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A Framing Analysis of #MeToo YouTube-based
News Coverage in BRICS:

Media Censorship, State-controlled Channels & the Obstruction of
Online Feminist Activism in China, Russia and Brazil.

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A Thesis by Charlotte Hoareau – HRXCHA001 submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the award of the Master's Degree in Media Studies

(Dissertation only)

Faculty of Humanities

University of Cape Town – 2019/2020

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ABSTRACT

This comparative study investigates the media representation of YouTube-based news about the #MeToo campaign, feminism, and sexual harassment accounts in three BRICS nations: China, Russia and Brazil. The situation of women in the Global South was at the centre of discussions during the 2018 BRICS summit. While their security remains a persistent issue, officials declared that women should not feel unsafe while participating in economic activity. Although the bloc flagged gender disparities as a significant concern, media outlets perceive Russia, Brazil and China's responses to sexism and gender-based violence as inadequate. Various mechanisms also compromise activism for women's rights. This research focuses on the YouTube representation of conditions which gave rise to the campaign and the process of #MeToo in BRICS. This study considers the level of inclusion of women in economic activity, the procedures established for their safety as well as the extent of media freedom, including tools available for feminist advocacy. In addition to revealing gaps in depiction and proposing solutions for improved media framing, this research is significant because the role and repercussions of this viral campaign must be comprehended better in BRICS economies. Academics focused mainly on the impact of the movement in the West. However, the innovative feminist trend rapidly spread to non-western nations that are dominant emerging economies, showing the gravity of sexual harassment and gender disparities globally. Furthermore, the extent to which #MeToo had influenced localised iterations of anti-assault movements in these emerging countries suggests that the BRICS became sites where sexual abuse and gender inequalities unfold singularly in comparison to other nations. The study presents findings from primary research done on the BRICS, this online social movement #MeToo and related gender dynamics issues. After a presentation of the selected study design, the research provides results from a content analysis of thirty YouTube news reports (October 2017-March 2019).

KEYWORDS

YouTube, media framing, agenda-setting, #MeToo, sexual harassment, hashtag feminism, China, Russia, Brazil, BRICS, media censorship, state-owned channels, patriarchy, economy.

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction	5
Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework & Literature Review	9
Theoretical Framework.....	9
Media Freedom, Freedom of Speech & Social Movements in BRICS.....	10
The Gender Gap in BRICS.....	17
Hashtag Feminism in BRICS.....	27
Conclusions and Gaps in Literature.....	35
Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology	38
Research Hypotheses & Key variables.....	38
Issue of measurement.....	38
Sample Profiles, Sample Design & Sampling Methods.....	39
Data Collection Methods & Data Analysis.....	40
Research Shortcomings and other Limitations.....	41
Chapter Four: Presentations and Discussions of Findings	43
Video Titles & Descriptions.....	43
Genre & Style.....	51
Date of Publication and Timeframe.....	56
News Sources.....	63
Narrator and Protagonists.....	69
Context.....	76
Themes.....	81
Opposing Viewpoints.....	105
Discourse & Vocabulary.....	112
Nonverbal Interaction & Visuals.....	118
Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations	127
Chapter Six: Latest News	132
Key Sources from Literature	137
References	144
Appendix: Sample	155

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The #MeToo campaign is a feminist movement which became a trend on Twitter from October 2017. Alyssa Milano, an American actress, used the hashtag, motivating female victims of sexual harassment to expose the magnitude of the issue online. She tweeted regarding the allegations of sexual misconduct by film mogul Harvey Weinstein. This bold action was the origin of a prominent media scandal as the hashtag was retweeted twelve million times in the first day (Mendes, Ringrose & Keller, 2018).

The “Weinstein effect” spread globally. This trend inspired many women to condemn the powerful men who had assaulted them. Consequently, numerous politicians, actors, and other critical male personalities lost their jobs. As #MeToo spread around the globe, this endorsement seemed more successful in Western nations than in emerging economies (Perkins, 2017).

This content analysis investigates how YouTube media practitioners framed the #MeToo campaign and sexual harassment scandals in the context of BRICS. More precisely, this research aims to reflect on the online representation of the adoption of this American feminist campaign and the level of sexual violence in Brazil, China and Russia.

The ultimate motivation behind this paper is to obtain a better comprehension of video journalists’ depiction of sexual misconduct, feminism and gender inequality in the BRICS context. Nowadays, the age of video journalism is flourishing thanks to the online media colossus YouTube, yet the platform remains an area widely overlooked by contemporary media scholars (Burgess & Green, 2009).

This neglect is especially visible in academic studies of online social movements which often prioritise social media, especially Twitter and Facebook. Such platforms became the primary online tools used for activism in the social media age, hence the favouritism coming from scholars studying the subject-matter. Nonetheless, there are numerous empirical evidence of YouTube news reports analysing diverse forms of digital campaigning and therefore, contributing to the discussion (Vink, 2019).

This analysis is critical as a context-setting study that could serve towards discovering solutions to protect women with various nationalities, diverse social intersections and from non-western backgrounds. It also offers solutions for an improved representation of BRICS women in the news media. It is essential to uncover whether #MeToo changed the way journalists report on sexual harassment. If so, it could influence people’s perspectives on

sexual misbehaviour. If not, the media would keep divulging outdated stereotypes. In either case, this study formulates suggestions on how journalists could improve their reporting about sexual harassment and abuse.

This work in the BRICS context is particularly topical as the role and safety of women have been re-evaluated recently during the 2018 BRICS summit. Officials decided that women should be prioritised in the development process as gender disparities is a concern within the bloc (Mpungose & Van Staden, 2018).

The suggested formation of the Gender and Women's Forum would allow the five nations involved to address issues that directly impact women and to implement gender parity across its economic sectors. The strategy involves generating additional job opportunities, supplying improved access to healthcare and creating more significant effort against sexual abuse and domestic violence (Mpungose & Van Staden, 2018).

The summit showed that BRICS countries deal with gender inequalities and women's rights diversely. Based on the World Economic Forum's 2018 Gender Gap report, South Africa has the weakest economy within the alliance. Nevertheless, the nation leads its BRICS associates on progress towards gender equality, ranking 19th globally. Russia, Brazil and China are far behind in the classification, respectively, 75th, 95th and 103rd globally (Mpungose & Van Staden, 2018).

This new research on the YouTube representation of sexual harassment and feminist activism in China, Russia and Brazil is a continuity of a previous study done in the Indian and South African context. The #MeToo movement originated in Hollywood, and preliminary reading on the BRICS context revealed that other film industries are also affected by this scourge. In the movie sectors of both South Africa and India, the harassment stories of actresses were covered extensively in mainstream news media (Hoareau, 2018).

Some South African and Indian female superstars gradually opened up about the matter, but they rarely identified assaulters. Journalists drew parallels between Weinstein and famous filmmakers or actors accused of sexual misconduct (e.g. South African filmmaker Khalo Matabane and Bollywood actor Ali Zafar). In both nations, no men were removed from his position or faced legal consequences for assaulting a woman in the industry (Hoareau, 2018).

Women in BRICS film industries face profound challenges which do not coincide with the lives of Hollywood actresses. Media frames show that many factors contributed to obstructing the feminist campaign in South Africa and India, including a long history of violence against

women (VAW), traditionalist beliefs and failure in the implementation of laws (Hoareau, 2018). The primary research showed that online activism does not reverberate identically in emerging economies. Therefore, this localised research becomes a necessity.

Another critical finding revealed by preliminary reading is that the #MeToo phenomenon spread outside of the movie sector where it originated. Women denounced sexual harassment in other fields, such as politics in the South African context. Perkins (2017) also wrote about #MeToo efforts from all over the world in the fields of sciences, academia, military, music and pornography (Perkins, 2017).

This initial study resulted in the gradual clarification of a research problem around the coverage of #MeToo in emerging nations. Firstly, additional research on China, Brazil and Russia is vital to obtain a complete understanding of the phenomenon in the entire BRICS context. Secondly, it has become necessary to observe the impact that a culture of social violence has from an economic angle since it affects various industries of civil society and not just its film sector.

This study examines the portrayal of various aspects in each context (Brazil, China and Russia) to obtain an accurate critique of the YouTube framing of #MeToo and gender-based violence in these three emerging economies. The aim is to understand whether YouTube video journalists follow patterns in their representation of #MeToo as a struggling yet existent effort in BRICS. By confronting existing knowledge with the data found in the study, this paper answers the following research questions:

- (1) How has the culture of sexual violence affecting women's lives and feminism in China, Russia and Brazil been represented in YouTube-based media news reports covering #MeToo in the BRICS bloc?
- (2) How did journalists depict the economic participation of women that have been victims of sexual violence in YouTube-based media news reports covering #MeToo in the BRICS bloc?

This mixed-methods study considers a question of interest through both a qualitative (inductive) and quantitative (deductive) lens. Based on descriptive research design, this paper presents results from an agenda-setting content analysis of thirty video news reports produced by established news media companies and found on YouTube (ten in each context).

Chapter Two of this empirical study demarcates the literature that was covered. In addition to the theoretical framework that informed the analysis – media representation, agenda-

setting and framing – it includes older studies on similar web social movements denouncing sexual harassment and gender-related issues within the BRICS alliance. Key concepts such as demographics, the gender gap, media freedom, as well as the level of inclusion of Chinese, Brazilian and Russian women in the driving economic sectors, are scrutinised in depth.

Chapter Three details the research design and methodology followed during the fieldwork. It defines hypotheses and variables that formed part of the study. This section includes an explanation of the sample design, the sampling techniques as well as the criteria applied in the selection of sample profile and size. This chapter documents the data collection process, data analysis and possible shortcomings.

Chapter Four demonstrates the results obtained from the fieldwork. It contains an examination of the main trends and patterns in representation on YouTube regarding the hypotheses and research questions. This section highlights and interprets the principal findings. The three countries analysed are tied together through a systematic analysis of both differences and commonalities in their depiction.

Chapter Five incorporates a conclusion as well as recommendations for an improved framing of #MeToo in the localised BRICS nations and women's rights on YouTube. Based on the literature reviewed, this final section reveals gaps or limitations in depiction and proposes solutions. At this stage, the broader significance and value of the study is made explicit. Consequently, this chapter ends with additional suggestions for further scholarship.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter focuses on the current knowledge as well as methodological and theoretical contributions to this topic. It covers essential concepts, how they reverberate in each context (Brazil, Russia and China) and what observed patterns tie the three countries together.

1. Theoretical Framework

It is essential to rely on existing theories for understanding and studying the YouTube depiction of this type of social phenomenon. Theories and analytic models were demarcated based on their appropriateness to the research problem investigated, ease of application, and explanatory power.

This specific research in feminist media studies deals with the notion of media representation. The goal is to explore the different ways media products (YouTube news reports in this case) shape an audience's knowledge and comprehension of women's rights and sexual violence in emerging nations. Media texts influence the audience's thoughts and attitudes towards gender, race, ethnicity, nationality and social problems (Stewart and Kowaltzke, 2008).

This research takes into account concepts such as stereotypes, ideology and construction of meaning. Indeed, media products are constructed and present a filtered view of events. They go through the stages of selection (omission and inclusion of particular details) and mediation. Therefore, analysing media representation in videos involves various stages such as editing decisions as well as the choice of camera angles, audio codes and iconography (Stewart and Kowaltzke, 2008).

The Agenda-setting theory is a notion fundamental to this study, formally established in 1968 by Max McCombs for an investigation on the U.S presidential election. The concept refers to the ability of news media outlets to determine the salience of subject matters on the public agenda. It explains how some topics become predominant because the media reflect a distorted reality. News media filter their message by concentrating on specific stories, individuals, or incidents leading the audience to believe that those issues are more important than others (McCombs, 2014).

The concept of Agenda-setting is closely related to the Framing theory established by Erving Goffman under the title of *Frame Analysis* (1974). Media framing refers to the angle from which news reporters tell a story. While the agenda-setting decides what a news outlet covers

or overlooks, the frame is the perspective used to treat the stories when they are covered. The frames used will influence the way a journalist reports a story, including the choice of interviewees, the questions used during the interview and the interpretation of information (D'Angelo, 2010).

This research is also interested in the notion of digital rhetoric as a method for informing and convincing the audience through digital media products such as YouTube videos. Rhetoric combines methods of inducement through productive discourse to present information in innovative ways. Online media are increasingly becoming information sources; therefore, there are many opportunities for persuasion through creative techniques (Eyman, 2015).

Rhetoric furnishes heuristics for comprehending arguments for particular contexts, like Aristotle's persuasive audience appeals: logos, pathos, and ethos (Campbell, 2013). In video making, there are diverse ways to appeal rhetorically. One can establish authority on a topic (ethos) by correctly using domain-specific vocabulary and credible sources, speaking with confidence and dressing as an expert. In order to establish emotional connections to the topic (pathos), one can share the personal stories of those affected or even including real people with interviews (Campbell, 2013).

Finally, one can establish logical foundations to the claims (logos) by using charts, statistics and graphs. Researchers have observed that the most effective media texts in terms of persuasion are the ones in which all three components (authority, emotion and logic) are well-balanced (Lessard, 2017).

The media theories detailed above helps to explain the relationships between the key variables, namely YouTube video journalists (independent variable) and their depiction of #MeToo in BRICS (dependent variable). The rest of the chapter discusses some essential concepts found in the literature.

2. Media Freedom, Freedom of Speech & Social Movements in BRICS

This thesis focuses on the media representation of an online social movement in Brazil, Russia and China. Therefore, it was necessary to review academic books and scholarly articles written about the level of media freedom in those countries as it would influence the way video journalists report on this controversial topic.

Anderson & Thierer (2008) defines media freedom as the convention that communication through diverse media platforms should always be a right that one can exercise freely. This freedom suggests no interference from an overreaching government (Anderson & Thierer, 2008). Unfortunately, according to *Reporters Without Borders*, one-third of the world's population live in nations where there is no press freedom (Reporters Without Borders, 2003).

This section also includes an overview of sources on the level of freedom of speech of citizens of Brazil, Russia and China. A lack of one's right to express opinions free of government restrictions entails challenges for social activists, especially when organising demonstrations (Gan, Gomez & Johannan, 2004).

2. 1. China

In 2018, the Mainland was 176th out of 180 nations in the *Reporters without Borders'* World Press Freedom report. Only Syria, Turkmenistan, Eritrea and North Korea had a higher index. In 2019, it downgraded, and it placed as 177th. According to the watchdog group, President Xi Jinping instituted a societal plan relying on the restraint of information and web surveillance. Jinping's goal is to try to export this repressive model, encouraging a "new international media order" influenced by China ("China", 2019).

The Chinese government also forbids social mobilisations. Xu & Albert (2014) write about how the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has long been restricting the press freedom of all local media outlets. They also outlaw Chinese citizens' freedom of assembly to prevent potential revolution or threat to its power (Xu & Albert, 2014).

The state-owned television is mainly China's only network, and the CCP monitors both electronic and print corporations. Official legislation prohibits independent publications. Informal coercion on media companies also occurs through diverse techniques such as harassment and physical attacks of employees. Foreign media practitioners are restricted to some methods, scrutinised continuously by the state (Xu & Albert, 2014).

The constitution technically authorises freedom of press and speech. However, media regulations permit authorities to constrain news reports by asserting that they disclose government secrets and therefore, put the nation at risk. China's media censorship program entails draconian media controls via monitoring systems, firewalls, banning online posts or web pages, and imprisoning rebellious reporters or activists (Xu & Albert, 2014).

The Chinese authorities blocked YouTube under the technologies and laws enforced by the People's Republic of China to regulate the web domestically, also called the Great Firewall. Therefore, the video platform, as well as many other foreign media websites, cannot officially be accessed in the Mainland. Web users can only open the page in Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, the Shanghai Free Trade Zone, and some hotels. There are several local YouTube-like apps available for people living in the Mainland, such as Tudou and Youku (Moskowitz, 2019).

Nevertheless, many Chinese media, including CCTV, have an official YouTube account. More and more Chinese citizens are also acquiring a virtual private network (VPN), allowing them to access foreign media websites such as YouTube. Moskowitz (2019) notes that the YouTube server based in the U.S. includes plenty of videos created exclusively for Mandarin-speaking viewers (Moskowitz, 2019).

The *Reporters without Borders*' World Press Freedom report confirms that police forced jailed over fifty news and media practitioners in deplorable conditions in early 2019. Liu Xiaobo, winner of a Nobel peace, as well as Yang Tongyan, a nonconformist blogger, both passed away in 2017 because of illnesses left untreated while they were in jail. The authorities can now detain citizens for commenting on news reports, social media platforms or even just for sharing content ("China", 2019).

King, Pan and Roberts (2013) argue that the goal of the Chinese media censorship is to cut down collective efforts by stopping content that encourages social mobilisation. The idea is to obstruct joint movements that are happening in the present or might take place in the future. Consequently, censorship exposes the CCP's motivation (King, Pan and Roberts, 2013).

On the other hand, the nation's economy is flourishing, and experts have observed more diversity in Chinese media coverage in recent years. Experts argue that the growing Chinese demand for information and people's desire to speak up and fight for change is challenging the regime's control (Xu & Albert, 2014).

2. 2. Russia

While the lack of press freedom in China is extreme, a stifling environment for independent journalists and media practitioners is also visible in many other nations. In 2018, Russia was

ranked 148th out of 180 in the 2018 World Press Freedom Index. Just like China, Russian also downgraded to one rank below in 2019 (“Russia”, 2019).

As stated by the *Human Rights Watch*, the Russian Constitution allows for freedom of speech. Nevertheless, the state’s appliance of legislation, political motives and bureaucratic regulation have obliged the media to apply self-censorship. The Russian state controls its civilians through selective exertion of the law, restriction and censure (“World Report”, 2009).

Skillen (2016) believes that free speech was a moderated achievement when Boris Yeltsin, the first president of the Russian Federation, took office. However, Vladimir Putin subsequently reversed these new freedoms, inflicting a ‘patrimonial’ media industry that relies on old autocratic and feudal traditions. More precisely, his return to the presidency in 2012 was the genesis for the introduction of new draconian laws in order to reinforce state control over mass media (Skillen, 2016).

Independent news media are carefully watched and politically pressured into self-censorship. The authorities remove the media outlets judged deviant. The Russian government uses ownership (direct or via private companies with government links) to influence national and regional media. This control occurs, especially on television, a dominant news outlet flooded with state-run propaganda (Skillen, 2016).

The Federal Service for Supervision of Communications, Information Technology and Mass Media (Roskomnadzor) regularly blocks many internet pages and websites. According to *Freedom House*, an independent watchdog organisation denouncing lack of freedom and fighting for democracy, Russia’s internet freedom declined for the sixth year in a row, following the blocking of the Telegram app and several law proposals aiming at increasing censorship. Furthermore, numerous topics are censored online, including LGBTI expression, reports on the Ukrainian conflict, and any content related to the political opposition (“Freedom on the Net report: Russia”, 2018).

YouTube is currently available in Russia, and its monthly audience exceeds forty million Russians. However, Roskomnadzor has a history of removing specific YouTube videos for being considered to be “inappropriate content”. This Russian federal executive entity in charge of censorship in media and telecommunications maintains an online blacklist of websites called the “single register”. Its role is to block or filter sites that contain topics such as drugs, child pornography, extremist content and more. However, the Freedom House

considers that the Russian authorities often abuse these rules in order to remove criticism of the state (“Freedom on the Net report: Russia”, 2018).

Since 2015, Russia has been collaborating with China in order to gradually incorporate mechanisms of the Great Firewall into its filtering system (Soldatov & Borogan, 2016). With such acute media control, YouTube has become the primary alternative for sharing opposing viewpoints and critiques of Russian authorities. Despite significant apprehensions about YouTube’s shift towards commercialisation, it is currently the most reliable online tool for citizens who would examine contemporary Russia (a luxury that Chinese people do not possess) (MacFarquhar, 2019).

The environment remains challenging for the media practitioners striving to remain ethical and the activists who question the patriotic and neo-conservative status quo. Several journalists are currently in jail due to their news reporting. The risk is similar for bloggers. Some Russian journalists have even been killed or assaulted without any consequence for the criminals. The *Human Rights Watch* confirms that the situation is particularly critical in Chechnya and Crimea, considered to be two “black holes” from which little information surfaces (“Russia”, 2019).

Helmus, Bodine-Baron & Radin (2018) write about Russian web brigades, or Russian trolls, which play a significant role in the manipulation of online opinions and by extension, in limiting deviant narratives. These bots or political commentators are directly associated with the Russian state. They make use of fake identities referred to as “sockpuppets” and disinformation methods on online forums in order to promote Vladimir Putin and Russian propaganda. The web brigades target multiple platforms such as Facebook and Instagram as they are innovative in their ways to spread a message (Helmus, Bodine-Baron & Radin, 2018).

On Twitter, troll accounts are numerous and often play both sides in a debate in order to create divisions among people. For instance, back in 2016, they promoted conspiracy theories, racist ideologies as well as misinformation in order to influence the outcome of the 2016 U.S presidential election. State-sponsored internet trolling and “sockpuppetry” is used extensively not only in Russia and China but also in the USA, Turkey, India and more. The Russian bots and trolls are good examples highlighting the polarity of the use of hashtags (Jamieson, 2018).

2. 3. Brazil

Brazil ranks at 105th in the 2019 World Press Freedom Index (102nd in 2018). It appears that the country enjoys more media freedom than China and Russia. However, *Reporters Without Borders* predict unpleasant prospects for the future of journalism in Brazil. According to the report, Brazil remains one of Latin America's most violent countries for the news media, as journalists are often killed, threatened or physically attacked in connection with their work. Generally, those media practitioners would cover stories about corruption, public policy or coordinated crime in small towns, where they operate without the protection provided by mainstream news outlets ("Brazil", 2019).

Whitten-Woodring & Van Belle (2014) discuss media ownership in Brazil. It is mainly in the hands of wealthy business families that have close ties to the political elite. The confidentiality of sources is at risk. Plenty of investigative reporters endured abuse during judicial proceedings, and civil society activists are also victims of this level of harassment. It is important to note that the Brazilian Constitution explicitly forbids anonymity for journalists (Whitten-Woodring & Van Belle, 2014).

According to *Freedom House*, the election of Jair Bolsonaro as president in October 2018 marks the beginning of a dark age for democracy and press freedom in Brazil. Hate speech, disinformation and violent attacks against journalists characterised his political campaign. Indeed, the Superior Electoral Court classified misinformation as a priority, warning that they would cancel the elections if fake news profoundly influenced the outcome. In July 2018, Facebook deleted accounts used for spreading false information about candidates ("Freedom on the Net report: Brazil", 2018).

Judges stopped to impose excessive blockings on WhatsApp back in 2015 and 2016. Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube are currently freely accessible. In the past, Brazil imposed a nationwide YouTube ban due to a court order involving public television figure Daniela Cicarelli. A video in which the Brazilian model was having intercourse on a beach was released, and she insisted that YouTube should be banned if the video could not disappear entirely from the web (Haines, 2007).

The government banned YouTube for some time, but they removed the prohibition quickly. YouTube is currently very popular in Brazil, which represents its sixth-largest market. Forty-four per cent of Brazilian internet users watch a YouTube video every day (Haines, 2007).

Brazil boasts progressive legislation on digital rights. Nevertheless, the online environment in the country remains compelled by brutality against independent bloggers, criminal defamation laws, as well as limitation or removal of content due to elections (“Freedom on the Net report: Brazil”, 2018).

Spyer (2017) writes that, despite distinct challenges, social media platforms still hold a crucial role in civic digital activism in Brazil, especially for the organisation and mobilisation of protests targeting the government. Citizens often engage with formal government platforms to share their opinions and shape the implementation of legislation (Spyer, 2017).

2. 4. Trends Observed

The literature reviewed reveals an imbalance in terms of freedom of the press in BRICS. It does not transpire at the same level in Brazil, Russia and China. The World Press Freedom Index reveals gaps in between the rankings of these three nations. China is at the bottom of the list, being one of the countries on Earth with the least media freedom and no open access to the internet. In contrast, Brazil is somewhere close to the middle of the overall index (“China”, 2019) (“Brazil”, 2019) (“Russia”, 2019).

Nevertheless, all three BRICS economies appear in the bottom half of the list, far behind many western countries. The global score for Brazil, Russia and China have also been decreasing since 2018. This list confirms that there are profound challenges for these independent media outlets, journalists as well as social reformers (“China”, 2019) (“Brazil”, 2019) (“Russia”, 2019).

Content-blocking, online surveillance and censorship are used regularly by the authorities, especially in China and Russia. The monopoly of media ownership is an issue observable in all three emerging economies, as well as the imprisonment of journalists and violent attacks towards independent media practitioners (Xu & Albert, 2014) (Skillen, 2016) (Whitten-Woodring & Van Belle, 2014).

The literature reveals that the appointment of specific political figures threatens media freedom. The Chinese Communist Party always imposed surveillance on its media and citizens, and President Xi Jinping strengthened this extensive control of information when he took office in 2012 (Xu & Albert, 2014).

In Russia, Vladimir Putin established new draconian laws to support state-controlled mass media when he returned to the presidency in 2012 (Skillen, 2016). The significant decrease of

press freedom in Brazil came to light more recently. The political campaign of Jair Bolsonaro in 2018 included misinformation and violent attacks against journalists that continues after his election (“Freedom on the Net report: Brazil”, 2018).

This lack of media freedom and freedom of speech has several negative consequences in Brazil, Russia and China. Journalists cannot disseminate some information among citizens appropriately, as doing so would be risking their lives or jail time. Citizens cannot communicate with their governments adequately, and therefore, there are no proper means of calling attention to violations of their rights, including women’s rights (Xu & Albert, 2014) (Skillen, 2016) (Whitten-Woodring & Van Belle, 2014).

3. The Gender Gap in BRICS

Another essential concept in this study is the notion of “gender gap”. In this research on the YouTube representation of a women’s rights campaign in BRICS, it is necessary to first look at the elements which triggered the movement. #MeToo denounces a lack of sexual safety for women in society, and various factors influence this problem, including demographics and gender disparities in the sectors of education, healthcare and the economy (Schwab, 2018).

Klaus Schwab, the chairman of the *World Economic Forum*, believes that in the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, it is essential that both men and women contribute to this significant socio-economic transformation (Schwab, 2018). He writes:

“More than ever, societies cannot afford to lose out on the skills, ideas and perspectives of half of humanity to realise the promise of a more prosperous and human-centric future that well-governed innovation and technology can bring.” (Schwab, 2018).

Since the first Gender Gap report’s release in 2006, many countries made progress towards gender equality across economic, health, education and political structures. Nonetheless, other nations lag far behind, and further action is needed to improve the lives of these particular women. Working to fix these deficiencies is essential for emerging nations to pursue their socio-economic development harmoniously (Schwab, 2020).

3. 1. China

When analysing the question of gender within the BRICS context, the issue of demographic asymmetry immediately comes to mind as China and India, the most populous countries in the world, struggle with gender imbalance. Denyer & Gowen (2018) write that, in both countries, men outnumber women by seventy million. The Mainland has become the lowest-ranked country globally when it comes to sex ratio at birth. Various factors participated in the aggravation of this gap, including a cultural penchant for boys, government decree and new medical technology (Denyer & Gowen, 2018).

Fong (2016) explains that, in 1980, the one-child policy emerged in order to limit Chinese families to only one child each. The government considered that the population of China was growing too fast and used this policy to address the issue. The limitation stopped in 2016, but the legislation had consequences. Sons were preferred, and some parents chose ultrasound scans to encourage sex selection. The sex ratio became gradually skewed toward boys, and the percentage of abortions of female foetuses escalated. As a result, many baby girls were killed or deserted. Lots of Chinese parents also had to endure forced sterilisation or obliged abortions (Fong, 2016).

Three years after the end of the policy, the gap between men and women is now disrupting the social order. Single men are desperately building homes in Mainland China to attract wives, and prices are rising. In terms of safety, crime towards women, trafficking of foreign brides and sex work are growing in several parts of the Mainland. Perhaps the most obvious consequence is the outbreak of loneliness and sadness visible amongst Chinese men who for the majority will remain, bachelors, also referred to as China's "leftover men" (Denyer & Gowen, 2018).

In addition to this demographic issue, the 2018 *World Economic Forum's* Gender Gap report revealed a significant gap between the economic participation of men and women in China. Fast modernisation has allowed the Asian country to provide its inhabitants with ameliorated living conditions and better economic opportunities. Before the 1980s, the female workforce was one of the most important in the world. Inspired by Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, the Chinese Communist Party encouraged gender equality in the workforce, an effective strategy to accelerate the country's productivity (China Power Team, 2018).

Nowadays, female participation in the workplace had diminished considerably. This tendency is conflicting with other BRICS nations (Brazil; South Africa) which knew an

increase in female participation in labour over the same period. In the last decade, 70% of nations worldwide managed to reduce their gender gap in the economic sector, whereas China's performance has been worsening since 2009. The gender imbalance alters labour markets while consumption is decreasing. This economic gender gap is unusually broad in fields with rapid growth like artificial intelligence or computer engineering ("Global Gender Gap Report", 2018).

Shu & Bian (2003) believes that there are various reasons for this decline, including a shifting political economy in the 1990s and the modernisation of society. The mandated system of equal employment for both genders disappeared as China boosted economic reforms (Shu & Bian, 2003). In 2018, the *World Economic Forum* ranked China 74th globally in terms of wage equality. The majority of Chinese women have jobs that pay less than working in the fields of technology and manufacturing that employ mainly men. Managerial work is also often reserved for male workers ("Global Gender Gap Report", 2018).

Byerly (2011) released a report conducted on the status of women working in the news media industry. In China, a few of them hold positions in senior-level management. Most people working in the Chinese news industry are either senior professionals or work in finance, sales and administration. In the second category, men considerably outnumber women. Furthermore, Chinese newsrooms have often no policies on equity, sexual harassment, or child-care assistance (Byerly, 2011).

The unevenness is especially visible in politics because very few women are part of the National People's Congress and State Council. The Communist Party affirms its support for gender parity, yet its political representation contradicts this claim. Since 1949, only six women have been members of China's Politburo. The political scene in China remains male-dominated, placing the Mainland at 78th out of 149 countries studied in the World Economic Forum's report ("Global Gender Gap Report", 2018).

The 2020 *World Economic Forum's* Gender Gap report does not suggest any amelioration. China now ranks at 106th, which means it lost three places. Since 2006, China narrowed the gap only marginally, whereas many countries got closer to parity. In 2020, the Chinese political landscape and economic leadership positions remain dominated by men. China has closed the educational gender gap, and available data show that more women attend university than men. The sex ratio at birth remains a challenge for China's performance on the Health and Survival sub-index ("Global Gender Gap Report", 2020).

Hershatter (2019) believes that the conditions of women in China have improved in some aspects such as life expectancy. The state has initiated ameliorations in the health sector. In the 1980s, the Communist Party launched a cheap government-driven health system which rapidly evolved into a market-based healthcare service (Hershatter, 2019).

From 2009, President Hu Jintao introduced new healthcare reforms available to most citizens. The city of Beijing inaugurated programs for Chinese women, including the National Program for Women's Development. This initiative gave better access to preventive screening as well as reproductive healthcare services (China Power Team, 2018).

