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The Interaction of Social Movements with the Framing of Sexual Violence in the

U.S. Online Press

Abstract

On October 5, 2017, the sexual violence accusations against Harvey Weinstein was the catalyst for the growth of the social movement known as the 'the #metoo movement' which is aimed at revealing the pervasiveness of sexual violence in society and reframing the discourse around sexual assault. D'Angelo's (2002) model of the news framing process describes how collective action such as social movements interact with news frames. This article aims to test that prediction by clarifying how the way sexual violence in the U.S. online press might have been reframed over the course of the #metoo movement. Through a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the newspaper coverage surrounding three news events, this article interprets the framing of sexual violence and attempts clarify any continuances and patterns throughout the framing of such violence within U.S. online press before and after the beginning of the #metoo movement.

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Introduction

On October 5, 2017, an article was published in *The New York Times* which accused Harvey Weinstein of sexually assaulting multiple women, using his power as a Hollywood producer. This accusation started a social movement, most widely known as the 'me too. movement' (from here on referred to as 'the #metoo movement') which is aimed at revealing the pervasiveness of sexual violence in society and reframing the discourse around sexual assault. In this article I plan to clarify the interaction of the movement with the framing in news stories in online U.S. press covering sexual assault allegations against celebrities. Specifically, I will investigate if there is a difference between the framing of sexual violence before and after the #metoo movement.

Theoretical Framework

According to Vreese (2005) a frame is broadly defined as "an emphasis in salience of different aspects of a topic" (p. 53). More specifically, Entman (1993) says that "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (p. 52). This definition of a media frame will be used as it suits the purposes of this article.

In D'Angelo's (2002) model of the news framing process, news framing is subdivided into 'a frame construction flow', 'a framing effects flow', and 'a frame definition flow'. The frame construction flow consists of frame building and frame setting. The framing effects flow describes how official discourse, audience frames, and prior knowledge interact with news frames (see figure 1). More specifically, D'Angelo (2002) argues that collective action is not only influenced by news frames, but also "mitigates the effects of news frames" and interacts with frames "to become the reality of that group" (p. 881). Therefore, D'Angelo

(2002) argues that framing effects go both ways, which is illustrated in Figure 1 with the arrow between *Official discourse* and *Collective action*.
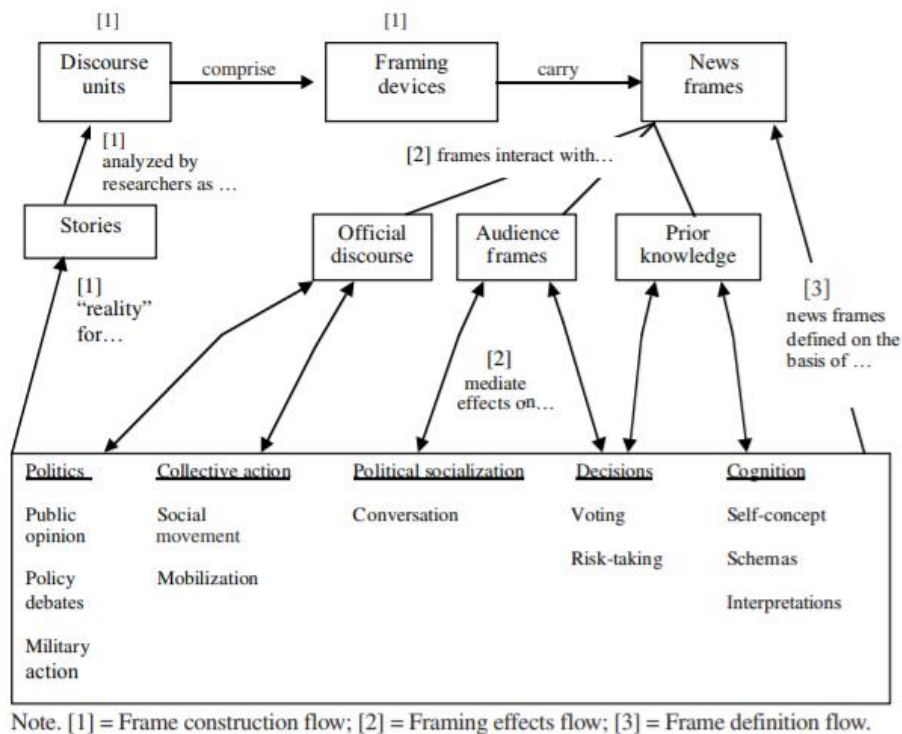

Note. [1] = Frame construction flow; [2] = Framing effects flow; [3] = Frame definition flow.

Figure 1 Model of the news framing process (D'Angelo, 2002)

The #metoo movement was officially founded in 2006 by Tarana Burke, but began to become more widespread on October 15, 2017, 10 days after sexual assault allegations against Harvey Weinstein were publicly reported on. The #metoo movement's website states that it aims to "reframe and expand the global conversation around sexual violence to speak to the needs of a broader spectrum of survivors. Young people, queer, trans, and disabled folks, Black women and girls, and all communities of color" (https://metoomvmt.org/, n.d.). Carter's (1998) definition of sexual violence includes 'the murder of women and girls', 'battering', 'emotional abuse', 'sexual assault', 'sexual harassment', 'date, marital, and stranger rape', and 'incest'. The news stories investigated in this work do not necessarily feature all facets of this general definition, but it is suitable for the purposes of this study. In addition to this general definition and related to the aim of the movement, O'Hara (2012)

argues that sexual violence can only be properly addressed by the media by framing rape in a way "that does not fit preconceived notions or conforms to myths" (p. 258).

It is widely accepted that "frames introduce or raise the salience or apparent importance of certain ideas, activating schemas that encourage target audiences to think, feel, and decide in a particular way" (Entman, 2007, p. 164). Consequently, by highlighting specific preconceived interpretations, media frames can "contribute to the subordination or marginalization of alternative perspectives and readings" (Hannah and Gandy, as cited in Dirks, 2012), such as the alternative perspectives mentioned in the #metoo movement's mission statement. Moreover, frames can be self-reinforcing (Entman, 1993), meaning that any frame outside of the established discourse is not considered newsworthy by the press. Similarly, frames can be encoded in specific terms, such as *affirmative action* and *pro-life/pro-choice,* which can give social power and credibility because they convey a clear and recognizable position (Gamson, 1992). Using a different term than one already established carries the risk of losing credibility or communicative efficacy (Gamson, 1992). Consequently, D'angelo (2002) argues that in order to receive the coverage that fulfils their goals, movement activists "must develop discourses and techniques" which appeal to mainstream news organizations (p. 881).

