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**#NotAllMen and #MeToo: Investigating Perceptions of Masculine Victimhood and Constructions
of Masculinity among College-aged Men in the MeToo Era**

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Caitlin Maria Segraves

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ABSTRACT

Twitter users all over the world use the hashtag, #MeToo, to show support, solidarity, and to share their own stories of sexual harassment and/or violence. #MeToo, a movement created by Tarana Burke and promoted by Alyssa Milano's use of the hashtag reignited a global conversation about the prominence of sexual violence in women's lives, a topic of discussion in prior feminist movements, as well. #MeToo has brought about a renewed interest in addressing sexual violence and rape culture in the U.S. and abroad. In response to growing reports of sexual violence, men's rights activists have voiced an increased concern for false allegations of sexual violence. However, much of the existing research on #MeToo has focused on women and trans experiences with sexual violence, as well as the perceptions of this movement from such perspectives. While theoretical frameworks for masculinity remain less researched, feminist theory offers insight in understanding gender inequalities and differences. This research examines how young adult men on Butler University's campus have interpreted the #MeToo movement's emphasis on feminine victimization and masculine aggression. I conducted interviews (n=15) with men, males, and masculine-identifying individuals who were enrolled full-time and recruited primarily through convenience sampling. Inductive analysis is used to code the interview transcripts, specifically utilizing open and axial coding to identify emergent themes. Investigating the perceived impact of this movement on masculinity will extend the framework of masculinity to include the #MeToo era.

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Constructions of Masculinity among College-aged Men in the MeToo Era**

The #MeToo movement has highlighted sexual violence perpetrated by men in powerful positions. While the movement was spear-headed by Black women such as Tarana Burke, it is often criticized for centering the experiences of white women, a criticism that also exists for the feminist movement more broadly. So-called “victims” of the movement are typically white men whose status is threatened by sexual assault allegations. This includes Harvey Weinstein, James Toback, Brett Ratner, Louis C. K., Kevin Spacey, Matt Lauer, Bill O’Reilly, Charlie Rose, John Conyers, Al Franken, Brett Kavanaugh, Mario Batali, and John Besh (Collier Hillstrom 2019; Banet-Weiser 2021). The hashtag’s virality pushed sexual assault allegations into public domain, which enabled media to build off the momentum, and reported on following allegations in increasingly sensational ways that highlighted instances of abuse of power and revealed the previously unknown predatorial side of a powerful person (Kaufman et al. 2019). This example of agenda-setting helped to increase the public’s willingness to think about the topic of sexual violence (Scheufele and Tewskbury 2007). The additional coverage of sexual assault allegations focused predominately on men taking advantage of power imbalances and reinforced the preexisting trope of men as aggressors and women as victims (Banet-Weiser 2021; Orgad, Benedectis, and Rottenberg 2019). The emphasis placed on associating masculinity with violence has lent credence to the idea of masculine victimhood; both in the belief that male perpetrators of sexual assault are victims of the #MeToo movement and in increased fear of sexual assault allegations.

Hashtags are virtual symbols that embody complex sentiments in a few simple words. Hashtags often apply a dialectical approach, meaning they often incite dialogue through dissent

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to build a stronger framework for better understanding a nuanced topic (Maybe 2020). #MeToo may be the most recognizable global hashtag about sexual harassment and assault, but it was not the first, nor the last, to rise in popularity as a response to sexual violence. In recent history, some hashtags have paved the way for the #MeToo movement to rise in popularity. Similar viral hashtags have been spearheaded by African American women on Twitter. Specifically, hashtags like #FastTailedGirls, #YouOKSis, and #SayHerName originated from Black Twitter users as a way to raise awareness and start the discussion of the disproportionate level of violence Black women face (Kendall 2020; Jackson et al. 2020). Outside of the United States, hashtags such as #ShoutingBack, #EverydaySexism, #IllRideWithYou, and #Aufschrei which is German for “Outcry”, have all risen to prominence as well (Kearl 2015), which demonstrate the unique experiences of women in other countries. Of particular importance to this study, the hashtag, #NotAllMen, was created and used to mock the distance that men were trying to create between their gender identity and sexual violence. The hashtag originated in feminist circles, and it was a succinct phrase that encompassed men’s defensive discourse when reacting to the popularity of #YesAllWomen (Jackson et al. 2020).

The #MeToo movement has spurred a resurgence of feminist activism and a corresponding awareness of the prevalence of sexual harassment, sexual violence, and gender-based violence on a global level. The #MeToo movement is situated within a feminist framework of gender exploitation in both public and private life. In the wake of #MeToo, feminist activists on Twitter and scholars, alike, began looking at the prevalence of workplace harassment with renewed interest and it has become a cornerstone in the current wave of feminism. However, there are striking similarities between the #MeToo era and second-wave feminism with regard to consciousness-raising techniques, colorblindness, and white appropriation of Black women’s

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work (Kendall 2020; McGuire 2010). Furthermore, it reminds us that the social progress of women has been stymied in recent history. For example, previous movements that brought awareness to the prevalence of sexual violence, such as Take Back the Night, have lost its momentum in recent years. However, the impact of this movement has primed society for the explosive virality of the #MeToo movement.

#MeToo has had many positive outcomes, including empowering women to disclose their experiences and confront their harasser/abuser, but it also has had unintended negative consequences. One such consequence is a perceived rise of fear among men that they, too, could be implicated for sexual harassment, specifically, and the corollary impact this accusation may have on their career. To date, little research has examined masculinity, including male entitlement and masculine fragility, in relation to the #MeToo movement. Such a large-scale feminist movement may impact fragile masculine feelings, yet little research has examined this potential consequence.