Chi, Bu & Liu (2014) address the progress achieved in terms of access to education. The Nine-Year Compulsory Education Law (1986) and the Education Law of the People's Republic of China (1995) established equal access to university and opportunities to study abroad. In the countryside, the authorities made efforts to ameliorate the quality of education for rural girls. For instance, some schools adopted multimedia classrooms in the provinces of Ningxia, Gansu and Sichuan (Chi, Bu & Liu, 2014).

The *World Economic Forum* found that China holds the first position in gender balance for tertiary education, yet in top universities, men are still dominant. The literacy rate of Chinese women augmented to almost 93% in 2017, yet it means that China remains at the lower half of the international rankings (China Power Team, 2018).

Hong Fincher (2014) confirms that the rest of the world eclipsed China's progress towards gender parity. Since the reform-era media in the 1990s, the situation of women deteriorated, and traditional gender roles regained popularity. In 2007, the Communist Party launched a crass campaign to defame single, female workers in their early thirties, labelling them as "leftover women" to coerce them into getting married (Hong Fincher, 2014).

3. 2. Russia

Continuing with the BRICS context, the *World Economic Forum* gives the Russian Federation the 75th place on the list of 149 nations analysed in the 2018 Gender Gap report. The largest country on Earth found itself right in the middle of the overall ranking, demonstrating the complex and equivocal situation of Russian women ("Global Gender Gap Report", 2018). This ranking challenges the claim of many Soviet, and now Russian, male politicians. They have

long praised themselves for creating equal opportunities for women as well as protecting them from sexism (Muravyeva, 2018).

Muravyeva (2018) writes that the reality is that gender is at the core of Russia's combat over social issues and austerity measures. Since 2012, the country has been suffering due to a significant economic crisis. The Russian state has been vague with regards to austerity policies as it tends to qualify its measures as ordinary. More precisely, the government considers that cuts to public expenditure are part of a new comprehension of the well-being of the state and socio-economic relations (Muravyeva, 2018).

There is an apparent link between the economic crisis and the implementation of conservative ideologies and the notion of 'traditional values' which target gender parity in both the private and public sectors. The change towards a conservative discourse was natural since Russia was new to market economics and never constructed a robust neoliberal agenda (Muravyeva, 2018).

Muravyeva (2018) argues that unlike the nations within the European Union, Russia is not scared to question human rights and gender equality. The government explicitly blames liberal ideologies (especially feminism) for instability in Russian homes as well as demographic and health issues (Muravyeva, 2018).

As opposed to women in China and India, the number of Russian women outweighs that of men. In 2018, the Russian Federal State Statistics Service (commonly known as Rosstat) released its "Men and Women of Russia" report. A report conducted by Manaev (2019) revealed that 146.9 million citizens are living in the nation, with 68.1 million men (46%) and 78.8 million women (54%). This gender imbalance has been an issue for over a hundred years (Manaev, 2019).

While the country appears to be more women-friendly in comparison to China, Russia's trend for gender parity is decreasing. Back in 2011, the nation was in 43rd position. The report found that there is some degree of gender equality in Russia, especially in the sectors of education and health. The Russian Federation has a very high rate of literacy of 98 %. This rate is higher than the majority of countries in Western Europe. Furthermore, the number of Russian women holding a higher education degree is higher than men ("Global Gender Gap Report", 2018).

Tsikhanenka (2019) explains that Russian Women combine their work-life with housework and motherhood, engendering the basis for gender discrimination to occur in the job industry. Sexism is also visible in terms of salaries as unequal pay for women in Russia is still a

significant concern. The gender pay gap is 27% to 30%. The divide is less critical for professionals than for women with low salary jobs who rely on public spending. Russian female workers work mainly in the public and tertiary sectors of the economy. Women's rights activist Alena Popova explains that out of the 21 million people who live below the poverty line in Russia, 67% are women (Tsikhanenka, 2019).

In the Russian news industry, women have a very high participation rate. Men have better advantages in their terms of employment. Russian women working in newsroom hold less than half of the full-time positions and dominate in all the jobs bringing less employment security or benefits. While most Russian news companies have policies for maternity leave and female educational training, rules promoting gender equality or sexual harassment are rare or inexistent (Byerly, 2011).

Overall, the inexistence of Russian women in decision-making processes and structural economic reasons engender a complicated situation in which Russian women are the ones who pay the higher costs of the austerity as well as the economic crisis (Muravyeva, 2018). Nevertheless, the Russian Federation closed its gender gap in secondary education in 2018, and according to the 2018 Gender Gap report, the public observed some improvements in wage equality. The total of senior officials, female legislators and manager positions also increased ("Global Gender Gap Report", 2018).

Activist Alena Popova mentions the intensity of domestic violence in her home country, usually at the hands of men. More than sixteen million women are victims of domestic violence in the Russian Federation each year. Unfortunately, only ten per cent of them go to the police. In 2017, the country's Parliament partially decriminalised domestic physical abuse. The first-time assault of a close family member became punishable by a fine rather than jail time (Tsikhanenka, 2019). Popova denounces this decision:

"Generally, an average Russian family has a shared budget.

Imagine, he beats her up, then pays the fine with her money!" (Tsikhanenka, 2019).

The government affirms that the number of domestic violence cases reported to police stations dropped by nearly half since the law's enactment. Experts believe that the decriminalisation of domestic violence discourages Russian women from seeking legal help (Tsikhanenka, 2019).

Tsikhanenka (2019) lists the numeral issues with gender-based violence in Russia. Firstly, laws are gender-blind. Secondly, a clear disallowance against discrimination does not exist. Then, there is an absence of public awareness as well as unsuccessful intervention procedures. The government prioritises saving money on legal proceedings against assaulters by downgrading some sexual offences to the Administrative Code. Victims of domestic abuse are losing the most in this effort at austerity. Activists condemn the proverb “if he beats you, it means he loves you” that is still popular in modern Russia (Tsikhanenka, 2019).

Russia is not performing better in the representation of women in the political sphere. The nation holds the 123rd position out of 149 countries in the matter of political empowerment. Indeed, Russian women face much discrimination in the political world. With democratisation, the number of female politicians has decreased compared to the Soviet era. In the Federal Parliament as well as in the Ministry, women are almost inexistent. This low level of female political involvement signifies that women do not have a voice in executive decisions nor budgeting (“Global Gender Gap Report”, 2018).

The few women who remained in politics changed their political agenda with the arrival of Putin and his new regime in the 2000s. New restrictive laws appeared to limit civil society and citizens’ rights. Russian women in politics started to support this patriotic conservatism. They also opted for neutrality with regards to the feminist movement as Russian society generally perceived it as negative (Muravyeva, 2018).

In 2020, Russia shut seventy per cent of its gender gap, and it currently ranks 81st. Generally, Russian women tend to be more educated than men, and they have a longer life expectancy. Thanks to their qualifications, women in Russia actively participate in the labour force. Nonetheless, income disparities persist because women encounter difficulties to access senior positions or to participate in politics. Russian society gives women access to tertiary education and some parts of the labour market, yet they do not hold positions of power either in politics or in business (“Global Gender Gap Report”, 2020).

3. 3. Brazil

Madalozzo (2010) writes that the government of Brazil committed to lessening gender inequality in labour by twenty-five per cent by 2025. As part of the Sustainable Development Goals set by the United Nations, the ideal is to reach equal pay in 2030. Statistics reveal that

there is still a long way to go for the Latin American country to achieve this goal (Madalozzo, 2010).

The World Economic Forum gave Brazil the 95th place on the list of 149 nations analysed in the 2018 Gender Gap report (“Global Gender Gap Report”, 2018). The nation is egalitarian regarding access to education and healthcare for both women and men. However, the country does not do great in terms of workforce and political representation. Female workers do not have the same recognition in their jobs. They face more challenges in their career, especially low-income women (Abrao Costa, Maconi & Hellmeister, 2018).

The law motivates women to participate in politics by affirming that political parties should register female candidates. Brazil has legislation forbidding gender discrimination in professional training, pay as well as career progress. Nonetheless, women face another reality, as Brazilian labour legislation increase parity. For example, in politics, implementation of a gender quota came along with a rise in false female candidacies and fewer votes for women (Madalozzo, 2010).

Gatto (2019) defines the notion of “gender quotas” as the reservation of several candidate nominations for women. In 1996, Brazil first applied a thirty per cent quota for women’s candidacies. However, the policy is flawed, leading to the rise of phantom candidacies to comply with the quota from 2010. In 2018, more scandals about women’s candidacies emerged after the elections. In addition to using fake candidacies to respect the quota legislation without increasing competition, those candidacies served to fraudulently re-direct female campaign funds to party leaders (Gatto, 2019).

According to Abrao Costa, Maconi & Hellmeister (2018), Brazilian women benefit from the same level of education and life expectancy as men. However, they are not including in leading decision-making roles. This lack of representation is visible in the financial services sector and the government sector. There is a limited number of female representatives in the executive, judiciary and legislative systems. Women earn twenty-five per cent less than their male associates. The low presence of women in higher positions is the main reason for this pay gap, yet differences in compensation are also visible within the same role (Abrao Costa, Maconi & Hellmeister, 2018).

In the news media sector, women struggle to join Brazilian newsrooms, and they are particularly absent in the executive and senior management positions. Their role is often associated with sales, administration and finance, hence the disparities of salaries between

men and women. Most Brazilian news companies do not have policies on sexual harassment or gender equity but rather show a tendency to adopt policies on maternity leave (Byerly, 2011).

Social and cultural norms contribute to the Brazilian gender gap. Parents raise young girls to be soft and more passive than boys. Cultural norms also influence women in choosing careers that generate less money. Men refuse to engage in work activities regarded as “female”. Growing up, women often become the ones responsible for domestic chores and children (Abrao Costa, Maconi & Hellmeister, 2018).

Maternity leave represents a setback for the progression of one’s career. A study reveals that in the following year after maternity leave, half of the female workers lost or left their positions (Abrao Costa, Maconi & Hellmeister, 2018). There are also maternal health problems which put Brazilian women’s lives at risk. These issues persist despite the country’s progressive laws focused on maternal health (Barnes, 2019).

Barnes (2019) found three main maternal health issues in Brazil. Firstly, maternal mortality rates are between five to ten times higher than in other nations with comparable economies. Secondly, Brazil has one of the highest rates of caesarean section deliveries globally. Finally, over one million illegal abortions happen every year in Brazil (Barnes, 2019).

The safety of women is not a priority for the state despite an urgent need for action to diminish domestic abuse. Gender-based violence is high, yet there is finally a progressive consensus that domestic violence is not a private issue but a criminal act. In 2006, Brazil passed a law entitled “Maria da Penha” to fight domestic violence. This legislation increased the number of reporting at the police, as well as ameliorations in a few sectors (Prusa & Picanço, 2019).

Prusa & Picanço (2019) studies the 2015 law that acknowledges femicide as a distinct felony to the penal code and reinforces penalties. The formalisation of labour rights in the last years gave women necessary legal protections. Nevertheless, there is still a need for ameliorated enforcement. The state cut back the Women’s Ministry and already deficient shelters. It militarised policing and enfeebled firearms laws (Prusa & Picanço, 2019).

More than thirty-three per cent of women in Brazil have suffered domestic or sexual violence. In one generation, about 100,000 women were killed, often by their life partners. Brazil accounts for forty per cent of the femicide in all Latin America. In 2019, there was a rising rate of four women murdered every day. Furthermore, there is the victimisation of marginalised groups, especially women of colour, indigenous women, and LGBTQI members (Brysk, 2019).

In 2020, Brazil progressed three places over 2018. The country now ranks 92nd overall. It closed 69% of its gap. Despite this amelioration, Brazil still has one of Latin America's most significant gender gaps, ranking 22nd out of 25 countries in the region. The country kept its parity in education and health. The gender gap in the economic sector remains prominent, but it narrowed in 2019. The low rate of female participating in the labour force, as well as income inequalities still affect the country's performance on this sub-index ("Global Gender Gap Report", 2020).

Brazil is among the seventy nations that attained parity between both genders for technical and professional roles, and women hold some leadership roles. However, there is a persistent lack of political empowerment for Brazilian women. In June 2019, only two women were part of the 22-member cabinet, and they represent only eighteen per cent of the Parliament ("Global Gender Gap Report", 2020).

Brysk (2019) affirms that misogyny remains present in modern Brazil, observable in various sectors of society. President Jair Bolsonaro himself supported a misogynist discourse in the past, especially the time he publicly told a female deputy from the opposition-party that he would never rape her because she is not worthy of it (Brysk, 2019).

3. 4. Trends Observed

The literature reviewed reveals significant disparities in terms of sex ratio. Mainland China has the world's most skewed sex ratio at birth. Due to the former one-child policy and a general preference for boys, there is currently not enough women in the Asian country (Denyer & Gowen, 2018). It is the contrary in Russia, where the number of Russian women outweighs considerably that of men (Manaev, 2019). Out of the three BRICS countries analysed, Brazil has the most stable sex ratio, with 50.8% of the current population being female ("Global Gender Gap Report", 2020).

The 2020 Global Gender Gap Report reveals that Russia leads in its effort to close the gap (81st out of 153rd), followed by Brazil (92nd), then China is third position (106th). Overall, all three nations are ranked in the bottom half of the ranking, raising concerns for women living in BRICS. These rankings challenge the claim of many Russian politicians and CCP members who have long praised themselves for offering equal opportunities to women ("Global Gender Gap Report", 2020).

In China, female participation in the workplace diminished considerably. This tendency is conflicting with Russia, which knew an increase in female participation in labour over the same period, including in the news media industry. However, like in many other fields, BRICS newsrooms have often no policies on sexual harassment or child-care assistance (Byerly, 2011). Brazil still has a low rate of women in the labour force. In all three nations, income disparities persist (“Global Gender Gap Report”, 2020).

There is some degree of gender parity observable in BRICS. Both Brazil and Russia closed the gap in the sectors of education and healthcare, whereas China was only able to close its educational gender gap. On the other hand, a lack of leadership roles and political empowerment for Brazilian, Russian and Chinese women persists. Traditionalist patriarchal ideas and misogyny are apparent in all three contexts. Scholars insist particularly on the level of domestic abuse and femicides in Russia and Brazil (“Global Gender Gap Report”, 2020).

4. Hashtag Feminism in BRICS

#MeToo is not innovative since many other online social campaigns emerged before. For each BRICS context analysed, it is necessary to look at the local impact of feminism in the years before the Weinstein scandal. Reviewing literature about former feminists efforts in BRICS allows contextualising the trending #MeToo campaign before the analysis of video news reports.

Hashtag activism includes various activities such as raising awareness, coordinating protests, showing support to a cause and creating debates online. The ultimate goal of this form of activism is to foster such a pervasive conversation that change must occur (Yaverbaum, 2015).

Hashtag campaigns were created all over the world with various motivations such as human rights, social awareness, political reasons, climate change, as well as trends. Despite having different intents, the same principles unite all these campaigns: the use of social media and a sense of community or collaboration through shared stories (Moscato, 2016).

In the past years, feminists gradually regain popularity thanks to hashtag campaigning. Before the age of social media platforms, the reputation of feminism deteriorated as conversations about women’s issue were inexistent. Hashtag Feminism has allowed women from various backgrounds to share their experiences dealing with misogyny, discuss their rights and eventually to create a robust online community (Fotopoulou, 2017).

Feminist created many hashtags to elevate the prominence of diverse feminist topics online. Back in 2014, Actress Emma Watson created the #HeforShe campaign to invite men to join the feminist cause. In 2015, the hashtag #EverydaySexism was used by women to share sexist moments they have to endure. #WomensReality encourages women to reflect on the polarity between their legal rights and their reality experienced daily. The list is infinite, but perhaps one of the most potent feminist hashtag invented in recent years is #MeToo (Hodge, 2018).

Feminist scholars describe the #MeToo movement as “one of the most high-profile examples of digital feminist activism”. The American movement rapidly spread to other nations, but its success was not uniform everywhere (Mendes, Ringrose & Keller, 2018).

4. 1. China

In a society historically male-dominated, challenges are still in the way of Chinese women seeking to obtain better equality daily. Hong Fincher (2014) writes about the resurgence of gender disparities in contemporary China. The status of women are inferior to men’s positions, especially in public life, as gender roles within the family and society remain quite traditional (Hong Fincher, 2014).

Hong Fincher (2019) dedicated a book to what she calls the “feminist awakening in China”. Chinese female citizens have become more involved in protests for their rights, including in the #MeToo phenomenon. Outlets for activism are particularly scarce due to media censorship and an authoritarian government which perceives that patriarchal family at the core of its vision. Nevertheless, more and more Chinese women challenge widespread sexism and identify as feminist (Hong Fincher, 2019).

By 2012, university-educated feminists started engaging in performing arts and light activism all over China to condemn gender gaps caused by market reforms. They denounced various issues, including domestic violence, sexual harassment, as well as discrimination in the workplace and university admissions. The condemnation of these issues was discrete and not overly politically sensitive; therefore, the CCP tolerated it until the Feminist Five scandal exploded in 2015 (Hong Fincher, 2019).

Two years and a half before #MeToo, five Chinese feminist women were in prison for thirty-seven days. Hong Fincher (2019) refers to these women as the “Feminist Five”. They planned to honour International Women’s Day by distributing stickers denouncing sexual harassment

on public transports in Beijing, Guangzhou and Hangzhou. Sexual harassment is a significant issue on China's overcrowded public transport system as well as in the workplace, particularly in more industrialised areas. Furthermore, the nation's efforts to solve this scourge and the enforcement of preventative legislation has failed (Hong Fincher, 2019).

The police arrested the five women before the distributing of stickers started, accused of "picking quarrels" and being "spy subverting state power". The news about the Feminist Five rapidly spread internationally with the hashtag campaign #FreeTheFive. At the time, President Xi Jinping was preparing for a summit on women's rights in New York City to celebrate the anniversary of Beijing's World Conference on Women. The detention of these women also conflicts with the legislation he introduced in 2006 to prevent sexual harassment. This scandal engendered a global outcry from women's rights organisations and political leaders (Hong Fincher, 2019).

During their detention, the women had to endure daily interrogation, verbal humiliation as well as threats to their families. The authorities accused them of being employed by foreign forces. Fortunately, the five Chinese feminists were released on the thirty-seven days of custody, thanks to international diplomatic pressure and intense indignation on social media platforms. To this day, the Feminist Five remain "criminal suspects" for "gathering a crowd to disturb public order". After her release, Li Maizi, one of the five women detained, claimed that one must "think very carefully about new methods to push forward China's feminist movement." (Hong Fincher, 2019).

Despite heavy censorship, women keep protesting on Chinese social media platforms like WeChat and Weibo. Hong Fincher (2019) confirms that in China, citizens do not have freedom of gathering and information is filtered. The patriarchal government is reluctant to implement change and to enforce laws as it prioritises economic growth over civil rights. It is therefore remarkable that despite this challenging context, more and more Chinese women are becoming vocal about calling out sexism and harassment (as seen recently with the adoption of the #MeToo campaign) (Hong Fincher, 2019).

China's economy is now challenged by a slowdown, as it starts to face a severe demographic crisis involving a gender imbalance, an ageing population and a declining workforce. The Communist Party believes that its survival relies on the subservience of female citizens for social stability and to give birth to the future generation of skilled workers. The latest propaganda encourages women to go back to the home and have two children instead of one.

An increasing number of Chinese women rejects the traditional norms of heterosexual marriage and motherhood encouraged by the government (Hong Fincher, 2019).

4. 2. Russia

The anti-feminist discourse is a component of the state media's anti-Western propaganda. Most people in Russia get news from government-controlled channels and not independent media sources. State controlled-channels frame the #MeToo campaign as the confirmation of a deep crisis in the West, collapsing under pressure from "divergent minorities" such as gay people and feminists (Muravyeva, 2018). Orlova (2018) confirms that the Russian state relies on the notion of 'traditional values' as an excuse for augmenting austerity measures. Russian family laws and the authorities prioritise heteronormativity and traditional gender roles over the human rights of women (Orlova, 2018).

Orthodox Christianity played a significant role in banning all notions driven by gender, including gender parity, divorce, sexual freedom and abortion. The anti-gender discourse became even more definite during the 2012 presidential elections. Propaganda occurred in favour of Vladimir Putin. Russian conservatives openly criticised Western liberalism for infesting the country with its foreign notion of "gender", allowing citizens to challenge traditional gender roles, and therefore, "engendering queerness and other immoralities" (Muravyeva, 2018).

This problematic socio-economic context present in Russia does not please all its citizens, especially the women, who sometimes dare to turn to activism. The most famous feminist group in Russia is called Pussy Riot. This Russian protest rock band started forbidden performances in public spaces shot as music video clips and shared online. The themes of their songs included feminist ideologies, LGBTQ rights and defamation of Vladimir Putin, his legislation as well as his strong relationship with the Russian Orthodox Christian church (Johnson, 2014).

Johnson (2014) affirms that Pussy Riot became known internationally in February 2012 when they performed inside a cathedral in Moscow. The band directed this musical protest to the clergy for its support for Vladimir Putin during his electoral campaign. Consequently, two of the band members were convicted, accused of hooliganism and sentenced to twenty-four months in jail (Johnson, 2014).

The story rapidly went viral. Western NGOs expressed their support for the two prisoners, whereas the Russian public opinion was much more critical. The condemnation of the two Pussy Riots members marked the day feminism, and gender officially became demonised and opposed to Russian patriotism (Johnson, 2014).

While most people are not as bold as the Pussy Riots, the opposition of some brave Russian feminists was recently visible through public or online protests. For instance, in 2016, almost a year and a half before the #MeToo movement, a similar hashtag campaign #ЯНеБоюсьСказать (translated in English as #ImNotAfraidToSpeakOut) became viral on Ukrainian and Russian social media platforms (Johnson, 2017).

Hundreds of Russian women shared their stories of sexual harassment at home, in the workplace and public spaces. This created legal conversations on the issue but the responses were varied. Some people expressed their support, yet many journalists and Orthodox Christian spokespersons asserted that the women were exaggerating or inventing stories which compromise traditional values (Johnson, 2017).

Due to this internalised patriarchy and acute sexism, women who are opposed to “traditional values” often chose to remove themselves from public spaces. Muravyeva (2018) affirms that Russian women try to minimise dealing with the government. In this context, feminist NGOs need to find new techniques to get around governmental policies and promote the rights of women. The Russian Federation requires reinforcement of its civil society and the inauguration of feminism and gender as essential elements to attain gender parity (Muravyeva, 2018).

Those obstacles do not stop a new generation of brave Russian women who continue to raise awareness of women’s rights with hashtags. Lacroix (2019) studied the online feminist campaigns which emerged since #MeToo impacted the Russian Federation. In 2018, numerous women posted #ЭТОНЕПОВОДУБИТЬ (“this is no reason to kill”) with semi-nude photographs on social media. Activists launched this campaign after the murder of a woman by a man whose advances she refused. The murderer claimed that he was motivated by an online post, where she revealed images of herself (Lacroix, 2019).

In June 2019, The murder trial of Darya Ageniy initiated #саманевиновата (“not her fault”). This woman faced jail time for stabbing an attempted rapist back in 2018. The man survived. Not only the police did not investigate his actions; they did not acknowledge her claims of self-defence. In July 2019, women kept sharing stories related to sexual harassment and abuse

of power, yet this time with a focus on collective action. #МНЕ_НУЖНА_ГЛАСНОСТЬ (“I need openness”) trended on Russian social networks (Lacroix, 2019).

Shortly after the “I need openness” campaign, #янехотелаумирать (“I did not want to die”) appeared. Pictures of women covered in painted injuries and fake bruises, with the hashtag written on their bodies, emerged on Instagram. The murder of Olga Sadykova, stabbed by her husband in front of their child in Kumysnoye, caused women’s rights activists Alexandra Mitroshina and Alena Popova to create the viral photo series (Lacroix, 2019).

4. 3. Brazil

The notion of feminism remains a polarising subject-matter in Brazil. According to a survey, only forty-three per cent of female respondents and forty-nine per cent of male respondents believe that women rights’ activism is advantageous to society. Nonetheless, the majority of the population in Brazil approves specific feminist causes, especially equal pay (Prusa & Picanço, 2019).

Prusa & Picanço (2019) argue that lots of Brazilians do not identify as feminists because of stereotypes supported by conservative rhetoric. Feminists and political activists were harassed, threatened and even murdered in some cases. Nonetheless, the internet became a tool for civic dialogue on politics. Brazil is the second-largest user of social media globally after the U.S. History shows that feminists in the South American nation are committed to fighting back through web campaigns (Prusa & Picanço, 2019).

In 2015, two years before the American #MeToo campaign, Brazilian feminists started #MeuPrimeiroAssedio (#MyFirstHarrasment) on social media. In the first week, the hashtag engendered 82,000 tweets detailing shocking sexual harassment stories of women in the Portuguese-speaking nation. The 2015 campaign was launched by the Brazilian non-profit organisation *Think Olga* on Twitter. It rapidly spread across Latin America and was translated into Spanish (#MiPrimerAcoso) (Jarrin & Caldwell, 2018).

Almeida (2019) affirms that journalist Juliana de Faria founded *Think Olga* in 2013 in São Paulo. At first, it was just a website and a few Facebook posts spreading feminist ideas. *Think Olga’s* goal is to fight sexism and social imbalance by informing women. Their first notable campaign dealing with sexual harassment occurred in 2013 and was called “*Chega de fiu-fiu*” (“No more catcalling”). This initiative included a map where people could indicate where the

incident happened, as well as an online survey. The results were shocking. For example, the research revealed that ninety-nine per cent of the 8000 respondents felt they were victims of sexual harassment in public spaces, and eighty-three per cent of them hate catcalling (Almeida, 2019).

Two years later, the Brazilian version of Junior MasterChef on television triggered #MeuPrimeiroAssedio. Men posted tweets containing sexual comments about a twelve-year-old contestant. A Facebook page expressing men's sexual desire for the girl also became viral. *Think Olga* responded on Twitter, asking other women to speak up about their first harassment experiences (Almeida, 2019). The tweet said:

"We are not hiding our stories anymore.

*The criminals who have violated us should be
ashamed of #FirstHarassment, not us."* (Almeida, 2019).

Unlike the #MeToo campaign, these hashtags did not encourage naming aggressors. This time, the reverberation was higher than "No more catcalling" for mainstream media. However, numerous men mocked the campaign, classifying protesters as "puritan women who make a fuss about nothing" (Almeida, 2019).

Almeida (2019) thinks that #MeuPrimeiroAssedio was the beginning of a massive social media activism trend in Brazil. After that, with #MeuAmigoSecreto (#MyAnonymousFriend), women reported misogyny in public spaces and the workplace. Another example is #MeuQueridoProfessor (#MyDearTeacher), a hashtag used by university students to denounce sexism in the classroom (Jarrin & Caldwell, 2018). In May 2018, *Think Olga* released a documentary also called "*Chega de fiu-fiu*" ("No more catcalling") to address gender-based violence in an intersectional way, including race, class and sexuality in the conversation (Almeida, 2019).

All these efforts encouraged the enactment of the law 13.718 on the 24th of September 2018. From that day, the Brazilian Penal Code included *Importunação sexual* (sexual "importuning") as a new amendment to a section on Sexual Dignity. This chapter now has definitions for rape, sexual importuning, corrective rape of lesbians and collective rapes. Nonetheless, the authorities often disregard those laws. In Brazil, it is not common to convict a man for rape, even with proof of assault. Women feel unsafe when reporting to the police. This issue is particularly real when victims are poor people of colour (Almeida, 2019).

In addition to the web campaigns, feminist street protests occurred on several occasions since 2015. In 2018, feminists joined #elenão (#nohim) against Jair Bolsonaro, the candidate who eventually won the elections. This event was the most significant female street demonstration in the history of Brazil. The politician is known to be an open misogynist. His win shows that gains women's rights are still at risk in the Latin American nation. The president often makes public verbal aggression against women, the LGBT community and black people. One of his most controversial claims was about his daughter (Almeida, 2019). In 2017, he said:

"I have got five kids, but on the fifth, I had a moment of weakness, and it came out a woman." (Almeida, 2019).

Kaiser (2018) claims that, despite his sexist persona, numerous anti-feminist women backed the far-right candidates during the elections, holding their demonstrations to oppose #EleNão. Juxtaposed photographs of pro- and leftist anti-Bolsonaro women and testimonies against the feminist agenda circulated on social media. A professor at the University of São Paulo explains that Bolsonaro and his online fan-base knew he would have an issue with women. Therefore, they adjusted the discourse to position the candidate on the side of women but against feminists (Kaiser, 2018).

Beyond his campaign, hate speech and gender-based violence increased online. A 2016 study revealed that eighty-four per cent of posts on social media about politics, women's rights, racism and the LGBT community were pejorative. *Movimento Brasil Livre* (MBL or Movement for a Free Brazil) is amongst the dominant right-wing conservative movements that made feminism its main enemy. Fake profiles and bots started spreading hate speech, which engendered recurrent condemnations and deletions of feminist Facebook pages or Instagram accounts (Hao, 2018).

Hao (2018) writes that those right-wing methods were effective as patriarchy, and the anti-gender discourse grew considerably. During a conference in 2017, right-wing Brazilians harassed and almost physically attacked Judith Butler, an academic in gender studies with international recognition. Politicians erased the word 'gender' from school curriculums. Consequently, feminist movements rose on the political sector in leftist social movements to fight back (Hao, 2018).

4. 4. Trends Observed

Feminist efforts took place in Brazil, Russia and China long before #MeToo went viral in 2017. From 2012, discrete feminist attempts emerged in China. It was not politically sensitive, so the CCP tolerated it. This leniency changed with the 2015 jailing of the Feminist Five, and the subsequent hashtag #FreeTheFive. These women became the new faces of the feminist awakening in China, and the story generated a global outcry. Since then, more and more Chinese women are becoming vocal about sexism, sexual harassment and other abuse of women's rights (Hong Fincher, 2019).

In the former Soviet Union, it is the rock band Pussy Riot which gained global recognition in February 2012 as the leading figures of local feminism (Johnson, 2014). Since then, a new wave of brave Russian women started raising awareness of women's rights with various hashtag movements, starting with #ЯНеБоюсьСказать (#ImNotAfraidToSpeakOut) in 2016. Overall, the majority of the female population remains detached or opposed to women's rights activism (Johnson, 2017).

A similar polarity is observable in the Brazilian context. There is a distancing from feminism, and conservative ideologies are present in society. At the same time, women's right activists are determined to fight back through hashtag web campaigns and street protests. The launch of #MeuPrimeiroAssedio (#FirstHarassment) in 2015 was the beginning of a broad social media activism trend in Brazil (Almeida, 2019).

In all three contexts, politicians appear as the main enemy of feminists, promoting traditionalism and patriarchy. President Xi Jinping and the CCP are aggressively pushing for traditional gender norms in China (Hong Fincher, 2019). President Vladimir Putin, with the approval of the Orthodox Church, promotes a strict anti-gender discourse and criticise western liberalism (Muravyeva, 2018). In Brazil, newly elected President Bolsonaro and right-wing conservative movements express a similar hatred for women's rights efforts (Kaiser, 2018).

