

Article

#MeToo: A Comparative Study of the #MeToo Movement in the United States and South Korea Using Collective Action Frames and Hashtag Feminism

Ma. Jestine J. Mendoza

Abstract

The #MeToo movement is one of the most prominent feminist social movements in recent history. Its success exposed the prevalence of sexual harassment in several countries. Although it started in the United States, there are versions of #MeToo in countries such as South Korea. This paper compared the #MeToo movement in the United States and in South Korea through the examination of hashtags and collective action frames that encouraged women to speak out. By evoking messages of empathy, empowerment, and solidarity, #MeToo was able to garner widespread support. Moreover, this paper examined the different factors that will contribute to #MeToo's sustainability in both countries. These factors include policies that aim to address sexual harassment, legal actions against perpetrators, and other efforts that aim to change the culture of sexism. However, the political and cultural differences between the two countries may result in varying degrees of sustainability. In the United States, policy reforms were introduced because of #MeToo. High-profile cases of sexual harassment were also resolved through the imprisonment of perpetrators. South Korea's #MeToo led to similar successes, such as receiving support from the government to tackle sexual harassment. This paper finds that

the #MeToo movement in the United States is more sustainable due to the policies and legislations that the movement influenced. South Korea has yet to create policies that aim to protect women from sexual harassment. Furthermore, the paper finds that policy and legal reforms are more sustainable because they signify the institutionalization of #MeToo's main goal of protecting women and providing justice to victims of sexual abuse.

Keywords:

#MeToo, social movements, framing, collective action frames, feminism, hashtag feminism

Introduction

When American actress Alyssa Milano tweeted, “If you’ve been sexually harassed or assaulted, write me too as a reply to this tweet” in October 2017, she ignited numerous posts throughout social media platforms with the #MeToo hashtag. *The Associated Press* (2017) reported that there were more than 12 million responses from women who spoke out about their experiences of sexual harassment. These posts signaled the start of a powerful social movement.

#MeToo gave women a platform to talk about sexual harassment—a difficult experience usually hidden because of fear, trauma, and helplessness. Although the movement began in the United States, it transcended national borders and spread throughout Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe.

The movement's global explosion was unexpected for the American #MeToo. Its founder, activist Tarana Burke, originally created the movement to support Black women and children who survived sexual abuse. Similarly, Milano did not expect her tweet to be picked up by millions of women all over the world.

Twitter became the primary catalyst for the hashtag's international spread. This led to a global movement where women of different cultures and races have realized that sexual discrimination is part of their daily lives. Efforts from the different #MeToo versions had varying degrees of success. Some men faced sanctions whereas others

filed defamation cases against their accusers. Despite the variations, what ties these localized movements together is the idea that women are fighting against the prevalence of sexual harassment that they have been facing for most of their lives.

The study's research question is, do policy reforms contribute to the #MeToo movement's sustainability? With the main purpose of understanding how policy reforms sustain the movement, this paper will examine the frames, messages, and collective identities that emerged from the American and South Korean #MeToo movements. Moreover, this paper argues that policy reforms will help #MeToo survive periods of latency and will ensure that survivors will receive continued benefits and protection from any forms of abuse.

#MeToo is an important social movement that showed new methods of social media activism and changed society's attitude toward sexual harassment and treatment of women. Therefore, it is significant to study if #MeToo will translate into other spheres that are critical to feminist movements including politics and culture. A comparative study between the United States and South Korea will show how the movement flourished in two politically and culturally different countries. Comparing these cases will help in understanding the factors that may contribute to #MeToo's sustainability—will the movement continue beyond high-profile cases and solve the systemic issue of sexual harassment?

The paper is structured as follows: first is a discussion of how collective action frames and hashtag feminism will be used to understand the American and South Korean #MeToo. This will be followed by an introduction to #MeToo's feminist roots and new methods of social media activism. The next section will be a comparison of key similarities and differences between the American and South Korean #MeToo. This section will discuss themes such as political and cultural contexts, the messages that emerged from the movement through collective action frames and hashtag feminism, the women who led the movement, and the policies that will contribute to the movement's sustainability. From these analyses, the paper will conclude by discussing #MeToo's sustainability in the two countries.

Theoretical Framework: Collective Action Frames and Hashtag Feminism

The paper's primary theoretical grounding will be how collective action frames and hashtag feminism focus on specific messages and encourage individuals to engage in conversations about the treatment of women. Using this framework, this paper will show the collective action frames that resulted from #MeToo, the discursive use of hashtags to focus on feminist messages (i.e., standing up to sexism, empathizing with survivors, demanding change), and how they helped in generating support and solutions to respond to the issue of sexual harassment.

Collective Action Frames

In the study of social movements, the concept of framing has been examined by several scholars to analyze the messages used to mobilize support for a cause. Della Porta and Diani (2006) identified three important elements of frames: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational. The diagnostic element involves the identification of actors who can have opinions on certain issues and identifies specific social problems that the movement aims to solve. Prognosis includes looking for solutions, thinking of new social patterns, finding new ways of managing relationships among groups, and identifying new expressions of consensus and power. According to the authors, prognosis ultimately makes way for new courses of action and objectives that will solve a social problem. The motivational element involves the production of collective solidarity and transforming a collective that will allow them to act on specific messages or problems. Della Porta and Diani further argued that motivation is an essential element of social movements because it will encourage individuals to believe the claims of a movement and lend their support toward a cause.

Snow (2004, 384) explained the framing process in the context of social movements by stating that framing “focuses attention on the signifying work or meaning construction engaged in by social movement activists and participants and other parties (e.g., antagonists, elites, media, counter movements) relevant to the interests of social movements and challenges they mount.” This

means that social movements are active agents that produce messages and meanings to garner support from allies and participants of the movement.

According to Snow (2004, 384), collective action frames result from “the framing activity within the social movement arena” and that they focus attention to specific messages by emphasizing what is *in frame* and *out of frame*. Collective action frames tie together the different elements of a message to ensure that one set of meanings is conveyed. It is also worth noting that Snow described how collective action frames focus and articulate messages that “activate adherents, transform bystanders into supporters, exact concessions from targets and demobilize antagonists” (2004, 385). The most important characterization that Snow provided is that collective action frames are “agentic and contentious” (2004, 385), particularly in challenging dominant societal views. This can be seen in the way the #MeToo movement challenged the prevalence of patriarchy and sexism in different societies.

A specific example of a study on collective action frames is the examination of women’s organizations involvement with the Supramed Strike in Turkey (Acar 2010). Acar adopted Snow’s definition of collective action frames and combined it with the process of diffusion to understand how the labor strike extended its causes to women’s liberation issues. Acar discovered that the collective identity of women workers who participated in the strike can be attributed to the framing of narratives of struggles against capitalism and patriarchy. These narratives were diffused through a women’s journal that was distributed among feminist circles. Moreover, the strikers became visible during the 2007 International Women’s Day celebration where mainstream newspapers took notice of women workers’ concerns (pregnancy, bathroom restrictions, etc.). The study concluded that framing helped the participants highlight specific feminist causes, form collective identities as women workers, and merge women’s concerns with labor issues.