My research seeks to understand how men interpret the #MeToo movement, and whether college-age men perceive the MeToo movement as unfairly targeting men due to their gender. Through qualitative interviews, my research examines how college-age men on a medium-sized college campus interpret the #MeToo movement's emphasis on feminine victimhood and masculine aggression. I draw on literature situated in the areas of feminism, social movements, masculinity, and sexual violence to examine the impact of the #MeToo movement on masculine fear of sexual harassment allegations — specifically, I focus on the fear of false allegations. Such fear may be read as an example of masculine fragility and an attempt to center men's vulnerabilities in the wake of a renewed interest in feminist issues. Research on the relationship between masculinity and #MeToo has the potential to contribute to our understanding of

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masculine victimhood, masculine fragility, as well as contributing to the theoretical framework of masculinity as a whole. It also offers an opportunity to better understand the perceptions of those engaged with men's rights activist groups.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Sexual violence is an issue that has been addressed by many feminist movements, but it has been consistently framed as a women's issue with an emphasis on what women can do to protect themselves against perpetrators of violence. Framing it within such context places the responsibility of avoiding sexual violence as the responsibility of the victim, which is known as victim-blaming. This is symptomatic of a larger cultural issue, one where sexual violence against women is both normalized and glorified, also referred to as rape culture (Wade 2017: 218-222). Rape culture relies on and perpetuates the acceptance of rape myths which reinforce damaging ideas such as the normalization of male aggression and victim-blaming (Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney 2006). Armstrong's research found that rape culture works in conjunction with environments of institutionalized gender inequality, like college campuses, to contribute to increased rates of sexual assault. This increased risk applies to other settings where "men have a home turf advantage" (2006: 495), such as the workplace. When rape myths and rape culture condition society to believe that men are constantly in pursuit of sex and women are the sexual gatekeepers, women are increasingly disadvantaged, especially in the workplace. The workplace is a masculine dominating space and men have that home turf advantage, this adds to the expectation that women are to be submissive and defer to men, and subsequently contributes to high rates of sexual violence. Rape culture sustains victim-blaming and other harmful narratives, which help to raise the consciousness of the public in defining it as a social issue.

Yet another factor to consider in understanding rape culture is the concept of “himpathy.” Himpathy was coined by Kate Manne (2020), and it refers to the way society values masculine feelings and thoughts over women’s lives, specifically in regard to acting sympathetically toward men. Through patriarchal ideologies and values, society perpetuates the idea that men’s feelings and perspectives are more valuable than women’s’ lives. This concept plays a critical role in understanding the framing of sexual assault allegations, Brock Turner and Brett Kavanaugh being two cases that demonstrate the power behind this concept. In both cases, the two white men were accused of sexual assault but throughout the very public trials, numerous instances of victim-blaming and prioritization of the men’s lives — as well as re-framing the perpetrators as victims — outweighed the survivor’s lives (Manne 2020).

Masculinity

Women are a large demographic of those harmed by sexual harassment and violence, and men are perpetrators of over 90% of violent crimes, regardless of the victim’s gender (Breiding et al. 2014). When considering the motivating factors for public outrage concerning sexual violence towards women, sexual violence and male supremacy are common denominators.

Theoretical tools for interpreting the overrepresentation of men among violent offenders include concepts such as male entitlement and hegemonic masculinity (Manne 2020; Connell 2021). Male entitlement is a broad concept that encompasses masculine feelings of entitlement to feminine bodies. This sentiment is related to the objectification, dehumanization, and sexualization of other’s bodies. In conjunction with hegemonic masculinity, which is constructed in its dominance and subordination of other masculinities and all women, male entitlement plays a large role in our understanding of why men make up such a large majority of perpetrators of violent crimes.

Masculinity, alone, does not cause rape culture. However, masculinity perpetuates rape culture. Masculinity relies on a belief in male entitlement, which is represented, for example, by feelings of male entitlement to women's bodies (Manne 2020). When met with a lack of consent, this sense of entitlement may lead to sexual violence (Shafer et al. 2017; Kimmel 2005). Given the prevalence of sexual violence in the lives of many, even those who have not directly experienced sexual violence are affected through friends, relatives, or coworkers. Since it is a prominent issue, rape culture emerges as a clear social issue, upheld by male supremacy.

Sexual violence movements, like #MeToo, often emphasize the role of masculine aggression in feminine victimization. This criticism has been interpreted as infringing on male entitlement, and thus posing a challenge to hegemonic masculinity. In response, this has resulted in growing concerns being voiced by men's right's activists.

Men's rights activists have voiced their concerns that the #MeToo movement unduly penalizes men and overlooks feminine aggression and masculine victimization. They believe #MeToo has caused an increased frequency of false allegations coming from vengeful women whose ultimate goal is to 'ruin' men's lives (Banet-Weiser 2021; Manne 2020). Such beliefs have led to fear, which contradicts the tenets of hegemonic masculinity which values strength and dominance and rejects femininity. The Boy Code (Pollack 1999) describes masculinity as needing to be stoic and unable to show weakness, it requires bravery and being attracted to violence, having power, control, and dominance, and it renounces anything associated with femininity.

In order to regain power, dominance, and strength, such men turn to anger in order to regain control of the situation. They do this by attacking feminist movements, such as the MeToo movement, by recentering themselves as the victims. This recentering of victimhood was

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observed by the emergence of the hashtag #himtoo, which came about in response to the sexual assault allegations and hearings of Brett Kavanaugh and the growing fear of accountability.

While it may seem counterintuitive to The Boy Code to seek the status of “victim,” these men try to reclaim that power by pushing women out of the victim status and into the role of the aggressor. After seeing the power and praise received by women who have stood up to their abusers, men who feel threatened attempt to reclaim that spotlight and power through the same means that sexual violence survivors were given an outlet; victimhood (Banet-Weiser 2021). However, men are not victims of the MeToo movement, they are simply experiencing accountability and, perhaps, loss of privilege.

Dispersion of Responsibility

Previous literature on victim-blaming have not yet focused on how the responsibility has shifted from the perpetrator of sexual violence to the victim, just that the blame and responsibility is transferred. However, I propose that the blame and responsibility for preventing sexual harassment and violence is first diffused, or dispersed, among members within the dominant culture. Because the socialized normalization of masculine aggression is not limited to solely cisgender-men, it subsequently influences the perceptions and beliefs of non-cisgender men. Through this normalization of masculine aggression, the responsibility of the outcomes is dispersed among all members of society. From there, the responsibility is then refocused onto the victims and survivors of sexual violence and harassment because members of the dominant groups are predominately perpetrating this violence, but their lives and perspectives are valued over their victims.