Due to constraints on the time and resources available, it is outside the scope of this study to determine what specific discourses and techniques are used by the #metoo movement and how they might interact with news frames. Instead, this study aims to clarify the way sexual violence is framed in the U.S. online press and how it might have changed over the course of the #metoo movement, thereby testing D'Angelo's (2002) model's prediction that the discourses of a social movement such as the #metoo movement interact with news frames. Therefore, the research question is: How are sexual assault allegations of celebrities framed in the online press in the U.S. before, at, and after the beginning of the

#metoo movement? In order to answer that question, I perform an analysis of online U.S. newspaper reporting of three cases of sexual violence by three well-known individuals in the U.S. to determine if and how the framing of each case was different. In order to avoid additional cultural factors and because the #metoo movement originated in the US, the framing analysis was restricted to reporting by U.S. online press.

Synopsis of news events

A selection of three news events was made similar to O'Hara's (2012) study on the news media's coverage of sexual violence. All three events were accusations of sexual assault by notable celebrities in entertainment and media. The events were selected for their similarities and their times of reporting, to allow for the most effective comparison of framing before and after the beginning of the #metoo movement. The selection of news events was as follows: (1) Bill O'Reilly, who was accused before the #metoo movement started on April 1, 2017, (2) Harvey Weinstein, the accusations against whom were at the origin of the #metoo movement on October 5, 2017, and (3) Matt Lauer, accusations against whom were publicly reported two months after the start of the #metoo movement on November 29, 2017.

By describing and analysing the news cases, I am forced to frame them in some way, and as a result this framing will inevitably be biased. However, in order to discuss the framing, a description of the news cases is necessary, as any analysis of these news frames is dependent on de context of the cases. It is important to note that I am heavily biased on matters of sexual violence, which is why it is crucial to use neutral terminology when expressing the facts of the news cases. As such, throughout this article O'Reilly, Weinstein, and Lauer are referred to as 'the accused', and any crimes that may or may not have been committed by are prefaced with the word 'alleged'. Finally, all persons who may or may not have been victim of these crimes are referred to as 'the accusers', because referring to them

as victims implies the existence of a crime which favours the accuser. The first news case was the alleged sexual violence by Bill O'Reilly, the former host of The O'Reilly Factor on the Fox News Channel. O'Reilly had been accused of sexual harassment or other inappropriate behaviour by multiple women for nearly two decades. All of those women were bought off with settlements, totalling around $13 million. Following the report of *The New York Times*, more women came out with accusations against O'Reilly. Fox News Channel fired O'Reilly two and half weeks later on April 19. This case was chosen as it was the one of the biggest sexual violence news stories to be reported on in the year leading up to the #metoo movement, and in order to prevent broader societal changes from interacting with the news frames. A particularly notable aspect to this case was that of the five settlements, two had already been reported on previously in the U.S. press.

The second news case concerns the alleged sexual violence by Harvey Weinstein, a former American film producer. Weinstein has been accused of crimes ranging from rape to sexual harassment by more than a dozen women. A week later Weinstein was fired from his production company, The Weinstein Company.

The third and final news case was the alleged sexual violence by Matt Lauer, former co-host of NBC's Today show. On November 29, 2017, NBC News fired Lauer after accusations were made by an NBC employee that Lauer had sexually harassed her during the 2014 Winter Olympics. In the days following his termination more accusations went public.

Methodology

The methodology was adjusted over the course of the study to ensure that useful data would be generated. Therefore, an account of the development of the methodology is included.

A complete analysis of all online news coverage lay outside the practical limitations of this study, so a selection of at least 25 articles was made for each news case in the days or

weeks after it was publicly reported using the Google News search engine, as shown in table 1. The subjects of the reporting were well-known individuals within the U.S. media discourse before they were accused of sexual violence, which resulted in a great variety of reporting. The selection criteria included articles that directly reported on the sexual violence or on the direct consequences of the sexual violence. Articles that reported on how other celebrities reacted to the case, as well as articles that mainly focused on the companies that employed the accused and their reactions to the case were excluded. The selection was made from articles on the first page of the News tab on Google.com until more than 25 articles were selected that fit the criteria, which is reflected in the search period for each news case. The final selection of newspaper articles can be found in the appendix.

Table 1. Data Collection

	O'Reilly case	Weinstein case	Lauer case
No. of articles	31	30	27
No. of newspapers	20	17	19
Search terms	"Bill O'Reilly"	"Harvey Weinstein"	"Matt Lauer"
Search period	1 April 2017 - 21 April 2017	5 October 2017 - 19 October 2017	29 November 2017 - 1 December 2017

A typology suggested by De Vreese (2005) identifies two types of frames which serve as a guide for framing research. De Vreese identifies *generic frames*, which "transcend limitations and can be identified in relation to different topics, some even over time and in different cultural contexts", and *issue-specific frames,* which "are pertinent only to specific topics or events" (2005, p. 54). An issue-specific approach offers more detail, but threatens the external validity of a study because analyses relying on this approach are resistant to generalizations (De Vreese, 2005). On the other hand, a generic approach limits research to analysis of pre-defined news frames, which do not provide the level of specificity necessary to identify and study newly emerging frames (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). Because the #metoo movement is relatively new, it is not unlikely that new frames might have emerged.

Additionally, because each news case has features which are context dependent, pre-defined frames will not provide enough nuance.