Hashtag Feminism

An important tool that defined #MeToo is the hashtag itself. Social media users use hashtags to filter and draw attention toward a specific

word, phrase, and message. Hashtags are useful in making posts *trend*, which refers to a high level of engagement from social media users. In the digital age, social movements have utilized hashtags to spread their messages and mobilize supporters.

#MeToo is a part of a growing trend of feminist campaigns that use hashtags to communicate sentiments or bring attention to a certain issue. Scholars have labeled this as hashtag feminism. Dixon (2014, 34) defined hashtag feminism as the creation of “virtual space where victims of inequality can coexist together in a space that acknowledges their pain, narrative, and isolation.” She explained that hashtag feminism helps social media users to develop feelings of connections with specific messages and other users. Dixon cited some of the hashtags that were used by feminist activists: #YesAllWomen, #BringBackOurGirls, and #SolidarityIsForWhiteWomen. These hashtags were widely used to spotlight specific problems experienced by women. Moreover, Dixon argued that hashtag feminism enables women to redefine their social realities by sharing their beliefs with like-minded individuals. She stated that these hashtags show how online communities have become platforms to showcase the power of language in conveying experiences of gender-based inequality.

G. M. Chen et al. (2018) analyzed how the function of hashtags evolved from sorting information to initiating social and political change. G. M. Chen et al. explained that hashtag feminism has given the marginalized and the voiceless discursive power, especially those who are not given attention by mainstream media (i.e., minorities, women). The authors cited how hashtag feminism has been used in countries such as India, Kenya, and Nepal. Hashtags such as #SafeCityIndia, #EverydaySexism, and #BoardtheBus were used by feminists to document rampant cases of sexual harassment even in public places.

Xiong et al. (2018) conducted a study of #MeToo’s frames by focusing on the concept of hashtag activism. The authors claimed that Milano’s tweet encouraged numerous women to tweet about their experiences. Moreover, the study found that the #MeToo related posts revealed feminism-centered and activism-centered networks on social media. Using thematic analysis, Xiong et al. concluded that the public has greatly contributed to the #MeToo discourse by discussing the factors that deter women from talking about the types of oppression

they went through and encouraging social media users to talk about the problem of sexual harassment.

Mendes et al.'s (2018) study on hashtag feminism explained the different ways in which feminists have used digital technologies to increase dialogue, organize activities, network with other individuals and organizations, and fight misogyny and rape culture. The study emphasized the role of Twitter in feminist activism. The authors argued that although Twitter allows feminist campaigns through tweets and hashtags, individuals who use the platform to tell their stories are subjected to intense criticism and vicious responses from opponents. In addition, hashtags used by similar movements (e.g., #BeenRapedNeverReported and #YesAllWomen) proved to be taxing and anxiety-inducing for women who tweeted about their experiences.

Collective action frames and hashtag feminism will help explain the popularity of the #MeToo movement, particularly the role of related hashtags such as The United States' #TimesUp and South Korea's #WithYou and School #MeToo. Moreover, this study will use the lens of collective action frames and hashtag feminism in understanding if the movement was able to effect tangible change through policies and society's view on sexual harassment.

Results and Discussion

#MeToo as a Feminist Social Movement: History and New Methods of Social Media Activism

At its core, the #MeToo movement is a spillover of the feminist movement (Whittier 1995, cited in Snow 2004). Feminism has been fighting for social and political objectives that challenge gender relations (Ferree and Mueller 2004), and #MeToo is a specific reaction to the prevalence of gender-based abuse and the culture of impunity that protects perpetrators from consequences. Feminism's most important influence on the #MeToo movement is its effort to focus on the victim's perspective (Hoffman 1986). Feminism puts premium on believing the victim, which is a key characteristic of #MeToo. As argued by Boyle (2019), speaking out is an important factor in tackling sexual harassment. Personal stories about sexual abuse are the foundation of feminist activism to end violence against women.

How did #MeToo start? Before its popularity in 2017, Tarana Burke established a nonprofit organization called *Just Be Inc.* in 2006. The organization sought to help sexual harassment victims who do not have the resources to help them get through what they experienced (Garcia 2017). As a youth worker working mostly with Black children, Burke heard accounts of sexual abuse. This motivated her to act. Burke used the popular social media platform *MySpace* to raise awareness for her cause. She used the phrase “me too” to emphasize the importance of empathy toward sexual abuse survivors. More than a decade later, *The New York Times* published an exposé detailing numerous sexual harassment allegations against prominent Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein (producer of *Shakespeare in Love* and *Django Unchained*). The article prompted actresses, including Angelina Jolie, Asia Argento, Lena Headey, Gwyneth Paltrow, Ashley Judd, and Rose McGowan, to come forward against Weinstein. These high-profile cases sparked conversations about the impunity granted to powerful men despite committing sexual abuse. Following these accusations, Milano’s tweet became a major turning point for the movement. The tweet was picked up by millions of social media users and led to numerous women posting about their own experiences with the #MeToo hashtag.

The mainstream attention that #MeToo received not only highlighted the shared experiences of women, but also revived a movement that began in 2006. There were two main reasons for the explosion of #MeToo conversations in 2017. First, social media platforms have become accessible to everyone. When Burke created the movement, social media was not as ubiquitous as it currently is. Now, it is easier to participate in conversations that people deem to be relevant to their lives. Second, the fact that famous actresses spoke out against Weinstein gained the attention of American and international mainstream media. These factors revived the 2006 Me Too movement from latency and created opportunities for large-scale mobilization efforts.

#MeToo shows new methods of social movement activism in the digital age. The hashtag crossed international borders and led to local campaigns in several countries. Della Porta and Diani (2006) analyzed the tendency for protests and social movements to go beyond national territories. Their discussion focused on the decreasing capacity of states to regulate behavior within specific

territories due to globalization. Della Porta and Diani further analyzed how technological innovations lead to organizational change. As “computer-mediated communication” (2006, 155) expanded because of economic progress, social movement organizations now have the advantage of spreading information to mobilize potential allies. Social media became a personal tool that allows users to talk about their lives as often as they want. This is the main reason why #MeToo became visible and personal. Millions of women saw what happened to famous actresses, and they were able to relate their own experiences. Most importantly, social media does not have national boundaries. Thus, the American #MeToo movement reached other countries and led to its localization.

Carty and Reynoso Barron (2018) examined how social movements have used the latest available technology in their activism. The authors argued that information communication technologies (ICTs) allowed activists to communicate through “diffuse networks of peer-to-peer information sharing and commentary” (2018, 390). They cited the widespread protests empowered by social media such as the Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, #BlackLivesMatter, and #MeToo. Carty and Reynoso Barron explained that through ICT, ordinary citizens can organize socially and politically oriented events, sign online petitions, and hold online campaigns. In short, new technologies have made it easier for social movements to broaden their visibility and reach a critical number of supporters.