As women have continued to enter into the workforce, leaving the private domestic sphere, they have been entering into the masculine-dominated public sphere. Within the public

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sphere, there is an expectation that those entering will acculturate into the dominant culture and therefore, uphold patriarchal ideologies, values, and beliefs. These elements of patriarchal culture specifically include masculine domination, the perpetuation of rape culture, himpathy, all of which are expected to be sustained by those within the public sphere. This is not to say that every member within the public sphere is overtly upholding these elements of patriarchal culture; however, by continuing to participate in the public sphere without calling attention to these issues is to be complicit in sustaining the hegemonic status of patriarchal culture (Knowles 2021). Acker's (1995) research details how the idea of a "job" is already gendered and favors masculine traits, further marginalizing women in a masculine dominating sphere because to "achieve the qualities of a real worker... is to become like a man" (150). With women working to be perceived as equals, they work to adopt more masculine traits and by doing so, subscribe to the elements of patriarchal culture.

However, because patriarchal ideologies and hegemonic masculinity enable sexual violence and harassment, the workplace becomes a place of victimization for non-men. Due to the structural gender inequalities of the workforce, rates of sexual violence increase as more women enter into the masculine sphere. Feminism, a counterculture to masculine dominant culture, raised awareness of the prevalence of gender inequalities in the workplace and continued to call for equality. In response, there have been policies — such as the codification of sexual harassment in the 1980's — that have been implemented to address gender inequality in the workforce (Collier Hillstrom 2019). However, this has resulted in men believing that they, and those in positions of authority, are treating women equally, and subsequently place the negative aspects of patriarchal culture onto them, such as responsibility for sexual violence, despite the construction of the workforce being inherently masculine and therefore unequal (Acker 1990).

More concretely, this can be understood through the controversy and misunderstanding of the gender wage gap in America. Since becoming a well discussed topic, there have been numerous theories that attempt to explain away the still-existing gender wage gap that do not concede to sexism playing a role. A popular theory attempts to argue that the gender wage gap exists due to men and women selecting to work in different industries, and that men tend to work in higher-paying industries whereas women work in lower paying industries. This theory has been debunked (Gould, Schieder and Geier 2016), although it is still used in discourse surrounding the wage gap since it does not admit to sexism playing a role in the workplace, rather it is the women's fault for entering into lower paying jobs. This shows the facile sense of equality that cloaks the very real inequalities that still exist, and again, the responsibility of the negative outcomes of patriarchy (in this case, the wage gap) is the victim's responsibility for "choosing" to enter into a lower paying industry.

This false sense of gender equality is also exemplified in the dispersion of responsibility for sexual violence and harassment. Because of the perceived "equality," women are held responsible for their own victimization. While there is a false sense of equality due to there being more women in the workplace, the only "equality" that is being doled out is in the form of negative informal sanctions. So, the blame for sexual violence is no longer the dominant group's responsibility, it becomes everyone's responsibility as they participate in the public sphere, and is then refocused onto the victim, for not preventing a normalized outcome of being a member of subculture within the dominant culture's sphere.

This idea also explains the responsibility that is placed on men who are victimized by women. Because men are expected to uphold their "manliness," which include strength and physical domination, there is little to no room left for those who are victimized by women, the

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weaker sex. By “allowing” a woman to victimize them, it threatens both their own feelings of manhood as well as contradicting the culture’s patriarchal ideology (Davies 2002).

There has been very little research on these associated concepts of masculinity, including male entitlement, empathy, and more in relation to the impact of the #MeToo movement. Such a large-scale feminist movement may have impact on fragile masculine feelings, yet little to no research has been done. However, there needs to be additional research exploring the role of masculinity and perceived victimhood in order to address larger issues such as rape culture and the prevalence of sexual violence against women. Real change cannot be enacted without allies in the dominant group, and defensive reactions from men trying to center themselves as victims pose an important barrier to the recruitment of allies to large-scale feminist movements.

In understanding the #MeToo movement, feminist theory provides a unique lens which has placed the feminine perspective in the center of the conversation. Seeing as the #MeToo movement is dominated by feminine individuals standing up against masculine power, feminist theory is a crucial lens. Utilizing feminist theories also allows for a deeper analysis of the societal influence of sexual violence. Feminist theory is crucial in understanding the masculine perspective as it both deconstructs and reconstructs femininity and masculinity as separate, complex experiences and perspectives. When studying the perspectives of masculine individuals, feminist theory provides unique insights which can be used to better understand the culture of sexual violence in American society. Masculinity theorists aid in the understanding of the perpetuation of rape culture, masculine fear, masculine entitlement, all of which play a theoretical role in masculine victimhood.

Theoretical Framework

In understanding the MeToo movement, feminist theory provides a unique lens which places the feminine perspective in the center of the conversation. Seeing as the MeToo movement is dominated by feminine individuals standing up against masculine power, feminist theory is a crucial lens. Utilizing feminist sub theories within such a broad theoretical lens also allows for a deeper analysis of the societal influence of sexual violence. Feminist theory is also crucial in understanding the masculine perspective as it separates femininity and masculinity into separate experiences and perspectives. When studying the perspectives of masculine individuals, feminist theory provides unique insights which can be used to better understand the culture of sexual violence in American society. Masculinity theorists aid in the understanding the perpetuation of rape culture, masculine fear, masculine entitlement, all of which play a role in masculine victimhood.

Feminist theory

Feminist theory is deeply applicable to understanding sexual violence as a systemic issue. Within feminist theory, there are four sub theories: gender difference, gender inequality, gender oppression, and structural oppression. All of which play a role in understanding sexual violence and its prevalence in our society. Gender difference theory explores the ways in which femininity and masculinity differ. Gender inequality theory expands upon this idea and details the ways in which men are socioeconomically advantaged and have greater access to resources in a patriarchal society (Ritzer and Stepnisky 2018). Both of these theories help with the basic understanding of the role of gender in any given society. In American society, the application of these theories broadens the understanding of the inequalities and differences between masculine identifying individuals and feminine identifying individuals. As more focus has been placed on the feminine perspective and experience, the pattern of sexual violence against women has

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emerged. Gender oppression theory explains masculine domination and feminine subordination and the violence that masculine individuals use to maintain this power imbalance (Ritzer and Stepnisky 2018). As sexual violence became more studied, another pattern emerged which showcased the disproportionate rate at which masculine individuals commit sexually violent acts against feminine individuals (Breiding et al. 2014).