In order to address both reservations, I originally decided to use the manual holistic approach as described by Matthes & Kohring (2008). First, *issue-specific working* frames were generated by an exploratory qualitative analysis of a small sample of articles for each news case. Originally, these fames were to be defined in a codebook and coded in a quantitative content analysis for the remaining articles. However, a close reading of the sample of articles revealed that each news case had unique *issue-specific working frames* which continued to develop and emerge over the course of the news case. Defining frames and coding them in a codebook would have prevented the observation of emerging frames (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). As a researcher codes the frames in a codebook, they themselves develop a frame, which is called a *coder schemata*, through which to contextualize the news case they are coding (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). Therefore, a close reading of each individual article determined what frames were used to minimize the effect of the coder schemata. Specific attention to wording, naming and imagery ensured emerging frames were detected. First, a specific word, a phrase or a set of phrases was determined to contain a specific frame. For instance, the phrase "[t]he downfall of Mr. Lauer . . . adds to a head-spinning string of prominent firings over sexual harassment and abuse allegations." contains the frame that makes salient that there is a patterns of sexual violence allegations (Gabler, Rutenberg, Grynbaum & Abrams, 2017). The same frame was used by a different journalist who said that "[t]he wave of sexual harassment allegations roiling American society broke over a familiar figure" (Farhi, 2017). The specific words used by the journalists differ, but they both apply the same frame, which is why intensive close reading of each article was necessary to determine, identify and record these *issue-specific frames*. Originally, a quantitative approach was to be used to clarify the differences in framing between the news

cases. However, a direct comparison of the media frames proved difficult as each news case had generated a unique set of *issue-specific frames*. For example, a unique frame was determined for the Lauer news case as he was accused of locking an employee in his office by pressing a button while sitting at his desk which enabled him to "initiate inappropriate contact while knowing nobody could walk in on him" (Desta, 2017). It was later reported that anyone inside such an office could exit without using the button. Reporting on the existence and use of this button frames Lauer negatively, but the unique nature of this frame complicates direct quantitative comparison. Instead, a qualitative analysis was used to clarify any continuances and patterns throughout the three news cases. Specific attention was paid to explicit references of the #metoo movement, other social movements or activist groups, and mentions of a change in culture. Finally, in the quantitative lexical analysis raw figures and percentages are offered for articles that use particular terms or sets of words to portray the accusers, the accused, and the alleged crimes.

Results

For every news case the number of articles was counted in which a specific term was used to describe or refer to the accused, the accuser, and the alleged sexual violence. The tables that follow contain the number of articles that feature a specific term for each news case with the corresponding percentage of articles in that news case in which that term is used next to it. Terms are only counted if they are specifically used to describe the accused, the accuser or the alleged sexual violence, and not if they refer to other sexual violence cases or persons. To allow for a more direct comparison the terms 'serial predator', 'sexual predator', 'sexual harasser', and 'sexual abuser' in table 2 are counted as the same category as they are very similar in meaning. The terms 'inappropriate requests', 'inappropriate behaviour', and 'inappropriate conduct', and the terms 'misogynistic behaviour', 'misogynistic attacks', and 'sexist comments' in table 4 are combined for the same reason.

The portrayal of the accused varied between news cases, as can be seen in table 2. The job title of the accused was used in the majority of articles in all three cases. Additionally, the only terms used in all three news cases were 'serial predator / sexual predator / sexual harasser / abuser', which were used slightly more in coverage of Weinstein's and Lauer's cases than in coverage of O'Reilly's case.

Table 2. Portrayal of the accused

Referred to as/by	O'Reilly case		Weinstein case		Lauer case	
	No. of articles	Pct. of articles	No. of articles	Pct. of articles	No. of articles	Pct. of articles
host/presenter	17	55%	0	0%	20	74%
mogul	0	0%	13	43%	0	0%
producer	0	0%	10	33%	0	0%
executive	0	0%	3	10%	0	0%
co-founder	0	0%	2	7%	0	0%
star	6	19%	0	0%	2	7%
top asset / top-rated	4	13%	0	0%	0	0%
"King of Cable News" / "Ratings King"	3	10%	0	0%	0	0%
boss	0	0%	1	3%	0	0%
talent	1	3%	0	0%	0	0%
mainstay	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%
longtime / veteran	0	0%	0	0%	5	19%
prominent	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%
high-profile	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%
Oscar-winning	0	0%	1	3%	0	0%
king maker	0	0%	2	7%	0	0%
power player	0	0%	2	7%	0	0%
gatekeeper	0	0%	1	3%	0	0%
powerful	1	3%	4	13%	0	0%
awful man	1	3%	0	0%	0	0%
man-child	0	0%	1	3%	0	0%
serial predator / sexual predator / sexual harasser / abuser	1	3%	4	13%	3	11%
overt misogynist / sexist pig	1	3%	1	3%	0	0%
embattled, combative	1	3%	0	0%	0	0%
fired	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%
fallen	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%
former	0	0%	0	0%	3	11%
Total number and percentage of articles in each news case	31	100%	30	100%	27	100%

The portrayal of the accusers was much more similar in all news cases, as can be seen in Table 3. In O'Reilly's and Weinstein's cases the portrayal of the accusers was more specific and detailed than in Lauer's case. In the first two cases names were used in 48% (15/31) and 60% (18/30) of articles compared to none of the articles in Lauer's case. Moreover, in Lauer's case the less detailed term 'employee' was used in favour of using the accusers' job title. This can be explained by the fact that none of Lauer's accusers were publicly known by name. Notably, in Weinstein's and Lauer's cases journalists used the terms 'accuser' and 'victim' more often than in O'Reilly's case.

Table 3. Portrayal of the accusers

Referred to as/by	O'Reilly case		Weinstein case		Lauer case	
	No. of articles	Pct. of articles	No. of articles	Pct. of articles	No. of articles	Pct. of articles
a woman/women	23	74%	20	67%	23	85%
female	2	6%	4	13%	6	22%
name	15	48%	18	60%	0	0%
their job title	16	52%	16	53%	3	11%
a colleague	1	3%	2	7%	6	22%
an employee	3	10%	4	13%	8	30%
a subordinate	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%
a star	0	0%	1	3%	0	0%
an accuser	1	3%	3	10%	2	7%
a victim	0	0%	4	13%	3	11%
"young"	1	3%	3	10%	2	7%
Total number and percentage of articles in each news case	31	100%	30	100%	27	100%

In the reporting of all three cases the term 'sexual harassment' is used in the majority of articles to portray the alleged sexual violence, as can be seen in Table 4. However, in Lauer's case the terms 'inappropriate requests / behaviour / conduct' were used in the same number of articles. The variety of terms used to portray the alleged sexual violence in Weinstein's case can be explained by the high number of allegations made against him, in

comparison to relatively few allegations in the other news cases. Despite that, articles about Lauer's case referred to the sexual violence as 'sexual misconduct' and 'sexual impropriety' more than in Weinstein's or O'Reilly's case. Finally, in all cases, the number of articles describing the sexual violence in more detail was similar.