However, social media activism has its disadvantages. Carty and Reynoso Barron explained that white supremacists have used social media to recruit more members and spread racist views. Online feminist movements have similarly faced challenges particularly from trolls who devalue or criticize women who speak out about sexism and harassment. Mendes et al.’s (2018) study on digital feminist activism showed how Twitter feminists face abuse and hostility. Upon interviewing women who actively participate in online feminist causes, Mendes et al. discovered that these women receive violent messages, including rape and death threats. The mental and emotional toll of online criticism might be one of the reasons why some women who participated in the #MeToo movement wanted to remain anonymous.

Even with the downside, social media remains important for social movements because it has allowed for increased connectivity among potential allies and supporters.

Key Similarities and Differences Between the American and South Korean #MeToo Movement

This section will compare the political and cultural contexts of the two countries, starting with the United States as point of reference followed by South Korea. The collective action frames and their impact on #MeToo's development will also be compared. Finally, this section will examine the policies and courses of action that may contribute to the movement's sustainability in the two countries.

Contextualizing #MeToo: Political and Cultural Differences between the United States and South Korea

To understand the #MeToo movement, it is important to compare two different cultural contexts. This will help explain how gender issues cut across cultural differences. The United States represents a liberal Western culture that focuses on individual values whereas South Korea represents Eastern traditions that emphasize the importance of hierarchy and the collective.

Examining the American roots of the #MeToo movement will help explain its evolution and impact. Feminism has long been established in the United States and it can be traced back to the 1820s and 1830s when women fought for the right to vote (DuBois 1987). This was followed by movements for political and social equality in the 1970s and the emergence of intersectional feminism in recent years. #MeToo emerged at a time when most American women have enjoyed political and social liberties that feminism has fought for in the past. However, #MeToo showed that sexual harassment is still prevalent in the United States.

Rodino-Colocino (2018) examined the role of #MeToo in exposing the systems of privilege and impunity granted to personalities like Weinstein and former President of the United States Donald Trump. She argued that #MeToo's strength lies in the power of empathy given toward survivors. Rodino-Colocino highlighted an important point by discussing how Me Too's founder, Tarana Burke, and other activists

contextualized the #MeToo tweets and the movement itself as part of a broader fight against patriarchy and racism in the United States. Burke (in Rodino-Colocino 2018) argued that the attention #MeToo received provides an opportunity to tackle the history of misogyny and racism in the United States. Furthermore, #MeToo's rise opens doors for systemic interventions that will prevent further abuses to women of different races.

South Korea was selected because of #MeToo's relative success despite being a culturally conservative Asian country. The South Korean #MeToo was adopted by different groups in the country and even received support from President Moon Jae-in. Since South Korean feminism is different from that of the United States, this provides an opportunity to analyze how the countries' differences can affect #MeToo's sustainability. South Korea's feminist movement is relatively new compared to the United States. H.K. Kim (2009) stated that most Korean feminist scholars identified the beginning of the country's feminist movements with struggles for national independence in the early twentieth century. She explained that the challenge to South Korean feminism is balancing it with the issue of postcolonial nationalism. This involved promoting the nation's identity and putting emphasis on collective values rather than individual ones (i.e., women's rights). However, H.K. Kim argued that there were feminist efforts that were in line with South Korea's nationalism. She cited the *minjung* feminism movement, which fought against the unfair treatment of women factory workers (1960s and 1970s), the efforts of women's movement to demand apology and compensation for comfort women during the Japanese occupation (1990s), and the abolition of the family-head system, which states that men are the head of the family and that women belong to their husband's families (2008). Despite these developments, #MeToo exposed how sexual harassment remains to be a problem for the country.

Larsen (2018) studied the South Korean institutions that encourage gender-based discrimination. Larsen argued that there is a history of sexual abuse toward South Korean women, especially during the time of American military presence. Women endured sexual harassment and even resorted to becoming comfort women. Larsen claimed that *orientalism*—an idea that patronizes the sexualization of Asian women—has become a destructive image for South Korean women. The paper concluded that for #MeToo to be

successful in South Korea, it is crucial to understand that misogyny and sexism are systemic problems.

#MeToo showed how feminism in both countries have dealt with the issue of sexual harassment. In the United States, the Hollywood actresses who exposed their abusers inspired a wave of protests. These developments influenced the South Korean #MeToo, specifically when prosecutor Seo Ji-hyeon exposed a senior official who sexually harassed her. Seo has been credited for starting South Korea's #MeToo by inspiring women to fight against sexual abuse.

The American #MeToo led to a broader fight against the country's culture of sexism. Since its massive mobilization in 2017, the United States saw specific changes due to #MeToo. For instance, Weinstein suffered the consequences of his actions. The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences expelled the producer, the Producers Guild of America banned him from the organization, and Weinstein's own company fired him from the board. But the most important event happened on March 11, 2020, when Weinstein was finally sentenced to twenty-three years in prison for rape and sexual assault (BBC 2020). This is a victory for #MeToo because Weinstein's case kick-started the movement. The imprisonment of former United States Gymnastics doctor Larry Nassar for sexually abusing more than a hundred young athletes was also a key event that #MeToo influenced. More than 150 women testified against Nassar, which led to his sentencing to up to 175 years in prison (Kirby 2018).

In South Korea, public reception to the movement is divided. In February 2019, a number of male students protested against the government's anti-sexual harassment campaigns. The students argued that the government's crackdown on sexual harassment is reverse discrimination. Male students are now scared to give compliments to their female classmates because they might be accused of harassment (Suzuki 2019). Actor Jo Min-ki's suicide after allegations of sexual assault from eight women sparked conversations that labeled the movement as a "witch hunt." President Moon also received criticisms for supporting #MeToo in light of the actor's death. In July 2020, a similar incident happened when former Seoul Mayor Park Won-soon committed suicide after his secretary accused him of sexual harassment. The secretary was widely criticized and blamed for Park's death. Members of the public also doubted the credibility

of the secretary's accusations. However, in January 2021, South Korea's National Human Rights Commission confirmed through an investigation that the allegations were true. The Commission recommended for the government to continue investigating sexual harassment complaints to prevent similar cases in the future (Kim and May 2021).

Advantages and Challenges

The American #MeToo had the advantage of being introduced in a country with a vibrant feminist movement. Movements for the right to vote, the right to education, and equal opportunities for women in the workplace were already parts of the American cultural, social, and political tapestry. Since American women already enjoyed the liberty to express themselves and their choices, the #MeToo movement received significant support (Bowman et al. 2019). However, the movement faced the challenge of intersectionality. One of the criticisms of the 2017 #MeToo movement was its initial exclusion of Black women and other women of color. The women who led #MeToo are predominantly white Hollywood actresses. These women had the platform to speak up and the financial resources that allowed them to file the necessary lawsuits. This is very different from the original movement that Burke established, which aimed to help underprivileged Black women and children (Garcia 2017).

