behavior at work differently as a result (Koeze & Barry-Jester, 2018).

Re-evaluating one’s behavior is one thing, but actually changing it is another. Around one-quarter to one-third of men in the US, depending on the survey, report having altered their dating and romantic behaviors in the wake of #MeToo:

- In a US survey, one-quarter (24%) of men said they had changed their behavior in romantic relationships in the wake of the movement, while three-quarters (86%) had not (Koeze & Barry-Jester, 2018).
- In another US survey, one-third (35%) of men had changed their dating habits in response to MeToo, and 59% of those who had heard of MeToo (Editors of GQ, 2018).
- In a 2017 survey among US young men aged 18–25, 40% said that #MeToo had changed the way they act in potential romantic relationships. One in four (25%) agreed that ‘since the #MeToo movement, I have noticed that the guys around me have changed their behavior’ (MTV News, 2018).

While these statistics appear promising, there are four limitations to these reports of change. First, most men—over half to two-thirds—report that they *have not* re-evaluated or changed their behavior in the wake of #MeToo. Second, we do not know *how* such men have changed their behavior, and the changes they have in mind may be trivial or inappropriate. Third, to the extent that there was change, it is self-reported change, and it may be shaped by social desirability bias and either exaggerated or

misguided. Finally, it is also clear that large numbers of men continue to endorse the norms of male sexual entitlement and sexism which structure men's sexual harassment and coercion of women.

Still, sizeable minorities of men report some kind of reassessment and reworking of their sexual and dating behavior. Anecdotal media reports offer some corroboration here. For example, journalist and social commentator Laurie Penny writes of 'otherwise well-meaning male friends who are frantically reassessing their sexual history', and notes:

That's where a lot of men and boys I know are at right now. Bewildered. Uncomfortable. Wrestling with the spectre of their own wrongdoing. Frightened, most of all, about how the ground rules for being a worthwhile person are changing so fast. (Penny, 2017, n.p.)

As some men take stock of their pasts in light of #MeToo, and as some realize their past wrongs, some try to make amends (see also Newman & Haire, this collection). A wave of spontaneous apologies from men to women, over email, text, and Facebook, apparently has followed in the wake of #MeToo (Schneider, 2017).

Some sense of the confusion among men about how to interact with women comes too from a large survey among adults in the US conducted in February–March 2018. Over half of men (55%) agreed that the increased focus on sexual harassment and assault has made it harder for men to know how to interact with women in the workplace, as did close to half (47%) of women (Pew Research Centre, 2018).

At the same time, there is profound resistance among men to #MeToo's call for them to address their own behavior and interactions. A common reaction among men is the sense that violence against women is a 'women's issue', and not one of direct concern to them. Even if they acknowledge that domestic and sexual violence against women are pervasive social problems, many men see addressing them as women's work (Crooks, Goodall, Hughes, Jaffe, & Baker, 2007). In what one can think of as 'dominant group deflection', they shift responsibility for preventing and reducing violence away from themselves and toward women (Rich, Utley, Janke, & Moldoveanu, 2010).

A related response among men is that violence against women is a problem of ‘other’ men. Men may insist that ‘not all men’ are violent, and that they are one of the ‘good guys’ (see Cover, this collection). Many men portray batterers and rapists as ‘the other’, diminishing their own accountability for violence against women in a violence-supportive culture (Rich et al., 2010). Some men disavow responsibility by using racist stereotypes of perpetrators (PettyJohn, Muzzey, Maas, & McCauley, 2018; see also Kagal, Cowan & Jawad, this collection), drawing on well-established racialized narratives in media and popular culture (Pepin, 2016). Indeed, even men involved in anti-violence advocacy are not immune to such comforting distinctions between themselves and those ‘other’, violent men (Macomber, 2012).