Table 4. Portrayal of the alleged sexual violence

Referred to as	O'Reilly case		Weinstein case		Lauer case	
	No. of articles	Pct. of articles	No. of articles	Pct. of articles	No. of articles	Pct. of articles
sexual harassment	23	74%	23	77%	15	56%
sexual assault	0	0%	13	43%	7	26%
sexual misconduct	0	0%	2	7%	8	30%
sexual impropriety	0	0%	0	0%	3	11%
inappropriate requests / behaviour / conduct	7	23%	2	7%	15	56%
harassment	5	16%	0	0%	3	11%
misconduct	0	0%	2	7%	0	0%
verbal abuse	6	19%	0	0%	0	0%
abuse	0	0%	3	10%	1	4%
rape	0	0%	9	30%	0	0%
forced vaginal and oral sex	0	0%	6	20%	0	0%
unwanted physical contact/touches	0	0%	4	13%	0	0%
unwanted advances	4	13%	0	0%	0	0%
misogynistic behaviour / attacks or sexist comments	2	6%	1	3%	0	0%
other terms	2	6%	2	7%	0	0%
No. of articles with more detailed description of the sexual violence	13	42%	17	57%	14	52%
Total number and percentage of articles in each news case	31	100%	30	100%	27	100%

Issue-specific media frames which are comparable between news cases are visualised in table 5 for comparison. Media frames which only applied to one specific news case have been excluded from table 5, but are expanded upon in the next chapter where necessary. References to 'the company' in table 5 refer to the respective companies that employed the accused either before or during the allegations were reported on. For clarity, O'Reilly was

employed by Fox News Channel, Weinstein was co-founder of The Weinstein Company, and

Lauer was employed by NBC.

Table 5. Issue-specific media frames

Media Frames	O'Reilly case		Weinstein case		Lauer case	
	No. of articles	Pct. of articles	No. of articles	Pct. of articles	No. of articles	Pct. of articles
The company protected / protects the accused	19	61%	0	0%	7	26%
The accused misuses power	8	26%	15	50%	8	30%
The accused is/was successful at their job/in their field	20	65%	7	23%	14	52%
Accused already had a negative reputation	10	32%	12	40%	2	7%
Toxic culture within the company	14	45%	10	33%	2	7%
Victims were/are afraid to complain and/or to refuse sexual advances	11	35%	11	37%	6	22%
Pattern of sexual assault allegations	0 / 25[a]	0% / 81%	6	20%	16	59%
Culture is changing	7	23%	6	20%	9	33%
Advocacy groups / Women's rights groups	9	29%	2	7%	0	0%
Reference to #metoo movement	0	0%	1	3%	0	0%
Accused statements - neutral framing	19	61%	5	17%	11	41%
Accused statements - critical framing	4	13%	11	37%	2	7%
Company statements - neutral framing	14	45%	6	20%	6	22%
Company statements - critical framing	4	13%	0	0%	0	0%
Criminal charges	0	0%	7	23%	2	7%
Total number and percentage of articles in each news case	31	100%	30	100%	27	100%

[a] Exclusively references to allegations against former Fox News chairman Roger Ailes

Discussion

It was expected that the framing of the accused would be more negative in Lauer's

case because of the interaction between the media frames and the #metoo movement, but the

difference in framing might be more easily explained by the unique contexts of each news

case. In both Lauer's and O'Reilly's case, the frame that makes salient the success of the

accused was identified and recorded. The focus on success could be interpreted as a way to divert attention from the alleged sexual violence, but the frame might also be used to explain and contextualize why the alleged crimes had not been taken seriously before. Additionally, articles could be expected to frame the accused as successful because their fame is an aspect that adds to the newsworthiness of the story. O'Reilly is referred to as a 'star', a 'top asset', and a 'Ratings King' in 19% (6/31), 13% (4/31), and 10% (3/31) of articles respectively, compared to only 7% (2/27) of articles referring to Lauer as a star. In Lauer's case the focus on success was moderately strong with 52% (14/27) of articles highlighting his past as a co-host of NBC's *Today Show*, yet Lauer's success was made less salient than in O'Reilly's case, as 65% of articles mention his success as a Fox News Host. Lauer was fired from his position at NBC before the story broke, and was as such referred to as 'fired', 'fallen', or 'former' in 4% (1/27), 4% (1/27), and 11% (3/27) of articles. Similarly, in Lauer's news case only 7% (2/27) of articles mention the toxic culture in the company, which is less than the 33% (10/30) of articles reporting on Weinstein's case and the 45% (14/31) of articles concerning O'Reilly's case. Because NBC fired Lauer before the news story was published publicly, possibly negating some negative backlash against the company and supressing the salience of Lauer's success. The expectation that the portrayal of Lauer would be more negative than O'Reilly's was correct, but the difference could be explained by the context-dependent nature of the news cases.

It could also be expected that the perspectives of the accusers would be more salient over time during the #metoo movement. In reporting of O'Reilly's case none of the articles refer to the accusers as victims, compared to 13% (4/30) and 11% (3/27) in Weinstein's and Lauer's cases respectively. By explicitly referring to the accusers as victims journalists imply that a crime has been committed and that there is a perpetrator. As such, this media frame favours the victims' perspective because it validates their accusations. However, other media

frames that would favour victims were used less in Lauer's case. The frame that made salient

that accusers were afraid to complain about or refuse sexual advances was used in 35%

(11/31) and 37% (11/30) of articles in O'Reilly's and Weinstein's cases, but only in 22%

(6/27) of articles for Lauer's case. This might suggest that, despite their portrayal as victims,

the accusers' perspectives were not made more salient in Lauer's case. However, this could

be easily explained by the fact that all of the accusers in Lauer's case remained anonymous,

and were thus unable or unavailable to share their perspectives. Therefore, the difference in

framing that was expected in this case was not clearly found, but the unique contexts of each

case could explain this.