Crenshaw (1989) introduced intersectionality in her study of Black women's struggles and the impact of certain policies on their lives. Crenshaw characterized intersectionality as "a way of framing the various interactions of race and gender in the context of violence against women of color" (1989, 1,296). In mainstream parlance, intersectionality refers to including minority groups to conversations and policies that benefit the society. It is important to discuss intersectionality vis-à-vis #MeToo because race has affected the way the American society responded to sexual harassment cases. Black women and women of color have different economic, social, and political positions in the country compared to white women. Leung and Williams (2019) argued that Black women have to deal with gender-based violence and racism, making it difficult for them to come out and expose their abusers. Additionally, they face backlash whenever they talk about their experiences. These issues were apparent in the authors' analysis of *Surviving R. Kelly* (2019), a

documentary about the sexual abuse allegations against the famous American singer. According to the authors, race is the main reason why R. Kelly's victims, who are Black women, were ignored by the public as opposed to Weinstein's white victims.

The exclusion of Black women in the 2017 #MeToo narrative comes back to the movement's founder, who is a Black woman herself. When Milano's tweet became viral, women of color criticized the movement because Milano co-opted Burke's 2006 Me Too without crediting the founder. These women argued that Burke's lifelong advocacy did not receive any support from white feminist activists over the years. According to Garcia (2017), Milano reached out to Burke and publicly credited the latter. Since then, Burke became the movement's key figure. In an interview with *The New York Times*, she argued that the campaign should "put focus back on the victims" and that #MeToo is "bigger than one person" (Burke 2017). This signified the unity of Black women and other women of color with the movement.

The American #MeToo movement also had to deal with its political context. #MeToo gained momentum with a president who is openly sexist. Former President Donald Trump faced allegations of sexual harassment as reported by the mainstream media. In October 2016, a clip from *Access Hollywood*, which showed Trump bragging about kissing and groping women without their consent was circulated by American media outlets (Rupar 2019). A book written by Barry Levine and Monique El-Faizy (2019) entitled *All the President's Women: Donald Trump and the Making of a Predator* detailed accounts of sexual misconduct from several women. Trump could not avoid these accusations amidst #MeToo. Not only did Trump deny all allegations, but he also belittled the movement. In October 2018, Trump lamented that it was "a very scary time for young men in America, where you can be guilty of something you may not be guilty of" (Beckwith 2018). Beckwith reported that this is a reference to the sexual misconduct allegations faced by Supreme Court nominee, Brett Kavanaugh. Trump mocked how #MeToo has made it difficult for him to say things during his campaign rallies. The problem is that Trump's rhetoric encourages his supporters who share the same views. For instance, Donald Trump Jr. mocked the movement when he kissed his girlfriend during his father's campaign rally in North Carolina in 2019. Trump Jr. asked if the kiss will be denounced by the movement. This remark was met with laughter from the crowd (Santucci 2019). Although the United

States has an advantage because of its vibrant feminist movements and increasingly progressive society, the issues cited above pose challenges to the movement's sustainability.

In January 2018, the South Korean #MeToo movement took ground. It began when South Korean prosecutor Seo Ji-hyeon requested to open an investigation into an incident that involved her and a senior official. The incident happened in 2010, but Seo had to undergo an unnecessary audit because of her complaint. As a consequence, she was assigned to a lower-level court. When Seo saw the massive response to #MeToo in the United States, she decided to act. She requested to reopen the investigation and published an open letter with the #MeToo hashtag. Seo claimed that she was empowered by the American women who talked about their experiences and that she wanted to do the same for South Korean women (Haynes and Chen 2018). Haynes and Chen also described how Seo's actions impacted South Korean women. After Seo published her letter, she spoke on an influential news program. This interview served as the turning point for the country's own #MeToo movement. Women from different industries (film, art, education, etc.) talked about their own experiences and began protesting the prevalence of sexual abuse in the country. The Time article also cited that the Korea Women's Hotline received a 23 percent increase in the number of reports from survivors of sexual abuse and domestic violence weeks after Seo's interview.

The inception of the South Korean #MeToo movement mirrored the United States: a powerful woman accusing a high-level official of sexual harassment encouraged many others to share their stories. However, these women had to contend with the country's conservative culture. In contrast to the United States, feminism in South Korea is frowned upon. During a #MeToo protest in Seoul in March 2018, more than a hundred women talked about their experiences publicly (Bicker 2018). As Bicker reported, one of the female college students who spoke claimed that whenever she tells her male classmates that she is a feminist, they look at her as if she has joined a cult. In the same article, Sociology professor Joo Hee Lee argued that sexual harassment in South Korea is a systemic problem, and it should be changed. She attributed these to the country's corporate culture, which is a very closed old boys' network. Men have traditionally ignored women and excluded them from management. South Korean women who work in

big companies have also been forced into situations where they were sexually harassed to be promoted.

The South Korean film industry is also notorious when it comes to sexual harassment. J. Kim (2018) detailed how the industry justifies degrading women as part of its male-centric narratives, which view women as objects of desire and abuse. Similarly, Larsen (2018) claimed that South Korean women are used to these kinds of treatment. He traced this back to the experiences of comfort women during the American military presence in South Korea. The challenge for the South Korean #MeToo movement is for its message to resonate to all South Korean women. This includes breaking the narrative that it is normal for women to be sexually abused because of their gender and position in the society. However, it can still be argued that the responses to the country's #MeToo resulted in positive changes. Although it is not as massive as the millions of American women who participated in the American #MeToo movement, the fact that several South Korean women decided to come forward is a good sign that women are starting to acknowledge the country's sexist culture.

Collective Action Frames and Hashtag Feminism: Empathy, Support, and Solidarity

When Burke labeled her advocacy Me Too, she was already framing the movement. According to Burke, the main message of Me Too is *empowerment through empathy*. Empathy goes beyond the acknowledgement of the prevalence of sexual abuse; it is a clear message that expresses understanding and solidarity among women with shared experiences. The paper argues that empathy is #MeToo's main frame and that this led to related collective action frames as will be discussed in this section.

Milano's tweet is an interesting starting point to study #MeToo's frame. By encouraging her followers to share their stories, Milano was able to create a collective action frame that shows the importance of solidarity among survivors. In an article published by *The Guardian* (Sayej 2017), Milano stated that she wanted to encourage women to speak up, to show the magnitude of the issue, and to refocus conversations back to the survivors. The responses to Milano's tweet showed not just the number of survivors, but also their common experiences. Some tweeted that they have been sexually abused

several times, yet they did not receive any support. Others tweeted that they chose not to say anything because they feared that people will not believe them. One reply said that the police interview after her report was more “humiliating and traumatizing” (Zoe 2017). There were also some who expressed support, offered consolation (“sorry this happened to you,” “you are so brave for speaking up”), and encouraged to keep the conversation going.