This means that when men *are* asked to address their own potential perpetration of violence against women or their complicity in this, many are disinterested or reluctant, and some react with hostility. In a survey of male students about a proposed rape prevention program on a US university campus, half did not want to attend, and 10% had a visceral, hostile response, expressing anger, outrage, and offense (Rich et al., 2010). Likewise, when a social media effort aimed at men and based on the hashtag #HowIWillChange began in October 2017 in the wake of #MeToo, one stream of response centered on men’s indignant resistance to the proposal that they should examine their own role in the perpetuation of rape culture (PettyJohn et al., 2018).

Men: Smash the Patriarchy

Beyond changing their own abusive behavior, #MeToo asks men to challenge the abusive behavior of other men and the attitudes and behaviors which sustain this. That is, #MeToo invites men to be pro-social bystanders who take action to prevent and reduce harm, including by strengthening the conditions that prevent initial perpetration or victimization (Powell, 2011).

Polls taken in the wake of #MeToo show increases in men’s (and women’s) self-reported likelihood of and reports of bystander intervention. In a US poll conducted in October 2017, 77% of men said that they are

now more likely to speak out if they see a woman treated unfairly (NBC News and the Wall Street Journal, 2017). In a UK survey among adults between August and September 2018, 35% of men and women agreed that, 'In the last 12 months I have been more likely to challenge behavior or comments I think are inappropriate'. Focusing on men, this was far stronger among younger men, in that proportions agreeing were 58% of those aged 18–34, 32% of those aged 35–54, and only 24% of those aged 55 and older (Fawcett Society, 2018).

#MeToo, finally, asks men to take collective action to address the social and structural roots of men's violence against women. Mobilizing men is not a new idea, and men's collective anti-violence advocacy already had a presence in countries around the world. Anti-sexist and anti-violence men's groups began amidst the second wave of feminism in the early 1970s, and there is now a range of national and international men-focused organizations and networks (Flood, 2018). Efforts to prevent and reduce men's violence against women have, over the past three decades, included an increasing emphasis on the need to engage men as agents of change (McGann, 2014). Reflecting this, #MeToo commentary has included appeals to men to take action against men's sexual harassment, just as earlier hashtag campaigns such as #NotOkay did (Maas, McCauley, Bonomi, & Leija, 2018).

There are several signs of organized responses to #MeToo among men, from both within and outside established anti-violence men's networks. Men's networks and organizations have held roundtables, issued discussion papers, and offered reflections on #MeToo's significance (MÄN, 2018; MenEngage, 2017; White Ribbon Trust, 2018). There is at least one country where #MeToo prompted a significant increase in men's participation in anti-violence advocacy. In Sweden, the feminist organization MÄN (1993–) developed a guide for #AfterMeToo discussion groups in late 2017, leading to an upsurge of interest in the organization, a tripling in member numbers, and the formation of 30 groups at the time of writing in 2018 (MÄN, 2018).

#MeToo has also prompted new initiatives among men. A group of film industry and anti-violence men launched #AskMoreOfHim in March 2018, just before the Oscars movie awards, to challenge men to use their privilege and platforms for good in addressing sexual harassment,

abuse, and assault (Katz & Newsom, 2018). Australian writer Benjamin Law initiated a hashtag campaign directed at men, #HowIWillChange, in October 2017 as an effort to involve men and boys in reflection on how they perpetuate rape culture and how they intend to change this (PettyJohn et al., 2018). #MeToo also may have raised the bar for what it means to be a ‘male ally’ or male ‘feminist’, given the visibility of feminist critiques of tokenistic and hypocritical displays among men.

Still, we have yet to see any major international increase in men’s collective anti-violence advocacy in response to #MeToo. Such efforts remain relatively small, although they are growing in their political and practical sophistication (Flood, 2018).

Conclusion

#MeToo asks three tasks of men: to listen to women, to change their own sexist and harassing behavior, and to take collective action to prevent and reduce violence and abuse. In order to do so, men must overcome their socialized deafness to women’s experiences, take on the issue of men’s violence against women as of personal relevance and concern, and develop gender-equitable skills and habits.

