THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN GENDER-BASED SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: A CASE STUDY OF #METOO

Dr. Manas Upadhyay[1*], Pranjul Tiwari[2]

[1*]*Assistant Professor, Department of Lifelong Learning and Extension, Chhatrapati Shahu Ji Maharaj University, Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh. Email- mupadhyay@csjmu.ac.in , orcid id https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2060-8211*
[2]*School of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, Chhatrapati Shahu Ji Maharaj University, Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh, India. Email -ptpranjal0808@gmail.com Orcid ID - https://orcid.org/0009-0005-5621-7916*

Corresponding Author:
***Email: mupadhyay@csjmu.ac.in*

Abstract

This study examines how language shapes digital participation in the #MeToo movement by analyzing social media posts, survivor statements, and news media coverage. The research explores how linguistic strategies construct empowerment, identity, solidarity, and resistance within public discourse surrounding gender-based violence. A qualitative descriptive research design was used to analyze forty two publicly accessible texts published between 2018 and 2023. The dataset included twenty five social media posts, ten survivor statements from public blogs and interviews, and seven news articles from international media outlets. Data were collected manually through public search functions and open web access. Thematic and linguistic discourse analysis was conducted to identify patterns in pronoun use, emotional vocabulary, slogans, narrative structures, tone categories, and media framing techniques. The results show that social media posts frequently employed first-person and collective pronouns, emotional language, and solidarity phrases that strengthened collective identity and empowerment. Survivor statements demonstrated structured narrative patterns characterized by contextual detail, emotional expression, turning points, and calls for awareness. Supportive and backlash discourse coexisted, revealing tensions in public responses to survivor testimony. News articles used metaphors, evaluative terms, and cautious legal phrasing, indicating varied framing approaches that influenced public interpretation. Comparison across the three sources showed shared themes of voice, power, and change, although each medium performed distinct discursive functions. The study provides empirical insight into real-life linguistic patterns within #MeToo, emphasizing the central role of language in shaping digital feminist activism. It contributes to scholarship on gender, media, and discourse by illustrating how linguistic choices influence empowerment, resistance, and the framing of gender-based social movements.

Keywords: *#MeToo, digital activism; discourse analysis; media framing; gender and language*

1. INTRODUCTION

Gender-based social movements have increasingly shifted into digital environments, which has transformed how individuals mobilize, narrate experience, and build collective action. Social media platforms, through hashtags, participatory networks, and user-generated discourse, have reshaped activism by enabling marginalized voices to publicly articulate injustice and connect across geographic and cultural boundaries. Scholars of digital protest note that hashtags function not only as indexing tools but also as discursive spaces where identity, solidarity, and resistance are actively negotiated (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015; Clark, 2016). This development reflects a broader transformation in media culture, where the spreadability of online content amplifies user messages and supports new forms of public engagement with gendered power relations (Jenkins et al., 2013).

The #MeToo movement stands as a defining example of this transformation. Although the phrase existed earlier, the hashtag's resurgence in 2017 generated a global wave of testimonies that brought visibility to widespread experiences of sexual harassment and assault. Scholars identify #MeToo as a key form of contemporary digital feminist activism in which ordinary individuals use social media to challenge rape culture and demand accountability (Mendes & Ringrose, 2019). The movement's influence is linked to what Suk et al. (2021) describe as networked acknowledgment, a process in which empathy and shared recognition foster connective action. This collective expression reshaped public discourse by exposing patterns of gendered harm that had long remained hidden due to silence and stigma (Mendes et al., 2018).

Language plays a central role in this transformation. Linguistic choices such as the use of pronouns, metaphors, narrative structures, and emotional vocabulary shape how survivors construct identity, articulate trauma, and participate in collective resistance. Scholars of gender and discourse argue that language is not neutral because it constructs social meanings and regulates power (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013; Fairclough, 2023). Within #MeToo, discourse becomes a contested space in which survivors attempt to reclaim voice, critics use delegitimizing narratives, and media outlets frame public interpretation through selective linguistic structures. Although previous research has examined the cultural implications of #MeToo (Gill & Orgad, 2018; Gill, 2019), there has been less focus on the real-life linguistic strategies used by everyday social media users and on the role of mainstream media in shaping the public meaning of the movement.