A corollary movement to #MeToo is Time’s Up (#TimesUp). Time’s Up serves as the next step for #MeToo. Essentially, #MeToo identified the problem whereas Time’s Up aimed to solve the problem. According to the Time’s Up official website, the movement’s goal is to “create a society free of gender-based discrimination in the workplace and beyond.” Time’s Up is a social movement organization founded by Hollywood actresses, such as Natalie Portman, Oprah Winfrey, Reese Witherspoon, and other women in the entertainment industry with the goal of establishing a legal defense fund for women who do not have the resources to file lawsuits and shoulder related expenses. The anatomy of #MeToo and #TimesUp follows Della Porta and Diani’s (2006) prognostic and diagnostic function of frames, with #MeToo diagnosing the problem and #TimesUp providing the solution. Like #MeToo, #TimesUp used hashtags and social media platforms to send the movement’s message across. Several social media users also used the #MeToo and #TimesUp hashtags together during mobilization efforts. One of the influential #TimesUp tweets was posted by American actor Elliot Page (2018). The tweet that said “Time’s up on silence. Time’s up on waiting. Time’s up on tolerating discrimination, harassment, and abuse” was accompanied by a course of action that encourages people to sign a solidarity letter and donate to its legal defense fund.

In terms of collective action frames, the main difference between Page’s #TimesUp tweet and Milano’s #MeToo tweet is the specific course of action that the former is framing. Page’s tweet asked supporters of the movement to sign a letter and donate to the legal defense fund. The prognosis offered by #TimesUp should be considered as part of the broader #MeToo movement. It can be viewed as a contributor to #MeToo’s sustainability because #TimesUp is an organized effort that can continue to receive donations and support beyond social media campaigns.

Having followed the American #MeToo movement, the South Korean counterpart shared the same message of *empowerment through empathy*. South Korean women also used the hashtag, and this was seen in the public letter that prosecutor Seo Ji-hyeon published. In Seo's letter (translated in English), she detailed the harassment she experienced and the bureaucratic processes she went through to prove that it really happened. She emphasized the role of the American #MeToo movement in her decision to speak up, as well as her responsibility as a public servant to encourage others to address the systemic sexism in the country. This was a particularly challenging task for Seo because of the conservative culture of South Korea.

To understand the impact of Seo's initiative, it is important to look at other sectors that the South Korean #MeToo movement reached. A good example of such is the series of "School #MeToo" tweets that trended in the country in 2018. *Pulse*, a South Korean media outlet, reported that School #MeToo was the most tweeted topic in the country in 2018. According to an article published in the *Los Angeles Times*, the series of tweets came from students of Yonghwa Girls High School who complained that a male teacher has been touching them inappropriately (Kim 2019). The article stated that the School #MeToo hashtag was emulated by more than sixty-five schools throughout the country. Students who participated in this social media campaign talked about how teachers verbally and sexually abuse them.

The collective action frame that emerged from School #MeToo campaign was that young women are now standing up to the abusive culture in South Korean schools. It exhibited the power of youth participation in elevating #MeToo conversations. This resulted in a collective action frame of solidarity, not just among students of Yonghwa Girls High School, but also among students from different schools.

Apart from School #MeToo, the movement also benefited from the #WithYou hashtag. *The Korea Herald* reported that #WithYou is a follow-up effort to the country's #MeToo movement. #WithYou was initiated by prominent South Korean actresses as an expression of solidarity with sexual abuse survivors (Im 2018). In a press conference in 2018, veteran actress Kim Nam-joo encouraged people to support the #WithYou movement. The overall goal is to go beyond the apologies and resignation of perpetrators and to address the structural

problem in the country. Another actress, Kim Tae-ri, expressed her support for #WithYou during an interview with a popular Korean television show. Kim said that she knows how difficult it is for women to speak up because of the power of assailants. During the International Women's Day in 2018, South Korean women held a rally while carrying banners bearing the #WithYou hashtag (Bloomberg Quicktake 2018).

The collective action frame that emerged during the #WithYou mobilization is similar to #MeToo: support toward survivors and understanding the difficulty of speaking up due to the culture of victim-blaming in South Korea. The resulting impact is the dissatisfaction of South Korean women toward their society that shuns women's voices.

The Women Who Ignited the Movement

Hollywood actresses were at the forefront of both #MeToo and #TimesUp. These women campaigned on social media and used other platforms to increase the movement's visibility. During the 2018 Golden Globes, a number of actresses wore black gowns on the red carpet. Several feminist activists also attended the ceremony to increase awareness for the movement (Grady 2019). Moreover, the *Alianza Nacional de Campesinas* (the National Farmworker Women's Alliance), the first national women farmworkers' organization in the United States, wrote a message of solidarity to Time's Up. In an open letter published in *The New York Times* (2018), Time's Up reinforced their support for the *Alianza* and on raising funds for women in low-wage professions. The actresses acknowledged that they are in privileged positions, thus it is important for them to use their platforms.

South Korea's #MeToo movement was inspired by a high-level prosecutor. Prosecutors are considered as part of the country's elite. They are in a position of power and can influence the public. Seo Ji-hyeon was aware of her position, and she decided to use her platform to encourage more women to fight the culture of patriarchy and sexism in the country. Although Seo's case was high-profile, her coming out exposed similar problems encountered by South Korean women across different professions and classes. The country's #WithYou movement is also very similar to the United States' #TimesUp movement. Prominent actresses and members of the

entertainment industry initiated #WithYou to showcase support for sexual harassment survivors.

To understand the impact of the collective action frames and the efforts of the women who led #MeToo, it is important to examine what makes a social movement sustainable. The next section will discuss the role of policies in contributing to a movement's sustainability and compare the reforms that took place in the United States and in South Korea because of #MeToo.

Sustainability of Social Movements through Policies and Legislations

Sustaining social movements entails securing long-term awareness even during periods of inactivity. This means that members and supporters should continuously reap the benefits that the movement has fought for. Therefore, policies and legislations are good measures of a movement's sustainability as they signify the institutionalization of a cause. To further explain this, this paper will draw from Amenta and Caren's discussion of the success of social movement. The authors cited William Gamson's criteria for the success of state-related challengers (1975, 1990 cited in Snow 2004, 464): whether challenger's goals or claims were realized or when a challenger gains new advantages—meaning a challenger was recognized by the state as a legitimate representative of a constituency. These criteria were modified by other scholars to reflect the policy agenda of collective action. Burstein et al. (1995 cited in Snow 2004, 463) argued that success can also be measured through legislation based on the movement's political agenda.