Violence against women is not a novel concept, and workplace harassment is an issue that has been festering for as long as women have been allowed within the workplace. The socialist feminism theory details the patriarchy's role in the devaluation of women and femininity. Socialist feminism reflects feminist theory's roots in conflict theory as it acknowledges both the patriarchy as a structure of oppression, as well as capitalism. This theory also works in conjunction with liberal feminism which argues that women and men are essentially equal, but inequality exists in society because the division of labor is sexist. Men have more access to the public sphere and reap more benefits from women's roles in the private sphere, leading to both spheres being defined by the patriarchy and therefore allowing for inherent sexism to be reproduced. Both of these theories address the preexisting power imbalance in the workplace, which is exaggerated with the use of sexual violence and harassment to maintain masculine domination and feminine subordination (Ritzer and Stepnisky 2018).

Crenshaw's intersectionality theory (1991) is especially prudent to this research. Within this theory, there are vectors of oppression and privilege which acknowledge that women come from different backgrounds and identities such as socioeconomic class, race and ethnicity, global location, sexual preference, sexual orientation, and age (Crenshaw 1989; Collins 2009). While all women face gender oppression, some may experience varying levels of intensity of oppression

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based on different vectors intersecting in their life, and all of these must be taken into consideration when considering the perspective of women. This intersection of vectors of oppression results in a unique compounding experience of oppression. Because varying vectors of oppression may influence the feminine experience differently, it is important to explore how masculine individuals may consider the likelihood of false allegations depending on a women's group membership. The interview guide includes the lines of questioning into whether or not a masculine identifying individual perceives a person's gender, race and ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or sexual orientation to have an impact on the likelihood of making a false allegation of sexual assault.

Understanding masculinity

There must be research done to better understand the relationship between masculinity and sexual violence. As Coltrane (1994) discussed, a focus on the masculine perspective and experience needs to be researched and better understood because historically, there has been a lack of research on the influence of gender on masculine individuals. Understanding masculinity, and especially its relationship with sexual violence, allows for better insight into the perceived impacts of MeToo movement on masculine individuals. Prior research has focused on studying hypermasculinity and rape myth acceptance among college-aged men as well as their role in perpetuating rape culture specifically on college campuses (Shafer et al. 2017; Armstrong et al. 2006; Wade 2017). A crucial concept in understanding masculinity is that of hegemonic masculinity which refers to masculine domination and feminine subordination, not by force but by sexist and heteronormative ideology (Connell 2021). Theorists that study masculinity emphasize the importance of male fear of other men. Masculine fear is an incredibly important concept in the research of masculine fear of false allegations and masculine victimhood. Fear of

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other men originates from gender policing, which leads to the masculine need for validation from other men. This validation men seek forms into perpetuation of rape culture when men gloat of sexual conquests, hoping to reaffirm their masculinity (Kimmel 1994: 119-139). This masculine fear is not limited to fear of other men, it also includes fear of loss of privilege, as well as fear of false allegations of sexual violence (Banet-Weiser 2021). The rise in popularity of feminism and women's liberation has resulted in an accompanying rise of awareness of sexual violence. However, in conjunction with women's liberation, men's liberation movements have also risen in popularity. Utilizing conflict theory helps us to understand that those in power may view power as finite, and any loss of privilege is perceived by the dominant group to be a form of oppression.

In order to be in control, one group must remain dominant while others must remain oppressed. Sharing power is impossible from this perspective since it assumes that the dominant group is at risk of becoming oppressed. The dominant group fears that any sharing of power will ultimately result in their loss of it. (Torres 2012: 70)

Due to this belief and fear that power is finite, men embody a "collective strategy" (Connell 2021: 274) in which they perpetuate and support masculine dominance at a cultural level to limit feminine empowerment. Because of the idea that sharing power is impossible, those who have masculine power and privilege perceive the growth of women's rights as a loss of power for men and may even view it as a punishment.

RESEARCH METHODS

My research sought to understand how men interpret the #MeToo movement, and whether college-age men, males, and masculine identifying people perceive the #MeToo movement to unfairly target men due to their gender. For that reason, my two research questions

were: “How does the #MeToo movement impact the masculine identities of full-time college students at Butler University who identify as a male, man, or masculine person?” and “How do men on Butler's campus perceive the #MeToo movement and false reporting?” In answering these questions, I pulled from literature situated in the areas of feminism, social movements, masculinity, and sexual violence to inform my research. This research was exploratory,¹ as much of the literature on #MeToo centers women’s experiences and men’s interpretations and experiences have been understudied.

For this topic, qualitative methodology was appropriate and preferred because the research was exploratory, and I collected a wide variety of data without the use of predetermined patterns that could have influenced the interview questions. I chose to interview subjects because it allowed for participants to feel as if their opinion and voice has a real impact on the research, and it offered the participants freedom to say how they feel and to describe their personal experiences. Semi-structured interviews also provided the opportunity to probe participants, meaning that I was able to ask follow up questions in order to better understand their perspective, experiences, or feelings. Convenience sampling was the most successful method of recruiting for this research project; I had originally planned to utilize snowball sampling but due to lack of referrals, convenience sampling was the most effective method to reach my goal of 15 participants. For the coding, I will also be utilizing the inductive coding method from grounded coding theory, which allowed me to identify patterns as they emerge from transcriptions. Due to those factors, exploratory, qualitative research were the best methods of research for the research questions.

¹A method of research which is characterized by gaining familiarity with basic facts, concepts, and settings, creating room and questions for future research, as well as coming up with novel ideas and hypotheses in relation to the topic. It lays the groundwork for more intensive research to be done in the future (Neuman 2007:15).

Sample

I conducted 15 semi-structured, qualitative interviews with men, males, or masculine identifying individuals aged 18-22 who are enrolled full-time as undergraduate students at Butler University during the Fall and Spring semester of the 2021-2022 academic year. Individuals who are masculine identifying are those who may or may not have been born with male genitalia but whose gender identity is masculine. The age range of the sample was chosen so as to remain inline with traditional student population demographics, as well as intentionally seeking out participants that, because of their age, are more likely to participate in all-male group bonding that contributes to rape culture on college campuses (Armstrong et al. 2006; Wade 2017). This focus can further our understanding of why college campuses experience higher rates of sexual assault and the role that hypermasculinity plays in the perpetuation of rape culture.

I selected my sample primarily through convenience and a few through snowball sampling, which means that I met with, and interviewed most of my participants after sending out cold emails explaining my topic of study and asking if they are able and willing to participate in this research. I had hoped that many of these masculine identifying people would act as “gatekeepers” and offer additional pathways and individuals to reach out to for participation in my research. However, I only received two referrals in total from all participants so I continued to utilize convenience sampling until I reached my target sample number.