It might be expected that Lauer would be portrayed more critically than O'Reilly and

Weinstein as the #metoo movement has had opportunity to have interactions with the media

frames over time. To clarify, when a journalist directly quoted the accused's statements

without comment it was identified and recorded as 'neutral framing'. In the same manner,

when the statement of the accused was criticised in some way, it was recorded as 'critical

framing', as can be seen in table 5. The manner in which the statements of the accused were

framed was more critical in reporting on O'Reilly's case than in reporting on Lauer's. This

may indicate that reporting on Lauer was somehow less critical, but a closer analysis suggests

that the media's framing of the accused's statements is dependent on the content of their

statements. For example, O'Reilly claimed in his statement that nobody had ever used the

company hotline to lodge a sexual harassment complaint. This statement was quoted without

commentary (neutral) in 61% (19/31) of articles, but was criticised in only 13% (4/31) of

articles. One journalist called it "ludicrous" to expect a woman who is being sexually to call

an internal hotline in a company "known to be rife with misogyny" (Sullivan, 2017). In

comparison, Weinstein's statement received criticism in 37% (11/30) of articles for its

various flaws. It was considered "borderline incomprehensible" by one journalist (Harris,

2017). Additionally, Weinstein says that his "journey now will be to learn about [himself] and conquer [his] demons," and that he "has begun counselling, has listened to the community, and is pursuing a better path" (Marcus, 2017). For this a journalist criticised Weinstein for medicalizing his actions and trying to excuse his conduct with the "gauze language of therapy" (Marcus, 2017). Similarly, a journalist questioned why Weinstein mentioned his old age asking that if Weinstein knew it was no excuse "why did [he] mention it?" (Harris, 2017). In contrast, Lauer's statement received criticism in only 7% (2/27) of articles. Journalists criticised the vagueness and the disingenuous nature of the apology (critical framing), but 41% (11/27) of articles merely published Lauer's statement without commentary (neutral framing). The stark differences between the statements and the subsequent reporting on them illustrate how context dependent the framing of an alleged sexual attacker is, which explains the lack of evidence for interaction between the #metoo movement and Lauer's statement.

It was expected that the interaction between the movement and the framing of the alleged crime would result in more critical framing of the crime. While O'Reilly, Weinstein and Lauer were all accused of sexual violence, the exact nature of their alleged crimes differed significantly. Unfortunately, this makes it difficult to determine to what extent the #metoo movement may have interacted with the framing of the alleged crime. However, there are some striking differences in the reporting. In Lauer's case, terms to describe the alleged sexual violence were more oriented towards the 'sexual' aspect of 'sexual violence' compared to the terms used in O'Reilly's case. For instance, 74% (23/31) of articles used 'sexual harassment' to describe O'Reilly's crime, but none of them used the terms 'sexual assault', 'sexual misconduct', or 'sexual impropriety'. In comparison, in Lauer's case journalists used the terms 'sexual harassment', 'sexual assault', 'sexual misconduct' and 'sexual impropriety' in 56% (15/27), 26% (7/27), 30% (8/27), and 11% (3/27) of articles

respectively. Moreover, Lauer's 'requests', 'behaviour' or 'conduct' was described as 'inappropriate' in 56% (15/27) of articles, compared to only 23% of articles for O'Reilly. This portrayal makes salient the more sexual aspects of the alleged crime and evokes a moral judgement that this behaviour is wrong, which might be reflected by the number of articles that mention criminal charges. None of the articles in O'Reilly case mentioned the possibility of criminal charges, yet articles in Weinstein's and Lauer's cases mentioned the possibility of criminal charges 23% (7/30) and 7% (2/27) respectively. This might indicate that journalists reporting on Lauer's case used a more critical frame through which to portray the alleged sexual violence, which might indicate that the framing differed in a way that is expected if there was an interaction between the frames and the movement.

Finally, it might be expected that the #metoo movement would be included in the framing of the reporting on Lauer, either as the driving force behind the pattern of accusations or as a related phenomenon. In all news cases a frame was used which made salient previous sexual violence cases. In the coverage of O'Reilly, 81% (25/31) of articles referenced previous allegations against former Fox News chairman Roger Ailes, which is to be expected as these two events are highly related, yet none of the articles referenced allegations of sexual violence against other individuals. In the Weinstein case, 20% (6/30) of articles referenced allegations against other high-profile individuals such as Bill Cosby, Donald Trump, Bill O'Reilly, and Roger Ailes. In comparison, in the Lauer texts, 59% (16/27) of articles described a pattern of sexual violence allegations in the previous months. Journalists in 26% (7/27) of these articles credited the allegations against Weinstein as the catalyst of the pattern, using terms like 'the Weinstein effect', 'post-Weinstein', and 'the Weinstein fallout'. The pattern was described as a cultural 'reckoning' in 15% (4/27) of articles. Additionally, 15% (4/27) of articles described the pattern as a 'wave', a 'flood' or a 'torrent', and 4% (1/27) of articles said that the number of men brought down by allegations

had 'snowballed'. The use of imagery of natural phenomena suggests that the increase in allegations were not the result of human action but of an unknown force. Alternatively, articles credited 'the Weinstein effect' without explaining what the effect is and who or what caused this cultural 'reckoning'. In contrast to expectations, there was no reference to the #metoo movement, any women's rights groups or advocacy groups in any articles reporting on Lauer's news case. Moreover, in reporting of Lauer's case 33% (9/27) of articles used the frame that made salient that culture is changing, which is slightly more than in O'Reilly's and Weinstein's cases, but none of them credited the #metoo movement or other groups as the cause of this change. In contrast to expectations, this suggests that the #metoo movement did not interact with framing of the sexual assault in a way that would increase its salience or its explicit referencing in the reporting.

Conclusion

Because of the interaction of the #metoo movement with the framing process, it was expected that framing in Lauer's case would make salient the #metoo movement and its influence on culture. It is important to note that the #metoo movement was primarily popularized by Hollywood celebrities, which might explain why the movement was not made salient in reporting in Lauer's news case as he is not affiliated with Hollywood. Research on how to #metoo movement interacted with framing of sexual violence perpetrated by Hollywood celebrities with cases that are more similar could shed light on to what extent a social movement interacts with media frames as predicted by D'angelo's (2002) model of the news framing process.