Amenta and Caren (2004, 464) further explained the impact of policies on social movements by discussing the concept of state-related collective benefits. They argued that most collective actions aim to introduce policy changes and ensure their implementation. At the very least, they aim to win a specific legislation that will secure benefits for members and supporters of the movement. A movement can also increase the value of its target benefits by influencing legislators to vote for a bill or inserting specific provisions that they deem valuable. Regarding sustainability, the authors made a crucial point by explaining that political and legislative gains “may influence later attempts to gain collective benefits, such as pecuniary rewards or legal rights, or

may reinforce existing ones” (in Snow 2004, 466). Essentially, when a movement’s cause is institutionalized through policies or legislation, there is an assurance that there will be a continuity of benefits. These continued collective benefits will help sustain a movement even when there are no active mobilization efforts or even when there are changes in political leadership.

It is important to analyze if the #MeToo movement will be sustainable through policy and legislative reforms. Since its inception, #MeToo has fought for systemic changes to protect women from sexual harassment. However, it is challenging to change an entire system especially in culturally conservative countries or in countries where powerful men are protected by their socioeconomic or political status. This does not mean that #MeToo has failed. In fact, this paper argues that the policies that resulted from the movement have contributed to its success and sustainability.

Policy Reforms and Concrete Steps

The American Bar Association (2019) reported that since the movement’s popularity in 2017, fifteen states (Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Nevada, Oregon, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, and Washington) have passed reforms that aim to protect employees from sexual harassment. There is also a bill introduced in the United States Congress called Bringing an End to Harassment by Enhancing Accountability and Rejecting Discrimination (BE HEARD) in the Workplace Act. The bill aims to prevent discrimination and harassment in the workplace, prohibit employers from entering nondisclosure agreements with workers, and provide legal assistance for low-income workers who experienced any forms of harassment and discrimination (United States Congress 2019). The United States Congress also passed the legislation that removed a mandatory three-month waiting period for people reporting sexual misconduct cases, required counseling for survivors, and prohibited legislators from using taxpayer money to cover harassment settlements (North 2019). In addition, California signed several bills that expand anti-harassment training requirements, appoint female directors on boards of companies, and protect victims against defamation lawsuits (Nutter and Prager 2018). In 2019, New York passed a law that protects workers from sexual harassment and unlawful discrimination.

It also lowered the burden of proof for harassment to encourage victims to report (Kirby and Thompson 2019). These policy and legal reforms helped sustain the movement after its widespread mobilization in 2017.

South Korea has had significant successes since 2018. President Moon expressed his support for the movement and urged authorities to conduct thorough investigations on sexual abuse cases. Moreover, Moon declared that laws alone cannot solve the problem. He argued that the country's culture should be changed (Aljazeera 2018). An open support from the President is a significant development. It shows an acknowledgement of the problem and recognition of the movement's overall goal of reforming South Korea's sexist and conservative culture.

The growing sexual abuse reports have also resulted in desired consequences. One prominent case is the resignation of South Korean Governor Ahn Hee-Jung after allegations of raping his secretary surfaced. Ahn was a key political figure in the country and was posed to be a presidential contender (BBC 2018). Other key figures such as poet Ko Un and director Kim Ki-duk suffered similar consequences. Poems written by Ko Un (once tipped to be nominated for a Nobel Prize for Literature) were erased from the country's textbooks (Bicker 2018). On October 28, 2020, Kim Ki-duk lost the compensation lawsuits he filed against an actress and broadcaster who accused him of sexual harassment. A South Korean court also ordered the director to pay for the defendant's legal fees (Yonhap News Agency 2020). Perhaps the most significant among the high-profile cases was the imprisonment of Ahn Tae-gun, the prosecutor who sexually harassed Seo Ji-hyeon. Ahn was given a sentence of two years for abuse of power. However, he was not charged with sexual assault because of South Korea's statute of limitations. Seo claims that she will continue to fight for Ahn to be charged with sexual abuse (Straits Times 2020).

Considering the two cases, this paper argues that #MeToo's sustainability varies in the two countries. The legal reforms introduced in the United States institutionalized #MeToo's advocacies. Even without active mobilization efforts, women can benefit from these laws and policies. These laws will deter potential abusers from committing crimes related to harassment and discrimination. Most importantly, laws are difficult to repeal. As long as there is enough political will, laws will be implemented regardless of whoever is in power. Furthermore, the fact that the American #MeToo was able

to influence certain policies and laws shows that the government recognizes the movement's legitimacy. However, a potential challenge for the United States is the proper implementation of these laws. There are already several laws in place in the country, but various forms of discrimination remain rampant.

In contrast to the United States, there are no comprehensive legal reforms that aim to tackle sexual harassment in South Korea yet. Majority of the cases were specific to individuals who committed sexual abuse. The highlight of the South Korean #MeToo movement is the explicit endorsement from President Moon. Although there is no comprehensive reform yet, the President's support and the increase in reports of abuse can change the prevailing narrative that it is acceptable to harass women. South Korea made significant strides, but the country must still address the systemic problem by implementing the necessary policies to protect women from sexual harassment.

Conclusion

#MeToo is an important social movement that showed the power of social media in changing the society's attitude toward the treatment of women. The use of hashtags, such as #MeToo, #TimesUp, and #WithYou, allowed the movement to draw focus on its key messages of empathy, empowerment, and solidarity. The widespread impact of the #MeToo movement can be attributed to the use of social media. Social media platforms made #MeToo more powerful because social media is not confined by national boundaries. Therefore, the movement went beyond the territorial borders of the United States and reached several countries including South Korea.

The mainstream attention given to #MeToo in the United States and South Korea can be attributed to the influential women who ignited the movement. As argued in this paper, the entire movement is predicated on the willingness of women to speak up. Without the early risers, there would be no impetus for other women to talk about their experiences. Tarana Burke and the Hollywood actresses that spoke out against Weinstein created a ripple effect that reverberated globally. The same can be said about South Korean prosecutor Seo Ji-hyeon. Without her public revelation, others would not have been encouraged to address the country's sexist culture. It is also worth noting that these women are part of their country's social and political elite. Their

privileged positions made it easier for them to expose their assailants without the fear of backlash—a problem that ordinary women regularly encounter.

Furthermore, this paper presented the various collective action frames that the movement produced through its hashtags. #MeToo's and #TimesUp's framing pulled focus on the magnitude of sexual harassment and the need to act against sexual harassment, respectively. Both frames resulted in solidarity among women and a collective action that includes demanding policy changes and raising funds for survivors. In South Korea, #MeToo's, School #MeToo's, and #WithYou's framing focused on the importance of supporting survivors and standing up to powerful men (e.g., teachers, supervisors, male colleagues). These collective action frames encouraged solidarity among schools (in the case of School #MeToo) and empowered women to express their dissatisfaction toward the country's conservative and patriarchal culture.