My sample’s demographics were similar to that of Butler University in that most were white (n=12; 80%), 6.7% (n=1) of participants were Asian, 6.7% (n=1) of participants were Black, and 6.7% (n=1) of participants were multiracial. Using the Butler University Fact Book Table 1.12, 82.7% of full-time undergraduate students enrolled in the Fall semester of 2020 identify as white, 3.5% of students identify as Asian American, and 3.5% of student identify as

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African American. My sample failed to represent Hispanic or Latino students (n=0; 0%) whereas 5.5% of Butler students identified as Hispanic.

My positionality in comparison to this expected sample is important to note as the interviews were conducted by myself, a multiracial cisgender woman. While men typically hold higher social status in comparison to women, this dynamic may have been influenced by my role as the interviewer. The role of interviewer and researcher grants a certain level of authority, which may have influenced the participant's perception of myself, the researcher. It is possible that I was viewed as antagonistic by the participants, something which I was aware of and actively worked to maintain a comfortable atmosphere before, during, and after the interview. I continuously engaged in reflexivity to maintain awareness of how the participant may be feeling or perceiving myself or the interview questions, as it is important to sustain a comfortable atmosphere for the participant so they feel comfortable sharing their emotions, feelings, and experiences.

Interviews

The interviews conducted used a semi-structured interview guide, so I was able to ask a set of baseline questions to comparatively analyze across all participants but I also utilized probing questions as needed in order to learn as much as I could about their perspectives, feelings, and experiences that influence the way they interpret the #MeToo movement and how they understand masculinity. Each participant engaged in an interview that varied in length, taking between 30 minutes and 60 minutes to complete each interview. I used an audio recording device — of which the participant was aware and consented to — to record the interview so I was able to transcribe each interview as accurately as possible.

Immediately prior to the interview, I asked for the participants' informed consent. There was both a paper method and verbal method of granting informed consent which was dependent on whether the interview was held in person or held virtually, either over Zoom or telephone. When conducting the interview in person, there was a physical copy of the statement of informed consent which was read through aloud with the participant before the start of each interview. If the interview was held over Zoom, a copy of the consent form was shared on my screen and read aloud to the participant. In both methods, the participant will be able to read the statement of informed consent while I also read the statement aloud. If the interview was conducted over Zoom or telephone, the participant audibly consented to the research with the statement, "I agree to participate in this study", and a copy of the consent form was emailed to them through the email they have provided within 24 hours of the interview. If the interview was held in person, the participant was given a physical copy to sign indicating their consent. Both methods clearly explain the nature and duration of the procedure, possible risks and benefits, and the voluntary nature of participation.

Data Analysis

I used two software applications for transcription and coding; Otter.ai and ATLAS.ti; respectively. ATLAS.ti is a software that allows users to code the qualitative data of interview transcripts and Otter.ai is a program which allows users to transcribe the interviews more easily. After every interview, I transcribed what the interview subjects said, using Otter.ai. Once the interview was fully transcribed and pseudonyms were applied, I moved the transcription into a password protected file. The interview and the transcription were deleted from the cloud and were stored on the student researcher's hard drive in a password-protected folder. Then I used coding software, ATLAS.ti, to code for relevant themes. During the coding process, I utilized

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open and axial coding, meaning that I read through the transcription, looked for patterns in the participants' responses, created codes that best described those patterns, and drew connections between codes to place them into more encompassing categories, as discussed in Findings (Babbie 2017).

Confidentiality and Data Protection

All identifiable data has been altered and pseudonyms were applied to each participant. Interview transcripts were deleted from all devices used in the recording and transcribing process, and findings will be deleted from the student researcher's computer by August 2022.

In some cases, participants disclosed information regarding sexual assault. When this occurred, their name and relevant information pertaining to the violence was shared with Butler University's Title IX Coordinator, as is the researchers' legal obligation. Both researchers are mandated reporters for Butler University, which means that we must report any information about incidents of sexual violence to Butler University's Title IX coordinator. If the participant chose to disclose that they or another Butler University student, faculty, or staff member has experienced sexual violence, the researchers were legally obligated to share this information with Butler University's Title IX coordinator.

With respect to any other information shared throughout the interview, responses were kept confidential. Participant's disclosure of information pertaining to any incidents of sexual violence did not affect the interview or data collection process. Only the principal investigator and student researcher had access to the transcripts. After the interview were transcribed, the audio recording was fully deleted from the recording device and the computer. The recording device was Zoom — with the interview being saved to the student researcher's personal

computer or the student researcher's phone. Both devices were password protected and were not saved to the cloud.

RESULTS

Several themes emerged during the coding and analysis of the 15 interview transcripts; themes such as group membership's impact on false allegations, motivations for false allegations, a disconnect between fear of false allegations and the motivations, masculinity's role in sexual violence, as well as expectations of masculinity emerged as patterns in my research. Each section is introduced with a quote from some of the interviews conducted, and is accompanied by the participant's pseudonym. These quotes are being used to describe the pattern that is discussed in their respective section. While this study is not meant to be representative of the university or any broader population, each participant contributed unique perspectives and aided in our understanding of how it feels to be a masculine-identifying individual during the MeToo era and the impact it had on their constructions of masculinity.

Group Likelihood of Making False Allegations

"I think white women are probably the most likely to make false allegations." - Craig

Many participants (n=9; 60%) stated that they believe gender plays a role in false allegations. Because most participants cited gender as a factor that could influence false allegations, additional probing questions were asked and an interesting pattern emerged regarding who is mostly likely to make a false allegation and who is most likely to be falsely accused of sexual assault. Many participants (n=7; 46.7%) believe that women broadly are more likely to make false allegations, and a few participants (n=2; 13.3%) specifically noted that they believe white women are the most likely to falsely accuse. This pattern is reinforced by some participants (n=4; 26.7%) specifically noting that women are more likely to falsely report

specifically against men. In considering group likelihood to be falsely accused against, a few participants (n=3; 20%) noted that Black men, specifically, are the most likely to be falsely accused for sexual violence. (See Appendix for relevant codes). Taken together, this demonstrates that white women may be especially associated with making false allegations of sexual assault.