#MeToo instigated a public outpouring of women’s stories of victimization, and research demonstrates that hearing women’s stories is a key path to men’s sensitization to violence against women (Flood, 2018). The data reviewed in this chapter do suggest that #MeToo has prompted some shifts—albeit slight or uneven in some cases—in men’s attitudes and behaviors. The campaign certainly is likely to have contributed to some slight weakening of the social norms underpinning men’s sexual violence against women. #MeToo is likely to have informed increases in awareness of men’s violence and in the perceived credibility and legitimacy of victims’ allegations. More widely, it may have prompted some level of rethinking of patriarchal forms of flirting, dating, and interaction.

Yet #MeToo, like other feminist efforts to address men’s violence against women, is up against well-established and well-rehearsed defenses of men’s violence and privilege. The data in this chapter also demonstrate

the extent of men's silence about and collusion with other men's violence and sexism.

To transform violence-supportive cultures, we will need intensified public attention to male privilege, male sexual entitlement, and alternatives to sexist manhood (The Men's Project & Flood, 2018). We will need focused challenges to the particular constructions of masculinity and male sexuality that sustain some men's perpetration—and many men's perpetuation—of violence against women. And we will need to mobilize men themselves, as educators, leaders, and activists, to join with women in collective struggles for gender justice.

References

- Crooks, C. V., Goodall, G. R., Hughes, R., Jaffe, P. G., & Baker, L. L. (2007). Engaging men and boys in preventing violence against women: Applying a cognitive-behavioral model. *Violence Against Women, 13*(3), 217–239.
- Editors of GQ. (2018, May 30). What 1,147 men think about #MeToo: A glamour X GQ survey. *GQ*. Retrieved December 20, 2018, from <https://www.gq.com/story/metoo-and-men-survey-glamour-gq>.
- Evans, M., Haussegger, V., Halupka, M., & Rowe, P. (2018). *From girls to men: Social attitudes to gender equality issues in Australia*. Canberra: 50/50 by 2030 Foundation, University of Canberra.
- Fawcett Society. (2018). *#Metoo one year on—What's changed?* London: The Fawcett Society.
- Flood, M. (2018). *Engaging men and boys in violence prevention*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Flood, M., Dragiewicz, M., & Pease, B. (2018). *Resistance and backlash to gender equality: An evidence review*. Brisbane: Crime, Justice and Social Democracy Research Centre, Queensland University of Technology (QUT).
- Garber, M. (2018, February 11). The selective empathy of #Metoo backlash. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved December 20, 2018, from <https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2018/02/the-selective-empathy-of-metoo-backlash/553022/>.
- Herrero, J., Rodríguez, F. J., & Torres, A. (2017). Acceptability of partner violence in 51 societies: The role of sexism and attitudes toward violence in social relationships. *Violence Against Women, 23*(3), 351–367.