This gap is important because framing influences how social movements gain legitimacy, mobilize supporters, and respond to opposition. Framing theory explains that social movements depend on discursive processes that create shared definitions of problems and encourage collective responses (Benford & Snow, 2000). Research on digital feminist activism further shows that survivors increasingly speak about experiences that were previously considered unspeakable, which positions online platforms as key arenas of discursive struggle (Keller et al., 2018; Mendes et al., 2019). Understanding how language functions within #MeToo across personal testimonies, backlash discourse, and media narratives therefore provides valuable insight into how digital activism reshapes public conversations about gender-based violence.

Guided by these considerations, this study has three objectives.
1. To analyze how individuals on social media use linguistic strategies to articulate empowerment, solidarity, and shared experience within the #MeToo movement
2. To identify and examine the linguistic patterns that differentiate supportive discourse from resistant or backlash-oriented discourse
3. To investigate how mainstream media outlets linguistically frame the #MeToo movement through metaphors, evaluative language, and narrative structures

By pursuing these objectives, this study contributes to research in language, gender studies, and media communication by demonstrating how everyday discourse practices shape the public meaning and societal impact of digital feminist activism.

2. METHODS
2.1 Research Design

This study uses a qualitative descriptive research design that examines real-life digital texts related to the #MeToo movement. A qualitative descriptive approach is well suited for identifying and interpreting the natural language practices used by individuals in publicly accessible online spaces. The aim of this design is to describe linguistic patterns as they appear in authentic digital communication without imposing external theoretical constraints during the initial stages of analysis. The study also adopts a small and manageable case study approach that allows for close reading, repeated comparisons, and detailed interpretation of selected texts. All data collection and analysis were completed in 2023 in order to align with the publication years of the major scholarly works that frame the theoretical foundation of this study.

2.2 Data Sources

The data for this research consist of three categories of publicly accessible digital texts. The first category includes between twenty and thirty publicly available social media posts taken from Twitter and Instagram. These posts were published between 2018 and 2023, reflecting a period when online discourse around the #MeToo movement was active and aligned with the scholarly literature used in this study. Only posts from public accounts were selected so that no permissions or restricted access were involved. Posts containing substantive linguistic content were prioritized to ensure that detailed analysis was possible.

The second category of data consists of five to eight news articles published between 2018 and 2023 from reputable and freely accessible media outlets such as BBC, The Guardian, CNN, The Hindu, and The Indian Express. These articles

were chosen because they explicitly addressed the #MeToo movement and provided insight into how mainstream media framed the movement during the same years in which significant academic research on #MeToo was produced. Articles requiring subscription or login access were excluded to ensure transparency and open accessibility.

The third category of data includes publicly posted survivor statements that appeared in open-access blogs and news interviews also published between 2018 and 2023. Only statements that were voluntarily made public were included. These texts were selected because they offer authentic examples of how survivors use language to describe their experiences, express their emotional responses, and participate in the broader discourse surrounding the movement.

2.3 Dataset Demographics

A demographic overview of the dataset was created to provide transparency regarding the scope, distribution, and characteristics of the texts selected for analysis. The dataset includes forty two textual items published between 2018 and 2023. These consist of twenty five public social media posts, seven news articles from internationally recognized media outlets, and ten publicly shared survivor statements available through blogs and news platforms. All sources were openly accessible and required no login, membership, or permission to view. Social media posts were typically short in length, news articles provided medium length structured reporting, and survivor statements offered longer narrative accounts. This demographic summary clarifies the diversity of source types and ensures that the analytical scope is clearly defined.