When asked about race and ethnicity, most participants believed that race and ethnicity does not play a role in false allegations (n=9; 60%). However, several participants (n=11; 73.3%) noted that historical and contemporary systemic racism may play a role in how false allegations are perceived by the public and that people of color may be more likely to be targeted by false allegations (See Appendix for relevant codes). This reinforces the historical significance and pattern of Black men being falsely accused of sexual harassment or violence, especially by white women. Gender and race seem to be perceived as having a relationship with or impact on false allegations.

In considering sexual orientation's role in false allegations, many (n=7; 46.7%) believed that sexual orientation plays a role in false allegations, although participants were largely unsure how this operated within false accusations. Only one participant noted that they believed heterosexual individuals would be more likely to make a false allegation, and the rest of the participants were unsure as to how it would play a role. It is helpful to note that most of the participants (n=9; 60%) cited heteronormativity as structural issue that exists and may influence other factors surrounding false allegations such as public perception and likelihood of reporting a "real" sexual assault allegation (See Appendix for relevant codes). Sexual orientation does not seem to play a significant role in subject's perceptions of any group's likelihood of making a false allegation.

Most participants (n=10; 66.7%) noted that social class or economic status plays a role in false allegations. However, when considering social class or economic status, there was little consensus as to which group(s) seemed most likely to make false allegations. Some participants (n=2; 13.3%) noted that they believe that those in lower socioeconomic statuses are more likely to make a false allegation, while some interviewees (n=2; 13.3%) noted that they believed that upper classes would be more likely to make false allegations. While few specifically cited a specific social class most likely to make false accusations, most participants (n=10; 66.7%) cited monetary gain as a possible motive for making a false allegation (See Appendix for relevant codes). There does not seem to be any significance between socioeconomic status and perception of any group's likelihood in false reporting, although interviewee's cited contradictory motivating factors.

Motivations for Making False Allegations

“There's almost no doubt in my mind that all of those additional women that came forward, were at least partially motivated by this guy's worth \$50 million dollars.” - Craig

Monetary gain was the most frequently cited motivation for making a false report, with some level of anger, hatred, or vengeance against the accused person (n=10; 66.7%) being the second most common motive noted by participants. Many interviewees (n=8; 53.3%) also noted that attention-seeking or fame may be a motive for false accusations. One interviewee specifically noted that they believed that celebrities are at a much higher risk for being falsely accused of sexual assaults, considering the potential monetary gain from the allegations. One participant, Samuel, stated how easy it is to falsely accuse someone, “... it's the easiest way to put somebody away for 20, 30 years with no evidence really, it's like the most sure proof way of ruining a person's reputation.” The severity of false accusations is one pattern that emerged in

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many (n=9; 60%) interviews (See Appendix for relevant codes). Interviewees stressed the negative impact of false accusations, and sexual assault accusations in general, and how they can ruin the lives of those accused.

Another interesting code that emerged in analysis of motivations to make false allegations was “false allegations: but not false” which was used to refer to participants description of making a false report for reasons such as being too drunk to remember what really happened, regretting engaging in sexual activity, withdrawing a report, occurred in the past, or lost some level of credibility. The frequency of this code (n=7; 46.7%) suggests that there is a lack of understanding as to what constitutes sexual violence, which then impacts the perceived credibility of a sexual assault allegation. If participants do not have a comprehensive understanding of sexual assault or issues with reporting or pursuing an investigation, they may inaccurately classify a sexual assault allegation as false.

Fear of Being Falsely Accused

“If you're not sexually assaulting people, you should have no reason to be afraid of being accused of sexual assault. But it is interesting to think about, like, someone could say something that could just ruin your life at any moment.” - Dylan

Regardless of the various motives offered up by participants, most (n=11; 73.3%) indicated that they are not worried about being falsely accused when directly asked. However, during additional probing questions, most participants (n=9; 60%) did note some level of fear or worry about being falsely accused. Additionally, some participants (n=8; 53.3%) described that they had specifically changed their behavior or actions to make women feel safer around them but also to remove any possibility of being falsely accused (See Appendix for relevant codes). There seems to be a disconnect between participants perceptions of why someone would make a

false allegation of sexual assault, and their own personal fear or worry about the likelihood of that occurring to them and ruining their life. This would explain why, when directly asked, few participants admitted that they were worried about being falsely accused. Yet, because of the perceived severity and certainty of the negative outcomes from false allegations, their own worries are amplified and leads them to changing their behaviors and being more conscientious about how their presence may affect marginalized groups.

Nearly every participant (n=14; 93.3%) acknowledged their male privilege and addressed that men are predominately the ones perpetrating sexual violence against others (See Appendix for relevant codes). However, no participants stated that they feel comfortable enough to speak up against sexist or derogatory comments made towards women in most situations. Much of the sexist comments were brushed aside if they did not seem serious enough to respond to or if it was just a passing joke. Some interviewees expressed their discomfort and fear of being viewed negatively for speaking against sexism and defending women. This lack of accountability contributes to why sexist jokes continue to be frequently told and contributes to the normalization of sexual violence and broader rape culture.

Pervasiveness of Sexism

“... it happens so much that you almost have to pick your battles.” - Samuel

Participants, like Samuel, noted the frequency of sexist or degrading jokes and not wanting to disturb the norm of sexism as an attribute of masculinity. This is reinforced by a lack of understanding of what sexual violence is, resulting in the creation of the code “unsure if SV (sexual violence).” This code was used 13 times in almost half (n=7; 46.7%) of the interviews. This code was applied when the participant described an incident of sexual violence but did not consider it to be so, and instead described it as a lack of communication/consent. A few

participants (n=3; 20%) noted that, because they are men, they were taught to be dominant and that asking for consent is not attractive. Some participants (n=6; 40%) cited a lack of control over how their actions are perceived, reinforcing the idea that there is a distinct lack of communication between partners before engaging in sexual activity (See Appendix for relevant codes). Coupled with a fear of false allegations, this can create confusion as to what the impact of a sexual experience was for their partner, increasing someone's fear of the possibility of being "falsely" accused of sexual assault.

Lack of Understanding of Sexual Violence

"I'm not the type of person who would ever do something like that intentionally, but also like, worried that I may just do something unintentionally that gets misconstrued and ruins my life." -

Samuel

Along with many interviewees (n=10; 66.7%) citing that they feel as though they have to be dominant to uphold their masculinity, participants seemed to feel as though they have multiple expectations of them to be considered masculine or to fit in. The most common expectations of men include aggressiveness (n=7; 46.7%), desiring sex (n=8; 53.3%), being tough or stoic (n=10; 66.7%) and liking sports (n=6; 40%) (See Appendix for relevant codes). The relationship between sports and masculinity seems to reinforce sexist beliefs, encourages aggression, and promotes hegemonic hypermasculinity. The emphasis placed on aggression and dominance plays an important role in sexual violence, as it perpetuates the idea that men should take what they want and, when coupled with male entitlement, contributes to the normalization and glorification of sexual violence.