- Holland, K. J., Rabelo, V. C., Gustafson, A. M., Seabrook, R. C., & Cortina, L. M. (2016). Sexual harassment against men: Examining the roles of feminist activism, sexuality, and organizational context. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity, 17*(1), 17–29.
- Ipsos. (2018). *Ipsos Npr examine views on sexual harassment and assault*. Washington, DC: Ipsos Public Affairs.
- Jaffe, P. G., Johnston, J. R., Crooks, C. V., & Bala, N. (2008). Custody disputes involving allegations of domestic violence: Toward a differentiated approach to parenting plans. *Family Court Review, 46*(3), 500–522.
- Joyful Heart Foundation. (2018). *Defining manhood for the next generation: Exploring young men's perceptions of gender roles and violence*. New York, NY: Joyful Heart Foundation.
- Katz, J., & Newsom, J. S. (2018, March 2). How Hollywood men can lead #Askmoreofhim campaign. *The Hollywood Reporter*. Retrieved December 20, 2018, from <https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/how-hollywood-men-can-lead-askmoreofhim-campaign-guest-column-1090128>.
- Kelly, L. (2010). The (in)credible words of women: False allegations in European rape research. *Violence Against Women, 16*(12), 1345–1355.
- Kimmel, M. (2013). *Angry white men: American masculinity at the end of an era*. New York, NY: Nation Books.
- Koeze, E., & Barry-Jester, A. M. (2018, June 20). What do men think it means to be a man? *FiveThirtyEight*. Retrieved December 20, 2018, from <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/what-do-men-think-it-means-to-be-a-man/>.
- Lee, G. (2018, October 12). Fact check: Men are more likely to be raped than be falsely accused of rape. Retrieved December 20, 2018, from <https://www.channel4.com/news/factcheck/factcheck-men-are-more-likely-to-be-raped-than-be-falsely-accused-of-rape>.
- Lewis, H. (2017, October 17). The Harvey Weinstein allegations are monstrous but it's not just monsters who harass women. *New Statesman*. Retrieved December 20, 2018, from <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2017/10/harvey-weinstein-allegations-are-monstrous-it-s-not-just-monsters-who-harass>.
- Lisak, D., Gardinier, L., Nicksa, S. C., & Cote, A. M. (2010). False allegations of sexual assault: An analysis of ten years of reported cases. *Violence Against Women, 16*(12), 1318–1334.
- Maas, M. K., McCauley, H. L., Bonomi, A. E., & Leija, S. G. (2018). “I was grabbed by my pussy and it’s #Notokay”: A Twitter backlash against Donald

- Trump's degrading commentary. *Violence Against Women*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801217743340>
- Maass, A., Cadinu, M., & Galdi, S. (2013). Sexual harassment: Motivations and consequences. In M. K. Ryan & N. R. Branscombe (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of gender and psychology* (pp. 341–358). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Macomber, K. (2012). *Men as allies: Mobilizing men to end violence against women*. Raleigh, North Carolina: North Carolina State University.
- MÄN. (2018). *Men, masculinity and #Metoo*. Stockholm: MÄN.
- McGann, P. (2014). *Current practices and challenges with engaging men on campus*. Washington, DC: The Department of Justice Office on Violence Against Women.
- MenEngage. (2017). *Summary report, virtual roundtable dialogue: Roles and responsibilities of men and boys in response to #Metoo*. Washington, DC: MenEngage.
- Morning Consult. (2018). *A year into #Metoo, public worried about false allegations*. New York, NY: Morning Consult.
- MTV News. (2018, January 29). The #Metoo movement is affecting men too. *MTV News*.
- NBC News and the Wall Street Journal. (2017, October 30). Nbc/Wsj Poll: Nearly half of working women say they've experienced harassment. *NBC News*. Retrieved December 20, 2018, from <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/first-read/nbc-wsj-poll-nearly-half-working-women-say-they-ve-n815376>.
- Penny, L. (2017, October 10). The horizon of desire. *Longreads*. Retrieved December 20, 2018, from <https://longreads.com/2017/10/10/the-horizon-of-desire/>.
- Pepin, J. R. (2016). Nobody's business? White male privilege in media coverage of intimate partner violence. *Sociological Spectrum*, 36(3), 123–141.
- PettyJohn, M. E., Muzzey, F. K., Maas, M. K., & McCauley, H. L. (2018). #Howitwillchange: Engaging men and boys in the #MeToo movement. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*. <https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000186>
- Pew Research Centre. (2018). *Sexual harassment at work in the era of #Metoo*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Centre.
- Plait, P. (2014). #Yesallwomen. *Slate*. Retrieved December 20, 2018, from http://www.slate.com/blogs/bad_astronomy/2014/05/27/not_all_men_how_discussing_women_s_issues_gets_derailed.html.