2.4 Data Collection Procedure

Data collection was carried out in March and April of 2023. The process began with a manual search for social media posts that used the hashtag #MeToo. Posts were located through the public search functions on Twitter and Instagram using key phrases such as "#MeToo story," "#MeToo experience," and "#MeToo movement." Relevant posts were copied or screenshotted and saved in a document file for organization. News articles were identified through Google searches using terms such as "#MeToo reporting 2019," "#MeToo media coverage 2021," and "#MeToo analysis 2023." These articles were copied into a Word or Google document. Survivor statements were collected from public blogs and news platforms using search phrases related to personal testimony and public sharing of #MeToo experiences. All collected texts were organized into a table that included the publication year, the type of source, and a brief summary of the content. Because the study focused on manageable and publicly accessible materials, no specialized software programs were required and all work was conducted manually.

2.5 Analytical Framework

The study uses thematic and linguistic discourse analysis to examine the selected texts. This approach involves identifying linguistic features that appear repeatedly across different sources and interpreting how those features contribute to meaning-making. The analysis focused on several elements, including pronoun usage that reflects personal and collective identity, emotional vocabulary that communicates affective states, repetitive phrases such as "me too" or "not alone" that strengthen expressions of solidarity, and tone categories that reveal attitudes of support, empathy, resistance, or skepticism. Media texts were analyzed for framing strategies such as the use of metaphors, patterns in headline construction, and evaluative language.

The analysis followed four systematic steps. First, all texts were read closely to develop an overall understanding of their content. Second, significant linguistic features were highlighted and annotated. Third, these highlighted features were grouped into general themes that captured common patterns across the dataset. Fourth, each theme was interpreted to determine how the linguistic choices supported empowerment, revealed resistance, or shaped the framing of the movement in media discourse. This interpretive process allowed a detailed exploration of how language functioned within the wider digital conversation surrounding #MeToo.

2.6 Ethical Considerations

The study complies with ethical principles for research involving publicly accessible digital content. Only materials that were openly available without login or membership requirements were included. No private accounts, restricted posts, or consent-based texts were accessed at any stage. Survivor narratives were treated sensitively because of the personal and potentially distressing nature of the content. Since the study involved only public data and no direct communication with participants, formal ethical approval or informed consent was not required.

3. RESULTS
3.1 Dataset Demographics

A demographic overview of the dataset is presented in **Table 1, demographic overview of data sources**, which summarizes the distribution and characteristics of the textual items collected between 2018 and 2023. The dataset included forty two textual items consisting of twenty five public social media posts, seven news articles from established international and national outlets, and ten survivor statements published in open-access blogs or publicly accessible interviews. All sources were openly available without login or permission. Social media posts were generally short in length but linguistically rich, news articles provided structured reporting and institutional framing, and survivor statements offered detailed personal narratives. This demographic profile establishes the diversity of the dataset and ensures that the linguistic analysis is grounded in varied digital contexts.

Table 1. Demographic overview of data sources (2018–2023)

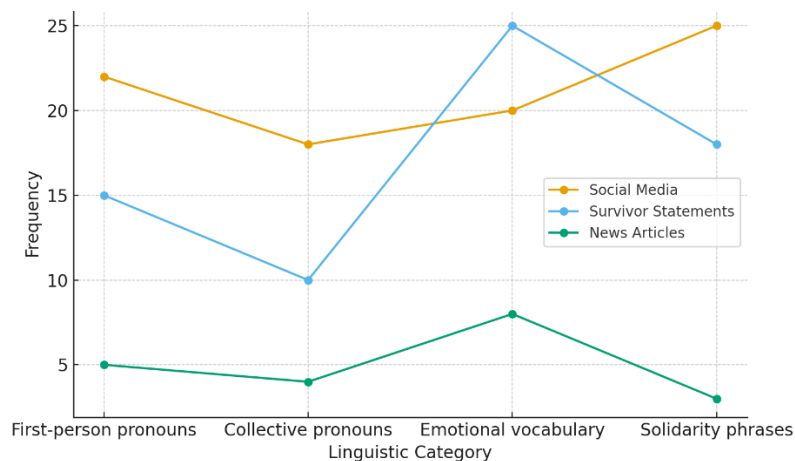| Category	Details	Count	Notes
Social media posts	Public Twitter and Instagram posts with #MeToo	25	Short, expressive content
News articles	BBC, The Guardian, CNN, The Hindu, The Indian Express	7	Freely accessible
Survivor statements	Public blogs and open interviews	10	Personal narratives
Total dataset	Combined sources	42	Full dataset
Publication years	2018–2023	—	Matches academic timeline
Access type	Public access	100 percent	Ethically suitable