5. Conclusions and Gaps in Literature

A few conclusions were reached based on the review of the literature. Firstly, limited freedom of speech and decreasing media freedom is an issue in the BRICS context. The level of censorship and control is different in Brazil, Russia and China. Nonetheless, it engenders

profound obstacles for independent news reporters and social activists to execute their roles in all three countries (“China”, 2019) (“Brazil”, 2019) (“Russia”, 2019).

The current male-dominated political elites appointed in the selected BRICS nations threaten media freedom as well as the feminist agenda. They promote an anti-gender discourse, and they openly marginalise feminism, leading to the internalisation of a feeling of resentment for individuals who take part in such protests. However, scholars justify the presence of feminism in Brazil, China and Russia, which are far from closing their respective gender gaps (“Global Gender Gap Report”, 2020).

BRICS feminists do not give up and adopt new innovative ways to challenge the censorship and conservatism imposed by the state. Various similar hashtag campaigns preceded and succeeded #MeToo in each context. As this American feminist movement gained in importance in the West, it is not surprising that it rapidly reached those BRICS countries which are also affected by sexual violence (Hong Fincher, 2019) (Johnson, 2017) (Almeida, 2019).

It is safe to assume beforehand that extensive media control, the anti-feminist agenda and profound gender disparities undermined the adoption of #MeToo by Brazilian, Russian and Chinese feminists (Hong Fincher, 2019) (Johnson, 2017) (Almeida, 2019). Those factors also exist in first-world economies, but they do not function at the same level (“Global Gender Gap Report”, 2020). The goal of the upcoming analysis is to comprehend whether news reports on YouTube follow a representation of those three emerging economies as sexist traditionalist nations when reporting on #MeToo.

Reviewing the literature also revealed gaps. Overall, there is a lack of academic feminist research in the BRICS context. Brazil, Russia and China are ideal case studies when it comes to attempting to discover new ways for feminism and women’s rights to penetrate patriarchal institutions and repressive politics with state-controlled media systems (Hong Fincher, 2019) (Muravyeva, 2018).

There is also a lack of research on YouTube as an international news source. This project focuses only on news videos retrieved from the most popular video-sharing website in the world. Already in 2017, the platform welcomed more than 1.5 billion monthly active users, and this number is continuously growing (Ha, 2018).

Moskowitz (2019) notes that 70% of this monthly traffic comes from outside of North America. However, little scholarship written on YouTube addresses these modern online cultures

beyond the Western world. The notion that online video content and viewers from diverse nations are in communication with each other is a field of study which is even more overlooked (Moskowitz, 2019).

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter details the research design and methodology followed during the fieldwork. Various aspects are detailed, including hypotheses, essential variables, the issue of measurement, the sampling process, data collection, data analysis, as well as shortcomings.

1. Research Hypotheses & Key variables

The literature reviewed and the precursory study done on the Indian and South African context allow for some hypotheses on the YouTube representation of #MeToo in China, Russia and Brazil. Preliminary readings and study revealed that the opinions of female actresses who are survivors of sexual harassment in BRICS are reported extensively with an emphasis on their powerlessness and emotions.

In India and South Africa, online news media suggest a failure of #MeToo on a local scale as well as a feeling of national crisis in terms of sexual assaults. Therefore, it is logical to assume that the dependant variable in this research (the YouTube depiction of #MeToo in the remaining BRICS nations of Brazil, China and Russia) will be affected by the independent variable (video journalists and editors) similarly.

Supposedly, the framing should be assertive about a gap in representation between Western and BRICS women. Media frames should indicate that diverse factors contribute to slowing down the campaign in Brazil, Russia and China, including a long history of gender-based violence, traditionalist values and cultural beliefs.

2. Issue of measurement

To verify such hypotheses on the YouTube framing of a viral feminist hashtag campaign in specific BRICS countries; a content analysis of videos appeared to be the most appropriate method. Focus groups and interviews are irrelevant in this study which does not focus on audience responses. This research looks at the editorial work of video journalists rather than the management of the #MeToo campaign through Twitter. A social media analysis is also not accurate in this case (Deacon, 1999).

Content analysis is a research methodology used to ascertain the appearance of specific terms, images or notions within a text. Social sciences researchers quantify and study the appearance

and symbolic significations of those words and themes. They infer about the author, the audience, and even the time and culture in which an event occurs. The idea is to identify patterns and biases in the manifest content of communication (Deacon, 1999).

This mixed-methods conceptual comparative study answers the research questions through both an inductive and a deductive perspective. In other words, this paper combines both qualitative data (interpreting messages & comprehending concepts) and quantitative figures (measuring variables & discovering frequencies) (Deacon, 1999).

3. Sample Profiles, Sample Design & Sampling Methods

The sample includes thirty YouTube news video reports produced by mainstream media companies. In this case, using a small sample is unavoidable, as YouTube content on #MeToo and women's sexual safety in BRICS countries is available but limited, as opposed to abundant content on the United States and other Western countries.

The video producers uploaded these reports on the platform between October 2017 and March 2019. A considerable time frame is necessary to evaluate the evolution of the online depiction of the movement accurately, from the genesis of the Weinstein scandal in Hollywood up until sixteen months later.

The sample selection relied on purposive sampling, based on the profusion of pertinent information as well as the goals of this paper. Purposive sampling, also called selective sampling, is a kind of non-probability sampling method in which the judgement of the researcher is the basis for the choice of units of analysis (Emmel, 2013).

Purposive homogenous sampling was chosen as the most appropriate method since the idea was to obtain a sample in which units share the same characteristics. In this study, the units of analysis are all YouTube-based news coverage of #MeToo and women's rights issues in BRICS. Searching for specific keywords in the YouTube bar search resulted in a homogeneous sample (e.g. "#MeToo", "sexual harassment", "feminism", "China", "Russia" and "Brazil").

The sample was selected as the research questions are specific to the characteristics of this particular group of interest. A common flaw acknowledged about purposive sampling is that there is no guarantee that the chosen sample is a true representative of the population (Emmel, 2013). However, as mentioned above, the sampling process for this study revealed that YouTube-based news reports on #MeToo and gender-based violence in China, Russia and

Brazil are rare. In this case, the selected units of analysis represent almost the entire population studied.

The selection includes ten video reports on the #MeToo movement, feminism and women's rights for each country. The sampling process confirmed McCombs' agenda-setting theory (2014) as YouTube video journalists cover specific news stories frequently and prominently when covering #MeToo in BRICS (McCombs, 2014). Chapter Four explores this media concentration on distinct personalities, sexual harassment scandals and localised hashtag movements.

In the Chinese context, local news sources (*Bloomberg News, South China Morning Post*), as well as international media outlets (*France 24, CGTN America, SBS World News, DW News* and *BBC World News*), produced the selected footages.

The video reports on Russia also come from diverse news media sources, including Russian news outlets (*RT, Vesti News*) and foreign media companies (*CBC News, Vice News, MSNBC* and *VOA News*).

In the Brazilian context, local reports are almost inexistent on YouTube. Therefore, external media sources such as *The Washington Post, The New York Times, ABC News (Australia), EFE, Daily Mail TV* and *CGTN America* produced the selected units.

4. Data Collection Methods & Data Analysis

YouTube is the chosen media source because the platform has received less scholarly attention than other platforms such as Twitter or Facebook (Patrut & Patrut, 2013). Nonetheless, it has become the most popular video-sharing website in the world, and more and more people turn to the platform as their preferred online news source (Cutler & Røyneland, 2018).

Studying the framing of events portrayed on YouTube must not be neglected, as it is becoming an essential segment in communication and media studies (Patrut & Patrut, 2013). The selected video news reports are either primary sources (reports on events, human interest stories, interviews and investigative reports) or secondary sources (historical reports, analytical reports and book reviews).

The maintenance of the collected data relied on a coding book detailing diverse variables. MS Excel was the software used to code each unit of analysis. After the organisation of the videos

into manageable content categories, the conceptual analysis of each unit took place. A successful conceptual analysis establishes the presence and frequency of a concept, often represented by words and sentences. By reducing the text to categories, the analyst can code for specific terms or patterns that inform the research questions (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Flexibility was applied through the coding process as there was a gradual addition of categories. The coding of both implicit and explicit content occurred, involving some interpretation skills. The videos were coded in three rounds, refining the coding scheme every time until no further changes were needed. There was a consistent use of coherent codes throughout the process, ensuring that they follow their translation rules. In content analysis, respecting the translation rules ensure validity (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

In this research, the variables, or categories, include the videos' titles, the type of headlines, video descriptions, date of publication, news sources, recurring themes, speakers and protagonists as well as their social positions. For each BRICS contexts analysed, this study identifies sectors of the economy in which women denounced incidents of sexual harassment for the first time.

The presumed gender and occupation of protagonists are relevant to understand which alleged harassers, victims or well-known activists are prominent when reporting on #MeToo in the BRICS context. These quantitative methods are useful in quantifying the subject-matter through numerical data (Chiulli, 2018).

This investigation also focuses on the notion of discourse and qualitative techniques. The research analyses the titles of the videos, the choice of vocabulary (verbal transcript), and competing viewpoints. Lexical decisions carry on various representations of social life. Discourse analysis gives insights into the problem to comprehend the underlying point of views and motivations (Fairclough, 2013).

In terms of nonverbal interaction, the analysis includes the following elements: gesture, gaze, body position, movement, touch, facial expression, as well as engagement with objects (Goodwin, 2013).

5. Research Shortcomings and other Limitations

This study has limitations as it focuses on distinct socio-economic contexts. These aspects are pertinent concerning the YouTube representation of the #MeToo campaign in BRICS

countries, yet this research might have left other essential elements out of the sample. This study is a precursor project as it only compares the contexts of Brazil, China and Russia. Academics must consider further research on India and South Africa to have an accurate comprehension of the overall framing of sexual harassment in the BRICS alliance.

This study only scrutinises a selection of YouTube videos of TV broadcast news. This research does not take into consideration the framing represented by other outlets, such as print media or radio. Nevertheless, studying thirty units of analysis from different news media sources already resulted in a proper interpretation of how YouTube practitioners frame the #MeToo movement, sexual harassment and gender inequalities in Brazil, China and Russia.

As a researcher, one must acknowledge that his values influence findings to some extent. Indeed, this paper includes a qualitative approach as well as reflexivity. As a woman who graduated in gender studies at the University of Cape Town, I gained preconceptions on concepts such as women's rights activism and gender disparities in the BRICS context. Moreover, my social position affected the study as one cannot comprehend fully the experiences of other women living with other social intersections.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

This chapter documents the results of the content analysis for each BRICS context. It includes a discussion of the main trends and patterns found in the overall data with references to the research questions. It also incorporates an interpretation of the main findings for each variable analysed.

1. Video Titles & Descriptions

To have a good comprehension of how media practitioners frame sexual harassment and #MeToo in Brazil, China and Russia, the sample was studied in-depth, starting with video titles and descriptions. A new study by the Pew research centre demonstrates the critical role that YouTube video titles play and why they should include attention-grabbing clickbait. Van Kessel, Toor & Smith (2019) argue that using sensational keywords within titles increases view counts considerably. Those terms associated with increased viewership vary by categories or genre (news, politics, music, and more). The experts also found that in addition to detailed descriptions of the content, references to additional news reports and other social media platforms are frequent (Van Kessel, Toor & Smith, 2019).

1. 1. Video Titles & Descriptions: China

In the Chinese sample, the video titles are diverse in tone, emphasising mixed feelings regarding the success of the #MeToo movement in the Mainland. Out of the ten video titles analysed for the Chinese context, four of them suggest pessimism for the effectiveness of the campaign fighting sexual harassment in China.

The defeatist term “struggle” appears twice, highlighting the challenging work of Chinese feminists. News anchors directly name censorship as the primary cause for the setback of the movement in two video titles. Another one denounces the Communist Party that “wants to stifle #MeToo”. Already in the video names, journalists’ framing of media censorship corresponds to the argument of King, Pan and Roberts (2013) who argue that the goal is to incapacitate the planning of collective efforts (King, Pan and Roberts, 2013)

Three titles out of the ten can be described as neutral or impartial, not explicitly describing neither negative or positive characteristics about #MeToo in the Mainland. Nevertheless, all

three video titles acknowledge that a campaign, or at least its conception, is occurring in the Asian country (e.g. “MeToo: Speaking out against sexual harassment in China”).

One of the impartial titles is particularly interesting as it points out a significant distinction between the movement in China and the Western world: the creation of a new hashtag. The title “Why The #RiceBunny Hashtag Has Become China’s #MeToo” indicates that China’s adoption of the American movement was peculiar.

Only one of the impartial title within the whole sample reports the speech of a journalist working for Boston Globe and South China Morning Post as well as a specialist on feminist matters in the Asian context, namely Audrey Jiajia Li. Most titles within the Chinese sample are compelling and memorable statements to catch the audience’s attention (Van Kessel, Toor & Smith, 2019), rather than relying on sources or quotes.

Only three titles out of ten are optimistic about the future of the feminist movement in the People’s Republic of China. Two of them include the same turn of phrase (“#MeToo movement gains momentum in China” and “China’s #MeToo campaign gains momentum”). They imply that the Chinese #MeToo is making progress but without giving many details, encouraging the viewers to watch the videos to learn more.

The study of the video names communicates a variance in the angle from which reporters choose to tell the story. Some journalists convey a feeling of powerlessness and discouragement due to a challenging environment for #MeToo to flourish. Other acknowledge that #MeToo efforts are marginally growing. Competing outlooks are already observable in the titles. For instance, “The Rise of the #MeToo Movement in China” contrasts with “The struggle of China’s #MeToo movement”.

The video descriptions support a similar discourse. The Communist Party and censorship are framed as the two main enemies of feminism nowadays, even though reporters specify that women’s rights were once an essential part of the rise of China as an economic powerhouse, referring to the female labour force before the 1980s (China Power Team, 2018). Two descriptions summarise the separate sexual harassment stories of two women whom both worked in the Chinese media industry.

The localised hashtag #RiceRabbit and the determination of Chinese feminists striving for change are also critical recurrent elements within the written summaries. Half of the video descriptions include additional references to external sources such as social media platforms (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter) or links to news websites (South China Morning Post).

1. 2. Video Titles & Descriptions: Russia

In the Russian context, the video titles suggest diverse tendencies in the way of portraying the campaign and feminism in general. Four titles out of ten indicate that a Russian #MeToo effort occurred and gained some momentum. Words such as “hope” and “breakthrough” stipulate that women’s rights activists wish for a significant improvement shortly. One title reveals that the media industry was involved in the matter (“#MeToo in Russia: Media boycotting Russian parliament after MP accused of harassment”).

On the other hand, the titles of four other units within the sample contradicts this optimism. Not only the Russian film industry did not know a #MeToo revolution as it did in the United States, but it also appears that local actresses do not show support to their American counterparts (“Why Are These Russian Actresses Defending Harvey Weinstein?”). The verb “backpedalling” describes the nation’s retreat of its previous stand on women’s rights, referring to the 2017 decriminalisation of domestic physical abuse presented in the existing literature (Tsikhanenka, 2019).

Indeed, The Human Rights Watch’s summary confirms that “Russian authorities often fail to protect women from domestic violence”. The descriptions mention an increase of domestic violence since authorities eased penalties due to “serious gaps in Russia’s laws”, “the lack of protection orders” as well as “inadequate police and judicial responses”. This focus on “Unaddressed Domestic Violence” which puts women at risk confirms that sexual harassment is just one of many concerns for women’s rights activists in Russia.

The rest of the titles in the sample are more impartial as they do not try to directly influence the reader’s position about feminism and #MeToo in Russia. Instead, they promise to offer a fair representation of the perspectives of relevant stakeholders with opposing viewpoints (e.g. “What does Vladimir Poutine think of the Weinstein scandal and #MeToo”; “Pussy Riot’s Nadya Tolokonnikova Releases ‘Read & Riot’”). As revealed in the literature, those individuals became antagonists since the 2012 Church performance (Johnson, 2014). This hostility reappears in the framing.

Russian YouTube video titles suggest a heated and complex environment. Some turn of phrases acknowledges issues that affect the life of Russian women and which activists try to address through the campaign. At the same time, other titles insinuate that Russia’s relationship to feminism is complicated, different from the Chinese state’s unofficial banning

of activism but also quite opposed to Western approval of women's rights' ideals. The framing of the title hints at the concept of a Russian anti-feminist discourse promoted by the Orthodox Church and state media (Muravyeva, 2018).

The video descriptions demonstrate this ambivalence with phrases such as: "The #MeToo movement is gaining momentum in Russia, a country where people openly mocked the movement." The summaries from CBC News cite chauvinism as a general attitude endorsed by numerous Russian men. More surprisingly, one description confirms that, when the American scandal exploded, "many [Russian] female celebrities who publicly sympathised with the Hollywood mogul are coming to his defence".

Nevertheless, some descriptions also admit the fact that not everyone in Russia blames the victims, and many expressed disgust over the scandal. Brave young women risked their careers to denounce the sexual harassment they suffered from powerful men. It appears that the Russian political sphere and the media industry were both affected by a scandal that involved three female journalists and a male member of Parliament who allegedly harassed them. One video summary indicates that a parliamentary panel's dismissal of the accusations engendered a media boycott.

Competing viewpoints are already observable when reading the titles and summaries within the sample. One summary from VOA News states that "for decades, Soviet - and later Russian male politicians - have prided themselves on allowing women equal opportunities and protecting them from discrimination". However, the same description cites statistics which highlights the gender pay gap observed in the reviewed literature (Tsikhanenka, 2019).

1. 3. Video Titles & Descriptions: Brazil

In the Brazilian context, half of the video titles suggest a defeatist angle, referring to controversial events which led to the formation of a Brazilian #MeToo movement, or a similar nationwide backlash. One title reveals that it is a "shocking kiss" that led to the creation of a #MeToo effort in the Latin American country. Two others specify that Brazilian reporters were victims of harassment during the World Cup in 2018. The 2018 edition of the international competition was taking place in Russia; therefore, those titles indicate a connection across the Russian and Brazilian context.

The video names illustrate sexual harassment and sexual violence as a regular habit internalised in Brazilian society. As opposed to the stories in China and Russia which often involved only two people (the victim and her harasser), one title mentions *“mass sexual harassment caught on tape”*. One description also claims that *“Every 7.2 seconds, one woman is a victim of physical violence in Brazil”*. This number is alarming, but it corresponds to Brysk’s recent study on gender violence in Brazil (Brysk, 2019). Furthermore, it proves that the 2006 “Maria da Penha” law, as well as the 2015 law acknowledging femicide as a distinct crime to the penal code, are still not enough to protect Brazilian women (Prusa & Picanço, 2019).

Two titles refer to a “faith healer” who was accused of sexual misconducts, indicating that #MeToo also emerged in the spirituality sector in Brazil. Daily Mail TV’s title refers to this man as “John of God” and put forward horrifying criminal charges against him (“faith healer ‘kept teens as sex slaves’”). Despite the use of quotation marks, the turn of phrase frames the guru as a sadist and a psychopath. One has to read the video description to realise that an activist claimed that the celebrity faith healer sold his babies as he impregnated teenage slaves he kept at his rural farms in Brazil.

The Washington Post’s title affirms that the faith healer turned himself to the police in amid to sexual harassment claims. The video’s description also supports the representation of the guru as a serial sexual abuser, indicating that João Teixeira de Faria, commonly known as “John of God”, was accused of sexually abusing more than three hundred women.

Another critical finding revealed by studying the videos’ names and descriptions is that journalists associate contemporary women’s rights activism with political activism, a connection justified by Almeida (2019) in her study of Brazilian hashtag feminism (Almeida, 2019). When searching for YouTube content related to #MeToo and women’s rights in the South American country, political street rallies always pops up.

Two videos titles within the sample indicate that women’s rights activists protest against the government and more precisely against far-right president Jair Bolsonaro. On the other hand, one video name offers the opposite viewpoint and confirms that not all women disapprove his leadership (*“Why Brazilian Women Support Jair Bolsonaro”*). The sample includes the views of women from both sides.

Two descriptions confirm two statements made by Almeida (2019). First, Bolsonaro is known for his offensive remarks about women and other minorities, such as the LGBT community.

Secondly, in big cities such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazilian feminists protest against him as part of their fight against gender violence and sexual discrimination (Almeida, 2019).

1. 4. Video Titles & Descriptions: Thematic Analysis

Ambivalence about the success of #MeToo and the broader notion of feminism is the central theme which emerges from the video titles and descriptions in all three contexts. Journalists follow three trends in their representation of the success of the hashtag campaign and the situation of the women who joined the movement: optimism, neutrality or negativity. Overall, negative titles prevail in the Brazilian and Chinese contexts. In the Russian sample, the numbers of positive titles and pessimistic video names are equal.

Internalised male chauvinism, gender-based violence, women objectification and victim-blaming are concepts which dominate the negative video names and summaries. The names of the videos highlight pessimistic frames such as victimisation, vulnerability and a lack of agency in women's daily life. There is no demonisation of feminists in those video titles, yet journalists represent them in a diminishing manner, without mentioning their strengths noted by scholars, such as profusion and determination (Prusa & Picanço, 2019) (Lacroix, 2019) (Hong Fincher, 2019).

On the other hand, other titles and descriptions choose the opposite perspective. Across samples, the optimistic titles highlight the women's resistance and resolutions rather than their struggle. Journalists emphasise the agency survivors have in speaking out on the matter as well as the abundance of women who joined the movement.

In the contexts of Russia and Brazil, journalists make the sites of struggle and the triggers of the campaign apparent. In Russia, the video names and summaries identify three sites of struggle. Firstly, they identify the film industry which rejects the American #MeToo movement. Secondly, they denounce Russian households where, according to existing literature, domestic violence thrives (Tsikhanenka, 2019). Thirdly, journalists point at the political sphere, with the Slutsky scandal being the trigger of #MeToo in Russia.

The video names in the Brazilian sample designate two sites of struggle: the religious sector and sports journalism. Sexual harassment seems to be flourishing in these two industries where a #MeToo effort came to light. Video editors indicate that the on-air stolen kiss of

Brazilian sports journalist Bruna Dealtry and allegations against faith healer João Teixeira de Faria triggered a national outrage on two distinct occasions.

The titles in the Chinese context are less explicit about sites of struggles than the video names for Brazil and Russia. They focus on the momentum of #MeToo and the theme of censorship. They do not highlight the industries in which women denounced sexual harassment for the first time. This choice of agenda-setting is predictable as censorship is more drastic and effective in shutting down potential revolutions in China than in the two other countries (Xu & Albert, 2014). The audience must read the summaries to identify the entertainment and news media industry as sites of struggle.

The titles and summaries highlight an explicit connection across the Brazilian and Russian context. Journalists associate the harassment of female sports journalists during the 2018 Russia World Cup to a Brazilian feminist hashtag campaign which was prompted for such behaviour to stop. Furthermore, there is a pattern in sexual harassment of female journalists and media practitioners as well as a subsequent feminist campaign in all three BRICS countries.

According to the video names and descriptions, it is three female journalists who first said #MeToo in Russia, denouncing MP Leonid Slutsky. In Brazil, female sports reporters were victims of assaults on-air, even before the 2018 Russia World Cup (e.g. Bruna Dealtry). The video summaries in the Chinese sample also mention female victims working in the news media and entertainment industry.

The existing literature revealed a challenging environment for Chinese, Russian and Brazilian media practitioners due to a lack of press freedom, especially in China and Russia. BRICS journalists deal with content-blocking, online surveillance but also brutality, threats and risk of imprisonment ("China", 2019) ("Brazil", 2019) ("Russia", 2019).

In addition to those impediments, the analysis confirms that women in those BRICS media industry must also deal with acute sexual harassment and misogyny within the workplace. Based on this framing and Byerly's Global Report of the Status of Women in the News Media (2011), it is safe to say that there is an urgent need for action as newsrooms in Brazil, Russia and China do not adopt policies on sexual harassment and equity (Byerly, 2011).

Another recurring theme is the mention of homogenous feminist hashtag campaigns which emerged to denounce sexual harassment or other women-related issues in China and Brazil. Two descriptions allude to #RiceBunny, which replaced #MeToo due to censorship in China

and one summary refers to #FreeTheFive. Two summaries each mention #EleNão (#NotHim) and #RepeiteAsMinas (#RespectWomen) respectively.

The existing literature confirmed the existence of similar hashtags in Russia, such as #ЯНеБоюсьСказать (#ImNotAfraidToSpeakOut), but journalists do not bring it up in the video titles or descriptions. Johnson (2017) writes about the hostility towards such feminist campaigns in Russia, hence a potential explanation for the journalists' decision to not mention past unpopular feminist efforts. However, some descriptions acknowledge that not everyone endorses a victim-blaming attitude (Johnson, 2017).

Political opposition to #MeToo and the broader feminist movement is discernible in the names of the video. The titles frame the entire Chinese Communist Party, Russian authorities and the Brazilian government as the main obstacles to women's rights. Video journalists represent Jair Bolsonaro as the principal enemy of Brazilian feminists whereas Russian summaries simply suggest that Putin discredits the need of a #MeToo campaign in Russia. The name of Xi Jinping does not appear in the video titles.

The reviewed literature revealed that Jinping and Putin's governments both showed signs of anti-feminism, especially with the arrests of the Feminist Five and Pussy Riot members (Hong Fincher, 2019) (Johnson, 2014). However, it is Bolsonaro who appears as the political leader who despises women's rights activists the most.

On top of his infamous misogynistic comments mentioned in the video descriptions, the reason for this concentrated framing is the timing. His recent political campaign, presidential inauguration and #EleNão all took place during the selected timeframe (October 2017 – March 2019), hence the journalists' overrepresentation of Bolsonaro as the worst enemy of women's rights advocates.

However, journalists included the viewpoints of women from both sides. One title confirms Kaiser's argument stating that campaign managers adjusted the discourse to position Bolsonaro on the side of women but against feminists (Kaiser, 2018). The video name confirms that anti-feminist women backed the far-right candidate during the elections, contributing to his victory.

Across all samples, journalists only demonise "John of God" in one of the titles. In the descriptions, journalists often follow their code of ethics by remaining impartial. They usually highlight the notable aspects of one survivor's allegations, merely reporting facts. One title

differs and frames the guru as a cruel sexual predator due to the colossal number of women who denounced him, similarly to the media framing of Harvey Weinstein.

2. Genre & Style

Despite the common subject-matter, the videos selected for the sample were framed differently and present facts by using various stylistic choices and type of news reporting including newscasts, short news clips, satirical news shows, interviews and more (Keller, 2019).

2. 1. Genres & Style: China

The Chinese sample is constituted mainly of videos produced by mainstream news outlets. Such popular news sources influence a wide number of people, as they reflect the status quo and shape modern thoughts (Kenix, 2012). Most videos follow a traditional television news format, often including a news anchor on a studio set, news reporters on-site as well as dynamic graphics and audio to captivate the audience (Keller, 2019).

Eight reports out of ten rely on interviews with credible sources and victims to either establish authority on the topic (ethos) or to create an emotional connection (pathos) (Campbell, 2013). Interviewing is a vital part of news reporting as it can provide viewers with interpretation, background, explanation, as well as closure (Barnas, 2017).

The interviews in the sample do not follow the same template. Profile interviews can be observed regularly, with a deep focus on an individual such as one specific activist or a survivor of sexual harassment sharing her experience. Most of the time, those interviews occur in a space where the interviewee is at ease (e.g. at home or the office). In those cases, the editor often removes the interviewer's voice who remains unheard.

BBC Word News chose a talk show format in which Leta Hong Fincher discusses various topics put forth by the host. The interviewer suggests a particular framing in the choice of questions asked. She is also a woman who actively participates in the conversation, implicitly siding with the cause of feminists in China.

Only one video, the episode of Netflix's *Patriot Act* untitled *Saudi Arabia + Censorship In China* hosted by Hasan Minaj, fit the criteria of satirical news within the sample. Nevertheless,

it appears that satirical news receives considerably more viewership and engagement (likes, dislikes and comments) than traditional video news content. Critics have described this talk show as “infotainment”, a television program that informs the viewers about current events in politics in an entertaining fashion, with jokes and visual aids which increase contextualisation as well as engagement (Husband, 2018).

This particular web television episode mocks and denounces the draconian system of censorship exercised by the CCP and the constant battle between activists, such as feminists, and censors. It has over 3 138 281 views on YouTube (Husband, 2018).

There is no one on stage besides Minaj. His interview conducted with a Chinese activist for women’s rights was pre-recorded offstage and inserted in the last minutes of the show. In comparison to popular similar talk shows such as *The Daily Show*, Minaj’s presentations are more vibrant and contained within short highly-focused twenty-three minute sequences (Husband, 2018).

Silvia Knobloch-Westerwick (2017) found that such satirical news shows have real political effects on the audience. When written intelligently – not just mere entertainment and no fake news - satirical news reports can strengthen pre-existing political beliefs as much as watching traditional news. Knobloch-Westerwick’s study reveals that audiences with little interest in political issues were more likely to choose political satire over “serious” news reports (Knobloch-Westerwick, 2017).

While satire does not approach societal issues with the same lens as utilised in newsrooms, people’s consumption of satire does not run in a vacuum relative to the usage of news. More and more citizens refer to both types of content to obtain a better understanding of politics, socio-economic issues and society as a whole (Hmielowski, Holbert & Lee, 2011).

2. 2. Genres & Style: Russia

Creating a YouTube news channel seems to benefit global news networks such as RT, which gains viewership and popularity. O’Neill (2012) writes that in the past, people exclusively got their online news from sites like *BBC*, *The New York Times* or local paper and news channel websites. Today, more and more people turn to YouTube for information (O’Neill, 2012).

Similarly to the Chinese context, the Russian units of analysis are mainly traditional video news reports with anchors on set and reporters, produced and shared by international TV

broadcaster outlets. The anchors are often sitting at a desk, followed by visuals of the story covered with a voice-over. Anchors always use rhetoric, an active voice and the present tense to convey a feeling of immediacy and convince the audience. A standard transition into a story is the split screen, especially for transitioning from the anchor to the reporter or interviewee. As opposed to the Chinese context, satirical news are not present in the Russian sample.

Interviews with essential stakeholders dominate this sample, appearing in eight videos out of ten. Foreign journalists prioritise the opinions of specific Russian individuals reporting on this matter, especially victims of sexual harassment as well as celebrity activists. Most of the interviews occur on-site in the work environment or homes of the individuals. In the Russian sample, the interviewer often remains unseen and unheard, acting as a conduit whose job it is to relay a story from the guest to the audience.

Two units of analysis differ from this format. In one video, Vladimir Putin takes part in a press conference which has nothing to do with #MeToo in Russia. However, one of the female journalists chooses to ask the president about his opinion on a local sexual harassment scandal in the Russian political sphere. She frames her questions, suggesting that harassment did occur even if officials cleared his name.

Another interview which stands out is the one produced for MSNBC. Founder of Pussy Riot Nadya Tolokonnikova discusses her book 'Read & Riot: A Pussy Riot Guide to Activism'. The anchor frames her as one of the most relentless enemies of Putin's regime. The interviewee is having an active conversation with four anchors who actively ask questions and engage in the debate. The choice of questions is interesting as they focus on the conditions she suffered during her sentence in a Russian prison as well as Russia's potential future beyond Putin.