Additionally, it was expected that the framing of the events would overall favour the accusers more in the Lauer news case than in the O'Reilly and Weinstein news cases. Specifically, it was expected that framing in reporting on Lauer's case would makes salient the more negative aspects of the alleged sexual violence, a more favourable perspective of the

accuser, and the more negative and critical perspective of the accused. It was found that there were slight differences in the framing in reporting of sexual violence after the start of the #metoo movement. Especially striking was that the framing of the crime itself was slightly more critical in Lauer's news case than in O'Reilly's. However, for most aspects of the reporting the framing was largely dependent on the specifics of the event which prevented direct comparison between news cases. A strong example of this was reporting on the statements made by the accused, as the statements differed heavily in content and tone. Consequently, some *issue-specific frames* allowed for direct comparison between news cases, while others did not. As such, the classification of frames suggested by De Vreese (2005) as either *generic* or *issue-specific* proved insufficient. All frames that were generated were *issue-specific*, as they were "pertinent only to specific topics or events" (De Vreese, 2005, p. 54). A more specific framing typology which makes a distinction between *topic-specific frames* and *event-specific frames* might be required for future framing research and might contribute a more useful framing paradigm as advocated for by many scholars (e.g., Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1993; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

With that in mind, D'Angelo's (2002) model might correctly predict a change in framing as a result of interaction with social movements such as the #metoo movement, but a study aiming to measure such interactions will have to take into account the contextual factors unique to every event. This might be near impossible, as identifying these contextual factors requires intensive close reading. On top of the extensive amount of research hours this would require, close reading inevitably creates coder schemata that could threaten the external validity of the study (Matthes & Kohring, 2008).[1] This might mean that measuring

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[1] The unfeasibility of this undertaking might be best illustrated by Cook's (2017) thoughts on the effects of pornography: "[T]he legions of researchers required to verify, qualify or quantify pornography's affect upon its consumers are unlikely to materialize. Equally, the interview, anecdote and poll research models offered by recent schools of anti-porn campaigners would require logarithmic extension to suggest the reverse." (2017, p. 168)

how a social movement interacts with framing is a near impossible endeavour, or it will be at least until advances in technology allow for the development of methodologies that address the current shortcomings of framing research.

<div align="center">**References**</div>

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Appendix A

Table 6. Selected articles for the O'Reilly news case

Date	Article Link	Newspaper Title	Article Author	Article Title
01/04/2017	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/01/business/media/bill-oreilly-sexual-harassment-fox-news.html	The New York Times	Emily Steel and Micheal S. Schmidt	Bill O'Reilly Thrives at Fox News, Even as Harassment Settlements Add Up
01/04/2017	http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-bill-oreilly-sexual-harassment-20170401-story.html	The Chicago Tribune	Paul Farhi	Bill O'Reilly, Fox have paid $13M to settle multiple sexual harassment complaints
01/04/2017	http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2017/04/01/fox_news_bill_o_reilly_paid_13_million_to_five_women_to_settle_harassment.html	Slate	Daniel Politi	Fox News, Bill O'Reilly Paid $13 Million to Five Women to Settle Harassment Complaints
01/04/2017	http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2017/04/usd13m-paid-to-women-who-accused-bill-oreilly-of-harassment.html	New York Magazine	Chas Danner	Report: $13M in Settlements Paid to Women Who Accused Bill O'Reilly of Harassment
01/04/2017	https://www.wsj.com/articles/bill-oreilly-and-fox-news-parent-paid-13-million-to-settle-five-harassment-claims-1491080833	The Wall Street Journal	Joe Flint	Bill O'Reilly and Fox News Parent Paid $13 Million to Settle Five Harassment Claims
02/04/2017	https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/erik-wemple/wp/2017/04/02/bill-oreilly-an-awful-awful-man/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.e72748a6de4c	The Washington Post	Erik Wemple	Bill O'Reilly: An awful, awful man
03/04/2017	http://fortune.com/2017/04/03/biil-o-reilly-fox-news/	Fortune	Valentina Zarya	11 Women Have Made Harassment Allegations Against Bill O'Reilly and Roger Ailes
03/04/2017	http://money.cnn.com/2017/04/03/media/fox-news-women-bill-oreilly-settlements/index.html?iid=EL	CNNMoney	Dylan Byers	At Fox News, fear and silence amid O'Reilly controversy

04/04/2017	https://www.forbes.com/sites/maddieberg/2017/04/04/here-are-all-the-advertisers-who-have-dropped-bill-oreilly/#327f17db7987	Forbes	Madeline Berg	Here Are All The Advertisers Who Have Dropped Bill O'Reilly
04/04/2017	https://www.nbcnews.com/business/business-news/advertisers-start-flee-bill-o-reilly-s-show-after-more-n742461	NBC news	Ben Popken	Advertisers Flee Fox's Bill O'Reilly Show Amid Sexual Harassment Lawsuits
04/04/2017	https://abcnews.go.com/US/wendy-walsh-bill-oreilly-hostile-rebuffed-alleged-sexual/story?id=46568606	ABC News	ABC NEWS	Wendy Walsh says Bill O'Reilly 'became hostile' after she rebuffed his alleged sexual advances
05/04/2017	https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2017/04/oreilly-advertisers-harassment-allegations/521976/	The Atlantic	Nicholas Clairmont	Advertisers Are Ditching Bill O'Reilly Over Harassment Allegations
05/04/2017	https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/culture-of-misogyny-makes-oreillys-hotline-defense-nothing-short-of-ridiculous/2017/04/05/671acdd0-1a0a-11e7-855e-4824bbb5d748_story.html?utm_term=.06a2e454545a	The Washington Post	Margaret Sullivan	Culture of misogyny makes O'Reilly's hotline defense nothing short of ridiculous
05/04/2017	http://money.cnn.com/2017/04/05/media/donald-trump-defends-bill-oreilly/index.html	CNNMoney	Dylan Byers	Trump defends Bill O'Reilly: 'I don't think Bill did anything wrong'
05/04/2017	https://www.ft.com/content/26ce771c-1916-11e7-9c35-0dd2cb31823a	Financial Times	Matthew Garrahan and Kara Scannell	Federal probe into Fox News casts shadow over Murdoch empire
05/04/2017	https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2017/04/bill-oreilly-scandal-has-divided-fox-news	Vanity Fair	Sarah Ellison	The O'Reilly Scandal Has Divided The Fox News Bunker
05/04/2017	https://www.npr.org/2017/04/05/522690611/multiple-scandals-erupt-at-fox-news	NPR	David Folkenflik	As Scandals Crest, Fox News Once More Under Siege
06/04/2017	http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-oppenheimer-bill-oreilly-20170406-story.html	Los Angeles Times	Mark Oppenheimer	What we know, and don't know, about Bill O'Reilly