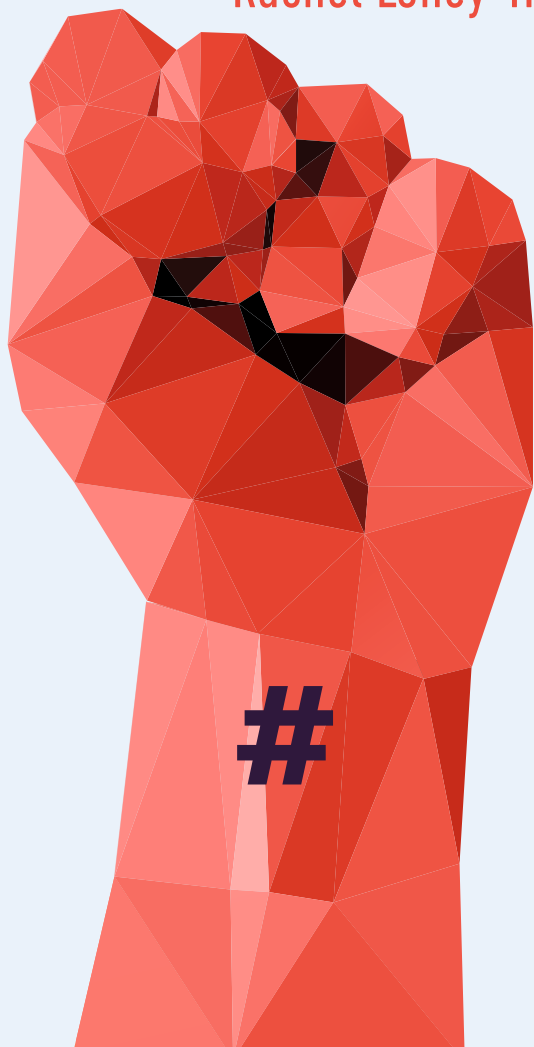
- Powell, A. (2011). *Review of bystander approaches in support of preventing violence against women*. Melbourne: Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth).
- Rich, M. D., Utley, E. A., Janke, K., & Moldoveanu, M. (2010). "I'd rather be doing something else": Male resistance to rape prevention programs. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 18(3), 268–288.
- Schneider, K. (2017, July 17). When men decide it's time to say sorry. *The Cut*. Retrieved December 20, 2018, from <https://www.thecut.com/2018/07/when-men-decide-its-time-to-say-sorry.html>.
- The Men's Project, & Flood, M. (2018). *The man box: A study on being a young man in Australia*. Melbourne: Jesuit Social Services.
- Webster, K., Diemer, K., Honey, N., Mannix, S., Mickle, J., Morgan, J., ... Ward, A. (2018). *Australians' attitudes to violence against women and gender equality: Findings from the 2017 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS)*. Sydney, NSW: ANROWS.
- White Ribbon Trust. (2018). *Report on how White Ribbon New Zealand can align with the #Metoo movement*. Auckland, New Zealand: White Ribbon Trust.
- YouGov. (2018, October 15). After a year of #Metoo, American opinion has shifted against victims. *The Economist*. Retrieved December 20, 2018, from <https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2018/10/15/after-a-ye>.

#MeToo and the Politics of Social Change

Edited by

Bianca Fileborn

Rachel Loney-Howes



#MeToo and the Politics of Social Change

“This collection makes an intervention into the theory and politics of sexual violence post #MeToo. Bringing together a range of different contributors and perspectives, it draws out some of the complexities surrounding the issue of sexual violence. Although the collection resists an over-arching message, the theme of inclusion/exclusion is prominent, and it includes a number of more marginalised voices. Overall, this book situates #MeToo and the feminist movement against sexual violence within broader questions about intersectionality, feminist activism and social change. Its final question, inspired by #MeToo founder Tarana Burke, is the right one: ‘where to from here?’”

—Alison Phipps, *Professor of Gender Studies, University of Sussex, UK*

“This fresh, erudite and eclectic collection invites readers to meditate on sexual violence politics and activism within and beyond the #MeToo Movement. It explores debates about the significance of #MeToo within feminist history as well as digital activism and social movements more broadly. It is a must-read for anyone who cares about violence and inequality.”