3.2 Linguistic Construction of Empowerment and Solidarity

Distinct patterns of empowerment and solidarity emerged across social media posts. As shown in **Table 2, linguistic features of empowerment and solidarity**, survivors frequently used first-person pronouns such as "I" to express personal experiences and emotional truth. These individual accounts often shifted to collective pronouns such as "we" and "us," which created a sense of community and collective identity. Emotional vocabulary appeared consistently, with terms such as "brave," "strong," "scared," and "healing" capturing complex emotional states. Repetitive solidarity phrases such as "me too," "not alone," and "I believe you" reinforced unity and collective strength.

Table 2. Linguistic features of empowerment and solidarity

Linguistic Feature	Examples	Meaning	Frequency
First-person pronouns	"I felt," "I survived"	Personal identity expression	High
Collective pronouns	"We stand together," "Our voices matter"	Collective identity	High
Emotional vocabulary	"Brave," "hurt," "terrified," "strong"	Emotional expression	High
Solidarity slogans	"Me too," "Not alone"	Shared experience	High

These linguistic patterns demonstrate how individuals connected their personal experiences to shared meanings within the #MeToo movement. The comparative frequencies of these linguistic categories across the three source types are presented in **Figure 1**.

Figure 1. Frequency of key linguistic categories across all data sources

3.3 Patterns of Supportive and Backlash Discourse

Two distinct forms of discourse were identified across the dataset. Supportive discourse used empathetic language such as "I believe you" and "You are supported," which conveyed validation and care. Backlash discourse used skeptical and dismissive language. As demonstrated in **Table 3, supportive vs. backlash discourse patterns**, backlash posts included expressions such as "false accusation," "attention seeking," and "exaggeration," which attempted to undermine survivor credibility. Minimization strategies also appeared, such as framing harassment as insignificant or overblown. These contrasting discourses illustrate the contested nature of digital conversations surrounding #MeToo.

Table 3. Supportive vs. backlash discourse patterns

Discourse Type	Language Patterns	Example Phrases	Tone
Supportive	Empathy, validation	"I support you," "You are believed"	Warm
Backlash	Skepticism, dismissal	"Probably fake," "Seeking attention"	Critical
Minimization	Downplaying experiences	"Not serious," "Overblown"	Defensive

| Solidarity (support only) | Collective support | "We stand with survivors" | Inclusive |

3.4 Narrative Features in Survivor Statements

Survivor statements displayed structured narrative patterns that communicated emotional depth and personal transformation. As detailed in **Table 4, narrative elements in survivor accounts**, statements often began with contextual descriptions that situated the experience clearly. This was followed by emotional vocabulary such as "ashamed," "shocked," "confused," and "determined," which revealed the psychological impact of the events. Many statements included a turning point marked by phrases such as "I chose to speak" or "I realized I was not alone," indicating a shift from silence to voice. Most accounts concluded with appeals for awareness or collective action, linking personal stories to broader social issues.