Lastly, the paper discussed the tangible results that can contribute to the movement's sustainability in both countries. In the United States, men who were accused of sexual harassment were sentenced to prison (i.e., Harvey Weinstein and Larry Nassar). There were also several legal reforms that were introduced to prevent harassment and discrimination. In South Korea, the movement encouraged a positive response from the government as shown by President Moon Jae-in's explicit support for #MeToo. Several high-profile men were also given sanctions after sexual harassment allegations surfaced. However, the paper argues that the American #MeToo movement can be considered as more sustainable than its South Korean counterpart. Policy and legal reforms signify the institutionalization of the American #MeToo movement and will help secure continued benefits for survivors. This is coupled with a more organized movement, specifically the creation of the #TimesUp organization that aims to provide continuous monetary support for low-income women. The merit of South Korea's #MeToo movement is that it gave women an avenue to demand change and mobilize against the country's sexist culture. This is an encouraging development for South Korean feminism, but the country still has a long way to go in terms of addressing sexual harassment and gender-based violence.

Overall, policy and legal reforms are important factors that will contribute to a movement's sustainability, because they will secure long-term benefits for members and supporters even when there are no active mobilization efforts. To further strengthen this claim, this paper recommends for future researchers to study if the policies discussed above have been properly implemented and resulted in lower cases of sexual harassment. It might also be fruitful to study if there are policies that resulted from the #MeToo movement in other countries.

Ma. Jestine J. Mendoza is an MA Political Science student at the Department of Political Science, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines Diliman.

References

- Acar, Taylan. 2010. "Linking Theories of Framing and Collective Identity Formation: Women's Organizations' Involvement with the Supramed Strike." *European Journal of Turkish Studies*.
- "Ahn Tae-geun Sexual Harassment Disclosure Article Posted by Seo Ji-hyun." *Hani*, January 30, 2018, Accessed November 30, 2020, http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/society_general/830046.html.
- Amenta, Edwin, and Neal Caren. 2004. "The Legislative, Organizational, and Beneficiary Consequences of State-Oriented Challengers." In *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, 461-486. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Beckwith, Ryan Teague. 2018. "A Scary Time for Young Men.' President Trump Decries Sexual Assault Allegations." *Time*, October 2, 2018. Accessed November 22, 2020. <https://time.com/5412955/donald-trump-says-scary-time-men-sexual-assault-allegations/>.

- Bicker, Laura. 2020. "#MeToo Movement Takes Hold in South Korea." *BBC News*, March 26, 2018. Accessed October 16, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-43534074>.
- Bloomberg Quicktake. 2018. "Here's How #MeToo is Spreading to Asia" Twitter, March 8, 2018. Accessed December 3, 2020. <https://twitter.com/quicktake/status/971572651180351489>.
- Bowman Williams, Jamillah, Lisa O. Singh, and Naomi Mezey. 2019. "#MeToo as Catalyst: A Glimpse into 21st Century Activism." Georgetown University Law Center, Georgetown Law Library.
- Boyle, Karen. 2019. #MeToo, *Weinstein and Feminism*. Cham, CH: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Carty, Victoria, and Francisco Reynoso Barron. 2019. "Social Movements and New Technology: The Dynamics of Cyber Activism in the Digital Age." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Social Movements, Revolution, and Social Transformation*, edited by Berch Berberoglu, 373–90. Palgrave MacMillan.
- Chen, Gina Masullo, Paromita Pain, and Briana Barner. 2018. "Hashtag Feminism: Activism or Slacktivism?" In *Feminist Approaches to Media Theory and Research. Comparative Feminist Studies*, edited by Dustin Harp, Jaime Loke, Ingrid Bachmann, 197-218. Palgrave MacMillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-90838-0_14.
- Choon, Chang May. 2020. "#MeToo Battle Continues in South Korea, 2 Years after First Case." *The Straits Times*, February 10, 2020. Accessed December 5, 2020. <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/east-asia/metoo-battle-continues-in-s-korea-2-years-after-first-case>.
- Clark, Katherine M. "H.R.2148 - 116th Congress (2019–2020): BE HEARD in the Workplace Act." May 3, 2019. Accessed December 2, 2020. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/2148>.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1989. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6): 1241–99. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>.
- Della Porta, Donatella, and Mario Diani. 2006. *Social Movements: An Introduction*. Second Edition. M.A., USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Desta, Yohana. 2018. "Trump Mocks #MeToo Movement Days after Decrying 'A Scary Time for Young Men.'" *Vanity Fair*, October 11, 2018. Accessed November 30, 2020. <https://www.vanityfair.com/hollywood/2018/10/donald-trump-mocking-me-too>.
- "Director Kim Ki-Duk Loses Lawsuit against Actress, Broadcaster for Airing Sexual Abuse Allegations." *Yonhap News Agency*, October 28, 2020.

Accessed December 3, 2020. <https://en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20201028008300315>.

- Dixon, Kitsy. 2014. "Feminist Online Identity: Analyzing the Presence of Hashtag Feminism." *Journal of Arts Humanities* 3, no. 7.
- DuBois, Ellen Carol. 1987. "Outgrowing the Compact of the Fathers: Equal Rights, Woman Suffrage, and the United States Constitution, 1820–1878." *The Journal of American History* 74(3): 836–62.
- Ferree, Myra Marx, and Carol McClurg Mueller. 2004. "Feminism and the Women's Movement: A Global Perspective." In *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, 576–606. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Garcia, Sandra E. 2020. "The Woman Who Created #MeToo Long Before Hashtags" *The New York Times*, October 20, 2017. Accessed October 10, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/20/us/me-too-movement-tarana-burke.html>.
- Grady, Constance. 2019. "Time's Up Was at the Center of the 2018 Golden Globes. One Year Later, What Has Come of It?" *Vox*, January 4, 2019. Accessed November 8, 2020. <https://www.vox.com/culture/2019/1/4/18165557/golden-globes-times-up-legal-defense-fund-sharyn-tejani>.
- "Harvey Weinstein Timeline: How the Scandal Unfolded." *BBC News*, May 29, 2020. Accessed November 7, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-41594672>.
- Haynes, Suyin, and Aria Chen. 2018. "How #MeToo Is Taking on a Life of Its Own in Asia." *Time*, October 9, 2018. Accessed December 1, 2020. <https://time.com/longform/me-too-asia-china-south-korea/>.
- Hoffman, Frances. 1986. "Sexual Harassment in Academia: Feminist Theory and Institutional Practice." *Harvard Educational Review* 56 (2).
- Im, Eun-byel. 2018. "#MeToo Followed by #WithYou." *The Korea Herald*, March 4, 2018. Accessed September 30, 2020. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20180304000194>.
- Kim, Hee-Kang. 2009. "Should Feminism Transcend Nationalism? A Defense of Feminist Nationalism in South Korea." *Women's Studies International Forum* 32 (April): 108–19.
- Kim, Jinsook. 2018. "After the Disclosures: A Year of #sexual_violence_in_the_film_industry in South Korea." *Feminist Media Studies* 18 (3): 505–508. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2018.1456168>.
- Kim, Victoria. 2019. "Empowered by #MeToo, a New Generation Fights Sexual Abuse in South Korea's Schools." *Los Angeles Times*, February 22, 2019.