2. 3. Genres & Style: Brazil

The units of analysis in the Brazilian sample also display characteristics of standards newscasts, including news anchors introducing the stories, reporters conducting interviews, and extra shots to make the video more appealing to the audience. Video editors always include the media companies logos as well as news tickers to display additional textual information.

Reporters conduct most interviews in the sample during political rallies, face-to-face with protesters. The units do not contain interviews with well-known personalities, and journalists

focus on the opinions of Brazilians citizens instead. The medium shots exclude the interviewer and his questions. They always focus on the speaker who is often in the crowd of protestors which supposedly share the same opinion.

When reporting on the cases involving “Jon of God” or the World Cup controversy, the video journalists did not organise interviews with relevant stakeholders. Their opinions are still present with the use of their recorded testimonies from other media outlets.

Once again, journalists apply digital rhetoric to convince the audience (Campbell, 2013). The three modes of persuasion are observable in the Brazilian context. Anchors and reporters develop their credibility or character (ethos) by making themselves sound unbiased (Campbell, 2013). They use correct grammar and speak with confidence. Some of them rely on a formal dress code while others establish their journalistic expertise with the use of objects such as a broadcast microphone.

The videos include the emotional recorded testimonies of women who were victims of sexual harassment to invoke sympathy from the audience (pathos) (Campbell, 2013). In the case involving the faith healer, the editors draw pity from the audience with the story of one of the survivor. She cries on television and admits she was in denial about what was happening to her. The World Cup incidents inspire anger from the audience, perhaps to prompt action and join the journalists’ cause.

Finally, the appeal to logic (logos) appears when speakers cite proven facts, statistics and historical analogies (Campbell, 2013). In three videos within the sample, protagonists or anchors report alarming numbers highlighting the Brazilian gender gap and gender-based violence studied in the literature reviewed. Journalists also use statistics when referring to the number of people disapproving Bolsonaro’s election. Historical footages of past events support the speaker’s argument and give the audience some background information.

2. 4. Genres & Style: Thematic Analysis

Analysing the genre used for each context revealed that global news network broadcasters often start YouTube channels where they share short news segments. These extracts highlight interesting passages of broadcasted news reports on #MeToo, not only to inform but also for branding, social video sharing purposes and to attract audiences to TV programmes, available on catch-up or the linear broadcast (Grece, 2016).

Across samples, the video journalists follow a traditional television broadcast news format, including elements such as a studio set, news anchors or voice-overs, news reporters on-site, interviewees, extra shots for context, news tickers and news media company logos (Keller, 2019).

The Chinese sample is the one which diverges the most from this dominant design with a few units adopting another style for its news reports (e.g. BBC talk show; satirical news show). Other examples include a segment of a press conference with Vladimir Putin as well as a non-satirical news program in the Brazilian context.

Rhetoric and the three elements of persuasion (ethos, logos, pathos) are visible in all the contexts, showing the journalists' endeavour to provide compelling news stories (Campbell, 2013). There is a pattern in the use of coaxing tools, including numerical data, emotional testimonies as well as a choice of interviewees with expertise and direct interest in the matter.

However, the success of "infotainment" as well as the recurrent appeal to emotions raise the concern of media sensationalism. Journalists must be particularly careful when reporting on a controversial topic such as #MeToo. Critics can easily accuse them of pushing for public outrage at the expense of accuracy (Barnas, 2017).

None of the selected reports corresponds to the format of breaking news, and many stories show elements of watchdog journalism instead. Those components include exposition of a problem or people who abuse their power, beat reporting, investigative journalism, public interest, interviews, as well as fact-checking statements (Berry, 2009).

Interviews dominate the stories for each BRICS country, but they do not follow the same template. The various types include edited profile interviews of stakeholders, TV studio interviews, a talk show, remote interviews with a reporter, a press conference as well as outdoor broadcast interviews with random protesters.

When editors include the voice of the interviewer, a framing of the questions is almost always discernible. For instance, the turn of phrase used during both interviews with Leta Hong Fincher suggests support for the feminist cause. Another example is the accusatory tone adopted by the journalist questioning Putin about Slutsky's behaviour.

Studying the framing of questions during interviews highlights a progressive attitude in the media representation of women's movements. Numerous studies on print media framing of feminism revealed that journalists had long portrayed women's rights activists in a negative

light. Journalists show a tendency to other women's rights activists as "social deviants" who struggle to obtain their goals (Van Zoonen, 1992) (Ashley & Olson, 1998) (Terkildsen and Schnell, 1997).

In those recent online news videos, the titles and framing of questions seem more impartial, less critical, sometimes even showing a slight inclination towards the cause of feminists, especially when the interviewer is a woman herself. At this stage of the analysis, one can already perceive that #MeToo had an impact on media coverage of sexual assaults and women's rights activism, somehow blurring the lines between feminists and "regular" women who spoke out. However, the frame of struggle still dominates the stories.

3. Date of Publication and Timeframe

The timeframe of the thirty units of analysis begins from the Weinstein scandal in October 2017 until March 2019. It is interesting to see how the coverage of #MeToo and sexual abuse stories evolved throughout the months in Russia, Brazil and China.

3. 1. Date of Publication and Timeframe: China

In December 2017, two months after the Weinstein scandal exploded in the United States, the video of Huang Xueqin speaking out about her traumatic experience and holding a #MeToo sign during an interview appeared on YouTube. She would become one of the first women to join the movement and to denounce the issue in China.

The sample shows that from January 2018, the Chinese #MeToo effort is slowly growing despite the significant challenges that women and activists are facing. The presence of sexual harassment also starts being acknowledged within specific sectors of the economy, especially academia with Luo Xixi's case, a site of struggle omitted in the titles.

Shortly after, the Chinese government started censoring social media posts of women speaking out or supporting the movement which was becoming viral, a predictable intervention given the oppressive model for media control (King, Pan and Roberts, 2013). In February and March 2018, YouTubers released more news reports addressing the movement's struggle against censorship. It is also around that time that the homophone #RiceBunny hashtag made of emojis becomes popular to evade censors and authoritarian backlash.

A video report by France 24 posted in August shows that the movement was still gathering pace in mid- 2018. Others students denounced more men in academia, but the movement also spread to other sectors. Public figures such as television host Zhu Jun and famous Buddhist monk Shi Xuecheng both faced allegations of sexual harassment. However, the effectiveness of the movement was starting to be questioned, appearing to be less effective than in other countries. Activists took risks to see change happening, but the results were limited.

In November 2018, the excitement around #MeToo scandals in China seemed to have slightly decreased, but the issue persists, and activists have not yet given up. Journalists post an interview with activist and writer Leta Hong Fincher on YouTube. At this stage of the movement, she concludes that while some men paid the price for their misbehaviour, most Chinese men accused of sexual harassment did not face any consequences. She reiterates her book's conclusion out loud, affirming that in the future, the Chinese government will establish even more oppressive policies to force women into submission. Women will probably reject such pressure increasingly (Hong Fincher, 2019).

In February 2019, more than a year later after the Weinstein scandal originated, Hasan Minaj hosted one episode of Patriot Act about censorship in China, its impact on Chinese society and more specifically on feminism. Netflix released the episode, which went viral. The host gives a complete report of the history of #MeToo in China, including all relevant details such as the Luo Xixi's case, #RiceBunny and more.

Minaj concludes that sixteen months after the genesis of the scandal, #MeToo had an impact on Chinese feminism which embraced the movement. This adoption had to be innovative to overcome local challenges that do not concern the Western world. He recapitulates experts' arguments, such as censorship and forbidden social mobilisations (Xu & Albert, 2014).

Also in February 2019, an interview with Zhou Xiaoxuan, a 25-year-old Chinese screenwriter who worked for China's state broadcaster CCTV is published. She accused iconic anchor Zhu Jun of sexual assault. Since her allegations in 2018, she is now facing a lawsuit and is a target on social media. Those recent videos confirm that despite a considerable decrease in pace, the movement is still current in China. Activists observed small victories throughout the months, but the fight is not over, and there is still a long way to go for women's rights activists in the Mainland.

3. 2. Date of Publication and Timeframe: Russia

The oldest video within the sample was released on the 20th of October 2017, only a few days after the Weinstein scandal exploded in the United States. This YouTube report explains that Russian female celebrities are taking the mogul's side in the affair, criticising their American counterparts and embracing the public Russian anti-feminist discourse (Muravyeva, 2018). However, several events compromising Weinstein's image and credibility occurred a few days before (BBC News, 2020).

For instance, on the 17th of October 2017, after an umpteenth actress, namely Lena Headey, came forward with more allegations against the Hollywood producer, he resigned from the board of his eponymous company. The following day, Harvard University revoked the Du Bois medal Weinstein received in 2014 for his contributions to African-American culture (BBC News, 2020).

The day before the video's publication, producer Quentin Tarantino admits he knew about the men's misdeeds and Actress Lupita Nyong'o comes forward with accusations. Also on the 19th, his British Film Institute Fellowship awarded in 2002 was suppressed and some of Weinstein's employees asked for their release from the non-disclosure agreements that prohibit them from speaking publicly about their experience in the company (BBC News, 2020).

The sample reveals that in March 2018, #MeToo gained momentum in Russia despite those negative comments from Russian celebrities. Six months after the start of the American campaign, #MeToo spread to Russia when three women risked their careers to denounce the sexual harassment they suffered from a male politician. In that month, several international news outlets published reports on YouTube about several independent media outlets boycotting the Russian Parliament because of an MP accused of harassment.

As Russia's #MeToo movement gained momentum, women from across the Atlantic expressed their support to the cause. In April 2018, VOA News met with members of the US' Women National Democratic Club. They sent words of encouragement confirming that the time for change has come to Russia and therefore, Russian women should not be fearful.

Nevertheless, the selected videos posted in the following months suggest that #MeToo did not take off in Russia, where people openly mocked the movement afterwards. During a press conference, shared on YouTube in September 2018, Putin maintains his conservative agenda

and implies that the Russian Federation does not need feminism for diverse reasons (Muravyeva, 2018).

The scandal involving the MP was supposedly a turning point for women's rights activists in Russia where people often disregard feminism. With this affair, local chauvinists lost credibility as they could no longer state that sexual harassment and gender inequalities are western issues that do not affect Russia (Ferris-Rotman, 2018). However, the sample shows that the negative attitudes towards feminism remained almost intact after the #MeToo incident involving the politician. This obstinacy indicates a complex and internalised reject of women's rights activism in Russian society.

This stubbornness is even more surprising given the fact that the latest videos in the sample address the same persistent issue for Russian female citizens: domestic violence. On the 24th of October 2018, The Human Rights Watch released a video about the unaddressed domestic violence that puts Russian women at risk. Since the authorities eased penalties in 2017, the issue seems to have worsened (Ferris-Rotman, 2018). In March 2019, two years after Vladimir Putin signed the bill decriminalising domestic violence, the video "Activists: Russia is Backpedalling on Women's Rights" is posted on YouTube, signalling the severity of the problem.

The most recent video in the sample is a newscast released by a Russian outlet called Vesti News in March 2019. This video confirms that feminism is still not welcome in Russia and that such western liberal notions remain a subject of mockery. The news reports build arguments against a Scottish woman who received a fine for holding a conference on feminism in Siberia.

3. 3. Date of Publication and Timeframe: Brazil

On the 31st of March 2018, journalists released a video denouncing the stolen kiss that led to what they framed as Brazil's #MeToo moment. It reveals a still photograph of the moment a Brazilian soccer supporter forced himself onto a sports journalist named Bruna Dealtry at a soccer match. This behaviour sparked a nationwide backlash, and female sports journalists launched #DeixaElaTrabalhar (#LetHerWork), similar to the American #MeToo movement.

Journalists published this video more than five months after the explosion of the Weinstein scandal in the United States, showing that the adoption of the campaign in the Latin American country was not immediate.

ABC News (Australia) and CGTN America both uploaded a separate YouTube report on the 27th of June 2018. Both videos refer to the incident involving Bruna Dealtry which occur almost four months before. The journalists reveal many instances of Brazilian sports reporters being victims of harassment on-air. Despite #DeixaElaTrabalhar, the harassment of female sports journalists continued and intensified, especially during the 2018 World Cup which took place in Russia from the 14th of June to the 15th of July 2018.

The following month, local delegates addressed the violence that Brazilian women face daily in a video, referring to challenges addressed in the existing literature such as the difficulty of reporting to the police (Almeida, 2019). This video extends the reach of sexual violence beyond the sports industry.

In September and October 2018, the focus of feminism shifted in Brazil due to the upcoming presidential election. Al Jazeera's released its video news report three weeks after Brazil's far-right presidential candidate Bolsonaro left the hospital in São Paulo. A man stabbed the politician at a political rally at the beginning of September 2018.

Around that time, journalists started focusing on the feminist rallies against far-right candidate Bolsonaro as well as the women on the opposite side who supported him. Bolsonaro is famous for his misogyny and feminists protested across Brazil under the banner #EleNão (#NotHim) (Almeida, 2019). The New York Times published a story twenty days after Bolsonaro won the election on the 7th of October 2018.

On the 17th of December, The Washington Post published a story about João Teixeira de Faria. The previous day, the seventy-six-year-old faith healer accused of sexually abusing more than three hundred women turned himself into Brazil's Civil Police. The prosecution's office described it as the biggest sex scandal in the history of Brazil.

The stories mentioned in 2018 continue to appear on the agenda of media outlets at the beginning of 2019. In February, sexual harassment in the sports world remains a concern as an international non-governmental organisation denounces a shocking mass sexual harassment which occurred back in 2017 at Mangueirão stadium in the northern state of Pará.

In March 2019, three months after his sentence to nineteen years in prison, the case of "John of God" still appears in YouTube news as more allegations of rape, false imprisonment of young girls and child trafficking continue to emerge. Also in March, EFE's report reveals that on International Women's Day, protesters took to the streets of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo to denounce President Bolsonaro, gender violence and sexual discrimination.

The timeframe of the Brazilian sample shows that diverse sexual harassment and gender-based violence scandals arose around the same period in various sectors of the economy, especially in 2018. Those issues persisted throughout the months despite the efforts of women's rights activists.

3. 4. Date of Publication and Timeframe: Thematic Analysis

In the months that followed the Weinstein scandal, YouTube news coverage of sexual harassment, "inappropriate sexual behaviour," and rape in BRICS increased considerably. According to the dates of publication of the videos on YouTube, it appears that China was the first of the three BRICS countries analysed to adopt a #MeToo attitude. Only two months after the inception of the Weinstein scandal, a journalist then a student came forward with allegations of rape, motivated by the American feminist campaign.

Meanwhile, Russian female celebrities showed signs of repudiation for #MeToo. As soon as the scandal started blowing up, they sided with the Hollywood mogul despite numerous evidence against him (BBC News, 2020). In the context of Brazil, stories around #MeToo did not appear on the agenda of news media companies until months later.

It is only in March 2018, six months after the beginning of the Weinstein scandal, that a #MeToo venture became visible in both Russia and Brazil. Around that time, #MeToo in China was already a widespread trend, already shifting to #RiceBunny to evade the state's censorship. #MeToo gained momentum in Russia thanks to three journalists who denounced a male politician. Simultaneously, female sports reporters launched #DeixaElaTrabalhar (#LetHerWork) in Brazil, a hashtag campaign which shares many similarities with the American #MeToo movement.

The timeframe reveals that #MeToo in China kept growing and reaching more economic sectors until mid- 2018. After that, the popularity of the movement started decreasing due to a lack of meaningful result. However, in February 2019, the campaign still appears on the agenda of big news media companies, reflecting the impact that #MeToo had on Chinese feminism. Despite the considerable decline in pace, journalists frame #MeToo as an ongoing effort which changes the way Chinese women resist oppression.

The framing is different in Russia where #MeToo also rapidly lost momentum, but without leaving a meaningful impact on Russian society. In the following months, #MeToo

disappeared from the agenda, the local scandal involving the politician died down, and negative attitudes towards feminism remained intact. Nevertheless, from October 2018, unaddressed domestic violence dominates the agenda, indicating that despite popular belief, women's rights activism belongs in Russia.

In Brazil, the timeframe reveals that the popularity of the #MeToo trend came in waves. #DeixaElaTrabalhar disappeared from the agenda after March 2018 but regained prevalence in June 2018 due to acute sexual harassment during the World Cup. In September and October 2018, the focus of feminism shifted due to the upcoming presidential election. In December 2018, the scandal around "John of God" generates another feminist flow often associated with #MeToo. From 2019, the issues denounced by activists still dominate the news despite their determined efforts.

The timeline of the evolution of #MeToo in China, Russia and Brazil accentuates disparities in the attitudes of women. According to the statistics found in the reviewed literature, Chinese women are facing more obstacles in the advocacy of their rights than Russian and Brazilian women due to the censorship and the "Great Firewall" (Moskowitz, 2019).

However, Chinese feminists showed an impressive determination throughout the months regardless of threats and potential problems with the authorities. Hong Fincher (2019) explains that this perseverance is due to a widespread feeling of indignation among Chinese women who desperately want change (Hong Fincher, 2019). This feeling of exasperation is understandable given China's "leftover women" smear campaign and its lower performance in the Gender Gap Report in comparison to its BRICS counterparts (Hong Fincher, 2014) ("Global Gender Gap Report", 2020).

By contrast, #MeToo in Russia remained solely about the female journalists who denounced Slutsky and other women distanced themselves from the trend. As observed in the literature review, this dissociation is not due to flawless performance in gender parity. Even if Russia performs better than Brazil and China, there is room for improvement in various sectors, especially concerning gender-based violence in households ("Global Gender Gap Report", 2020) (Tsikhanenka, 2019).

Many Russian women seem to distance themselves from feminism as they have internalised the anti-gender propaganda and anti-western discourse, including prioritising heteronormativity and traditional gender roles over individual rights (Orlova, 2018). Scholars confirmed that there are Russian women who reject "traditional values". Nonetheless, they

often chose to remove themselves from public life and avoid dealing with the government (Muravyeva, 2018). Consequently, their voices remain unheard and negative attitudes towards feminists dominate civil society.

The timeline of stories in the Brazilian context places the country in an intermediary position in between its two BRICS associates. Some women in Brazil do identify as feminists and gain visibility during street mass protests, something that is not achievable by their Chinese peers. However, the adoption of #MeToo is delayed and inconsistent, perhaps due to the conservative rhetoric mentioned in the reviewed literature (Prusa & Picanço).

4. News Sources

It is necessary to look at the news sources that produced and published the video content on their YouTube channels. Having a good understanding of who create information works in favour of fact-checking and allows a researcher to ensure one is not dealing with an outlet too biased or specialised in fake news (Ireton & Posetti, 2018).

4. 1. News Sources: China

The different news outlets which created video news reports on #MeToo and sexual harassment in China and published them on YouTube are very diverse in their provenance, in their prominence as well as their format. The news media companies that provided the content come mainly from the United States, China, Europe and Australia.

The American news companies found in the sample include News Week Media Group (Global USA) and *TicToc* by Bloomberg News. News Week Media Group had its headquarters in New York City. This influential news media company owned and operated Newsweek, Newsweek Events, as well as fourteen digital media properties including the International Business Times (IBT), iDigital Times, Latin Times, and Medical Daily. Since 2018, the company spun off into two separate companies: Newsweek and IBT Media (Fuller, 2018).

TicToc by Bloomberg is very different as it is a global news network built specifically for Twitter as an increasing number of people get their news on social media platforms. *TicToc* provides live streaming coverage of breaking news and top stories around the globe. *TicToc* was renamed *QuickTake* in 2019 (Spangler, 2019).

Patriot Act is a satirical news show that is available on Netflix, an American media-services provider and production company headquartered in Los Gatos, California. The company's primary business is not news production, but a subscription-based streaming service which offers online streaming of films and series. It is available worldwide except in mainland China (due to local restrictions and censorship), Syria, North Korea, Iran, and Crimea ("Netflix Corporate Information", 2018).

The Chinese news media companies observed in the sample include South China Morning Post (including its division Inkstone News), China Global Television Network America (or CGTN America) in partnership with China 24. South China Morning Post is a leading media brand reporting on Asian news for more than a hundred years with global viewership. SCMP's headquarters are in Hong Kong, where it is the newspaper of record (SCMP, 2020). Inkstone News (or simply Inkstone) is an online newspaper platform launched by SCMP in March 2018. It is available as a website and app which focus on stories from China (SCMP, 2018).

CGTN America is the American version of CGTN, a Chinese global English-language news channel of the China Global Television Network group, part of Beijing-based China Central Television (CCTV) and under the control of the Publicity Department of the Communist Party of China. Critics accused CGTN America of representing China's state propaganda abroad. Based in Washington, DC, it produces Americas-based programming with a focus on Asia for CGTN. The media company registered as a "foreign agent" in 2019 (Cook, 2019).

The European-based news media companies found in the sample are France 24 (in English), DM News and BBC World News (British Broadcasting Corporation). France 24 is a French state-owned international news television network based in Paris. Its channels target the overseas market, similar to DM News, BBC World News, and RT (France 24, 2012).

Finally, the last news media company is SBS World News, the news service of the Special Broadcasting Service in Australia. Eighty per cent of funding for the SBS Corporation comes from the Australian authorities (Rhonda, 2007).

4. 2. News Sources: Russia

The news outlets which reported on #MeToo and sexual harassment in Russia and published their stories on YouTube appear to be less diverse than in the Chinese sample. The news media

companies that provided the content come mostly from North America. Six video news reports originated from the United States and Canada.

In contrast, only two Russian outlets produced YouTube videos within the sample: RT & Vesti News. RT, the Russian international television network, is funded by the government and operates television channels directed to audiences outside of Russia. This international news network broadcasting from Moscow and Washington studios was the first news channel ever to hit 1 billion YouTube views (RT, 2013).

Similarly to CGTN America in the Chinese context, critics described RT as a propaganda instrument aimed at countering Western media and promoting Russian foreign policy abroad (Schreck, 2015). Vesti is a smaller media brand with a national reach, used by the Russian broadcaster VGTRK and the regional GTRKs for their news service on television (Vesti, 2020).

VOA News produced three videos in the sample. This multimedia agency is the primary global broadcaster in the United States. VOA produces diverse content, including digital, TV, and radio reports in forty-seven languages distributed to partner stations around the globe (VOA, 2017).

Other North American-based news media companies in the sample include Vocativ, MSNBC and CBC News. Vocativ is an American media outlet founded in 2013. It uses proprietary data-mining technology to produce original news stories. Since 2017, the brand focuses exclusively on news video reports and stop producing written news articles (Fiegerman, 2013).

CBC News stands for “Canadian Broadcasting Corporation News”. Launched in 1941, CBC News share news on CBC Television, CBC Radio and also on their website. It is the leading news broadcaster in Canada (McCausland, 2010). MSNBC is an American television channel that delivers NBC news coverage and its reporting and political commentary on current events (MSNBC, 2020).

The Human Rights Watch posted a video to denounce domestic violence in the Russian Federation. This international non-governmental organisation has its headquarters in New York City. Their researchers investigate human rights abuses around the world and expose their findings online. The organisation’s primary goal is to induce a change in policies and make sure that justice occurs (Human Rights Watch, 2020).

4. 3. News Sources: Brazil

The news media companies which produced the reports on Brazil comes mainly from North America, including The New York Times, The Washington Post, and NowThis News. The New York Times is an American newspaper based in New York with a global readership. Founded in 1851, it ranks eighteenth in the world by circulation. The newspaper began publishing online content in 1996 (The New York Times, 2019).

The Washington Post is another major American daily newspaper. It is the most widely circulated newspaper in the Washington metropolitan area. As the New York Times, it won many Pulitzer Prizes and launched an online version. However, both newspapers were subject to many criticism and controversies over the years (Kurtz, 2008).

NowThis News is a social media-based, youth-oriented news organisation founded in 2012 by Huffington Post co-founder and former chairman Kenneth Lerer as well as former Huffington Post CEO Eric Hippeau. They launched the network on YouTube in 2017 (Atkinson, 2018).

One video within the sample is an episode of Daily Mail TV. CBS teamed up with The Daily Mail, a British tabloid and the most-read newspaper in English globally, to create this program which showcases exclusive stories and breaking news. Former NFL quarterback Jesse Palmer hosts the show which covers a wide variety of topics, including show business, politics, crime and more (Daily Mail, 2020).

CGTN America produced one news story. As explained in the analysis of sources in the Chinese context, CGTN America is the American version of CGTN (Cook, 2019). Another source which produced news content for both countries is the Human Rights Watch, an international non-governmental organisation which investigate human rights abuses (Human Rights Watch, 2020).

The rest of the media news sources comes from outside of North America, including EFE (Spain), ABC News (Australia) and Al Jazeera (Qatar). EFE is an international news agency from Spain, the principal multimedia news agency in Spanish and the fourth largest wire service in the world after the Associated Press, Reuters, and Agence France-Presse. The former Interior Minister created EFE in 1939 (EFE, 2019).

Established in 1947, ABC News is a public news service in Australia produced by the News and Current Affairs division of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. This division is in

charge of gathering and producing news for ABC television, radio and website (ABC News Australia, 2020).

Finally, Al Jazeera (“the Island” in English, referring to the Arabian Peninsula) is a Qatari state-funded broadcaster in Doha. The Al Jazeera Media Network owns the company and initially launched it as an Arabic news satellite television channel. Al Jazeera grew into a network of outlets, including the web and television channels in various languages (Al Jazeera, 2020).

4. 4. News Sources: Thematic Analysis

The principal finding revealed by the study of news sources is the dominance of western outlets over BRICS media across samples. The news company which posted YouTube videos come mainly from North America, Europe and Australia. Those countries are known for their higher level of press freedom in comparison to China, Russia and Brazil. News media companies from the United States prevail in each context analysed.

Experts argue that coverage of global human rights violation is a common characteristic of western media sources, mainly when it occurs in countries with higher levels of state repression. One must keep in mind that all media, including western ones, are biased to some extent and display an agenda in their coverage of remote issues (Ramos, Ron and Thoms, 2007).

For example, issues related to women’s rights in Russia dominate the agenda of VOA News with three stories about a struggling #MeToo effort or domestic abuse. The most prominent American international broadcaster portrays Russia as a nation which is not women-friendly, denouncing a lack of women’s rights and making comparisons with the American context, which journalists frame as more progressive.

With few exceptions which emerged during the sampling process, it appears that women’s rights activism does not dominate the agenda of media outlets from emerging economies. In the Chinese context, the vast majority of media outlets would have little freedom to report on such controversial matters which the CCP perceived as a threat to its power (Xu & Albert, 2014).

South China Morning Post produced two #MeToo stories. Their head office is in Hong Kong, a region that enjoys a high degree of autonomy from the Mainland as well as a higher level of

media freedom. On the Chinese political spectrum, the South China Morning Post is famous for being more liberal than other local media, even if its independence has been questioned before (Flowerdew, 2012).

Scholars found that there is a negative discourse present in the newspaper's coverage of mainland Chinese people as well as criticism of the Communist Party's grip on the economy. On the other hand, the South China Morning Post distinguishes itself from mainstream Western media news outlets because it does not encourage the removal of the CCP (Flowerdew, 2012).

Employees of CGTN America also seem to enjoy some flexibility in comparison to domestic media practitioners, even if experts proved the foreign agent does not have complete editorial independence from the Chinese state's control (Mozur, 2019). This limited degree of permissiveness is visible in the selected CGTN America's #MeToo YouTube report. The interviewee is a Chinese freelance journalist who works for outlets outside of the Mainland, including the South China Morning Post and an American newspaper.

With regards to the Russian sample, it seems that only one Russian outlet published a YouTube story about #MeToo in Russia. RT uploaded this report in English for foreign audiences. International observers noted that CGTN America aims to influence public opinion overseas in favour of the CCP through subtle means, RT usually aims to divide opinion in the West with controversial content (Schreck, 2015). This story meant for westerners shows that there is a light acknowledgement of the campaign in Russia. However, this topic is scarce on the agenda.

In contrast, Vesti News' report is dedicated to a Russian audience and therefore offers a much more critical perspective on women's rights activism. It does not acknowledge the issue of sexual harassment or #MeToo in Russia and rather openly tarnish the reputation of western women's rights activists, following the traditional anti-feminist agenda (Muravyeva, 2018).

In the Brazilian sample, media companies refer to relevant on-air moments broadcasted on local TV channels (e.g. unwanted kiss during the World Cup seen on Esporte Interativo). Nevertheless, there were no relevant news reports dedicated to #MeToo and produced by a Brazilian news company on YouTube. This gap reflects a concerning lack of national coverage on the matter. On a positive note, Brazilian feminism seems to attract the attention of media outlets beyond the West (CGTN America and Al Jazeera).

5. Narrator and Protagonists

The following paragraphs focus on the content of the videos, starting with the people involved or whose opinions dominate the stories with direct or indirect speech. Interviews, direct speech, or quoting in news reporting highlights whose voices are in priority or ignored (Busà, 2014). When reporting on the #MeToo movement and sexual abuse of women in China, Brazil and Russia, YouTubers put forward the opinions of particular individuals.

5. 1. Narrator and Protagonists: China

The most evident finding revealed by the study of stakeholders is that the opinions of women are in high priority in YouTube video news reports about #Metoo in China. These women are mostly Chinese, but it is not always the case. In nine videos out of ten, women are given the dominant voice on the topic, especially in interviews.

The news presenters or narrators chosen for the reports are female most of the time. This favouritism is also the case for most correspondent reporters. For example, Audrey Jiajia Li is a freelance columnist and independent filmmaker originally from Guangzhou, China. This former TV journalist in Mainland China quit before getting fired for not complying with the channel's restrictions (Peschel, 2017).

The satirical news report would be the exception as Hasan Minaj hosts it. Nevertheless, he invited a female interviewee to elaborate on the matter. Minaj sat down with Chinese activist Liang Xiaowen, an activist who organised protests and co-founded a feminist NGO, putting herself at risk. The host explains that she suffered pressure from the police who threatened her family, so she left China to study in the United States and to continue to fight for women's rights in China. Now that she left to study gender studies and feminism in America, she is considered to be part of hostile western forces or controlled by them.

In two video reports, academic researcher and writer Leta Hong Fischer is an interviewee, and she talks about her latest book *Betraying Big Brother: the Feminist Awakening in China*. This scholar also dominates the reviewed literature in the section dedicated to Chinese hashtag feminism. Hong Fincher argues that Chinese feminism now finding expression through the #MeToo campaign poses a challenge to China's authoritarian regime today. It argues that the movement against patriarchy could reconfigure China as well as the world. Her book received numerous positive critiques.

Feng Yuan is another dominant voice which appears on screen in two videos within the sample. This activist directed *Combating Domestic Violence against Women*, and she is a leader of the Gender and Development (GAD) group in China. She worked as a journalist for two decades and co-founded the Anti-Domestic Violence Network (ADVN) in 2000. ADVN aims to change the Chinese understanding of domestic violence while advocating for better legislation to ensure victims (World Conference of Women's Shelters, 2015).