Being tough is another harmful expectation of men, as it discourages men from expressing or sharing their emotions without anger. When directly asked if they were

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disadvantaged by their masculine gender identity, many (n=6; 40%) stated that they did not believe they experience any disadvantages by being masculine identifying. However, in follow up questions and probing, almost every participant (n=13; 87%) noted some level of disadvantage due solely to their gender identity (See Appendix for relevant codes).

Masculine Expectations

“As a boy, you learn very quickly that you shouldn't show your emotions and that it's not okay to cry... you're not really learning how to cope or deal with your emotions because you're not supposed to express them, you're supposed to like push it down, and I guess, channel any bad emotions into something else” - Felix

This sample population of men is unique in how many acknowledge male privilege and do not believe that they are disadvantaged by being a man. However, they still discuss disadvantages or expectations they face just by being masculine individuals. Some participants (n=5; 33.3%) specifically noted keeping up with or being involved with sports in order to prove their masculinity to other men. Within conversations about sports, most participants shared their experiences with environment encouraging hypermasculine expectations including being aggressive (n=2; 13.3%), withholding emotions (n=2; 13.3%), homophobia (n=2; 13.3%), and just generally feeling as if they needed to play up their masculinity in order to be accepted and fit in (n=6; 40%). While valid disadvantages, these feelings of not being able to measure up to the ideal of masculinity and not being allowed to express one's emotions without aggression, serves to further harm marginalized groups, such as women or feminine-identifying people. However, coupled with the idea that the MeToo movement is focused on feminine empowerment (n=7; 46.7%) or negatively targets men (n=5; 33.3%), it may cause men to feel unfairly attacked by non-men/allies of the movement which leads to defensiveness and increasing feelings of

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masculine victimhood. Although most participants agreed that the MeToo movement has had a positive impact on our society (n=7; 46.7%), many believe that it has exposed the power imbalances behind sexual violence, resulting in a greater scrutiny of men, especially of those occupying powerful positions (See Appendix for relevant codes).

DISCUSSION

“White cis men are kind of the villain of our generation” - Levi

Since the MeToo movement exposed the power imbalances that exist within sexual violence, men have been placed in the spotlight and the disproportionate over-representation of men as perpetrators of sexual violence has become a key talking point in conversations around MeToo and sexual violence. Combined with the recent rise in popularity of the Black Lives Matter movement and discussions about intersectionality within the general public, white cis men are finding themselves to be members of a group who are labelled as perpetrators of hate. This increased accountability has led to men, like Levi, to feel as though they are being framed as the “villains” of today’s world.

It is interesting that white women are being viewed as the group that is most likely to make false allegations because it demonstrates that men can understand that white women have the most social power in comparison to women of color. However, in acknowledging that power, men may feel as though they have to punish white women in order to maintain their own power. So, as a response to white women’s perceived status and power increase, there is a reactionary increase in the pressure placed on white women—this may provide a tentative explanation as to why there is such a focus on white women’s likelihood to make a false allegation. This rationale may further perpetuate gender inequalities and false allegations may be a convenient tool to discredit not only white women and the MeToo movement, but the entire feminist movement.

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Having the false perception that gender inequalities are less harmful than they really are, especially among those with male privilege, can reinforce downplaying severity of harm, and subsequently sustaining belief in rape culture. The perceived power increase on the women's part can be seen by Samuel's belief in public's reaction to sexual assault allegations, "People will always believe the victim." Samuel uses this as another reason he fears false allegations, because from his perspective, women and survivors are more likely to be believed and supported than he, a white cis man, would be. This shows how perceptions of gender inequality are reframed in a way that portrays white men as victims. By this logic, white men are victimized when non-white people and non-men transgress the established power structure and attempt to oppress the oppressor.

Men's fear of false allegations is not just a reaction to a perceived loss of power, it also seems to have roots in their lack of understanding sexual assault and consent. The fear of false allegations is not just a fear of being falsely accused of sexual assault and having one's life ruined, it's also reflective of the fear that they may have hurt someone and have no idea. When there are prominent figures like Harvey Weinstein and Deshaun Watson — who both staunchly claimed that the sexual assault allegations against them were fake — each have over 20 allegations against them, it may be difficult to understand why anyone could believe that these allegations are, to any extent, false. Especially when they do admit to having consensual sex with someone who accused them, it can trigger feelings of not having control over their partner's perceptions of the incident. Combined with a belief that asking for consent is unattractive, the fetishization of danger, and the glorification of sexual violence, men have been socialized to perceive sexual violence qualitatively differently compared to women. Whereas women act as sexual gatekeepers and are therefore "responsible" for sexual violence, men have been evading

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responsibility and subsequently evading learning about consent and its role in sexual violence. The MeToo movement has brought to light the problems within the idea of “He said, she said,” in that two people can walk away from the same encounter with different experiences. Their perceived lack of control over the other person’s perception of a shared experience, conditioning to believe that consent is unattractive, and rape culture broadly has led them to “ambiguous” sexual experiences, where some fail to understand what constitutes sexual violence, thereby contributing to an increased fear of false allegations that are not actually false.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study including the recruitment methods, sample size, and researcher’s position. Due to the sampling procedure (i.e., convenience), these data are not representative of the university population nor the greater American population. This study does fail to represent anyone of Hispanic/Latino background, meaning that this demographic is greatly underrepresented even in comparison to the campus demographics. Another limitation is the lack of first- or second-year students in the sample, because I used convenience sampling, I was unable to conduct any interviews with this age group. This sample is also quite small, and so its findings can not be generalizable to any broader population which opens up opportunity for future research.

Lastly, since I conducted the interviews, it is possible that some participants self-censored or withheld certain opinions or viewpoints, so as to not cause offense or otherwise avoid negative perceptions. Although I tried to maintain a comfortable environment, it is possible that my simply being a multiracial woman may have influenced how the participants answered some questions. My positionality may have also impacted the students who elected to participate in this study as well, as none of the interviewees expressed openly hateful beliefs despite their

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known presence on campus. It may also be helpful to note that most of the participants had some level of acquaintance-ship with the student research, which may have influenced their likelihood of participating in this research project.