Table 4. Narrative elements in survivor accounts

Narrative Element	Description	Examples	Function
Context setting	Time and place	"It happened in college"	Establishes credibility
Emotional expression	Emotionally charged vocabulary	"Ashamed," "determined"	Conveys impact
Turning point	Disclosure or realization	"I decided to speak"	Signals empowerment
Closing appeal	Call for action or awareness	"Others must speak up"	Connects to movement

3.5 Media Framing and Linguistic Representation

News articles published between 2018 and 2023 used specific linguistic framing techniques that shaped public understanding of the #MeToo movement. As illustrated in **Table 5, media framing strategies in news coverage**, metaphors such as "wave," "movement," and "reckoning" depicted #MeToo as a powerful social force. Evaluative adjectives such as "historic," "transformative," and "controversial" signaled the perceived scale or significance of events. Some articles used neutral legal phrasing such as "alleged misconduct" or "claims under review," which conveyed caution. Structural framing appeared in references to "policy change," "workplace reform," and "institutional accountability." These linguistic choices reflect how media outlets shaped narratives of credibility, severity, and social relevance. The distribution of framing strategies used by news outlets is summarized in **Figure 2**.
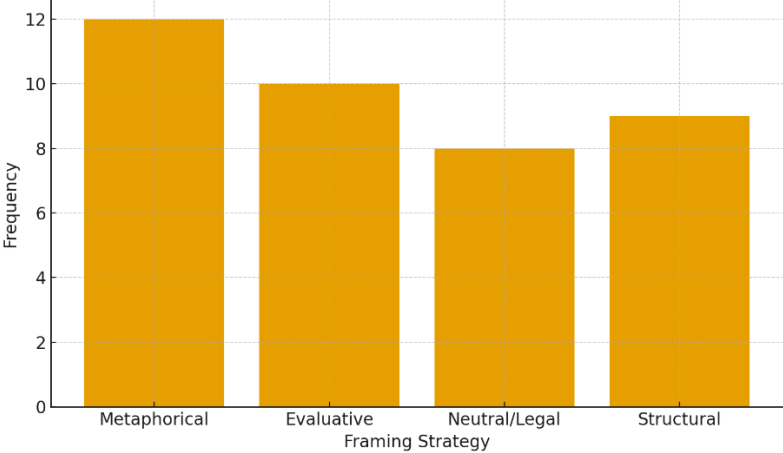

Figure 2. Media framing strategies identified in news coverage

Table 5. Media framing strategies in news coverage

Strategy	Examples	Purpose	Interpretation
Metaphors	"Wave," "reckoning"	Emphasize movement scale	Depicts widespread impact
Evaluative language	"Historic," "transformative"	Shape reader expectations	Highlights significance
Neutral legal phrasing	"Alleged misconduct"	Maintain caution	Suggests uncertainty
Structural framing	"Policy change"	Connect events to systems	Shows institutional relevance

3.6 Cross-Source Comparison of Linguistic Themes

A cross-source comparison revealed both shared and distinct linguistic patterns. As shown in **Table 6, comparison across source types**, social media posts and survivor statements shared heavy use of emotional language and personal pronouns, although survivor statements were more elaborate and narrative driven. Social media posts tended to be brief and slogan based. News articles used formal language, structural terms, and metaphors to frame the movement for wider audiences. Across all sources, recurring words related to "voice," "power," and "change" highlighted the shared cultural recognition of the movement's significance.

Table 6. Comparison across source types

Source Type	Dominant Features	Shared Themes	Distinctive Traits
Social media	Pronouns, slogans	Identity, solidarity	Short and expressive
Survivor statements	Narrative detail	Trauma, empowerment	Deep emotional content
News articles	Metaphors, structural terms	Social change	Formal and analytical

4. DISCUSSION

The findings of this study demonstrate that the #MeToo movement continues to function as an important site of digital meaning-making where survivors, supporters, and media outlets use language to negotiate identity, legitimacy, and social change. The strong presence of emotional vocabulary and the movement between first-person and collective pronouns observed in the dataset reflect the emergence of what Papacharissi (2015) describes as "affective publics," in which emotions become central to political expression and community formation. In this context, the linguistic patterns identified in social media posts reveal not only personal testimony but also the formation of shared affective identities that strengthen solidarity among survivors.