There is a concentration on specific individuals, especially in the choice of interviewees, when reporting on #MeToo or feminism in China. Activists such as Feng Yuan and Hong Fischer have built their names and credibility in the field over the years. Journalists prioritise their voice over the ones of other feminist experts in China. The interviewer for BBC World News' video even describes Hong Fischer as the "perfect person to talk about gender activism in China".

Other notable feminists interviewed and profiled are Xiao Mielli and Zheng Xi. In 2014, Xiao Mielli walked 2,000 km from Beijing to Guangzhou to raise awareness of sexual abuse. In 2015, she also organised a competition on Sina Weibo for the best picture of an unshaven female armpit to challenge stereotypical views of female beauty. She is also well-known in China for the "bloody wedding dress" meme, an attempt to protest against domestic violence.

Xiao spoke out against the CCP's controversial arrest of five feminists just a few days before International Women's Day in 2015. These five women, namely Li Tingting, Wei Tingting, Zheng Churan, Wu Rongrong, and Wang Man, are globally known as the "Feminist Five". More recently, in 2018, Xiao helped combat sexual harassment faced by women using public transportation. Zheng Xi, a student from Hangzhou, has launched an anti-harassment campaign based on the same motivations.

Testimonies of specific victims of sexual harassment are also recurrent features within the videos. In an interview for South China Morning Post, Chinese journalist Sophia Huang Xueqin explained that when she started her first job, she had to kick a colleague in the crotch as he tried to attack her in a hotel room. Xueqin, now a freelancer and Southern Metropolis Weekly special correspondent, launched a survey to find out how many other female journalists working in the media industry have faced sexual harassment.

In another one video, Zhou Xiaoxuan, former screenwriter interning at China's state broadcaster CCTV, speaks out about iconic anchor Zhu Jun harassing her in the past. Since her allegations, Zhou is facing a lawsuit and online pressure.

Xiao Liang, former student and victim of sexual harassment, also shares her story. Xiao Liang never imagined her mentor would one day become her predator. In 2016, just before her graduation, her professor invited her for dinner at a public spa to discuss her work. The professor tried to force her to have intercourse, but she managed to escape. The young woman kept quiet for a long time until she found the courage to speak out with the beginning of China's #MeToo campaign.

Other minor voices are part of the framing, as the opinions of students or parents on the matter. Once more, with very few exceptions, women's viewpoints are a preference over men's opinions. The study of the protagonists involved demonstrates that sexual harassment and #MeToo in the Chinese context are topics framed as women's issues, with men often disassociated from the subject-matter.

5. 2. Narrator and Protagonists: Russia

In the Russian context, the findings reveal that not only women's viewpoints are dominant in YouTube videos about #Metoo, these women also seem to share the same occupations and interests. Female attorneys are particularly vocal about the lack of gender-sensitive law-making in Russia. Journalists are involved, especially the ones who denounced Leonid Slutsky. Finally, rights activists are also consistently interrogated about their thoughts on gender issues in Russia and potential solutions to improve the lives of women.

Alena Popova is a protagonist in three videos, and perhaps the most recurring voice in the sample. Like Hong Fincher in China, she established her authority in her field; therefore, she appears in the existing literature on the Russian Gender Gap. She is framed as a critical expert when addressing women's rights activism in Russia. She studied journalism and law, then became an activist in 2011 for the election of Putin as president which she considers to be fraudulent. She is also the leader of a Moscow-based organisation called Ethics & Technology, which protests against Killer Robots (Sharkey, 2018). Even when she is not an interviewee, editors sometimes include short footages of her recent protests to represent contemporary Russian feminism.

Only CBC News chose to conduct face-to-face interviews with the women directly, yet three video news reports include the original testimonies of their sexual aggressions. Those Russian women are amongst the three female journalists who went public in February 2018 about MP Slutsky harassing them while they were working.

According to the selected videos, Zhuk is 27, and she currently works for the independent liberal-leaning news network TV Dozhd (or TV Rain) in Moscow. She was 24 and worked as a producer on a talk show called *Hard Day's Night* when the incident happened. Kotrikadze is Deputy Editor-in-Chief of RTVI. She claims that she was harassed by the politician back in 2011. He told her to come to his office without a camera to arrange an interview.

Rights campaigner and lawyer Anna Rivina's opinion is firmly put forward in two units. She is the founder of an "Abuse problem resolution centre" called Nasiliu. Its goal is to provide support for women by giving them useful information and practical advice on how to react when facing domestic violence (World Forum for Democracy, 2018).

Nadya Tolokonnikova, the founder of the Russian feminist protest punk rock group Pussy Riot, introduces her book *Read and Riot*. The police arrested her in 2012 after the band's performance in Moscow Cathedral of Christ the Saviour and sentenced to two years of imprisonment. She became a political prisoner according to the Russian human rights group Union of Solidarity with Political Prisoners. Amnesty International called her a prisoner of conscience due to "the severity of the response of the Russian authorities" (French, 2013).

Yulia Gorbunova is the senior researcher in Human Rights Watch's Europe and Central Asia Division. She covers human right abuses in both Russia and Ukraine; therefore, her voice was particularly relevant in the unit produced by the Human Rights Watch. As Popova and other dominant voices in the sample, she is a female expert in journalism and law (Humans Right Watch, 2020).

Other female human rights lawyers interrogated on the matter are Mari Davtyan and Marina Pisklakova-Parker. Davtyan directs several women's NGOs, including the Centre for the Defence of Domestic Violence. She grew a reputation as a go-to lawyer for victims of domestic violence (Dettmer, 2019). A caption described Pisklakova-Parker as "Russia's leading women's rights activist". In 1993, she founded a hotline for women in crisis which became the first women's distress centre in Russia. Her organisation ANNA (National Centre for the Prevention of Violence), operates 170 crisis centres across the country (Kennedy, 2008).

Olga Bychkova, a journalist, working for the Echo of Moscow, also talks about the start of #MeToo in Russia. This media outlet, the country's most popular and last independent radio station, participated in the media backlash that occurred when Slutsky was found innocent. The Echo of Moscow has long been resisting media control imposed by the Kremlin (Nemtsova, 2017).

A notable voice included for dramatic effect in the sample is the one of Anna Verba. She is the mother of a victim of domestic violence. During a very emotional interview for VOA News, she explains how her 28-years-old daughter was stabbed to death by her husband, making his child an orphan. She died in the arms of the 7-years-old boy.

Jackie Speier leads the conversation in one of the reports by VOA News. This American politician serves as a US Representative for California's 14th congressional district. As stated in the video, she is a member of the Democratic Party.

The preference for women's viewpoints is evident but not as radical as in the Chinese sample. Men's voices are still included, especially in the choice of anchors or narrators for some units of analysis. While RT chose women as anchors, VOA selected a male news reporter, namely Igor Tsikhanenka, to sit down with human rights campaigners and relatives of domestic violence. In another video produced by VOA, it is Jamie Dettmer, another male journalist that narrates the story.

CBC News' report has a female anchor, and interviews with female journalists only, yet the chosen reporter on-site is a man. Vesti News' video is male-dominated, including two male anchors and two male interviewees who discredit the actions of a Scottish woman who held a conference on feminism in Siberia.

President Vladimir Putin is a protagonist in one video where he states his opinion on the Weinstein scandal and the #MeToo campaign. According to mainstream media, Putin's leadership is known to be fully supported by the Russian Orthodox Church, therefore conservative, and promoting traditional gender roles for both men and women (Ferris-Rotman, 2018).

Other male perspectives in the sample include the voice of Andrey Demchenko. This co-owner of a bar refuses to serve lawmakers and staff who back the ethics panel's decision to clear Slutsky's name.

5. 3. Narrator and Protagonists: Brazil

In the context of Brazil, journalists also choose to prioritise the voices of women over men. There is a majority of female anchors and reporters, but male journalists are also present. Female protagonists are dominant in eight out of ten videos. The two remaining news stories do not report the speech of anyone but focus on facts instead.

The videos include the voices of various Brazilian individuals such as sports journalists, protesters, victims of sexual harassment, delegates of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, a human rights lawyer, activists and more.

The editors include Zahira Lieneke Mous' testimonies of sexual abuse allegations against "John of God" in two reports. This Dutch dance choreographer wanted to heal past sexual trauma with his help. She read books about the faith healer and watched his 2010 interview with Oprah Winfrey, an episode that gave the guru international fame (Brown, 2018). The video newscasts only incorporate her recorded comments even if hundreds of women denounced him. She was the first to speak out in this affair on national television.

With regards to the sports industry, one video reports footage of Bruna Dealtry's reaction to one supporter stealing a kiss from her on-air, however still images of this specific incident appear in three videos in total. At the time, she was working as a sports reporter for Esporte Interativo, a Brazilian television channel which broadcasted local and international sports events.

Reports on the 2018 World Cup in Russia always include the voices of Brazilian SportTV and TV Globo journalist Julia Guimarães as well as Columbian DW Sports reporter Julieth González Therán. These two women made headlines as they were both harassed on-air during the international soccer competition, and they commented about it afterwards. The footages of those live instances of sexual harassment went viral.

When it comes to agenda-setting in this context, the editors put forward the stories of Guimarães and González Therán. Anchors mention other female journalists briefly to emphasise their argument. For instance, one anchor mentions the story of Australian television presenter Lucy Zelić who hosted CBS coverage of the World Cup. Another example is Vicki Sparks, who made history by becoming the first female commentator of a World Cup Match.

Even if the incidents involving Julia Guimarães and Julieth González Therán occurred in Russia, the reports always come back to the fifty-two female Brazilian sports reporters. These women spoke out about the sexual harassment they suffer while at work with the #DeixaElaTrabalhar hashtag. They launched the campaign three months before the World Cup. In two videos, several women from the movement take turns in explaining the situation in Portuguese even if their names remain unknown.

This format is similar to NowThis News' video of Brazilian delegates talking about the importance of fighting gender-based violence. Protagonists include Brazilian journalist Melanie Layet, human rights lawyer Daniela Godoy, and three delegates of the Commission on the Status of Women, namely Giordana Carvalho, Nathalia Antonieta Avellar and Beatriz Barcelos. This NGO is a UN organ promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women (UN Women, 2020).

In the sample, three reports show the public demonstrations against Jair Bolsonaro. Reporters do not hesitate to join the crowd to conduct individual interviews with protestors from both sides, men and women. They seem to interrogate random people as part of #EleNãO, except one specific activist who tells the story of how she lost her son due to police brutality.

The choice of interviewees seems to be more elaborate for the persons in favour of the far-right politician. A notable voice is Sara Winter, a former pro-choice activist who helped to establish the well-known feminist group FEMEN in Brazil. She is now pro-life and describes herself as a "cured feminist" who voted for Bolsonaro.

Katia Sastre sat down for an interview with the New York Times. This former policewoman shot a man in front of her daughter's school as he was trying to rob them at gunpoint. She ran for Congress and won by replaying the recording of the man's death in her campaign. This politician also supports Bolsonaro and his politics of firearms.

5. 4. Narrator and Protagonists: Thematic Analysis

Across samples, journalists always prioritise the local female opinion over men's voices, a justified decision as experts found that the voices of the people directly affected by an issue should be heard first and loudest in the representation of any social change or social justice movement. Social justice should always be based on the lived realities of people and not on assumptions made by others on the issues or the changes they want to witness (Davies, 2017).

Furthermore, prioritising the voices of women who dare to speak out about their misfortune allow for a regaining of some level of agency in their framing, a notion often overshadowed by the dominant frame of victimisation. The chosen female protagonists occupy a diverse range of professions and occupations recurring in all three contexts. Most prominent speakers are activists, human rights lawyers and journalists.

Talking with specialists provide a proper analysis of the “culture of harassment” and sexual objectification of women in each context. However, within this range of activities, there is a concentration on specific individuals. The depiction of the movement is limited to a few well-known women in their field. Notable examples are Feng Yuan and Hong Fischer in the Chinese context as well as Popova and Rivina in Russia. These protagonists are eclipsing other potential speakers who might not have as much public recognition and who could have brought additional data to the discourse.

The same phenomenon is observable with the prominent depiction of specific victims which obliterates the personal experiences of others. In the Brazilian sample, Zahira Lieneke Mous is the only survivor of sexual abuse put forward in the case involving “John of God”. There is also an emphasis on the stories of Dealtry, Guimarães and González Therán at the expense of other sports journalists.

Despite this concentration, it appears that #MeToo promoted survivors’ voices in comparison to older reports on sexual harassment in the world. Back in 2010, Suarez and Gadalla (2010) wrote that including more stories with a female survivors’ perspective could result in an improved worldview challenging the traditional dominating one, mostly told by men, especially when it comes to rape myths (Suarez and Gadalla 2010).

The prevalence of female anchors also represents a significant improvement as experts found that female journalists are more likely to write about sexual harassment in a non-stereotypical way than men. On average, this disparity is due to different personal beliefs and internalised values (Shoemaker and Reese 2013). However, as stated above, this preponderance is more apparent in the Chinese and Brazilian stories than in the Russian context.

6. Context

It is necessary to analyse the specific sectors of society in which women first denounced sexual harassment. The American movement started in October 2017 when the Weinstein scandal exploded in Hollywood. In the USA, #MeToo spread rapidly amongst the ordinary people, yet it is the sexual harassment stories of American movie stars that originated the proliferation of the movement. In other non-western nations, the local movie industry was not the economic sector in which sexual misbehaviour was publicly condemned initially (Zhang, 2018).

6. 1. Context: China

The sample reveals that it is Luo Xixi, a former PhD student studying at Beihang University in Beijing, who initiated the Chinese #MeToo movement. In 2004, her thesis adviser Chen Xiaowu assaulted her. She kept quiet for years, but the American #MeToo movement inspired the young woman, and she decided to speak out.

Luo filed a complaint with her former university, and she also wrote a signed and detailed account of her misadventure in an with the hashtag on Weibo, a well-known Chinese social-media platform. Three million people read this post. Six other female students had anonymously put forth complaints of sexual harassment and assault against Chen. China's #MeToo movement was born, and supportive hashtags became abundant on social media.

Luo Xixi's actions ignited a national debate about appropriate behaviour between professors and students. Chen Xiaowu lost his job, and the Ministry of Education announced projects for a mechanism to prevent sexual harassment at universities and colleges. On the 19th of January 2018, dozens of professors signed an online petition asking for zero tolerance of sexual misbehaviour on campus. More women came forward on Weibo, often even with signatures. As the campaign gained traction in the country, more cases relating to academics emerged. The movement initially concerned university campuses only.

For a long time, the effort failed to encourage women in other sectors to speak out (entertainment, business, and more). According to the anchors in the videos, the movement eventually spread from academia to other institutions in China. Among the accused have been mainly professors but also men working for NGOs, news media, pop music, and even the head of the government-run national Buddhist association, Xuecheng, who had to resign as a result of the allegations.

The framing of the sample suggests that the media industry might be the second most affected sector behind academia. Indeed, it includes two separate testimonies made by female survivors working in the industry. Nevertheless, the omnipresence of sexual assaults is acknowledged everywhere. It occurs in offices, on school field trips, at work meetings and dinners, to young women seeking education or a career.

As gender equality activism started to grow through this movement, the Communist Party felt that feminism threatened its vision of a stable Chinese society. Women who set out to battle sexual harassment found their online open testimonies erased. Gradually, the #MeToo and #MeTooInChina hashtags were disappearing on Chinese social media platforms like

Weibo and Weixin, along with articles against sexual harassment. Thereby, the #RiceBunny hashtag was born as an alternative.

6. 2. Context: Russia

The sample reveals that the development of #MeToo in Russia involved the media industry as well as the political sphere. In February 2018, Journalist Daria Zhuk spoke out about an interview she conducted with Russian parliamentarian Leonid Slutsky. She claims that four years before her revelation, the politician's behaviour became "defiant" and "indecent", as he tried to touch and kiss her as soon as he entered the studio. Inspired by the success of #MeToo outside Russia, she went public about the incident, using her media outlet to speak out: Dozhd TV (TV Rain).

As a result, three other female journalists came forward with their own stories of Slutsky leeching off them. Russia's #MeToo movement was born six months after the Weinstein scandal, thanks to the unified effort of these female media practitioners to take down the member of the state Duma of Russia.

Amongst the women, Katerina Kotrikadze works for Russian language station RTVI in New York City. She asserted that the MP pulled her to the wall and tried to kiss her during an interview. The incident occurred seven years before her testimony. Slutsky denied those allegations and even said that his accusers should have quit their jobs if they did not like the attention. According to the sample, another MP said that Slutsky is only guilty of not sharing the women.

However, another woman, BBC producer Farida Rustamova, came forward afterwards and claimed Leonid Slutsky asked her to be his mistress. After that, the calls for his resignation grew louder. The lawmaker posted an informal apology on Facebook for the discomfort he might have caused, without acknowledging any of the claims of harassment made by his accusers. The ethics committee of the Duma finally agreed to look into the complaints.

As opposed to #MeTooInChina, these women's effort did not encourage women outside of the media industry to speak out. According to the framing present in the videos, the movement never really spread to other industries and #MeToo in Russia remained mainly about the scandal involving Slutsky and the four female journalists. The story escalated quickly and engendered continuing hostility because of the involvement of a prominent

public official. Nevertheless, as Daria Zhud put it, it only “amounts to a modest #MeToo movement for Russia”.

6. 3. Context: Brazil

The framing of the stories indicates that the use of the hashtag #MeToo did not take off in Brazil despite many problems with gender equality. Nevertheless, in the current global #MeToo era, similar local campaigns or efforts occurred in Latin America’s largest country. Journalists sometimes associate those specific stories with the broad movement.

In Brazil, it appears that efforts similar to #MeToo emerged across economic sectors. Journalists observed two main sectors of society in which a #MeToo moment appeared, and they framed diverse unrelated events as the genesis of the movement in Brazil. In the sample, there is a divergence of agenda-setting. Journalists also have different opinions about which events represent the start of the campaign in the Latin American nation.

On the one hand, there are video reports which identify #DeixaElaTrabalhar as Brazil’s #MeToo movement even if it only concerns female sports journalists. The shocking footages of female reporters being victims of harassment on-air created a nationwide backlash; therefore, some news media companies perceive this small hashtag campaign as the local #MeToo. Launched in March 2018, #DeixaElaTrabalhar reappeared in the agenda as sexual harassment thrived during the 2018 Russia World Cup.

On the other hand, other stories focus on “John of God” and frame the faith healer into Brazil’s first major figure to go down in the #MeToo era. This sexual scandal only exploded in December 2018, yet it was much bigger than #DeixaElaTrabalhar, perhaps explaining why some reporters perceive it as the beginning of #MeToo in Brazil. More than three hundred women accused the guru of sexual misconduct.

Last but not least, feminism also operated in the political sphere around the same time. Before the election, women’s right activists rallied against Bolsonaro’s misogyny under the banner #EleNão (#NotHim). After he became president, Brazilian activists focus shifted back to typical issues on the feminist agenda, including sexual violence, even if an anti-Bolsonaro discourse remained prominent during public manifestations.

Feminism and attempts similar to #MeToo came to light in the sports industry, religious sector and politics simultaneously, revealing that internalisation of gender inequalities in Brazil’s

various sectors of society. Nevertheless, Brazilian women's rights activists are continuously fighting back despite a challenging environment.

6. 4. Context: Thematic Analysis

McDonald & Charlesworth (2013) wrote that journalists often omitted the context in which sexual harassment occurred in their stories about sexual abuse. Journalists used to trivialise the seriousness of the issue, writing about it as something uncommon and astonishing (McDonald & Charlesworth, 2013).

While media sensationalism remains a concern in reports about sexual scandals, the analysis of contexts reveals that thanks to #MeToo, media outlets became more conscious of the systematic nature of gender-based violence and harassment. In their news stories, journalists started including more contextual information about the prevalence of sexual violence in specific sites of struggle. In doing so, they made clear that this structural problem affects many women in various economic sectors. Before #MeToo, women were too uncomfortable to tell their stories due to the stereotype that it occurs rarely.

In the analysis, the Chinese #MeToo effort seems to be the one which had more reach, ultimately spreading to numerous sectors, as opposed to Russia, where the trend remained concentrated around one scandal. In both those contexts, journalists delimit the sector in which #MeToo arose first (academia in China; politics and news media in Russia) whereas this identification is unclear in the Brazilian stories.

As observed before in the study of titles and descriptions, reporters frame the news media industry as a sector particularly risky for female reporters in all three BRICS countries analysed. The rigorous analysis of contexts not only confirms this worrying commonality, but it also highlights another pattern in the harassment of women in the spiritual sectors of Brazil and China.

The scandal around João Teixeira de Faria dominates the agenda in the Brazilian sample. In contrast, the famous Buddhist monk Shi Xuecheng appears as one of the many men accused during the Chinese #MeToo effort. Nevertheless, this similitude raises concerns about the authority of religious leaders. There is an urgent need for proper regulation to control spiritual gurus operating outside of the law and abusing their powers.

Overall, across economic sectors and sites of struggle, there is a prevalence of elite men accused of sexual misbehaviour over regular men. Media outlets prioritise stories involving famous or influential people for their agenda. Critics already criticised this overemphasis on specific cases during the rise of the original American #MeToo campaign in Hollywood (Perkins, 2017).

In those BRICS reports, the focus is also on influential individuals accused of sexual harassment, as opposed to discussing policies and changes to institutional norms that could help women who face sexual abuse. This agenda-setting process is understandable as allegations surrounding high-profile public figures usually attract more readers. Nonetheless, the stories of regular workers often remain unseen (Frye, 2018).

7. Themes

Throughout the sample, themes and patterns are observable, and a few of them are particularly recurrent, defining a particular framing of the topic. Those organised ideas link together worthy news stories, creating a narrative over time (D'Angelo, 2018).

7. 1. Themes: China

Journalists often make explicit comparisons between the original American #MeToo campaign and the subsequent Chinese effort to fight sexual misbehaviour. The most mentioned resemblance would be the use of similar hashtags on Weibo, which happens to be the Chinese equivalent of Twitter.

However, both movements occurred in different contexts, and therefore, they went different ways. The American #MeToo is portrayed as relatively successful, whereas #MeTooInChina is continuously associated with failure or struggle.

News anchors and experts within the videos regularly blame several factors for this failure. Their discourse aligns with the arguments found in the reviewed literature. The first cause is the historically male-dominated culture still present in Mainland China. A news anchor for Inkstone (South China Morning Post) mentions that Chinese leaders technically founded the Communist Party on egalitarian principles, hence Mao Zedong famous quote "*Women hold*

up half the sky". However, she confirms that the gender gap in current Chinese society remains evident in many respects.

For instance, one unit of analysis published by Bloomberg News illustrates this unevenness by mentioning the Chinese government assembly and the lack of political empowerment for women. It specifies that, amongst the twenty-five members, only one of them is a woman. In China 24's interview with Audrey Li, she explains that this male-dominated culture engenders victim-blaming in China. The victims are often accused of what happened to them or described as drama queens; therefore, lots of them are afraid to speak out.

Another cause and the most explicitly disclosed one within the sample, is the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and its draconian system of censorship that has been going on for many years. As stipulated in most units of analysis, censorship is just part of life for 1.4 billion Chinese citizens. It is made possible via a complex eco-system of human beings, telecom and tech companies as well as the law which allows the CCP to have real-time control over information.

Hasan Minaj insists on the gravity of the phenomenon by addressing Chinese history and the way schools censor some essential historical facts. The host mentions the last major political protest which took place in China in 1989 in Tiananmen square. Citizens asked for democratic reforms and things escalated to the point where the Chinese army opened fire on the crowd on the 4th of June 1989. The most shocking part of the story is that Chinese youngsters do not learn about this dramatic event at school. The episode of *Patriot Act* incorporates CBS' footages of interviews with Chinese millennials who never heard of the incident before. According to the interviewees, Chinese history books do not mention the event.

In his show, Minaj put forward comparisons with the American context via the use of additional footages showing Chinese citizens supporting the government's rules. According to one of the interviewee, Chinese are less concerned about data privacy than the consumers in the West, and if one follows the rules, one still has the freedom to experience. The host supports the thesis that most people do not mind as they have equivalent platforms such as WeChat, Youku, Baidu, and more.

However, things are more complicated for activists, especially under Xi Jinping's current presidency. He had several human rights lawyers incarcerated, issued new cybercrime laws and even temporarily banned phrases which disapprove his authority or simply suggest disagreement. The president promotes cyber-sovereignty, a term defined as the idea that

China has the right to control information within its borders and block whatever the CCP judges as harmful.

The news anchors portray the CCP as the main enemy of feminists efforts in China, hating challenges or threats to its power. Therefore, organised protests are particularly problematic. The structural system imposed by the CCP does not provide real legal protection for victims of sexual harassment. Before 2018, there was no legal definition of sexual harassment and regulations on how to handle it in schools, workplace and other institutions were inexistent.

Within several videos in the sample, journalists mention that the government should establish stiffer penalties for assaulters who break the law. Generally speaking, public acknowledgement of sexual misconduct is rare in China. Formal procedures to deal with such issues did not exist until recently, and laws are ambiguous.

Nevertheless, activist Liang Wiaowen notes two significant improvements at the government level. In November 2018, the Ministry of Education proposed punishments for the lecturers or teachers who sexually harassed students, while the country's first civil code proposes adding protections against sexual harassment. The CCP agreed to add a definition of sexual harassment to the country's civil code.

The reform now explicitly confirms that employers should not sexually harassed employees. For the first time in China, victims can now sue under sexual harassment and gender discrimination. Despite this essential improvement, the discourse developed within the units of analysis supports the idea that state-run media contribute to the alienation of Chinese people.

As observed in the literature review, analysing the consequences of the one-child policy is essential to understand the current situation of Chinese women. It engendered the forced abortions of millions of baby girls, one of the lower birth rate in the world and a significant shortage of women in China. After thirty-five years of strict implementation, the government removed the policy, but protagonists in the sample do not think the intention is to give women more freedom.

In two separate videos, journalists argue that the government's recent change of discourse on the role of women is aggressive propaganda to solve the harmful consequences of the demographic imbalance. Hasan Minaj notes that after outlawing having more than one child for years, the CCP started shaming single woman into getting married and having babies by calling them "leftover women".

Hong Fincher argues that the government promotes the removal of the policy is as freedom; however, it targets young educated women. The state pressures them to have children and to get married before they turn thirty. She mentions statistics which are not promising as the birth rate decreased despite a change of policy. More and more Chinese women do not wish to follow traditional gender roles and become mothers.

Most units of analysis within the sample unveil proofs of sexual misconduct in the Mainland such as surveys, #MeToo tweets, interviews with victims and more. For example, the sample includes a report done by France 24 mentioning the work of activist Zheng Xi who planned on applying anti-sexual harassment stickers throughout the Chinese metro. Indeed, the video mentions a survey which confirms that more than 50% of female commuters were victims of sexual harassment while riding the Chinese subway.

As mentioned before, the framing of the Chinese #MeToo confirmed that it officially picked up the pace when Luo Xixi claimed that she was sexually harassed by her professor Chen Xiaowu when she was finishing her PhD at Beihang University in Beijing back in 2004. Her social media post went viral, and the forty-five years old professor got fired. Xiaowu, who was once vice-president of this campus, became the first person in China to be disciplined as a result of the #Metoo campaign.

The video report conducted for France 24 includes interviews with current students of Beihang University. They believe that there should be a system to supervise the behaviour of professors, even though it is challenging to establish a national mechanism to address this problem.

Public institutions have been slow to react; however, attempt to solve the scourge are observable when looking at education on a smaller scale. Widespread coverage of assault allegations has alerted some Chinese parents. They decided to take advantage of the summer holidays to educate young children about physical and sexual safety. Chinese conservative school systems lacked comprehensive sex education. Sex education instructor Zhang Qinqing and her colleagues organised summer camps to help fill that gap. The idea is that teaching young children about sexual safety from a young age will prevent them from saying #MeToo in the future.

Since the scandal at Beihang University, more than 10 000 students have written open letters to university across the country, demanding mechanisms for dealing with sexual harassment. The Guangzhou Gender Centre study released a survey revealing shocking facts. Among 7000

students, 70 % have been victims of sexual harassment, and only 4% of them reported the incidents to the authorities. Three cities appear to be particularly affected by the scourge: Beijing but also Shenzhen and Hangzhou.

In the context of Shenzhen, the story of Xia Liang is particularly prominent within the sample. The young woman was in her last year of university when one of her professors attempted to rape her. While collecting pieces of evidence on the incident, another student approached her and admitted she had been assaulted by him as well. Xiao Liang reported him to the authorities, but they ignored her story. She claims that today, this predator is still working at the same university as an associate professor. Inspired by #Metoo, she continues to push for a response from the university.

As a result from all the turmoil in the academic sphere, the Chinese education ministry had to release a statement pledging zero tolerance for inappropriate teacher behaviour and promised to work with other government bodies to build response mechanisms. This declaration was a breakthrough for those fighting for the cause.

While being confined initially to the academic world, #MeTooInChina has been gradually spreading to other industries via viral social media posts denouncing public figures such as writers or a state-media anchor. Accusations against high-ranking Buddhist monk Shi Xuecheng and TV host Zhu Jun dominate the agenda as two of the most scandalous #MeTooInChina scandals.

The shocking accusations against Xuecheng constitute a theme that dominates the agenda because of the involvement of religious authorities. A Ninety-five pages document accusing him of trying to coerce nuns into having sex was leaked online on WeChat. He denied all allegations but still resigned as the head of China's Buddhist association after the document was published.

DW News interviewed Zhou Xiaoxuan, a former intern at CCTV, who posted accusations of sexual harassment against TV anchor Zhu Jun on Weibo. Censors rapidly blocked her post, yet it was enough to create a polemic. Zhu Jun denied the accusations and filed a lawsuit against her. He demands the equivalent of 85 000 euros for damaging his reputation. She is fighting back, bringing her case to court, demanding compensation for sexual harassment.

The case of Huang Xueqin appears to be one of the earliest and most viral #MeToo incidents within the Chinese media industry. A colleague sexually harassed this freelance journalist on a business trip. The man put his hands on lap, grabbed her and kissed her. Similar experiences

from other females reporters as well as the American #MeToo movement prompted her to speak out and to conduct a survey to find out how many women in the industry were victims of sexual harassment. More than two hundred and fifty journalists polled, and 80% have been victims of sexual harassment.

As a result, Huang Xueqin created a social media platform anti-sexual harassment to show women how to protect themselves, gather evidence and confront predators. Her relatives tried to convince her that she should stop because it is bad for her reputation and they fear the government might get involved. Xueqin's discourse follows the same pattern as the general understanding of the position of women in China observed in the sample. She confirms that #Metoo never created ripples in China as it did overseas because traditional Chinese culture teaches women to act like obedient women. Many Chinese men believe that a woman who is active and outspoken is aggressive for challenging their authority. In general, some of the alleged assaulters lost their jobs, but the majority of them did not suffer.

Overall, the video creators decided to focus on the most prominent cases and managed to deliver a fair representation of the #MeToo campaign in the Chinese context. However, further research shows that video news reporters overlooked some critical stories. It brought down prominent figures across other Chinese industries that were not mentioned, such as sports and NGOs (Parkin & Feng, 2019).