- Accessed November 30, 2020. <https://www.latimes.com/world/asia/la-fg-south-korea-metoo-schools-20190222-story.html>.
- Kirby, Jen. 2018. "The Sex Abuse Scandal Surrounding USA Gymnastics Team Doctor Larry Nassar, Explained." *Vox*, January 19, 2018. Accessed December 1, 2020. <https://www.vox.com/identities/2018/1/19/16897722/sexual-abuse-usa-gymnastics-larry-nassar-explained>.
- Kirby, Sean, and Danielle Thompson. 2021. "New York State Legislature Enacts Sweeping Changes to Combat Sexual Harassment." *The National Law Review*, June 24, 2019. Accessed February 18, 2021. <https://www.natlawreview.com/article/new-york-state-legislature-enacts-sweeping-changes-to-combat-sexual-harassment>.
- Larsen, Chris. 2018. "#MeToo in South Korea: A Comparative Analysis of Feminist Perspectives in a Cultural Context." *International Journal of Foreign Studies* 11 (2).
- Lee, Claire. 2018. "After Actor's Death, Some South Koreans Label #MeToo Movement 'Witch Hunt.'" *The Korea Herald*, March 11, 2018. Accessed December 4, 2020. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20180311000279>.
- Leung, Rebecca, and Robert Williams. 2019. "#MeToo and Intersectionality: An Examination of the #MeToo Movement Through the R. Kelly Scandal." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 43 (4): 349–371.
- Levine, Barry, and Monique El-Faizy. 2019. *All the President's Women: Donald Trump and the Making of a Predator*. Hachette Books.
- May, Tiffany, and Youmi Kim. 2021. "South Korean Mayor Sexually Harassed Secretary, Report Finds." *The New York Times*, January 26, 2021, sec. World, Accessed May 28, 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/26/world/asia/korea-mayor-seoul-sexual-harassment-secretary.html>.
- "Me Too: Alyssa Milan Elevates Harvey Weinstein Conversation." *The Associated Press*, October 18, 2017. Accessed September 28, 2020, <https://apnews.com/article/d77cd629cc68476ba50f1070f4d6ea61>.
- "#MeToo in South Korea: Governor Resigns after Rape Allegations." *BBC News*, March 6, 2018. Accessed November 14, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-43297331>.
- "#MeToo: Its Impact and What's Happening Now." *American Bar Association*, September 2019. Accessed November 5, 2020. <https://www.americanbar.org/news/abanews/publications/youraba/2019/september-2019/-metoo-its-impact-and-whats-happening-now/>.

- Mendes, Kaitlynn, Jessica Ringrose, and Jessalynn Keller. 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.
- "More than 12M 'Me Too' Facebook Posts, Comments, Reactions in 24 Hours." *CBS News*, October 17, 2017. Accessed October 23, 2020. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/metoo-more-than-12-million-facebook-posts-comments-reactions-24-hours/>.
- North, Anna. 2019. "7 Positive Changes That Have Come from the #MeToo Movement." *Vox*, October 4, 2019. Accessed December 1, 2020. <https://www.vox.com/identities/2019/10/4/20852639/me-too-movement-sexual-harassment-law-2019>.
- Nutter, Jennifer, and David Prager. 2018. "California Enacts Numerous Changes to Sexual Harassment and Other Laws Affecting the Workplace." *JD Supra*, October 18, 2018. Accessed February 18, 2021. <https://www.jdsupra.com/legalnews/california-enacts-numerous-changes-to-39823/>.
- "Open Letter from Time's Up (Published 2018)." *The New York Times*, January 1, 2018. Accessed November 4, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/01/01/arts/02women-letter.html>.
- Rodino-Colocino, Michelle. 2018. "#MeToo: Countering Cruelty with Empathy." *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 15 (1): 96-100. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2018.1435083>.
- Rupar, Aaron, 2019. "Trump Faces a New Allegation of Sexually Assaulting a woman at Mar-a-Lago", *Vox*, October 9, 2019. Accessed December 1, 2020. <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/10/9/20906567/trump-karen-johnson-sexual-assault-mar-a-lago-barry-levine-monique-el-faizy-book>
- Santucci, Jeanine. 2019. "Donald Trump Jr. Made a #MeToo Joke during Dad's North Carolina Rally." *USA Today*, September 10, 2019. Accessed December 1, 2020. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2019/09/10/donald-trump-jr-joked-metoo-movement-during-nc-campaign-rally/2273160001/>.
- Sajej, Nadja. "Alyssa Milano on the #MeToo Movement: 'We're Not Going to Stand for It Any More.'" *The Guardian*, December 1, 2017. Accessed November 10, 2020. <http://www.theguardian.com/culture/2017/dec/01/alyssa-milano-mee-too-sexual-harassment-abuse>.
- "'School MeToo' Most Tweeted Word in Korea This Year." *Pulse by Maeil Business News Korea*, December 5, 2018. Accessed December 1, 2020. pulseneews.co.kr/view.php?year=2018&no=760456.

- Snow, David, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2004. "Mapping the Terrain." In *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, 3–13. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Snow, David. 2004. "Framing Processes, Ideology, and Discursive Fields." In *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, 380–404. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- "South Korea's President Urges MeToo Investigations." *Al Jazeera*, February 26, 2018. Accessed December 1, 2020. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/2/26/south-koreas-president-urges-metoo-investigations>.
- Suzuki, Sotaro. 2019. "As #MeToo Reaches South Korea, Pressured Young Men Turn on Moon." *Nikkei Asia*, February 14, 2019. Accessed December 1, 2020. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/As-MeToo-reaches-South-Korea-pressured-young-men-turn-on-Moon>.
- Whittier, Nancy. 2004. "The Consequences of Social Movements for Each Other." In *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, 531–548. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Xiong, Ying, Monchee Cho, and Brandon Boatwright. 2018. "Hashtag Activism and Message Frames Among Social Movement Organizations: Semantic Network Analysis and Thematic Analysis of Twitter During the #MeToo Movement." *Public Relations Review* 45 (1).
- Zhou, Li. 2020. "Attention Has Faded on the More than 20 Sexual Misconduct Allegations against Trump." *Vox*, November 3, 2020. Accessed November 24, 2020. <https://www.vox.com/2020/11/3/21544482/trump-sexual-misconduct-allegations>.
- Zoe, Claire. 2017. Twitter post, October 16, 2017, 4:33 AM. <https://twitter.com/Clairezoe5/status/919662502413086720?s=20>.