—Nicola Henry, *Associate Professor and Principal Research Fellow, Social and Global Studies Centre, RMIT, Australia*

Bianca Fileborn • Rachel Loney-Howes
Editors

#MeToo and the Politics of Social Change

palgrave
macmillan

Editors

Bianca Fileborn
University of Melbourne
Parkville, VIC, Australia

Rachel Loney-Howes
University of Wollongong
Wollongong, NSW, Australia

ISBN 978-3-030-15212-3 ISBN 978-3-030-15213-0 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-15213-0>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive licence to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2019

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: Arthimedes / shutterstock.com

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Contents

1	Introduction: Mapping the Emergence of #MeToo	1
	<i>Bianca Fileborn and Rachel Loney-Howes</i>	
Part I	The Politics of Speaking out and Consciousness-Raising	19
2	The Politics of the Personal: The Evolution of Anti-rape Activism From Second-Wave Feminism to #MeToo	21
	<i>Rachel Loney-Howes</i>	
3	Digital Feminist Activism: #MeToo and the Everyday Experiences of Challenging Rape Culture	37
	<i>Kaitlynn Mendes and Jessica Ringrose</i>	
4	Online Feminist Activism as Performative Consciousness-Raising: A #MeToo Case Study	53
	<i>Jessamy Gleeson and Breanan Turner</i>	

5	You Say #MeToo, I Say #MiTu: China's Online Campaigns Against Sexual Abuse	71
	<i>Jing Zeng</i>	
6	A Thousand and One Stories: Myth and the #MeToo Movement	85
	<i>Mary Anne Franks</i>	
Part II	Whose Bodies Matter? #MeToo and the Politics of Inclusion	97
7	From 'Me Too' to 'Too Far'? Contesting the Boundaries of Sexual Violence in Contemporary Activism	99
	<i>Bianca Fileborn and Nickie Phillips</i>	
8	This Black Body Is Not Yours for the Taking	117
	<i>Tess Ryan</i>	
9	Beyond the Bright Lights: Are Minoritized Women Outside the Spotlight Able to Say #MeToo?	133
	<i>Neha Kagal, Leah Cowan, and Huda Jawad</i>	
10	'It's Not Just Men and Women': LGBTQIA People and #MeToo	151
	<i>Jess Ison</i>	
Part III	Not All That Glitters Is Gold: #MeToo, the Entertainment Industry and Media Reporting	169
11	#MeToo and the Reasons To Be Cautious	171
	<i>Lauren Rosewarne</i>	

12	Substitution Activism: The Impact of #MeToo in Argentina	185
	<i>María Cecilia Garibotti and Cecilia Marcela Hopp</i>	
13	Shitty Media Men	201
	<i>Bridget Haire, Christy E. Newman, and Bianca Fileborn</i>	
14	Journalist Guidelines and Media Reporting in the Wake of #MeToo	217
	<i>Kathryn Royal</i>	
15	‘A Reckoning That Is Long Overdue’: Reconfiguring the Work of Progressive Sex Advice Post #MeToo	235
	<i>Christy E. Newman and Bridget Haire</i>	
Part IV Ethical Possibilities and the Future of Anti-sexual Violence Activism		
16	Consent Lies Destroy Lives: Pleasure as the Sweetest Taboo	253
	<i>Cyndi Darnell</i>	
17	#MeToo as Sex Panic	267
	<i>Heidi Matthews</i>	
18	Men and #MeToo: Mapping Men’s Responses to Anti-violence Advocacy	285
	<i>Michael Flood</i>	
19	Understanding Anger: Ethical Responsiveness and the Cultural Production of Celebrity Masculinities	301
	<i>Rob Cover</i>	

20	Online Justice in the Circuit of Capital: #MeToo, Marketization and the Deformation of Sexual Ethics	317
	<i>Michael Salter</i>	
21	Conclusion: 'A New Day Is on the Horizon?'	335
	<i>Rachel Loney-Howes and Bianca Fileborn</i>	
	Index	343