06/04/2017	http://time.com/4730099/bill-oreilly-advertisers-commercials-sexual-harassment/	Time	Abigail Abrams	More Than 60 Advertisers Have Dumped Bill O'Reilly's Show After Sexual Harassment Allegations
06/04/2017	https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/president-trump-defends-bill-o-reilly-amid-sexual-harassment-claims-n743011	NBC news	Safia Samee Ali	President Trump Defends Bill O'Reilly Amid Sexual Harassment Claims
06/04/2017	https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/04/04/bill-oreillys-problems-just-got-real/?utm_term=.030838cd8134	The Washington Post	Callum Borchers	Bill O'Reilly's problems just got real: Dozens of advertisers have dropped him
08/04/2017	http://www.baltimoresun.com/entertainment/tv/z-on-tv-blog/bs-ae-zontv-bill-oreilly-fox-20170408-story.html	The Baltimore Sun	David Zurawik	The shrinking of Bill O'Reilly
09/04/2017	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/09/business/media/fox-bill-oreilly-harassment-claim.html	The New York Times	Emily Steel	Fox Asks Law Firm to Investigate Bill O'Reilly Harassment Claim
10/04/2017	http://www.latimes.com/business/hollywood/la-fi-ct-walsh-oreilly-harassment-20170409-story.html	Los Angeles Times	Stephen Battagio	21st Century Fox will investigate L.A. radio host's sexual harassment claim against Fox News anchor Bill O'Reilly
17/04/2017	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/19/business/media/bill-oreilly-fox-news-allegations.html	The New York Times	Emily Steel and Micheal S. Schmidt	Bill O'Reilly Is Forced Out at Fox News
19/04/2017	https://www.reuters.com/article/us-fox-oreilly/bill-oreilly-out-at-fox-after-harassment-allegations-idUSKBN17L25V	Reuters	Jessica Toonkel and Tim Baysinger	Bill O'Reilly out at Fox after harassment allegations
19/04/2017	http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2017/04/sources-fox-news-has-decided-bill-oreilly-has-to-go.html	New York Magazine	Gabriel Sherman	Fox News Has Decided Bill O'Reilly Has to Go
19/04/2017	https://www.theatlantic.com/news/archive/2017/04/why-was-bill-oreilly-really-fired/523614/	The Atlantic	Megan Garber	Why Was Bill O'Reilly Really Fired?

19/04/2017	http://time.com/4747075/bill-oreilly-fox-news-sexual-harassment-accusations/	Time	Kate Reilly	What to Know About the Accusations that Brought Down Bill O'Reilly
19/04/2017	https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/bill-oreilly-out-at-fox_us_58f67b3ee4b05b9d613e1c86	Huffington Post	Lydia O'Connor and Michael Calderone	Bill O'Reilly Is Out At Fox News
21/04/2017	https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/the-mission-was-to-bring-down-bill-oreilly-the-final-days-of-a-fox-news-superstar/2017/04/21/00862918-2601-11e7-bb9d-8cd6118e1409_story.html?utm_term=.ce6f2cae020f	The Washington Post	Manuel Roig-Franzia and Ben Terris	'The mission was to bring down Bill O'Reilly': The final days of a Fox News superstar

Table 7. Selected articles for the Weinstein news case

10/08/2017	https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/harvey-weinstein-at-weinstein-1046874	The Hollywood Reporter	Mia Galuppo and Pamela McClintock	Harvey Weinstein Terminated From Weinstein Company
05/10/2017	https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/arts-and-entertainment/wp/2017/10/05/harvey-weinstein-accused-of-sexual-harassment-in-explosive-story-takes-leave-of-absence/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.8f60bb297ece	The Washington Post	Stephanie Merry	Harvey Weinstein is accused of sexual harassment in explosive story, takes leave of absence
05/10/2017	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/05/us/harvey-weinstein-harassment-allegations.html	The New York Times	Jodi Kantor and Megan Twohey	Harvey Weinstein Paid Off Sexual Harassment Accusers for Decades
05/10/2017	https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/thr-esq/harvey-weinstein-lawsuit-new-york-times-is-being-prepared-says-his-attorney-1046170	The Hollywood Reporter	Eriq Gardner	Harvey Weinstein to Sue N.Y. Times, Says His Attorney

05/10/2017	https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2017/10/harvey-weinstein-apology/542193/	The Atlantic	Megan Garber	What Harvey Weinstein's Apology Reveals
05/10/2017	http://www.slate.com/blogs/browbeat/2017/10/05/harvey_weinstein_s_response_to_the_nyt_is_bonkers.html	Slate	Aisha Harris	A Ranking of the Most Bonkers Sentences in Harvey Weinstein's Response to the NYT
05/10/2017	https://pagesix.com/2017/10/05/harvey-weinstein-gives-first-interview-after-shocking-sex-harassment-claims/	Page Six	Emily Smith	Harvey Weinstein gives first interview after shocking sex harassment claims
05/10/2017	https://www.vanityfair.com/hollywood/2017/10/harvey-weinstein-new-york-times-sexual-harassment-ashley-judd-page-six	Vanity Fair	Hillary Busis	Harvey Weinstein Denies Ashley Judd Allegation, Rails Against New York Times
05/10/2017	https://www.vox.com/culture/2017/10/5/16431848/harvey-weinstein-sexual-harassment-rumors	Vox	Constance Grady	Sexual harassment rumors against Harvey Weinstein have hidden in plain sight for years
06/10/2017	http://money.cnn.com/2017/10/05/media/harvey-weinstein-allegations/index.html	CNNMoney	Sandra Gonzalez	Harvey Weinstein apologizes, intends to sue NY Times following sexual harassment story
06/10/2017	https://www.vox.com/culture/2017/10/6/16431674/harvey-weinstein-allegations-explained	Vox	Caroline Framke and Constance Grady	The explosive sexual harassment case against Hollywood mogul Harvey Weinstein, explained
08/10/2017	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/08/business/harvey-weinstein-fired.html	The New York Times	Megan Twohey	Harvey Weinstein Is Fired After Sexual Harassment Reports
08/10/2017	http://variety.com/2017/tv/columns/harvey-weinstein-hollywood-culture-change-1202583844/	Variety	Maureen Ryan	Men Must Step Up to Change the Hollywood Culture That Enabled Harvey Weinstein (Opinion)
09/10/2017	https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/weinstein-sexual-harassment-allegation_us_59d7ea3de4b046f5ad984211	Huffington Post	Yashar Ali	TV Journalist Says Harvey Weinstein Masturbated In Front Of Her
10/10/2017	https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/10/10/557014835/harvey-weinstein-sexual-assault-allegations-spread	NPR	Laurel Wamsley	More Women Allege Misconduct By Harvey Weinstein, Including Sexual Assault