Feng Yuan, a Chinese feminist and journalist, explains her position on women's rights in China in several videos within the sample. She worked with victims of gender-based violence for decades, and she believes #Metoo in China has reached a turning point. In her opinion, many women reported such incidents years ago, but the conditions were not right to start a national debate. For instance, already in 2014, activist Xiao Meili walked over 2000km from Beijing to South China to raise awareness about sexual violence. Nevertheless, the issue was not publicly acknowledged until Chinese feminists became empowered by #MeToo. Meili says:

“ [The American #MeToo] brought the idea that perpetrators could be directly exposed online, and through this exposure, be targeted.”

On the other hand, Feng Yuan also denounces the fact that in the Chinese context, censors started removing student petitions against sexual harassment and other content including the hashtag #MeToo, an issue that the West did not have to address. Furthermore, investigations are slow, and results are often hashed and not transparent. She states:

“At first, #MeToo was well-received and inspired more people to speak out, but compared to other countries, we have many disadvantages, including the lack of openness on the internet.”

When censors started deleting #MeToo posts and petitions online, Chinese feminists invented the homophone hashtag #RiceBunny to evade censorship and authoritarian backlash. The “rice bunny” (米兔) campaign, pronounced as “mi tu”, became the alternative that allowed the movement to survive in China. The hashtag, accompanied by emojis of rice bowls and bunny heads, is used by Chinese women to expose sexual harassment. Women used it in conjunction with other Chinese hashtags such as #IAmAlso (#我也是) and #MeTooInChina (#MeToo在中国), but it eventually became the most prominent one. Indeed, emojis are a lot harder to track and censor than words.

Surprisingly, there are still a few vague articles that discuss the #MeToo movement on the Chinese internet. The government allows people to talk about sexual harassment, and it is even okay if actions take place in isolated cases such as Professor Chen Xiaowu losing his job. When a topic becomes too well-known and sensitive, it gets censored as a warning. On the other hand, the CCP does not want to completely shut the discussion because people would notice that they cannot talk about it, hence the few articles remaining on the Chinese internet.

7. 2. Themes: Russia

Pussy Riot founder Nadya Tolokonnikova’s interview for MSNBC News highlights the dangers that activists can risk in Russia. She gives her side of the story about past Pussy Riot protests, especially the well-known 2012 church performance reviewed in the literature (Johnson, 2014). She claims that, contrary to popular belief, the police did not arrest the band during their performance, but the Kremlin made the decision later. Therefore, she was arrested two weeks after the performance. The authorities charged her for hooliganism motivated by religious hatred.

Tolokonnikova affirms that this was a political case as they did not disturb church members. They prayed to the Virgin Mary for the removal of Putin, and after saying what they wanted to, they left when church attendees asked to do so. The young woman spent eighteen months as a political prisoner, and her book *Read and Riot* is a call for jail reforms in Russia.

Because of this protest, she had to work twelve to sixteen hours every day, waking up at five in the morning to clean or sew police uniforms. She makes comparisons with the conditions

in the army. The Pussy Riot member states that the idea is not to leave a prisoner with his thoughts. An inmate must become a *“useless piece of body without any thoughts or criticism towards what is happening”*. Her detailed testimony confirms the findings found in the literature on the danger of being an activist in the Russian Federation.

Nonetheless, she believes as many Russian activists that one must not fear Putin’s authoritarian regime. She hopes to build democratic socialism in her country. In her opinion, there are great traditions in Russia coming from USRR, feminism and socialism even if it currently looks broken right now.

In the Russian context, the damaging level of sexual harassment in the media industry is a significant concern denounced several times in the sample. Journalists put forward the conflict involving Slutsky, the chairman of the Russian State Duma’s committee on international affairs, and female news reporters. Journalists frame it as the genesis of the #MeToo effort in the country.

As mentioned above, during her interview for CBC News, journalist Daria Zhuk claims that all her female colleagues, including herself, suffered from it. The news anchor affirms that few Russian women put their career on the line like Zhuk did because, in this country, sexual harassment is not taken seriously. He also blames Russian state-owned TV for its trend to portray #MeToo as a western phenomenon, not relevant in Russia because of the country’s *“social superiority”*.

One unit of analysis consists of a fragment of a press conference with President Vladimir Putin, who shares his opinion on #MeToo. The interviewer informs the politician about the media outcry involving State Duma deputy and Head of the Committee on International Affairs Leonid Slutsky. She mentions that judging by the transcript leaked out to the media, the Duma commission on Ethics did not try to get to the bottom of the matter. She also insists on the fact that one of the women accusing Slutsky had an audio recording, from which it follows that he indeed harassed her.

Even if the journalist specifically asked about #MeToo efforts in the Russian context, Putin only mentions people who specialise in protecting women’s rights or initiate major proceedings in the West and Hollywood. As observed in the literature reviewed, Putin’s doctrine associates feminism to Western liberalism, which challenges traditional gender roles and engenders immoralities.

During the interview, the president claims there is no need to make campaigns out of all these issues, certain ones in particular. He does not specify which ones. He believes any civilised countries have their legal procedures for reviewing such conflicts. He thinks courts and law enforcement agencies should deal with these problems.

In several videos, news anchors mention the problematic of these late accusations that emerged years after the incident supposedly took place. During his interview, Vladimir Putin questions the sincerity of the women who spoke out since they are bringing up now incidents that are, as they acknowledge, ten, twenty or thirty years old. However, journalists explain that the women might not have been feeling comfortable and safe doing it until now given the patriarchal anti-feminism culture in Russia.

One short news clip produced by Vocativ focuses on the controversial reactions of Russian Actresses such as Agniya Kuznetsova and Lyubov Tolkalina. With regards to the Weinstein scandal, they took the Hollywood mogul's side and criticised the victims. They later apologised for their offensive remarks. The video ends on a positive note, claiming that not everyone in Russia blames the victims, and many expressed disgust over the scandal and with the critical views of these actresses.

Journalists continuously make comparisons between the American and Russian #MeToo efforts and emphasise the fact that the campaigns went entirely different ways. The topic of flawed Russian laws always comes back as well. With regards to rape, there is legally no such things as consent. A woman must prove that someone physically injured her if she wants to report to the police. Physical injuries are the main criteria for acknowledging rape. Procedures at the police station are not pleasant, and victim-blaming is common, especially in small Russian towns.

News reporters do not generalise Russian men as predators. They point at the specific problem of ethics rules which are unequal in Russia. For instance, as specified in the Chinese context, there is no sex-ed in schools to educate young Russian boys and girls to embrace sexuality safely.

Human interest and personalisation are included on several occasions, presenting the stories of victims or their relatives with emotional testimonies. For instance, Katerina Kotrikadze talks about how angry she was about Slutsky's reaction to the anonymous accusation as he was trying to joke about it on Facebook. He called the accusations "provocation".

The scandal around Slutsky gradually picked up weight, and most of his colleagues stood beside him, including female Duma deputies. Victim-blaming was thriving, with politicians accusing the three journalists of slander, a violation of ethics and orchestrating a campaign to discredit Slutsky. Only a few deputies such as Oksana Pushkina took the ladies sides.

It is only after BBC journalist Farida Rustamova came with more accusations that the well-known lawmaker shows some signs of remorse. He posted on Facebook again on the 8th of March 2018, but this time, holding a different discourse. CBC translated his post in English: *“Sorry to those of you I have ve caused any discomfort consciously or unconsciously...”*. RT’s translation was more detailed than CBC’s:

*“I would like to ask forgiveness from those of you whom
I have ever, intentionally or otherwise, caused any distress.
Believe me. There was no malicious intent.”*

Nadira Tudor, a news reporter for RT, questions the sincerity of this apology, indirectly suggesting that it might not have been meaningful.

Given the growing hostility, the ethics committee of the Duma accepted to look into the complaints, and Daria Zhud appealed. Even before the outcome, the media outlets which produced the YouTube videos showed signed of pessimism. CBC News’ framing suggests defeatist assumptions about Duma’s reaction, suggesting a negative outcome based on their past.

Indeed, the units within the sample always come back to the fact that in 2017, Russia went so far into decriminalising domestic violence with the support of the Orthodox Church (Tsikhanenka, 2019). With this new legislation, if a husband beats his wife or child not more than twice a year and does not cause “substantial” bodily harm (concussions and broken bones), the worse penalty he could get is fifteen days in jail or a fine. Consequently, cases of domestic violence increased, whereas reporting declined considerably. Police started refusing investigations of such cases.

Newest units within the sample reveal that CBC’s pessimism was well-founded. RT’s report informs the audience that when the State Duma Ethics Commission studied the case involving Slutsky, it found no violation.

As a response to the unfavourable ruling against the women, certain media outlets declared a boycott against the state Duma. More than a dozen platforms demanded his resignation and stopped having contacts with Duma representatives (e.g. *The Village*, *The Bell*, *Medusa*, *Echo of Moscow*). Duma made its position clear by suspending the credentials of certain media. To summarise, the selected YouTube videos make it clear that Slutsky kept his job, but also, that many outlets made sure the scandal does not disappear that easily.

Journalist Olga Bychkova from *Echo of Moscow* explains that lawmakers took a dim view of the accusations, telling the reporters to mind their manners. Members of the Russian political elite also said that journalists who do not wish to face sexual harassment should change their jobs. Bychkova claims:

“The unfolding scandal has the potential to transform Leonid Slutsky into Russia’s version of disgraced Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein.”

Social activist Alena Popova showed confidence thanks to the growing pressure on some members of the political establishment breaking ranks to criticise Slutsky. Parliament’s acceptance of Slutsky’s behaviour has galvanised many people who believe the pushback against Russia’s lawmakers was the start of Russia’s #MeToo movement.

VOA News met with members of Women National Democratic Club in the United States who expressed their support for Russian women and their #MeToo effort. Jackie Speier, the Representative for California’s 14th congressional district, described the history of the Civil and Women’s rights activism in the US, referring to the well-known American activist Anita Hill.

The politician believes her country was able to finally address the issue thanks to the actions of famous female icons in the media who spoke out to denounce abusive men in Hollywood. She asks that Russian women do not become deterred despite the decision of the Ethics Committee.

In the report, video editors frame the United States as a model that Russia should follow. The news report, which started with a summary of the failure of these journalists to hold Slutsky accountable for his actions, rapidly switches to the new reforms established in the US to protect women. According to Speier, members of Congress must now take mandatory training on sexual harassment.

She affirms that the US House of Representatives also passed a bill that makes it easier for victims of sexual harassment to defend themselves. The bill gives the victims legal counsel from the beginning. It serves to ensure that the harasser appropriately compensates them. From now on, an American lawmaker found guilty of wrongdoing must pay his victim a compensation out of his own pockets and not from taxpayers' money.

The anchor describes the scandal involving Slutsky as the start of a Russian equivalent of the #MeToo American movement which could lead to similar reforms if successful. Speier insists that Russian women must not be fearful and keep fighting despite the decision of the Ethics Committee to clear the lawmaker. The video concludes on a hopeful note stating that the calls for his resignation are growing louder, mainly thanks to the media boycott.

According to one of the reports from VOA News, Russia's politicians, like their Soviet predecessors, often praised the nation's women and promised to support and protect them. However, human right activists confirm that statistics on women of Russia show that the government's policies on gender equality need improvements.

Campaigners are primarily concerned with domestic violence in Russia, usually at the hands of men. In 2017, the country's Parliament of the state Duma partially decriminalise domestic physical abuse, making a first-time assault of a close family member punishable by a fine rather than jail time. Expert Popova claims:

"Generally, an average Russian family has a shared budget.

Imagine, he beats her up then pays the fine with her money."

Popova herself promised her friend she will get her abuser in jail, and it proved to be impossible under the current circumstances. Parker's viewpoint aligns with Popova's as she talks about women chased by the state to pay this fine because her husband did not want to pay it.

Lawyer and rights activist Rivina mentions that the main issue with domestic violence is that, with the violence taking place at home, there is nowhere to run. The victim does not know whom to ask for help. She believes the system which should be protecting Russian women was already inappropriate and it became much worse after the enactment of the new law in February 2017. Since then, it became harder for women experiencing domestic violence to get help from the police, who was already regularly turning away reports.

Gorbunova reports that official statistics confirmed that at least one in five Russian women experienced physical violence at the hands of her husband or boyfriend. Russian law does not consider domestic violence as a standalone offence but treats it as any other form of violence against a person. Gorbunova disagrees:

“Domestic violence is different from a crime committed by a stranger in a public place for several reasons. It repeats over time, it is systematic, and it tends to escalate very quickly.”

The Human Rights Watch’s representative affirms that in most cases, the only way for survivors of domestic violence to get justice and punish the perpetrator is to mount what is called a “private prosecution” .

Davtyan thinks that women are not prepared to go through the process of private prosecution because it is very complicated, and there are many legal barriers. It can take a minimum of six months and can go on indefinitely. The woman also has to attend every court hearing; if she misses one, the jury discontinues the case. A private prosecution is not suitable for domestic violence situations because the woman has to face her abuser by herself. The rights lawyer speaks about cases she dealt with where the woman gets beaten after every hearing. If the survivor manages to win her private prosecution in court, the attacker barely gets a warning.

The government confirmed that the number of domestic violence cases reported to the police dropped nearly by half since the passing of the legislation. Feminists believe it discourages Russian women from seeking legal help which can lead to tragedy. According to the NGO website “domesticviolence.ru”, more than 16 million women become victims of domestic violence in Russia each year. Only ten per cent of them go to the police. The rest remain unheard.

Anna Verba, who lost her daughter Elena due to domestic violence, gives a very emotional speech. Her testimony brings emotions in the framing and allows the audience to empathise with her. She blames the new relaxed law and the police inaction. She says the authorities ignored calls when Elena’s husband attacked her with a knife for the first time four months before the brutal murder.

The video produced by the Human Rights Watch ends on a solid note, concluding that the Russian parliament should adopt a law that clearly defines domestic violence. The state

should investigate those cases instead of having private proceedings. Finally, Russian laws need to provide for protection orders which can protect women from further abuse.

7. 3. Themes: Brazil

In the context of Brazil, journalists prioritise particular stories on their agenda and several themes reappear throughout the sample. One example is the moment when a Brazilian soccer fan stole a kiss from sports journalist Bruna Dealtry at a match at the Sao Januario stadium in Rio de Janeiro in March 2018. According to one report, Bruna Dealtry was stunned after a shirtless man kissed her live on-air.

While describing the atmosphere at the game between the Brazilian club Vasco and Chilean club Universidad de Chile, the man caught Dealtry mid-sentence with an unwanted kiss that left her in shock.

The Brazilian female sports journalist later complained about the man on her social media accounts. She wrote in a Facebook post:

“I have always been a reporter who loves to celebrate with the fans.

I do not get bothered by people soaking me in beer, jumping around

or stepping on my foot. But today I have experienced first-hand the impotence that

so many women feel in the stadium, on the subway, even walking in the streets.”

Some video journalists frame the incident as the genesis of a feminist effort in Brazil similar to #MeToo. Indeed, Dealtry’s social media posts sparked a nationwide backlash against harassment of female sports journalists. They created a WhatsApp group and joined #DeixaElaTrabalhar (#LetHerWork).

There is a contradiction in the sample about how many women joined the movement. CGTN America’s report states that in March 2018, fifty-two female Brazilian sports reporters launched #LetHerWork to condemn on-air groping and showcase the severity of sexual harassment. Another report states that more than one hundred women joined the movement.

Nonetheless, the three reports about #DeixaElaTrabalhar refer to a video created by the group. The viral one-minute video includes the journalists’ experiences with harassment, both on and off camera. It includes testimonies as well as footage of Brazilian reporters being

grabbed, kissed and abused while on air. For example, one of them affirms that she was spat on by a man who claimed that women should not speak about sports. The goal of the video is to create awareness to stop incidents of harassment by fans and athletes. These women confirm that they are part of a “global movement”, reinforcing the journalists’ framing of a connection between #LetHerWork and #MeToo.

#DeixaElhaTrabalhar reappeared in the agenda during the 2018 World Cup in Russia. Two reports by ABC News (Australia) and CGTN America start with the story of Brazilian sports journalist Julia Guimarães. Those news videos offer a very similar framing of events. She was reporting live on the match Japan versus Senegal. A man tried to kiss her on-air, and she got angry. Later, she tweeted to complain about the man’s behaviour.

Originally written in Portuguese, her tweet stated that she had never experienced this at home in Brazil, but it happened twice to her in Russia during the World Cup. According to CGTN America, she had already written an online article about the machismo female sports reporter always face during the international soccer competition. Her personal experience does not reflect the reality of Bruna Dealtry and all the women who joined #DeixaElhaTrabalhar. Their stories confirm that sexual harassment towards female sports reporters occurs in both Russia and Brazil.

Even if she is not from Brazil, journalists use the case of DW News’ correspondent Julieth González Therán in parallel with Guimarães’ story. Video journalists illustrate instances that encouraged the Brazilian movement against harassment of working women. A fan kissed the Columbian reporter on-air and grabbed her breast. She ignored him and continued her live reporting in Moscow during the World Cup ahead of the Russia versus Saudi Arabia game.

She later said: *“We do not deserve those treatments, we are equally valuable and professional. I share the joy of football, but we must identify the limits of affection and harassment”*. Her employer tweeted to denounced the act, reposted the footage of the incident and wrote *“Sexual harassment is not okay. It needs to stop. In football and elsewhere”*. The assailant apologised live on DW News a day after three different Swedish fans maltreated a third female reporter.

The footages of these women harassed on-air sparked outrage from both men and women online. The report by CGTN America includes tweets pointing out the issue with hashtags such as #Men at #WorldCup2018. One woman wrote:

“Please stick to cheering for your team and stop harassing reporters who are doing

their jobs. Unwanted kissing and groping is not a joke to impress your friends

with. It is sexual harassment. Be a real man and stop it #LetHerWork”.

Another man saluted the response from Brazilian TV journalist Julia Guimarães as he acknowledges it is not easy to show restraint in the face of harassment.

#DeixaElaTrabalhar was launched three months before the 2018 World Cup, and journalists found it necessary to address the topic months later even if the latest cases of harassment reported did not occur in Brazil. Indeed, the reports frame the Brazilian campaign as a consistent effort because one's fight to carry out one's job as a female sports journalist is similar around the world. The newscasts go beyond those specific incidents of sexual harassment and highlight the general misogyny and broader sexism endured by female sports reporters.

One example mentioned by ABC News (Australia) is the case of Australian CBS reporter Lucy Zelić. During the Russia World Cup, she endured online abuse for pronouncing players names as they would be in their home countries. She ignored critics that described it as annoying and insufferable and just kept doing it.

CGTN America chose a different example and identified Vicki Sparks as the first-ever female commentator of a World Cup match. In the programme Good Morning Britain on ITV, former Chelsea footballer Jason Cundy openly criticised her “high-pitched tone”. He claimed that he has nothing against her ability to do the job, but her voice is annoying.

The Human Rights Watch offers a different perspective on sexual harassment in the Brazilian sports industry beyond the targeting of journalists. The report released at the beginning of 2019 shows a viral video from a 2017 Brazilian football game at the Mangueirão stadium in the northern state of Pará. The NGO argues that any woman involved in this sector faces a toxic environment, including fans.

Two teams were about to face off: Remo and Paysandu. Female supporters from both sides held banners calling for respect. Written in Portuguese, their banner translated to: “*A woman's place is wherever she wants, including in a stadium.*” with the hashtag #RespeitaAsMinas (#RespectWomen). Male fans responded by harassing the women. The Remo fans first booed them and then chanted demeaning lyrics about kissing and having sex with Paysandu women.

The Human Rights Watch's focus shifts to a broader lens as the video affirms that stadiums are not the only place where Brazilian women face such behaviour. Statistics confirm the gender pay gap observed in the literature review as the report reveals that Brazilian women earn 23% less than men. Furthermore, harsh abortion restrictions deny women of their reproductive freedom.

According to the NGO, domestic violence is widespread in the Latin American country, and Brazilian authorities should take new steps to end the rampant abuse of women's rights and denounce sexual harassment. The video released by NowThis News suggests the same feeling of emergency. Different women speak including a Brazilian journalist, delegates of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women and a human rights lawyer.

These women base their arguments on a study from the Institute for Applied Economic Research. It states that 527,000 rapes occur in Brazil every year and that every 7.2 seconds, one woman is a victim of physical violence in Brazil. One protagonist argues that every five minutes, a woman is a victim of harassment, and this is only in acknowledged cases. According to the newscast, Brazil is the fifth most violent country in terms of gender-based violence.

The lawyer mentions the 2016 case of a sixteen-year-old girl who was raped by thirty-three men in Rio de Janeiro. The act was recorded by one of them, showing that the girl was unconscious during the assault. The video went viral and had powerful repercussions. Despite this, the victim still suffers from psychological issues and several threats.

However, her story was only one case among thousands of other that went public. The women argue that most of the cases do not even get to the police. They believe that ninety per cent of rapes do not get reported, which means that out of ten cases, the police only hear about one. Not acknowledging or recognising the situation is part of the problem in Brazil. Furthermore, even if one case gets reported, nothing happens.

According to the video, the girl in the 2016 case mentioned had to leave town and hide from the overexposure. The court only prosecuted seven out of the thirty-three men. The experts confirm that Brazilian women are not only subjected to violence from men but also the system, the judiciary, the legal system and from the political system. Consequently, they conclude that it is essential that women get together to claim and defend their rights.

Despite #DeixaElaTrabalhar, the case of faith healer João Teixeira de Faria, commonly known as "John of God", appears as the other recurring theme framed as a local #MeToo effort. Even

if he is a respected figure in the spiritual community, The Daily Mail TV suggests that the Brazilian guru could be a charlatan who took advantage of his celebrity to abuse women. His followers claimed that he could miraculously cure diseases such as cancer.

In the sample, Dutch choreographer Zahira Lieneke Mous is always the victim representing the voices of all his victims. Her voice is dominant and overshadows the stories of other sufferers. She gives explicit details of her assaults in an interview with local television channel Globo TV on the 6th of December 2018, explaining that he grabbed her hand and moved it on his pants. She claims that he sexually harassed her twice and penetrated her from behind the second time. Her tone is emotional as she explains that she decided to share her story after being in denial for four years.

According to Daily Mail TV's host Jesse Palmer, more than six hundreds accusers ranging from age nine to sixty-seven contacted the authorities after Zahira's interview appeared on Brazilian television. The Washington Post's figures are lower as the report states that more than three hundreds women contacted prosecutors. Nevertheless, all these women claimed to be sexually abused by the faith healer, including his daughter, who he allegedly harassed during childhood. Some women said that Faria abused them on the premise of transferring his "cleansing" energy.

The reports introduce "John of God" as a man who led a spiritual centre in Brazil for more than fifty years. Millions approached him for spiritual guidance or healing. He performed numerous unlicensed medical procedures with no anaesthesia. The miracle worker says that he channels the spirit of dead doctors and biblical figures to perform his miraculous healings. He is also well-known for psychic surgeries, invisible procedures powered by a force he calls the entity. The older man was so popular that Oprah Winfrey visited his centre in 2012. She was overwhelmed by the rituals and almost passed out.

On the 16th of December 2018, "John of God" surrendered himself to police after being on the run due to rape charges. The Washington Post's video begins with footages of his car arriving at the police station in Goiania, surrounded by cameramen and soldiers. He claimed his innocence. The once-beloved guru is not only accused of sexually harassing hundreds of women, but also baby trafficking and murders. The Daily Mail TV's host speaks about potential baby farms where he raped girls. He would sell the infants on the black market to childless couples around the world. His assistants would murder the mothers after ten years of giving birth repeatedly.

Jesse Palmer interviews Nancy Grey from crimeonline.com about the evidence that prosecutors are working this. Grey affirms that if it is true that he assaulted young girls, took their babies from them and farm them out for adoption, those children will bear his DNA. However, the expert fears that, given his extraordinary celebrity, anything can happen and the case could end up with a “not guilty” verdict.

The Washington Post’s video released in December 2018 stated that the guru could face up to ten years in jail. With the growing number of allegations against him, Nancy Grey believes that the older man was looking up at seventy years behind bars.

When searching for reports related to #MeToo and recent feminist efforts in Brazil, the #EleNão movement (#NotHim) frequently appears on the agenda even if it does not deal directly with sexual harassment. In addition to extensive coverage by media outlets, the framing of this campaign is representative of the current Brazilian feminist wave, and therefore it belongs in the sample.

Al Jazeera’s report on the movement reflects that the local hashtag campaign went beyond the online world. The newscast starts with footages of a manifestation with protesters holding #EleNão banners. The anchor affirms that during the presidential election campaign, opponents of ultra-conservative Jair Bolsonaro are taking to the streets in every major town in Brazil and even abroad.

Reporters conduct interviews with random protesters such as Samuel Costas who affirms that Bolsonaro spills hatred. He says: *“he is against minorities, blacks, gays, women. That is not acceptable; we cannot allow him to turn the clock back”*. Another one affirms that *“he is homophobic, xenophobic, racist and especially sexist.”* Similarly to The New York Times’ anchor, she refers to the infamous incident mentioned in the literature review: the time he told a congresswoman that she does not deserve a man’s rape because she is ugly.

While feminists mainly denounce his discriminating agenda, other protestors are more concerned about his overly pro-military stands and his praise for Brazil’s former military dictatorship. As the protests were taking place in September 2018, Bolsonaro was released from São Paulo hospital and flew back to his home in Rio de Janeiro, twenty-three days after a man stabbed him in the stomach during a campaign rally. His popularity surged after that.

The media outlets frame Bolsonaro as a traditionalist man with a radical political agenda based on his past public claims and appearances on television. For example, Al Jazeera’s

anchor refers to the time he said he rather have his son died if he turned out to be gay. The New York Times' news video includes the time he said he supports torture on television.

The video journalists emphasise the battle for public opinion in this very polarised election campaign. Al Jazeera's focus was on the feminists of #EleNãO while The News York Times covered the opinions of far-right women. According to one reporter on-site, Bolsonaro was at least eight percentage points ahead of his nearest rival in the polls. However, he also had a 46% disapproval rating, the highest of any candidate. She also claims that a web page calling everyone against Bolsonaro received more than three million followers in less than two weeks.

Both outlets insist on the conflict within the Brazilian population. Footages of Bolsonaro's release from the hospital shows supporters waiting for him outside. According to journalists, the candidate was always leading in the polls. He taps into widespread anger over corruption, crime and a deep recession of what many views as a loss of family values. Bolsonaro seized on people's fears to justify iron-fisted policing tactics, and he vowed to fight violence with more violence. His ideas horrify many Brazilians but please others.

The New York Times' video begins with aerial footages of Copacabana, a world-class beach which became party central for Brazil's far-right. The reporter documented one of the weekly rallies which celebrated Bolsonaro during the election and confirmed that it is the women that seemed mainly divided by him.

The news story takes a historical turn when referring to a women's march against communist reforms which took place in 1964. This event set the stage for a military coup and twenty-one years of dictatorship followed. The army killed and tortured hundreds of dissidents. Journalists frame Jair Bolsonaro as an admired politician, surrounded by the crowd and shaking hands, as well as a former army captain and open admirer of the former dictatorship. His only criticism was that they did not kill enough people.

At Bolsonaro rallies, people reminisce about the role women played in calling for the coup. One excited male supporter says:

"These women must be congratulated. They went to the streets and asked the Brazilian army to take control of the country. And today they have returned to ask again because they are losing their children because of all the crime."

Indeed, in The New York Times' report, crime is framed as the main factor driving Bolsonaro's popularity. The anchor affirms that in 2017, criminals murdered nearly 64 000 people in Brazil.

The reporter meets with Sara Winter, a former pro-choice activist who is now pro-life and describe herself as a "cured feminist". She mobilised her Facebook followers to show their support for Bolsonaro during his campaign. The group described themselves as "fascist women". One older woman amongst them affirms that she lived through a dictatorship and it is not as bad as what everyone says. Winter believes that women would feel more secure if Bolsonaro runs the country.

Another interviewee named Sofia Caputo voted for the left in the last four elections, and she now supports Bolsonaro. She explains:

"I am scared to sweep the sidewalk, scared of being mugged. I was almost mugged once in front of my house. Women, men, children are dying, stray bullets, we cannot take it anymore. If dictatorship ends all that, we welcome that."

The journalist on location affirms that Bolsonaro's pitch is not new as the military already policies Rio's most impoverished neighbourhood such as favelas to find guns and gang members. Security forces killed over 1000 people in Rio de Janeiro since the federal takeover began, mostly young men. This number represents a forty-two per cent increase from the previous year, mostly young men.

Consequently, many mothers fear Bolsonaro as he wishes to ramp up the military role, giving the police and soldiers more power with less accountability. One mother explains that the police killed her fourteen-year-old on his way to school. The next day, she became activist, protesting against Bolsonaro through the #EleNã movement.

According to the report, people living outside the war zones of favelas are less concerned about the cost of fighting violence with more violence. Bolsonaro wants to make it easier to buy guns, and that idea resonates with a lot of upper or middle-class people worried about robberies.

Katia Sastre, a former policewoman, was standing outside her daughter's school on mother's day when a young man tried to rob them with a gun. Off duty at the time, she was recorded shooting him three times. Soon after she ran for Congress and won by replaying the footage.

Her motto was *“I shot and I will shoot again”*. The family sued her for replaying his death in her campaign, but she does not regret it. She says:

“Female voters who oppose Bolsonaro, it is because of his machismo or because he causes violence. No, he is just giving us the opportunity to defend ourselves. To be able to defend ourselves, that is women empowerment.”

The anchor compares Bolsonaro to American President Trump who campaigned on fear, crime and security. The Brazilian politician wants people to believe that his militaristic “fascist” agenda can solve all of Brazil’s problems.

The framing affirms that Bolsonaro supporters want some change, but it also suggests that his new approach could cost Brazil’s democracy. News reporters represent safety issues as more urgent in the eyes of many women in Brazil, hence their support for Bolsonaro despite his misogyny and discrimination of minorities.

After his election, the Brazilian feminist agenda shifted back to traditional women’s rights issues even if the opposition to Bolsonaro remains visible. EFE covered the 2019 edition of International Women’s Day. Thousands took the streets of Brazil’s largest cities to denounce gender-based violence, as well as a lack of equal pay and abortion rights.

The newscast notes that while it was primarily a feminist march, there was also a robust anti-fascist sentiment, with chants against president Bolsonaro. Many participants paid tribute to Brazilian councilwoman and feminist Marielle Franco, a vocal human rights defender. She was assassinated a year before the event in the heart of Rio de Janeiro, a crime that remains unsolved.

Like the other stories, the report concludes with alarming numbers found in a study about the situation of women in the Latin American country:

“In 2018, more than 16 million women above the age of sixteen faced some kind of violence. More than 11 000 Brazilian women have filed a report of violence to police in the first two months of this year. Brazil has the fifth-highest rate of femicide in the world.”

7. 4. Themes: Thematic Analysis

The news stories display a wide range of information specific to each country but core concepts emerge across contexts. Even if there are close associations with the American movement, journalists also highlight the uniqueness of the BRICS #MeToo efforts and how they differentiate themselves from feminism in the West.