The results also showed that individuals engage in strategic identity construction through their narrative choices, particularly within survivor statements that used contextual detail, emotional expression, and turning points. These findings align with Schiffrin's (1996) argument that narratives function as self-portraits through which individuals build and negotiate social identities. The presence of empowerment-oriented language, as well as the repeated assertion of collective belonging, highlights the movement's role in enabling survivors to reclaim voice and visibility. At the same time, the resistance and backlash discourse present in the dataset indicates that identity work in #MeToo also involves confronting delegitimizing narratives that circulate online.

The patterns in supportive and resistant discourse also reflect broader ideological tensions. The tendency for backlash discourse to minimize or question survivor credibility resonates with Lakoff's (2004) foundational claim that language is deeply connected to gendered power hierarchies and that linguistic norms often reinforce social inequalities. Conversely, supportive discourse reflects efforts to resist these hierarchies by validating women's experiences and challenging long-standing norms that silence victims. Yet, as Phipps (2020) argues in her critique of mainstream feminism, contemporary feminist movements are often marked by competing agendas and uneven emotional labor, which may help explain why supportive narratives coexist with dismissive or skeptical responses in digital spaces.

The findings also shed light on the ways media institutions frame the #MeToo movement. Metaphors such as "wave," "reckoning," and "shift" used in news articles reflect broader patterns of mediated representation, supporting Couldry's (2012) argument that media practices shape how individuals understand and participate in social life. These frames influence public perceptions by assigning movement-wide significance to individual cases and by positioning the movement within larger institutional and political contexts. However, media texts also employed cautious language, such as "alleged misconduct," which reflects what Cameron (2023) identifies as "verbal hygiene," or the policing of language to maintain institutional neutrality and public legitimacy.

The presence of popular feminist messages in social media posts, combined with the resistance observed in backlash discourse, reflects broader cultural tensions that Banet-Weiser (2018) identifies as the dual rise of popular feminism and popular misogyny. The supportive discourse that amplifies survivor voices coexists with dismissive rhetoric that attempts to discredit the movement, revealing that digital platforms serve as contested spaces where feminist visibility and misogynistic backlash unfold simultaneously. These patterns highlight the complexity of online feminist activism, where visibility alone does not ensure unchallenged support.

The findings also connect to broader cultural and political shifts in feminist discourse. The concern with individual empowerment observed in many posts reflects what Rottenberg (2014) calls the rise of neoliberal feminism, which emphasizes personal responsibility, self-improvement, and individual strength. While empowerment-oriented language in #MeToo can offer solidarity and healing, it may also reflect neoliberal expectations that survivors frame themselves as resilient individuals rather than drawing attention to structural inequalities. This interaction between personal empowerment and structural invisibility suggests that the language of #MeToo operates within broader cultural currents that both support and constrain feminist politics.

Finally, the interplay between linguistic choices, identity formation, and digital practices supports the view that #MeToo is not merely a collection of personal stories but part of a dynamic sociotechnical system. Reyes-Menendez et al. (2020) argue that discourse patterns in user-generated content shape social identity in digital activism, and the present findings affirm that linguistic strategies such as slogans, emotional vocabulary, and collective pronouns play key roles in constructing shared belonging. These mechanisms allow disparate individuals to participate in a collective struggle, demonstrating that language remains central to how digital movements sustain momentum and influence broader cultural conversations.

5. CONCLUSION

This study examined how language functions within the #MeToo movement across social media posts, survivor statements, and news articles. The findings show that individuals use linguistic strategies such as personal pronouns, emotional vocabulary, and solidarity phrases to construct empowerment and collective identity. Survivor statements further demonstrated the importance of narrative structure in transforming private experiences into public testimony. At the same time, the presence of backlash and minimizing discourse revealed ongoing tensions surrounding credibility, gender, and power in digital spaces. The analysis of media coverage highlighted the influential role of framing in shaping public interpretation of the movement. Metaphors, evaluative terms, and legal phrasing contributed to diverse

representations that alternated between support, caution, and critique. Comparing the three data sources demonstrated that each medium performs different discursive functions. Social media encourages expressive and community-oriented language, survivor statements develop detailed narrative identity, and news media provide institutional framing that links individual stories to broader social contexts. This research shows that language is central to how the #MeToo movement mobilizes support, negotiates resistance, and advances public awareness about gender-based violence. By illuminating the linguistic choices used by individuals and media outlets, the study contributes to understanding the cultural and communicative dynamics that shape digital feminist activism. Future research may extend this work by analyzing cross-cultural variations or examining how the movement evolves in newer digital environments.