10/10/2017	http://www.slate.com/blogs/xx_factor/2017/10/10/harvey_weinstein_confessed_to_groping_model_in_cringe_worthy_audio_recording.html	Slate	Jeremy Stahl	Harvey Weinstein Confessed to Groping Model in Grotesque Audio Recording Acquired by the New Yorker
10/10/2017	https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/act-four/wp/2017/10/10/harvey-weinstein-and-the-insane-standards-for-who-counts-as-a-feminist/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.35d8f8abf17e	The Washington Post	Alyssa Rosenberg	Why we're condemning the wrong people in the Harvey Weinstein scandal
10/10/2017	https://www.usatoday.com/story/life/entertainthis/2017/10/10/everything-you-need-know-harvey-weinsteins-downfall/749531001/	USA Today	Erin Jensen and Sara M. Moniuszko	Everything you need to know about Harvey Weinstein's downfall
10/10/2017	http://www.vulture.com/2017/10/nypd-nearly-arrested-harvey-weinstein-for-groping-in-2015.html	Vulture	Dee Lockett	The Audio of Harvey Weinstein Trying to Coerce an Actress Into His Room Is Horrifying
10/10/2017	https://pagesix.com/2017/10/10/harvey-weinstein-admits-to-groping-model-on-police-recording/	Page Six	Bruce Golding	Harvey Weinstein admits to groping model on police recording
10/10/2017	https://abcnews.go.com/Entertainment/yorkers-explosive-expose-harvey-weinstein/story?id=50399286	ABC News	Lauren Effron	How The New Yorker's explosive expose on Harvey Weinstein came together
10/10/2017	https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/xwgj87/a-brief-history-of-all-the-awful-things-harvey-weinstein-did-at-miramax	Vice	Naveen Kumar	The Awful Things Harvey Weinstein Allegedly Did at Miramax
10/10/2017	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/10/us/gwyneth-paltrow-angelina-jolie-harvey-weinstein.html	The New York Times	Jodi Kantor and Rachal Abrams	Gwyneth Paltrow, Angelina Jolie and Others Say Weinstein Harassed Them
13/10/2017	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/dont-let-harvey-weinstein-buy-his-way-out-of-trouble-with-pricey-rehab/2017/10/13/47ef284e-b04a-11e7-be94-	The Washington Post	Ruth Marcus	Don't let Harvey Weinstein buy his way out of trouble with pricey rehab

	fabb0f1e9ffb_story.html?noredirect=on&utm _term=.9f34a43f20b6			
14/10/2017	https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/201 7/10/14/men-complicit-harvey-weinstein-scandal-as-enablers-and-abusers-christian-schneidercolumn/758569001/	USA Today	Christian Schneider	Men are complicit in the Harvey Weinstein scandal as enablers and abusers
14/10/2017	http://money.cnn.com/2017/10/13/media/harv ey-weinstein-recap/index.html	CNNMoney	Brian Lowry	Harvey Weinstein: Nine days of accusations and collateral damage
17/10/2017	http://variety.com/2017/film/news/harvey-weinstein-game-over-judgment-day-scandal-culture-secrecy-1202591437/	Variety	Brent Lang and Elizabet h Wagmeister	Judgment Day: Harvey Weinstein Scandal Could Finally Change Hollywood's Culture of Secrecy
18/10/2017	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/18/busines s/harvey-weinstein.html	The New York Times	Daniel Victor	How the Harvey Weinstein Story Has Unfolded
18/10/2017	https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/anita-hill-harvey-weinstein_us_59e756e3e4b00905bdaddb2a	Huffington Post	Willa Frej	Anita Hill: Harvey Weinstein's Behavior Is No Surprise
19/10/2017	http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-fi-ct-weinstein-lapd-victim-20171019-story.html	The Los Angeles Times	Richard Winton and Victoria Kim	Investigation launched after actress tells LAPD she was raped by Harvey Weinstein

Table 8. Selected articles for the Lauer news case

29/11/2017	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/29/busines s/media/nbc-matt-lauer.html	The New York Times	Ellen Gabler, Jim Rutenberg, Michael M. Grynbaum and Rachel Abrams	NBC Fires Matt Lauer, the Face of 'Today'
29/11/2017	https://www.usatoday.com/story/life/2017/11/ 29/matt-lauer-fired-nbc-inappropriate-workplace-behavior/904340001/	USA Today	Cara Kelly and Erin Jensen	Matt Lauer's ouster creates problems for NBC leadership, and future of 'Today' show

29/11/2017	https://www.vanityfair.com/hollywood/2017/11/matt-lauer-sexual-misconduct-allegations	Vanity Fair	Yohana Desta	Graphic, Disturbing Details of Matt Lauer's Alleged Sexual Misconduct
29/11/2017	http://www.baltimoresun.com/entertainment/tv/z-on-tv-blog/bs-fe-zontv-lauer-fired-nbc-20171129-story.html	The Baltimore Sun	David Zurawik	Matt Lauer firing: This is what real reckoning looks like
29/11/2017	http://money.cnn.com/2017/11/29/media/matt-lauer/index.html	CNNMoney	Brian Stelter and Tom Kludt	NBC fires Matt Lauer after complaint about 'inappropriate sexual behavior'
29/11/2017	http://www.slate.com/blogs/browbeat/2017/11/29/matt_lauer_was_creepy_in_a_2012_interview_with_anne_hathaway.html	Slate	Rachel Withers	Let's Not Forget About That Today Interview Where Matt Lauer Was Totally Gross to Anne Hathaway
29/11/2017	https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2017/11/matt-lauer-and-the-today-shows-living-funeral/547001/	The Atlantic	Megan Garber	The Ghost of Matt Lauer
29/11/2017	http://www.latimes.com/business/hollywood/la-fi-ct-matt-lauer-fired-today-20171129-story.html	Los Angeles Times	Stephen Battaglio	NBC fires 'Today' host Matt Lauer as women allege sexual misconduct
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