The videos often undermine the innovative aspect of #MeToo as they focus on the impediments of women's rights activism in BRICS. Notions such as internalised sexism, the economic gender gap, gender-based violence, weak laws, state involvement, elite men, as well as media surveillance, dominate the discourse. Those persisting themes raise concerns for the future of women in the broader political economy of those emerging nations. Since #MeToo, there is an implicit "re-framing" of sexual harassment. Previously trivialised, journalists now acknowledge it as a cultural issue with economic repercussions (Manickam, 2018).

Manickam (2018) found that often, there are economic relationships that exist between the people involved in a sexual assault. Therefore, it is normal that many alleged abusers are elite men or entertainers with enormous economic power and influence over their victims. It is also not surprising that survivors of sexual harassment are often unwilling to use the fragile legal tools that exist to protect them (Manickam, 2018).

In a work environment, a powerful perpetrator has economic power over his employees because senior figures determine the career advancement of young professionals. As observed in the samples, the media industry is particularly vulnerable because employment depends entirely on how hierarchical superiors recommend the junior staff. Low-wage workers deal with more robust power dynamics that allow some managers to harass them without consequences. Victims often choose to put up with harassment instead of facing wage cuts or the loss of their job (Manickam, 2018).

An associated occurrence also visible in the analysis is senior figures protecting their fellow offenders and colleagues. Co-workers of influent perpetrators do not risk to jeopardise their financial well-being, reputation, credibility and job security (Manickam, 2018). In Russia, most MPs of the state of Duma supported Slutsky during the local #MeToo scandal.

From an economic perspective, coverage of #MeToo divulged two urgent needs. First, experts should gather more data on the economic repercussions of sexual harassment in BRICS. It

costs businesses and the broader economy in terms of loss of employees, wasted hours, legal spending, fines and public perception of a brand. The reckoning of these repercussions would encourage profit-driven companies to restructure accordingly. Secondly, there is a lack of systems that would encourage victims to speak out without sacrificing their financial stability (Manickam, 2018).

Political economy is only one of many aspects to consider when trying to understand why sexual harassment remains a systemic problem (Manickam, 2018). Media coverage of #MeToo moments in BRICS often prioritise the cultural lens over economics, yet journalists should consider all facets equally for an improved representation of this complex subject-matter.

For example, many critics fear that the rise of the Social Credit System (SCS) will soon become the primary obstruction to women's rights activism in China. However, journalists omit this critical theme from the sample. The scoring system already exists in Mainland China, but it should be fully functional and mandatory by the end of 2020. It would allow the CCP and Chinese companies to score all citizens based on their behaviour. For example, late bill payments and playing loud music in Beijing's public transports could engender a low score (Liang, Das, Kostyuk and Hussain, 2018).

People with a dissenting voice such as Chinese feminists could end up on the "blacklist". Based on the current plan for implementation, women's rights activists could face severe penalties if they do not practice self-censorship. The implications include the impossibility to purchase plane tickets or to work as civil servants in specific industries, exclusion from school admissions and public display of mugshots (Liang, Das, Kostyuk and Hussain, 2018).

Observers compare China's Social Credit System to Russia's plan for a "personal development trajectory", another omitted political-economic factor which could potentially jeopardise the lives of Russian feminists and women in general. As part of the state's plan to digitise the economy, eight per cent of Russians should get a digital profile that will document academic records, personal achievements and failures by 2025. Employers would use those digital profiles in their staff selection (Smith, 2018).

Experts noticed that many BRICS citizens approve those surveillance systems. Researchers found that the CCP justified its citizen scoring with an economic rationale, and it worked. They promote the Social Credit System as an effective manner to enhance honesty, to fight corruption and to grow a "culture of trust". Chinese people seem less concerned about giving up their privacy if it means a significant increase in security. Indeed, China is struggling with

a rising number of cyber-crimes such as fraud cases and scams, as well as scandals in the food sector and pharmaceutical industry (Liang, Das, Kostyuk and Hussain, 2018).

This reaction is quite similar to the Brazilians' shift towards Bolsonaro and the authoritarian far-right movement, which promised to fix safety issues. Chinese and Brazilian citizens show signs of compliance and approval in the face of an alarming level of crime. Western media offer a critical perspective on BRICS' restrictive political regimes, state propaganda in the media, citizen surveillance and human rights challenges. However, they should always address the underlying causes of BRICS citizens' approbation of non-liberal ideologies and tactics.

8. Opposing Viewpoints

An opposing viewpoint refers to an opinion that is the opposite of one generally accepted by the masses. It can also refer to a disagreement with the discourse and ideologies promoted during the #MeToo campaign. It is necessary to incorporate opposing viewpoints in this study to remain unbiased. All sides of the story based on facts and statistical data must be studied to obtain an objective understanding of the phenomenon.

8. 1. Opposing Viewpoints: China

The origins and progress of #MeToo in China are complex. The sample reveals that there is a paradox among experts who seems to disagree on its essence. Most people confirm that the Chinese movement was entirely empowered and motivated by the American #MeToo based on the idea that women could denounce perpetrators online. Within the sample, journalists often draw parallels between the western campaign and the subsequent Chinese movement.

On the other hand, in two of the YouTube videos, Leta Hong Fincher, an expert in feminist research in the Chinese context and author of *Betraying Big brother: the feminist awakening in China* (2019), offers a different perspective. She insists on the fact that Chinese activists did not borrow #MeToo from the West. It is instead a natural outcome of the homegrown feminist movement which was going on in the past few years.

As previously mentioned, Chinese leaders founded the nation on communist ideals that famously stated: "*women hold up half the sky*". In her interviews, Leta Hong Fincher explains

that in the early communist era, the Communist Party put women to work in the countryside as well as in factories, resulting in the world's highest level of female labour force participation. Women were critical to building the economy and in developing the industry of this new communist nation. Back then, propaganda represented women in positions that were traditionally only associated with men. However, everything changed with the onset of market reforms.

Hong Fincher explains that there has been a resurgence of gender inequality, and the Communist Party is now pushing for a completely different type of propaganda with regards to the role and position of women in Chinese society. Women are seen as potential wives and mothers, leading many women being denied economic opportunities outside of these traditional roles. They should be feminine and not concern themselves with advancing their careers and educations.

The expert talks about the 2015 jailing of the "Feminist Five" as a turning point in the history of Chinese feminism, long before #MeToo exploded in Hollywood (Hong Fincher, 2019). These feminists' work began in 2012 with a stunt known as "Blood Brides" held on Valentine's day. Two members of the Feminist Five walked along a busy Beijing area in wedding gowns stained with fake blood to denounce domestic violence. They also distributed anti-domestic violence pamphlets. The images of the "Blood Brides" appear regularly in the videos when mentioning the work of those activists.

The 2015 scandal involving the five women's rights activists ended up galvanising many young Chinese women who were shocked and started to ask for change. Now, with the #MeToo movement, more and more women are joining the fight, and the CCP feels threatened. In both her interviews selected for the sample, Hong Fincher predicts more coercive policies coming from the CCP trying to force women into more subservient roles. The mandatory implementation of the Social Credit System (SCS) could represent the genesis of those new methods.

At the same time, she thinks more and more women are going to reject and push back against that pressure. The fact that the conversation is now happening shows an improvement in the position of women in Chinese society. However, when it comes to any kind of change with regards to sexual violence in China, that transformation could take much longer.

Leta Hong Fincher acknowledges that there are notable cases of sexual harassment which became viral and therefore overshadowed others. Nevertheless, she claims that there are

thousands of unknown feminists in China, and the number is increasing. In her opinion, Chinese authorities thought that, by jailing the Feminist Five, they would be able to crush the broader movement. However, they had the opposite effect as it galvanised the feminist community in China. Elite middle-class women and working-class women are coming together in a unified effort to denounce sexual violence but also to claim their other rights such as equal labour rights.

Overall, the videos within the sample offer a sophisticated and instructive representation of the feminist movement in China. This framing engenders a series of mixed feelings with regards to the #MeToo movement in the Mainland. Nevertheless, most protagonists acknowledge that the women's right movement poses a unique challenge to China's regime.

8. 2. Opposing Viewpoints: Russia

It appears that women's rights and the Weinstein scandal are notions that create lots of controversy in Russian civil society. Throughout the sample, protagonists share stories and opinions that diverge from one another. It reflects how feminism became an area of contention between individuals that formed two opposing groups: rights campaigners and people supporting the anti-feminist discourse.

As mentioned before, Russian personalities such as President Vladimir Putin expressed their reticence towards women's rights activism. During the press conference, his reaction confirms the idea that sexual harassment is an issue which is not taken seriously in Russia. After confirming that he never heard of the scandal involving Slutsky before, he could not contain his laughter when she said several female reporters accused the lawmaker of sexually harassing them. Several Russian actresses also sympathised with Weinstein, either saying that the accusers were liars trying to build a reputation or claiming that sexual harassment is not a big deal.

The news report by Vesti News is representative of how state-owned Russian television channels promote Russian supremacy and marginalise Western liberalism, especially when it comes to a controversial topic such as women's rights. It offers a different perspective from the angle offered by North American media companies.

The newscast is about an administrative offence report which resulted in a 2000- rouble fine (\$32). This fine was the penalty imposed on Harriet Philips, a citizen of the UK who gave a

conference on feminism in the Peace Square museum of Krasnoyarsk. According to the anchors, the woman who came on a tourist visa did not have permission to organise this event. Consequently, the police intervened in the middle of her speech.

This simple story is framed in such a manner to build arguments against the foreigner and feminists in general. The anchors do not employ the neutral tone required in traditional journalism. They imply that she is to blame as *“she allegedly travelled thousands of kilometres from faraway Scotland to educate the public on feminism and open the eyes of Siberians to foreign, democratic values”*.

The anchors do not hesitate to speak with irony. They also make facial expressions to mock the woman's actions and the “so-called progressive community” which supports her. One of them asks: *“Did she get a fine just for being a feminist? That is not true regardless of how much feminists want it to be”*. Nevertheless, instead of just explaining the visa-related issue, the journalists go on and question the credibility and integrity of the Scottish woman.

Video editors choose to include a screenshot of her VK page, a Russian online social media platform, claiming that it does not look “too scientific” as she subscribes to a series of LGBT and feminist pages. The main anchor assumes that she based her lecture on the content found on those pages rather than scientific research. According to him, she did not address the history of feminism in the West as promised. She went straight to sensitive issues instead, such as toxic masculinity and intersexuality.

The news commentators based their arguments on interviews with external sources. Vitaly Milonov, a member of State Duma, criticises liberals. He believes that they think of themselves as being above the laws. In his opinion, they demand strict observance of the law in terms of their rights. However, they never treat their duties as such. Natalia Chernysheva, a local activist, claims that sometimes, women's rights activists do not know how to justify their point appropriately. Hence *“they begin making things up, tweaking their arguments and saying things that are not true.”* She affirms that feminists tend to use weird made-up words. One of the reporters concludes that it is not the first feminism-related controversy in Krasnoyarsk, a city which has other issues much more severe and global.

On the other hand, activists such as Popova share a different perspective claiming that Russia needs feminism now more than ever. She mentions that, out of the 21 million people who live below the poverty line in Russia, sixty-seven per cent are women, with a gender pay gap

between twenty-seven and thirty per cent. Furthermore, sexual harassment and gender-based violence at home remain the two biggest concerns often overlooked.

Concerning the affair involving Slutsky, two opposing groups of people are also observable. On one side, Russian politicians supported their counterpart. On twitter, State Duma Deputy Chairman Igor Lebedev described the accusations of harassment as a “violation of ethics, a violation of the criminal code and an insult”. Female State Duma Deputy Raisa Karmazina claimed that she was three hundred times prettier than the female journalists involved and she never suffered from sexual harassment. A third deputy claimed that Slutsky’s actions were “a mere sign of affection”.

On the opposite side, several people condemned the decision of the Duma Ethics Commission to absolve Slutsky, primarily media practitioners during the boycott, as well as rights activists. Journalists working for the *Special Forces of Russia* magazine criticised such behaviour: “*To humiliate women is just ugly. It is alien to our people’s values. Shame on you, gentlemen!*”

A few deputies took the side of the women, especially Oksana Pushkina who wrote on Twitter that it is unfair to question the ladies about why they did not say anything earlier. She believes it is embarrassing as it makes the victims feel uneasy as well as their entourage. She wrote: “*My only advice is to go to court*”. Anna Rivina, a rights campaigner, believes that the dismissal of the allegations against Slutsky is systematic of a broader social and cultural problem in Russia where women are meant to be servile and reached out to “*whatever is ditched out to them by men.*” She is convinced that gender-based violence, sexual abuse and harassment in the office are all connected.

It is important to note that, even if male supporters of the victims’ cause are rare in the sample, they are not wholly absent. Andre Demchenko, 69 pints co-owner in Duma, refuses to serve lawmakers staff who backed the ethics panel much to the delight of some of his customers. During his interview, he affirms that is decision received quite a broad approval. About 99% of people were very positive about it in their comments to the surprise of the bar owner.

8. 3. Opposing Viewpoints: Brazil

In the context of Brazil, journalists mention briefly the point of views of people who disagree with the cause behind #DeixaElaTrabalhar. According to ABC News (Australia), some commentators downplayed the incidents of sexual harassment of female reporters on-air

during the 2018 World Cup in Russia. The anchor confirms that some people said that a kiss is a compliment. The editors illustrated the statement with footage of a blond female sports reporter smiling after being kissed on the cheek.

A few examples cited in the stories confirm that there are supporters who firmly believe that a woman should not be a sports reporter for diverse reasons. CGTN America's report includes the time Jason Cundy criticised Vicki Sparks' voice. ABC News (Australia) gives two instances: one journalist from #DeixaElaTrabalhar telling the story of a man spitting on her, as well as the controversy around Australian reporter Lucy Zelić.

The most evident discord highlighted by video editors in the sample is the conflict between two clans: the feminists protesting against Jair Bolsonaro and the far-right women who support him. Journalists conduct interviews with women from both sides to obtain a fair and balanced coverage of the 2018 presidential election in Brazil.

According to the news stories, the two clans disagree on fundamental political principles. The far-right women see beyond the candidate's misogyny and toxic masculinity. They are ready to shift back to a dictatorship as they believe the current government does not work. They value fascism and strong regimentation of society through militarism over individualism.

The stories portray Bolsonaro's supporters as people who had enough of the high crime rate. They believe the politician's extreme reform proposals could be the solutions to Brazil's problems. Far-right citizens confirm that Bolsonaro cares for women as he wants chemical castration for paedophiles and rapists. Furthermore, Katia Sastre affirms that allowing women to buy guns equals to women empowerment as it is how they will protect themselves from sexual assaults and other crimes.

On the other hand, feminists and leftist women are not ready to give up on democracy nor to have a confirmed male chauvinist as a leader. As opposed to far-right women, many anti-Bolsonaro female protesters fear the man's desire to ramp up the military role by giving the police and soldiers even more power with less accountability. This terror is especially visible amongst mothers living in the most deprived areas as their sons are often the targets of police brutality.

In his framing, the journalist working for The New York Times insists on the importance of class in this divergence of opinions. A lot of upper-middle-class individuals who live outside of the war zones of favelas show less concern than the lower class Brazilians about the cost of

fighting violence with more violence. The idea of a smooth purchase of a firearm resonates with them since they wish to protect themselves from robberies.

8. 4. Opposing Viewpoints: Thematic Analysis

Across contexts, opposing viewpoints reinforce the feeling of controversy that is almost always present in older media coverage of feminism (Van Zoonen, 1992) (Ashley & Olson, 1998). This prolonged state of public dispute remained in recent news reports, even after the genesis of #MeToo in 2017. Journalists always framed women's rights activism as a contentious issue, and recent feminist efforts do not escape this representation. However, journalists do not always address some essential underlying causes for this ambivalence in their framing, such as the dangerous misunderstanding of the word "feminism" itself (Hooks, 2015).

In the videos, news reporters classify the protagonists in two opposed categories, framing them as either feminist or anti-feminist, without considering that people interpret those terms differently. Many people label themselves "anti-feminist" because they associate the concept with men-hatred and female superiority. Others understand that feminists advocate for gender equality, yet they became anti-feminists simply because they do not feel oppression themselves or do not see any reason for the movement (Hooks, 2015).

Journalists should consider that "feminism" acts as an umbrella term opened to several interpretations. For instance, two common misconceptions are that feminists are always angry women and that gender equality is a woman's issue only (Hooks, 2015). Including the voices of male feminists explaining why gender parity is beneficial for all could be a potential amelioration.

Another issue with the overemphasis on competing viewpoints is that it leaves very little space for potential solutions. While coverage of #MeToo in BRICS helped to uncover the scale and pervasiveness of sexual harassment in emerging economies, this gained visibility mostly remained an end in itself rather than an avenue to deconstructing asymmetries of power.

9. Discourse & Vocabulary

According to Fairclough (2013), people encode ideologies in discourse in the lexical and grammatical decisions they make; therefore, a change in those choices would indicate a different ideology. This part of this research includes an examination of the vocabulary used within the videos to determine if media practitioners depicted the same doctrine in the Brazilian, Chinese and Russian YouTube samples (Fairclough, 2013).

9. 1. Discourse & Vocabulary: China

The vocabulary used in the various videos within the sample suggests different ideologies to the audience. Video journalists described the #MeToo campaign as a powerful campaign that had a meaningful impact globally. Phrases such as “it took the world by storm” indicate that the movement made a vivid impression on people all over the globe, and it quickly won widespread renown. The most mentioned resemblance between the American and Chinese campaign is the use of “similar hashtags trending on Weibo”, the Chinese equivalent of Twitter.

On the other hand, YouTubers represent #MeTooInChina from a less optimistic perspective. According to most anchors within the videos, the movement is a failing effort on a local scale. China’s version of #MeToo is qualified as “complicated”. It “failed to gain traction” in comparison to the American effort as “#MeToo never created ripples in China”. As mentioned in most videos, the “male-dominated culture” present in China, as well as the censorship system imposed by the CCP, are described as the main factors responsible for this failure.

Minaj describes censorship in China using irony and vulgar slangs such as “mindf*ck”. He qualifies the war between activists and CCP, which is continually changing what is allowed or not as a “game of cat and mouse”. Referring to the flag of the People’s Republic of China, the TV show host declares:

“China is so good at censorship; they gave themselves five stars”.

Leta Hong Fincher speaks about “denied opportunities” for Chinese women even though they were “critical to building the economy” in the early years of the People’s Republic. In two videos within the sample, the host mentions Chairman Mao’s *proclamation “women hold up half the sky”*. The intent is to emphasise the idea that the Communist Party neglected its resolution to improve gender relations in the post-socialist era.

Fincher uses domain-specific vocabulary and describes a “huge resurgence of gender inequalities”, engendering the rise of groups such as the Feminist Five. Their arrest for only “planning to pass out stickers” became a “turning point” in the history of Chinese feminism.

Throughout the sample, the CCP is described as “insecure”, “paranoid and “concerned”. They feel threatened by any form of resistance to its power, including the perseverance of activists. At first, China allowed #MeToo to flourish, especially with the case of Luo Xixi who brought attention to the movement. However, activists rapidly turned to a new “mascot”, the #RiceRabbit, to evade growing censorship. The framing in the videos stipulates that, by tolerating the movement at first, then by censoring it, the CCP “wants to make the people think that they are doing something” about the problem.

The anchor characterised the combination of the two emojis as “seemingly harmless and cute” and “harder than words to track”. It became a “powerful symbol” during this “awakening of Chinese feminism”. Nevertheless, sexual harassment is still described as “rampant” in China, even if Chinese media like to classify it as a western phenomenon. Minaj expresses his resentment with the following rhetorical question: “When have the facts stopped state-run media from saying anything?”. Zhou Xiaoxuan says that China lacks an open discussion about the issue.

Audrey Jiajia Li gives specific examples of victim-blaming that occurs daily in China. She explains that people would often hold the victims responsible for the harm that befell them and ask questions such as: “Why did she go out so late? Why did she dress like that?”. Jiajia does not hesitate to use injurious terms to make her point. She confirms that people in China will make assumptions such as “only sl*ts go to this kind of places” or “only sl*ts use this kind of social apps. They would also characterise survivors of sexual assaults as “drama queens who want to make a fuss over nothing”.

In addition to victim-blaming, many people consider that a victim is “stained”. A few protagonists confirm that, in the eyes of the public, a survivor is not “pure” anymore as she is “dirty”. They perceive a survivor of sexual harassment as a “strange and sick person”. Former CCTV intern Zhou Xiaoxuan affirms that even Chinese media outlets use such pejorative terms.

In terms of digital rhetoric, video editors choose to share the personal comments of the victims to generate empathy. Zhou Xiaoxuan said she felt this was “embarrassing”, “humiliating”. She affirms that none of the CCTV employees would take her side as “they will stand with

him". She affirms that she suffers from "break down" from all the "pressure". Activist Sophia Huang Xueqin expresses the confusion and the shock she endured when her assaulter tried to make a move on her. She asked herself *"Is this sexual harassment? What have I done wrong to deserve this?"*.

The general ideology used throughout the sample suggests that the Chinese system poorly deals with issues such as sexual harassment due to an "ambiguity of weak laws" which are just a "suggestion", "slow investigations" as well as "transparent results". On the other hand, news reporters note on several occasions that #MeToo is recently "gathering pace" and "made some gains in the past year".

Hasan Minaj defines #MeTooInChina as "unlike anything that ever came before" since it is "one of the first co-ordinated students campaigns since the Tiananmen massacre". China's education ministry has released a statement demanding "zero tolerance for inappropriate teacher behaviour" and is promising to work with other government bodies to build response mechanisms.

9. 2. Discourse & Vocabulary: Russia

Similarly to the discourse used to inform about #MeToo and women's rights in China, the vocabulary employed to describe the situation in Russia is not flattering. With regards to domestic violence, rights campaigners express their resentment towards its decriminalisation in 2017. Since this lessening of criminal penalties, reporters frame domestic violence as the primary concern threatening the lives of Russian women.

Alena Popova speaks about *"an administrative violation"*. She says: *"beating a member of your family is equivalent to two parking tickets"*. The feminist expert confirms that if a survivor successfully manages to win her private prosecution in court, her attacker barely gets *"a slap on the wrist"*. She asks: *"How could a person be beaten and the law would not protect her?"*.

One of the journalists calls sexual harassment a *"butt of a joke"* in this nation where people do not take the issue seriously. During his interview, President Putin claims that *"it is necessary to protect the rights of everyone, regardless of gender, age or religious beliefs"*, yet he does not see the need to create campaigns out of an issue such as sexual harassment. In his

opinion, which diverges from Popova's viewpoint, the judicial system is competent enough to deal with cases of violation of women's rights.

Within the sample, journalists report word for word controversial comments made by the people working in the Russian film industry. One video exposes the statements made by local actresses. According to the report, their offensive comments went viral and shocked the public; therefore, they had to apologise afterwards.

When asked about her opinion on Harvey Weinstein, actress Agniya Kuznetsova declares that Weinstein's alleged victims acted like *"prostitutes"*, and she feels sorry for *"this poor man"*. Actress Lyubov Tolkalina thinks that the women accusing Weinstein have not been very *"ladylike"*. She declared that *"sexual harassment can be beautiful"*, a comment that engendered much indignation. She tweeted:

"If you have a role, then what difference does it make how you got it?"

Russian personalities from other industries also discredited American actresses who spoke out. Russian model Ksenia Alexandrova said that *"a Weinstein-like scandal would never happen in Russia thanks to the leadership of Vladimir Putin"*. Those comments reflect important ideologies observable in the literature reviewed, especially the anti-gender discourse, Russian social superiority as well as a victim-blaming culture.

Nonetheless, the study of discourse in the videos reveals that not everyone in Russia shares these negative views. On one side, a vast majority of people blames victims and condemn the American #MeToo initiative. On the other side, many people express disgust over the Weinstein scandal.

The choice of vocabulary in the sample reveals that some activists remained hopeful and motivated, especially after the modest Russian #MeToo effort involving Slutsky came to light. During her interview, Katerina Kotrikasze described it as *"a huge step for the Russian civil society"* as no one has ever started such movement before. Unfortunately, the discourse used in later videos implies a negative turn of event (e.g. *"the matter died down"*, *"silenced"*).

Years after their releases from prison, Pussy Riot still represents the Russian symbol for activism, not only for promoting women's rights and denouncing patriarchy but also for protesting against the current political elite. The MSNBC anchor describes the band as *"relentless in calling out the Russian strong men's anti-democratic action"*. Nadya

Tolokonnikova introduces her new book as a guide to “*art activism*”, an often disregarded way of protesting, yet effective as people can relate easily to a cause through creativity.

9. 3. Discourse & Vocabulary: Brazil

The discourse used in the Brazilian sample highlights the reaction of the victims of “John of God” as well as the female sports journalists harassed while doing their jobs. For example, the incident involving Bruna Dealtry which engendered the launch of #DeixaElaTrabalhar left her “*humiliated*” and “*shocked*”. She explains:

“I did not know how to react and could not understand how someone could think they have the right to act like that way”.

Julia Guimarães describes the behaviour of her harasser as “*sad and shameful*”. One unnamed reporter who took part in #LetHerWork shared her anger (“*It is disrespectful, disgusting, offensive.*”). In their choice of vocabulary, anchors always emphasise the fact that those approaches were unwanted (e.g. “*kissed without her permission*”).

Despite all the challenges that come their way, anchors frame Brazilian feminists as determined and united women ready to fight for their cause. A delegate of #DeixaElaTrabalhar affirms: “*our voices become louder and we cannot be ignored*”. News tickers describe “*mass protests*” confirming that numerous women are part of the movement. EFE describes them as “*a wave of protestors clad in purple*”.

Feminists were especially visible in recent rallies against Bolsonaro. The new anchors highlight the festive mindset visible during protests by mentioning “*loud calls*” and “*chants for increased female solidarity*”. EFE notes that the black feminist movement was also strongly represented at the rally in Rio de Janeiro.

In the sample, journalists frame the far-right candidate as a radical fascist based on his famous controversial statements in the media. Anchors underline few examples, such as 1999 footage of Bolsonaro saying in Portuguese: “*Things will only change, unfortunately, when we have a civil war and do what the military regime failed to do: to kill 30 000 or so.*”

During his recent campaign, he confirmed that he would put soldiers on the streets if the Parliament approves it because “*Brazil is at war*” against crime. Nonetheless, soldiers’ federal intervention to crack down crime in the favelas are already extreme, and the inhabitants worry

about police brutality. Lieutenant Commander Enrique Amaral admits that *“anyone can be a suspect”*. The reporter on location compares the army’s routine in the impoverished areas to *“stop-and-frisk with M16s”*. Bolsonaro and his followers do not see an issue with easing access to firearms. During an interview on television, he explains:

“A weapon does more than defend our lives; it defends our freedom.”

With regards to the spiritual sector, the newscast does not portray João Teixeira de Faria in a good light, especially The Daily Mail TV video presented by Jesse Palmer. The host starts the report by asking: *“a miracle worker or monster?”*. There is a close-up on a straightforward newspaper’s title: *“John of God faith healer kept teenagers as sex slaves, sold their babies, and then murdered them ten years after giving birth”*.

In his choice of words, Palmer emphasises that this *“disturbing story”* became viral around the world. On several occasions, his discourse suggests that “John of God” is a swindler. He refers to the old man as a *“so-called miracle worker”* who practices *“invasive unlicensed medical procedures”*.

One of his victim, Zahira Lieneke Mous, is also very outspoken about her assaults during her interview on local television. She told the interviewer that, at the time, she thought: *“Why do I have to touch your penis for me to get healing?”*

9. 4. Discourse & Vocabulary: Thematic Analysis

Across contexts, journalists use idioms effectively to amplify their messages in a way that attracts the audience. By using expressions and comparisons, they highlight the pervasiveness of sexual harassment as well as the novelty of #MeToo in BRICS. In most cases, reporters avoid stereotypical labelling of the parties in a case. They do not minimise reality through euphemism.

They also avoid language that incites judgment or suggests that the victim bore some responsibility for her assault. Reporters make sure not to slip into the language of consensual sex and emphasise the lack of consent with explicit words such as “raped” and “groped”.

The relevant women have a voice. By reporting their discourse word for word, journalists emphasise the impact that sexual harassment has on a person, both in the short and long term, in terms of physical, psychological, social or economic repercussions. However, news media

practitioners could push beyond individual cases and mention more ramifications caused by sexual harassment on the whole society (e.g. exclusion from public spaces; female absenteeism from work).

Furthermore, the selected media outlets often lag when it comes to amplifying the #MeToo movement through the use of precise and empowering language. For instance, they always refer to the relevant stakeholders as “victim” instead of using the word “survivor” which conveys resilience.

It also seems that words like “harassment” and “assault” are selected arbitrarily, not based on formal charges or definitions. This mistake misleads the audience, who might confuse concepts. The recurrent term “alleged perpetrator” seems to question to victim’s testimonies and it would be more appropriate to replace it with “reported perpetrator” instead.

In addition to their framing, journalists must be particularly cautious in their choice of words as they can easily inject bias into their story through language.

10. Nonverbal Interaction & Visuals

Nowadays, good visual content is necessary to keep an audience engaged with the information. In video journalism, journalists often use diverse forms of visuals, including sketches, drawings, photographs, surveys or graphic designs. It is evident that technology has changed the way people process information; therefore, news media producers must not neglect relevant visual & eye-catching content for video formats (Harris & Lester, 2002).

10. 1. Nonverbal Interaction & Visuals: China

It appears that despite the various stylistic choices, some visual elements reappear throughout the sample, showing a pattern in framing among the video creators. In most videos, medium shots of the anchors and interviewees are dominant. In three reports, the background behind the anchor is the image of a city skyline, following a traditional television design for a news set.

In two videos, footages of the #MeToo survivors’ march that took place in Hollywood on the 12th of November 2017 emerge when mentioning the American movement. Women marched with protest signs, detailing stories of abuse. In the footages included in the videos, Tarana

Burke is leading the march. She is the founder of #MeToo, long before Alyssa Milano re-used the hashtag following her accusations against Weinstein.

In terms of iconography, video editors display images of the Chinese flag to indicate a shift from the western context to the Chinese one. In the videos, experts localise the stories around sexual harassment in specific areas of the country with the use of maps or by indicating the name of cities such as Beijing, Hangzhou and Shenzhen.

Visuals of the Chinese academic sector are dominant. The campus of Beihang University where #MeTooInChina began is one of the most recurring locations within the sample. Current students at the university appear to be the ideal interviewees on the subject-matter.

Leta Hong Fincher's interview with Inkstone took place in Tai Kwun in Hong Kong. This region maintains separate governing and economic systems from Mainland China, and therefore it is a more progressive place to address controversial topics such as Chinese feminism and sexual harassment.

In both her interviews, the cover of Hong Fincher's latest book *Betraying Big Brother* is shown to the audience. Journalists frame it as the must-read book, which includes everything that one should know about the peculiar feminist awakening in the Chinese context. Her argument of a "huge resurgence of gender inequalities" is supported by images and footages of women at work in the early phase of the communist era.