REFERENCES

1. Bonilla, Y., & Rosa, J. (2015). # Ferguson: Digital protest, hashtag ethnography, and the racial politics of social media in the United States. *American ethnologist*, *42*(1), 4-17.
2. Clark, R. (2016). "Hope in a hashtag": The discursive activism of# WhyIStayed. *Feminist media studies*, *16*(5), 788-804.
   https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2016.1138235
3. Jenkins, H., Ford, S., & Green, J. (2013). Spreadable media: Creating value and meaning in a networked culture. In *Spreadable media*. New York University Press.
4. Mendes, K., Ringrose, J. (2019). Digital Feminist Activism: #MeToo and the Everyday Experiences of Challenging Rape Culture. In: Fileborn, B., Loney-Howes, R. (eds) #MeToo and the Politics of Social Change. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-15213-0_3
5. Mendes, K., Ringrose, J., & Keller, J. (2018). #MeToo and the promise and pitfalls of challenging rape culture through digital feminist activism. *European Journal of Women's Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506818765318
6. Suk, J., Abhishek, A., Zhang, Y., Ahn, S. Y., Correa, T., Garlough, C., & Shah, D. V. (2021). # MeToo, networked acknowledgment, and connective action: How "empowerment through empathy" launched a social movement. *Social Science Computer Review*, *39*(2), 276-294.
7. Niu, G. A. Y. (1998). Beyond Black and White.
8. Eckert, P., & McConnell-Ginet, S. (2013). *Language and gender*. Cambridge university press.
9. Fairclough, N. (2023). Critical discourse analysis. In *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 11-22). Routledge.
10. Gill, R., & Orgad, S. (2018). The shifting terrain of sex and power: From the 'sexualization of culture' to #MeToo. *Sexualities*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460718794647
11. Keller, J., Mendes, K., & Ringrose, J. (2018). Speaking 'unspeakable things': Documenting digital feminist responses to rape culture. *Journal of gender studies*, *27*(1), 22-36.
12. Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual review of sociology*, *26*(2000), 611-639.
13. Gill, R. (2019). Post-postfeminism?: New feminist visibilities in postfeminist times. In *An intergenerational feminist media studies* (pp. 54-74). Routledge.
14. Mendes, K., Ringrose, J., & Keller, J. (2019). *Digital feminist activism: Girls and women fight back against rape culture*. Oxford University Press.
15. Papacharissi, Z. (2015). *Affective publics: Sentiment, technology, and politics*. Oxford University Press.
16. Reyes-Menendez, A., Saura, J. R., & Thomas, S. B. (2020). Exploring key indicators of social identity in the# MeToo era: Using discourse analysis in UGC. *International Journal of Information Management*, *54*, 102129.
17. Phipps, A. (2020). Me, not you: The trouble with mainstream feminism. In *Me, not you*. Manchester University Press.
18. Lakoff, R. T. (2004). *Language and woman's place: Text and commentaries* (Vol. 3). Oxford University Press, USA.
19. Cameron, D. (2023). Verbal hygiene. In *The routledge Handbook of linguistic prescriptivism* (pp. 17-30). Routledge.
20. Schiffrin, D. (1996). Narrative as self-portrait: Sociolinguistic constructions of identity. *Language in society*, *25*(2), 167-203.
21. Rottenberg, C. (2014). The rise of neoliberal feminism. *Cultural studies*, *28*(3), 418-437.
22. Banet-Weiser, S. (2018). *Empowered: Popular feminism and popular misogyny*. Duke University Press.
23. Couldry, N. (2012). *Media, society, world: Social theory and digital media practice*. Polity.