Old illustrations of women using various tools in factories, as well as excerpts from *The Red Detachment of Women* (1961), are shown when Fincher makes her argument. The excerpts of the movie show women who go into warfare and firing guns. The videographers juxtapose all these images with footages from a recent Chinese movie untitled *Chopsticks* (2016), in which women only perform traditional gender roles such as motherhood.

Footages of the male-dominated Parliament and Sun Chunlan, the only woman in the 25-member Politburo, accentuate the notion of patriarchy. She is the head of the party's United Front Work Department as her role is to spread the CCP's influence abroad and at home. According to expert Zhao Litao, Chinese women are entirely disadvantaged in politics. Female politicians hold less critical positions, which means that their curriculum vitae are always weaker compared to men's (Zheng, Guo & Zhao, 2009).

It is important to note that in most videos, online articles and footages from Western news media outlets represent reliable sources of information. Journalists often make references to

online articles from *The New York Times*. Excerpts of video news reports from CNN and France 24 are included in several units of analysis to support arguments.

In two videos, one can watch the same cut-scene from SBS World News, displaying the results of a survey on sexual harassment in Chinese universities. Using such tools is an effective way to establish logical foundations to the claims (logos in digital rhetoric) (Campbell, 2013). Within the sample, Chinese media are never trustworthy sources of information.

The video makers choose to make use of pictures of specific individuals frequently, including portraits of the members of the Feminist Five, especially during their protests dressed in wedding dresses with fake bloodstains in Beijing. This street performance against domestic violence was the first one ever held in Beijing. Pictures of vital figures which lead the #MeToo movement in China also reappear several times throughout the samples, such as Huang Xueqin holding the #MeToo sign.

Other recurring portraits are the ones of famous alleged sexual harassers such as former Prof. Chen Xiaowu, TV host Zhu Jun and Buddhist monk Shi Xuecheng. The media outlets do not hesitate to show the faces of the reported assaulters. One video from the sample even includes images from the ninety-five-page statement written by the nuns accusing the former spiritual leader.

Recorded testimonies of sexual harassment stories are memorable and dramatic. During Huang Xueqin's interview for South China Morning Post as well as Zhou Xiaoxuan's interview for DW News, the setting creates empathy amongst the audience. The interviewees are explicit with their hand gestures while telling their dramatic story.

The camera zooms in when Xueqin writes down the word #MeToo on a big placard and when Zhou Xiaoxuan is on her phone or packing her bag. Close-ups are effective in portraying a character's innermost feelings. This choice makes the viewer feel like they are part of the action and that they can relate to the victim.

The audience can hear a sad melody in the background when Xueqin speaks, and when the frightening results from her survey on the level of sexual harassment for women working as journalists appear. This musical emphasis on emotions differs from Newsweek's energetic music chosen for its one-minute express-news clip.

Images of the microblogging site Weibo as well as tweets about #RiceBunny are regularly detectable in the videos. In four units of analysis, videographers chose to display pictures of

a bunny and a bowl of rice with a phonetic explanation of the invention of the hashtag. The audience is made aware that #RiceBunny is pronounced #MiTu in mandarin, a stand-in for #MeToo. News tickers are also used extensively in the news reports produced by mainstream news outlets.

Regarding the satirical genre, which appears to be the one attracting more viewers, Hasan Minaj 'stage presence is lively for his Netflix episode of *Patriot Act*'. As opposed to the other anchors who remain as neutral as possible, he moves around the stage and gestures wildly to illustrate his argument or punctuate his joke. His behaviour seems surprising given the gravity of the subject-matter; nonetheless, it is efficient in captivating the audience (Husband, 2018).

10. 2. Nonverbal Interaction & Visuals: Russia

In the Russian context, recurring stylistic choices are observable throughout the sample. These YouTube videos produced by prominent broadcast news providers are visually-based, showing video footages of many events. Footages of women's rights activists protesting with banners written in Russian are recurrent. Popova's protests appear regularly, even if she is not a protagonist or interviewee in the video. Journalists frame her work as the archetype of contemporary Russian feminism.

Video editors use dynamic audio-visuals and news tickers to captivate the viewers. There are iconographic representations of the story. The symbol can be a word, a phrase or an image that is readily recognised. For instance, RT's report displays images of colourful pin-pack buttons with #MeToo written on them.

CBC chose to meet with Daria Zhuk and Katerina Kotrikadze, two of the journalists who denounced Slutsky, in their work environment. During their interviews, both women are filmed from a medium-shot perspective, emphasising both news anchors and the TV studios where they work by giving them an equal presence on screen. The videos also include recordings of the women on air and footages of their testimonies. The third accuser, Farida Rustamova, is only represented with still photographs.

RT's newscast adopts a traditional broadcasting format featuring an anchor sitting at a table on a television news set. The news bulletin untitled "Me Too in Russia" rapidly segue into a news story filed by a reporter named Nadira Tudor. She is standing in front of a background

enlarged photograph of the Russian Parliament. She introduces Russia's first high-profile #MeToo case and immediately names Leonid Slutsky.

When mentioning Slutsky, footages of the politician during interviews or giving a speech in Parliament are displayed. Despite the similarities in the storyline, these images contrast with representations of Weinstein as a Hollywood magnate. While editors always represent Slutsky as a busy politician at work, they choose depictions of Weinstein at events on the red carpet or the Oscars with American actors, often beautiful women.

On several occasions, the video editors include headlines from other news media outlets, such as online news articles or titles of newspaper stories. For instance, CBC News' video contains a close-up on a laptop displaying an online news story from *The Moscow Times*. The headline says "BBC journalist accuses Russian deputy of sexual harassment with audio recordings".

One notable excerpt of footages included in two videos within the sample is the footage of an official meeting where, Otari Arshba, the head of the State Duma Ethics Commission, affirmed that there was no violation found on Slutsky's part. Anchors frame this event as the genesis of a media boycott of the lower chamber of the country's Parliament. The editors include logos of the media outlets that participated (e.g. *The Village*, *The Bell*, *Medusa*).

Nadya Tolokonnikova adopts an easy-going attitude, smiling and showing the "V sign" to the camera. She is wearing a punk rock shirt and dark make-up, remaining true to herself and her image as a Pussy Riot band member. The report includes images of their 2012 church performance with balaclava masks to refer to the band's past work. The balaclava became the main symbol of the Pussy Riot movement, and it also appears on the cover of Tolokonnikova's newest book.

Different techniques establish authority for the speakers. US Representative Jackie Speier speaks in a microphone in front of a room of attentive women. Others protagonists employ a strict attitude and dress formal. Vesti News anchors look very professional, and their sources seem credible. Nonetheless, they do not remain impartial in their coverage of the disruption of the feminist conference or their general portrayal of women's rights activism.

Anna Verba's interview allows the audience to connect with the story on an emotional level. She is holding a tissue, crying about the murder of her daughter. She says: "*When she comes to me in my dreams I see her so clearly. I feel her; I touch her. She hugs me back, my only little girl.*" The video editors added photographs of the deceased young woman as her mother speaks about the decriminalisation of domestic violence that she defines as the "*legalisation*

of murder". A feeling of fear is enhanced as she explains that her grandson and herself are hiding from the murderer.

The *Human Rights Watch*'s video also plays with the audience's feelings by showing pictures of women with bruises on their faces. The video makes references to online news headlines from *Znak* ("A Year Later: What happened after the decriminalisation of domestic violence"), a Moscow-based online newspaper called *lenta.ru* ("A dramatic increase in domestic violence in Russia") and *mk.ru* ("Experts report shocking statistics on domestic violence").

Social media platforms also represent a significant part of the visuals in the sample. Slutsky's Facebook page appears on several occasions, especially when mentioning the time he posted his apology. Twitter is the leading social media platform used as a news source in video news reporting. Journalists often refer to tweets from politicians, actresses and other stakeholders.

10. 3. Nonverbal Interaction & Visuals: Brazil

Most videos in the Brazilian context follow the traditional visuals standards of broadcast television news reports including television studio set and news commentators dressed professionally. Anchors are often working from a studio set whereas reporters are on location with broadcasting equipment such as microphones and cameras.

On several occasions, the units of analysis borrow still photographs or footage from other media broadcasting companies, especially when showing the incidents where journalists were victims of harassment on-air while reporting on soccer, before or during the 2018 World Cup. The origins of the images are traceable thanks to the logos of the media companies.

As observed in the stories, the episode involving Bruna Dealtry was live on *Esporte Interativo*, a Brazilian sports television channel. Footage of Brazilian reporter Julia Guimarães dodging her assailant and warning him "*never do this to a woman!*" took place live on-air on *SportTV*, another Brazilian cable television network. Columbian correspondent Julieth González Therán's groping appeared on *DW News*. It is common for anchors to refer to information taken from external sources (e.g. CNN) or tweets.

Journalists borrowed the images of "John of God" arriving at the police station in Goiania on the 16th of December 2018 from *E-Noticias*. Dozens of camera operators and soldiers run around the car as he gets out. Before he leaves, he addresses the camera to claim his innocence. Besides this event, João Teixeira de Faria is often represented surrounded by his followers all

dressed in white, the holy colour of purity. The audience can see brief excerpts of his performances such as eye scrapping, nose probing and incision in the skin of sick people. Images of crucifixes contextualise the story in the religious and spiritual sector.

On two occasions, Zahira Lieneke Mous appears next to the guru during a ritual. This Dutch choreographer is very emotional during her appearance on Globo TV, a Brazilian television network. Her testimony occupies the majority of The Washington Post's story. The video editors of The Daily Mail TV decides to include the case of the guru's daughter who accused him of sexual abuse during her childhood. She appears in tears on the cover of a Brazilian news magazine called *Veja*. Journalists build the framing of "John of God" as an evil man who sold infants through the use of images of new-born babies in incubators, dollar bills as well as his mug shot.

The audio plays a vital role in the coverage of those events as background music sets the tone of many reports. Dramatic music accentuates the tragedy and the pain of the victims of sexual assaults. It also makes the statement of CSW delegates more meaningful. Stressful music conveys a sense of urgency when women talk about alarming numbers and the need for change.

The news stories about #DeixaElaTrabalhar (#LerHerWork) show that the sports reporters made use of black and white footage for dramatic effect during their testimonies. In addition to the images of Bruna Dealtry's stolen kiss, their campaign video incorporates more footage from Esporte Interativo such as the assault on Aline Nastari in Sao Januario Stadium in Rio de Janeiro.

The representation of the #EleNão movement is characterised by women dancing with big signs written in Portuguese during mass protests. They sing, play loud music, wear glitters or face paint. In the crowds, the purple colour is dominant as well as the traditional female Venus symbol. The purple colour has come to symbolise the feminist struggle all around the world, and it is the official colour of International Women's Day. Drag queens and the LGBTQI community's rainbow flag are also recurring symbols visible during the protests, in a unified effort of minorities against the far-right candidate.

General footage of the politician in the sample portrays him as a popular candidate amongst Brazilians. The reports include still photographs of him shaking hands, holding babies, surrounded by crowds. However, the #EleNão signs and posters visible in the newscasts

portray the man in a different light. One notable example is the split face poster, half representing Bolsonaro's face and the other half being Hitler's.

On the other hand, supporters of Jair Bolsonaro often wear the colours of the Brazilian flag, and the beach of Copacabana is framed as one their main point of assembly. Visually, video editors contrast the purple of feminists with the colours of Brazil to reinforce an idea of opposition. Another symbol of the far-right movement during Bolsonaro's campaign is his finger-gun hand gesture, representing his ideas to ease access to firearms for Brazilians as well as to fight violence with more violence.

Journalists also use black and white footage of past events when talking about the 1964 coup followed by twenty-one years of dictatorship, including images of military tanks and dead bodies. From the favelas to the wealthier areas of the big Brazilian cities, reporters try to include diverse perspectives on Bolsonaro's election even if the focus is often leaning towards one side.

10. 4. Nonverbal Interaction & Visuals: Thematic Analysis

In all the BRICS contexts analysed, journalists report stories of individuals without applying anonymity, clearly identifying both the powerful men accused as well as the survivors. Most cases indeed reported are high-profile cases of sexual assault. Nonetheless, this explicit exposure of survivors raises concerns with regards to the journalists' duty to inform them about the risks they are taking. Protagonists should be fully aware of all consequences that could result from the publication of their name and image before giving their consent.

Except in one report about domestic abuse in Russia produced by the *Human Rights Watch*, video editors exclude stock photos that explicitly portray gender-based violence and sexual abuse in an indelicate stereotypical way. In most reported cases of sexual harassment, journalists chose footage providing contexts for an incident, making sure their sensitive story does not compromise the dignity and reputation of the survivor.

Re-using the footage of sports journalists during the World Cup can appear as ethically wrong as it is not in the best interests of the female journalist. On the basis that those incidents occurred live on television, news media outlets assume they can replay them for a broad audience without considering that those moments were traumatic and belittling for the

women. Having an anchor telling what happened could be a more respectful way to introduce the story behind #DeixaElhaTrabalhar.

Furthermore, media sensationalism is discernible in the visuals and interactions used in some of the videos. Hasan Minaj is controversial and critical about China's government during his humoristic performance. The *Daily Mail TV* uses images of new-born babies in incubators and dollar bills to exaggerate their framing of "John of God". Russian anchors for *Vesti News* also omit facts and demonise the Scottish woman who held a conference on feminism in Siberia.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This comparative study investigated the media representation of YouTube-based news about the #MeToo campaign as well as feminism in China, Russia and Brazil. Overall, the news reports are short, straightforward, informative and professional-looking. However, western outlets dominate all samples, reflecting a concerning lack of BRICS media coverage on the matter. It is primordial that BRICS media outlets re-evaluate their agenda-setting process and increase their coverage of sexual harassment as well as local feminists efforts to compete with the dominant outsider outlook in the news.

Western media offer a critical outsider perspective on BRICS' restrictive political regimes, state propaganda in the media, citizen surveillance and human rights challenges. However, outsider journalists are more inclined to construct stereotypes, and the culture shock may desensitise foreign reporters to BRICS women's needs and meanings. The study also showed that, due to their detachment, western media practitioners omit essential details such as the underlying causes of BRICS citizens' approbation of authoritarian ideologies, surveillance systems and tactics over western liberalism.

Ambivalence about the success of #MeToo and the influence of feminism is the central theme emerging from the video titles and content. This equivocal depiction reflects well the mixed feelings associated with the topic. Journalists allow the audience to consider both sides of an argument by including opposing viewpoints, reinforcing the controversial aspect of feminism in BRICS. Nonetheless, they should also address some essential underlying causes for this ambivalence in their framings, such as people's misconceptions and different interpretations of the word "feminist".

The timeline of the evolution of #MeToo in China, Russia and Brazil also accentuates significant disparities in the attitudes of women. The analysis revealed that Chinese women from different backgrounds rapidly embraced a #MeToo attitude. By contrast, the majority of Russian women distanced themselves from the trend. In Brazil, the popularity of #MeToo came in waves. Journalists should expand on what it means to be a feminist in each country for a better understanding of this inconsistency.

Reporters associate BRICS #MeToo efforts with the American movement. However, they also highlight the uniqueness of feminism in emerging nations and how it differentiates itself from women's rights activism in the West. Except for Russian media *Vesti News*, the analysis recorded a progressive attitude in the media representation of #MeToo as journalists no

longer demonise feminists. On the other hand, dominant frames for survivors of sexual harassment include victimisation, vulnerability and a lack of agency in women's daily life. YouTube-based news must start enhancing the agency of these women as well as their bravery instead of constant defencelessness and pity.

Journalists portray the culture of sexual violence affecting the lives of BRICS women by detailing important notions in each context. They investigate the issue of sexual harassment from diverse perspectives, including socio-cultural factors as well as political and legal influences. However, journalists do not consider all angles uniformly in their representation of this complex subject-matter. The reports often refer to the economic gender gap in BRICS, yet socio-cultural factors overshadow equally important political-economic considerations. Increasing the exposure of the economic repercussions of sexual harassment would improve news coverage. It would also engender lasting positive change, encouraging profit-driven companies to restructure accordingly.

Anchors go beyond #MeToo and also address local analogous feminist hashtag campaigns, even the ones which do not deal directly with sexual harassment. They detect toxic masculinity and internalised sexism through incidents of gender-based violence, women objectification and devaluation of the female opinion in those three societies. Male supremacy remains the status quo thanks to the solidarity among elite people who support their fellow offenders. Reporters denounce weak legal tools, a lack of trust in police officers and victim-blaming, three impediments which often encourage BRICS women to remain silent. They should elaborate more on other reasons for widespread underreporting, including economic dependency, the fear of upsetting the stability of a household, as well as cultural and religious barriers.

In most videos, reporters seem to understand the importance of context. They try to go beyond the context within which one abuse occurred by referring to the broader societal context that lends itself to a better understanding of the underlying drivers of sexual violence. For each country, there is a useful identification of the sites of struggles and economic sectors where sexual harassment scandals exploded. News coverage reveal patterns of a high level of sexual harassment in the news media industries and the spiritual sectors of BRICS. Nonetheless, there is a need for additional investigative journalism in the industries where the issue is not as apparent.

The state involvement always appears as the primary obstacle to women's rights in the reports. BRICS political leaders encourage an anti-feminist discourse. The literature reviewed showed that BRICS mainstream media display propaganda promoting traditional gender roles and patriarchy. Subsequently, the analysis revealed that media surveillance and censorship also play an essential role in compromising feminists efforts, especially in China. In comparison to their western counterparts, women in China, Russia and Brazil must be extra cautious and resort to inventive means to express their dissatisfaction.

Across samples, most journalists follow a traditional television broadcast news format. They adopt digital rhetoric to convince their audience. However, media sensationalism remains a concern in some units due to excessive appealing to emotions, extravagant visuals or the exaggerated performance of an anchor. Reporters and video editors should stick to the facts as well as professional journalistic standards, limiting content which is unimportant or irrelevant to the macro-level daily events happening in BRICS.

Interviews dominate the stories and journalists prioritise the local female opinion over men's voices. They effectively give a voice to survivors of sexual harassment. However, women from marginalised communities should be given more space to speak about their experiences. The reports tend to generalise and overlook intersectionality. They often consider female survivors as a homogenous group, neglecting the unique stories of women of colour, disabled women, lesbians, sex workers and girls from poor communities. The lack of anonymity also raises concerns about informed consent. Journalists must inform a person beforehand about the dangerous consequences of being interviewed and the possibility of using a pseudonym.

There is a concentration on specific activists and human rights lawyer who are well-known in their field. The choice of interviewees is limited to a few famous female experts in their domain who reappear several times throughout the samples. Journalists covering #MeToo YouTube-based news should diversify their selection of interviewees to include less prominent experts who also have essential information to bring to the topic. Including the voices of male feminists explaining why gender parity is beneficial for both men and women could also help break stereotypes.

Media outlets also prioritise specific cases involving famous elite men and entertainers to ensure high readership. They need to expand their agenda and also include the stories involving regular perpetrators and female workers in BRICS. There should be less focus on scandals involving influential people and more discussions on solution policies and changes

to institutional norms that could help women who face sexual abuse. Video reporters must push beyond individual cases and mention more ramifications caused by sexual harassment on the whole society, including women's exclusion from public spaces and female absenteeism from work.

The video reporters are generally cautious in their discourse. They choose a vocabulary which amplifies the gravity of sexual harassment, the non-consensual nature of an assault as well as the innovative aspect of #MeToo in BRICS. On the other hand, they do not choose empowering words to refer to the protagonists. In the samples, reporters always use the words "victim" which has negative connotations. They should consider the term "survivor" which conveys agency and resilience unless the interviewee prefers the descriptor "victim".

Another issue with the chosen vocabulary is the lack of precision. News practitioners should not alternate words such as "harassment" and "assault" randomly but instead, use the terms accordingly based on the context and formal charges. The recurring adjective "alleged" is problematic as it seems to question the credibility of the survivor of sexual harassment or it downplays the severity of a proven attack. Journalists should consider other appellations such as "reported perpetrator". They should also avoid sensationalist headlines and taglines, notably "sex scandal" or "controversy".

Video editors usually incorporate recent and reliable statistics. Nonetheless, they often omit sources for the information and do not interrogate the validity of those numbers within the videos. They usually chose adequate footage, with no shock value, making sure their sensitive story does not compromise the dignity and reputation of the survivor. However, in the Brazilian sample, unnecessary replays of footage portraying journalists harassed on-air question this ethical principle.

Overall, the study confirmed the hypotheses derived from the literature reviewed and the precursory study done on #MeToo in the Indian and South African context. As expected, the YouTube representation of the movement in China, Russia and Brazil prioritise the opinions of female survivors of sexual harassment in BRICS, with an emphasis on their powerlessness and emotions. #MeToo's absolute failure in the film industries of India and South Africa is also visible in Russian society. Nonetheless, this portrayal is more ambiguous in the Chinese and Brazilian contexts where some men faced the consequences for their sexual misbehaviours.

As predicted, the framing suggests a feeling of national crisis in terms of sexual assaults and gender-based violence. The gap in representation between Western and BRICS women is constant; the latter often represented as less fortunate than the former by Western media. Similarly to the preliminary research on the Indian and South African movie sectors, media frames indicate that diverse factors contribute to slowing down #MeToo in Brazil, Russia and China. The main deviation in the data is the framing of the state opposition and involvement through restricting techniques as the principal causes for this inhibition.

This new research proved that #MeToo had a positive impact on media coverage of sexual assaults and women's rights activism. Since the Weinstein scandal, YouTube news coverage of sexual assaults and rape in BRICS increased, and more female reporters started telling the stories. Journalists stopped trivialising sexual harassment, and they now acknowledged it as a systemic issue. The alienation of feminists also diminished since "regular" women who spoke out and adopted the hashtag became advocates of women's rights themselves. Reporters started including more contextual information about the public emergence and prevalence of sexual violence in specific sites of struggle, highlighting how this structural problem affects women in various economic sectors.

Despite those significant ameliorations, the analysis revealed many gaps in the representation of sexual harassment in BRICS. There is also still room for improvement in the depiction of new feminist campaigns as the YouTube videos sometimes reinforced the narrow understandings of popular feminism that circulate in mainstream media. While guidelines for reporting on gender-based violence and sexual assaults already exist for journalists and editors, it is necessary to upgrade those principles according to the evolving coverage observed since #MeToo. This conclusion resonates with Guha's argument of a "Collaborative Agenda-Setting" (2015) as the expert argues that news media outlets must resonate and adapt to feminist digital campaigns to advance awareness and engage the audience with their goals (Guha, 2015).

In addition to updated editorial guidelines, there is also a need for further academic research on the economic repercussions of sexual harassment in the BRICS context. In the past, scholars looked at the overall economic impact of sexual harassment in the workplace. Nevertheless, this research showed that very few studies consider the context of emerging economies. The making of such localised studies could potentially benefit journalists who would have more material to contextualise their stories.

CHAPTER SIX: LATEST NEWS

This final chapter gives a brief overview of the evolution of events after the publications of the selected YouTube videos. As the three-year mark of the beginning of #MeToo approaches, it is time to evaluate how the movement has evolved in BRICS.

1. Latest News: China

It appears that the war between the Communist Party and Chinese feminists is still ongoing. 2018 was the height of #MeTooInChina, and since then, the momentum declined. Many perpetrators still did not face the consequences of their acts, and lots of survivors remain silent. For the first time, the new Civil Code will officially define sexual harassment from 2020, but it is uncertain how the Chinese judicial system will enforce the legislation (Parkin & Feng, 2019).

The Mainland has taken a further step to annihilate the efforts of gender equality activists, with the detention of a vital figure of the movement who is also a protagonist in one of the video within the sample: Huang Xueqin.

Many online articles denounced the arrestation of the thirty-year-old activist and former journalist. In December 2017, she had an interview with South China Morning Post to talk about her own sexual harassment story, a video included in the sample. Almost two years later, she has reportedly been detained by police in Guangzhou since the 17th of October 2019 according to the South China Morning Post newspaper.

The police accused her of “picking quarrels and provoking trouble”, a common charge often used in Beijing for controlling feminists, journalists, rights activists and lawyers. She could spend up to five years in jail. There is a major worry as the feminist effort in China may face much more government opposition in the future. Nonetheless, further investigations reveal that Chinese feminists are not ready to give up.

An art show untitled *The Voiceless Rise Up: #MeToo in China* successfully finished its run on the 4th of December 2019 in Shanghai, after previous iterations of the exhibition in Chengdu and Guangzhou had to close early. Indeed, at the Chengdu show, police officers confiscated

art materials and hard drives. For the Guangzhou show, Chinese authorities contacted the organisers and pressured them to cancel it (Movius, 2019).

The Shanghai show featured works about sexual assault in China including a big painting that listed major Chinese #MeToo cases, a large photograph composites seven of the most famous accused Chinese rapists as well as speakers playing assault victims' testimonies (Movius, 2019). One of the organisers explained:

"One goal is to document what has already happened with #MeToo in China. A lot has come out, but many victims have been silenced. In the media, many articles have been taken down, and students have been forbidden from talking [about sexual assault]. It is so difficult. So the show is for people to see that the movement continues, and to push #MeToo into the future." (Movius, 2019).

2. Latest News: Russia

Months after the allegations made against Leonid Slutsky, the #MeToo movement has considerably lost pace in Russia. The country's political elite denied the existence of a problem. Indeed, the Duma's ethics commission cleared the MP's name in March 2018, and President Putin has characterised the #MeToo campaign as a "media conspiracy". He confirmed that he is not a supporter of the movement (Spring, 2018). Kremlin spokesperson Dmitry Peskov defines it as *"something of a fashion statement"*. He accused Hollywood actresses of using the trend to gain more fame and recognition (Roache, 2019).

The female journalists who spoke out also faced harsh treatment. For instance, Kotrikadze claimed that she was called a "liar". Zhuk received supportive messages from strangers, yet her colleagues at Dozhd and some political figures condemned her for going public. A Duma female member claimed that she is more beautiful than the victims. Therefore, she could not comprehend why he would harass them and not her (Spring, 2018).

Also in March 2018, during an interview with a Moscow-based radio station called *Ekho Moskvy*, the Head of the country's Committee on Family, Women, and Children, Tamara Pletnyova, criticised the three female journalists for not looking decent at work. She declared: *"They should put clothes on themselves when entering a state building, instead of having their belly buttons naked"* (Roache, 2019).

The media boycott also fell by the wayside. Zhuk's channel Dozhd re-started its Duma correspondent. Chief editor Alexandra Perepelova says:

"Dozhd has decided that it is vital to cover social issues discussed in the Duma, like pension reforms and changes to domestic violence laws, because our channel offers a different view on these problems. However, we still try to avoid Slutsky." (Spring, 2018).

In the following weeks, feminist Alena Popova, one of the most prominent voices within the sample, was arrested after protesting with cardboards representing Slutsky at the Duma. The women's right activist was found guilty for organising a mass protest without permission, and she had to pay a fine of 20,000 roubles (Spring, 2018).

Indeed, any public protest or meeting needs to be authorised by the Russian government beforehand. Since 2014, the authorities introduced laws punishing protestors. Someone involved in an unsanctioned protest more than once in six months risks a fine between 600,000 to one million rubles (\$17,124 to \$28,540), or up forced labour or time in jail (Roache, 2019).

According to Popova, the MP's career was not affected in any way by the scandal (Spring, 2018). Despite the failure of the campaign, Kotrikadze thinks that the #MeToo movement in Russia could grow in the future as it just needs more time. She says:

"Here, human rights are not as important as they are in the United States or Europe, so of course the #MeToo movement will be different here, and it needs to be fought for [...] This is just the beginning. Russia deserves better and Russian women deserve better." (Spring, 2018).

Perhaps Kotrikadze was right as new hashtag campaigns against sexual harassment and domestic violence started flooding social media platforms the following year. In July 2019, Russian women began posting their story of sexism and sexual harassment on Twitter, using #МНЕ_НУЖНА_ГЛАСНОСТЬ ("I Need Openness" or "I Need Public Attention"). Instagram users also started posting selfies with #янехотелаумирать ("I did not want to die"), a hashtag invented by Alena Popova herself (Roache, 2019).

Russian women in favour of women's rights activism are not giving up on their fight. There were several efforts in Russia to raise awareness of #MeToo and other problems affecting the lives of women. Unfortunately, none of those attempts gained significant attention or had the support of the political elite so far (Roache, 2019).

3. Latest News: Brazil

#DeixaElaTrabalhar was powerful in bringing attention to the issue of women's rights in the workplace. Sexual harassment of sports female reporters came to the forefront of the news. The hashtag even went beyond Brazil's borders, especially with its English equivalent #LetHerWork. However, after the World Cup, the campaign started appearing less and less in the agenda of news media companies (Peters, 2018).

In May 2019, the sports industry appeared once again in headlines due to a sex scandal involving Brazilian soccer star Neymar. Brazilian model Najila Trindade accused the young man of raping her in a hotel in Paris. She filed her complaint in São Paulo on the 31st of May. He denied the accusation and affirmed they had consensual intercourse (Hennigan, 2019).

The Brazilian police concluded that there are no grounds to bring rape charges against the soccer star and they investigated whether his accuser filed a false report to extort money from the celebrity. The rape allegation against Neymar led to the online demonisation of his accuser as well as the increase of people discrediting #MeToo efforts (Hennigan, 2019).

On the 19th of December 2019, "John of God" was sentenced to nineteen years and four months for the rapes of four women. He is still facing additional cases related to a dozen sex crimes. The lawyers of the guru said that they would appeal the decision (Timson, 2019).

What seems to be a unanimous victory in the case framed as Brazil's #MeToo moment remains an ongoing issue. According to a Professor in religious studies, tour guides kept taking people to visit the centre and to promote it as a sacred place. Some of them affirm that the allegations were fake or that the Brazilian police was corrupted (Timson, 2019).

Activist Sabrina Bittencourt committed suicide in February 2019. Her voice does not appear in the sample, yet she worked with the victims to gather essential evidence against "John of God" and played an essential role in his arrest. She left Brazil after receiving death threats from his followers and was living under protection in Barcelona (Timson, 2019).

#EleNão (#NotHim) as an offshoot of #MeToo failed in its attempt to avoid the 2018 election of a misogynist, chauvinist and fascist leader in Brazil. Jair Bolsonaro took office on the 1st of January 2019. Before his election, the #EleNão women pledged to continue their fight and resistance to the right-wing shift regardless of the winner (O'Doherty, 2018).

As shown in the sample, anti-Bolsonaro rallies continued after he took office. On International Women's Day 2019, women dressed in purple continued protesting in the streets for women's rights and against the misogyny of the newly elected president. A year later, feminists in several cities still marched against Bolsonaro and his new policies on International Women's Day 2020 (France 24, 2020).

The 2020 demonstrations partly denounce a response to a new political move by Bolsonaro. The politician called on his followers to take to the streets in a show of support of anti-democratic values. The president provoked an outcry by sharing a critical video of both parliament and the judiciary sector, embracing the call for a spontaneous rally. As a response, feminists organised additional anti-Bolsonaro marches. The overall president's popularity decreased in his second year in office amid a slowing economy (France 24, 2020).

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APPENDIX: SAMPLE

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