Future Research

Future research on masculinity and #MeToo should broaden the findings from this research project to determine what patterns also exist among the broader population of men, males, and masculine-identifying people, specifically with their fears of false allegations of sexual assault. Expanding upon this research, it would be worthwhile to conduct an analysis to see the difference between men's perceptions of their knowledge of consent and sexual violence, measured against the knowledge of sexual violence and consent as well as their belief in rape myths. It could also be fruitful to explore what men, specifically, would consider to be sexual assault, how they know if they've assaulted someone, and what fears they may have around "bad sex" and what that entails. Such research could also deepen our understanding of the relationship between masculinity and sexual violence, and investigating perceptions of male friends who may perpetrate sexual violence could also provide helpful insight into the topic as well. Future research should focus on masculine victimhood, especially its intersection with white fragility, in order to continue examining social movements, like the #MeToo movement, to gain a better understanding of how perceptions may be reacting to such movements and what the implications of such responses will mean for these movements.

CONCLUSION

The #MeToo movement has acted as a catalyst for men's rights activists, providing a platform for hashtags like #NotAllMen and #HimToo to serve as reactionary responses to social movements that do not promote masculine and white supremacy and domination. The existence

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of this reactionary response to such social movements also serves as a justification for further research in understanding the masculine perspective of feminist movements. The findings of this study goes to show that some college-aged men in the #MeToo era feel as though the movement have targeted them, based solely on their gender identity as men, and reinforce previous literature linking masculinity and sexual violence. This study also explored the lack of knowledge that men may have surrounding sexual violence and consent, further reinforcing that relationship between gender and perpetration of sexual violence. Although it is fair to reframe the blame onto the perpetrators of violence, refocusing the blame back onto the victim without providing concrete solutions may result in a facile sense of victimization and further polarize supporters of movements, like #MeToo, and promote the feeling of fear of being falsely accused of sexual assault.

APPENDIX

Code Book of Relevant Codes and Code Families

Code Family or Code	Definition
Masculinity Expectations	Code family used to describe expectations that men have to uphold or maintain to prove their masculinity.
Kinda disadvantaged by gender	Code used to describe the reluctance to admit to a disadvantage experienced by being a man, male, or masculine identifying.
Men are aggressive	Code used to describe the expectation that men should demonstrate aggressive behavior to prove/reinforce their masculine gender identity.
Men are bad dads	Code used to describe the expectation that men should be absent fathers.
Men are breadwinners	Code used to describe the expectation that men should provide financial stability
Men are macho	Code used to describe the expectation that men must continuously prove their masculinity.
Men are protective	Code used to describe the expectation that men are protectors, especially of women.
Men are sexist	Code used to describe the expectation that men have and perpetuate sexist beliefs.
Men are straight	Code used to describe the expectation that men subscribe to heteronormative ideals and are only interested in women.
Men are tough	Code used to describe the expectation that men are harsh, resilient, and not emotional.
Men aren't artsy	Code used to describe the expectation that men are not involved in art forms like theatre, photography, etc.
Men aren't in drama	Code used to describe the expectation that men are not involved in public displays of confrontation or "drama."
Men can't be rejected	Code used to describe the expectation that men can not have their romantic or sexual advances rejected.

Men don't cry	Code used to describe the expectation that men can not shed tears or weep.
Men don't hit women	Code used to describe the expectation that men can not hit women in front of others.
Men get picked on	Code used to describe the expectation than men will get harassed or mocked to continuously prove their masculinity.
Men like cars	Code used to describe the expectation that men like working on car engines and/or have knowledge of various makers and models.
Men like sports	Code used to describe the expectation that men like playing sports, being involved in sports, and/or keep with with sports related statistics.
Men should be stoic	Code used to describe the expectation that men can not express emotion and/or can not speak about their emotions.
Men should want sex	Code used to describe the expectation that men should always want sexual intercourse.
Not disadvantaged by gender	Code used to describe the lack of disadvanathed faced by being a man, male, or masculine-identifying person
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Motives for FA	Code family used to describe the various motivations for making a false allegation of sexual assault.
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Abuse	Code used to describe making a false report against another person in order to harass or abuse them.
Against athletes	Code used to describe making a false report against another person specifically against professional athletes.
Alcohol	Code used to describe making a false report against another person due to the accuser's consumption of alcohol.
Anger	Code used to describe making a false report against another person because of the accuser's hate or anger towards that person.
Attention	Code used to describe making a false report against another person to attract attention from the person being accused or the public.
Bad person	Code used to describe making a false report against another person because the accuser has bad values or morals.

But not false	Code used to describe a motivation for making a false allegation as cited by the participant, but the allegation may actually be true and the participant demonstrates a lack of understanding of what constitutes sexual violence.
False memory	Code used to describe falsely reporting due to remembering the details of the incident incorrectly.
Fame	Code used to describe making a false report against another person to attract fame or notoriety from the public.
Immaturity	Code used to describe making a false report because the accuser is immature and doesn't understand the ramifications or severity of sexual assault allegations.
Monetary gain	Code used to describe making a false report against another person in order to get money from the person they are accusing or by donations from the public.
Power	Code used to describe making a false report against another person to assert power or dominance over the accused.
Racism	Code used to describe making a false report because of racist beliefs against the other person.
Revenge	Code used to describe making a false report to get revenge against the accused for any perceived injustice.
Unintelligent	Code used to describe making a false report against another person due to the accuser's lack of intelligence.
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Motives for SA	Code family used to describe the various motivations for sexually assaulting another person.
Acceptance	Code used to describe perpetrators of sexual assault doing so to feel accepted by another person.
Anger	Code used to describe perpetrators of sexual assault doing so out of anger of being rejected, either by the victim or someone else, or because of repressed emotions leading to the expression of the only allowable emotion, anger.
Doesn't know	Code used to describe perpetrators of sexual assault doing because they don't know that they are sexually assaulting someone.
Entitlement	Code used to describe perpetrators of sexual assault doing so because they feel entitled to another person's body.

Insecurity	Code used to describe perpetrators of sexual assault doing so because they feel insecure about themselves or about the control they have.
Lonely	Code used to describe perpetrators of sexual assault doing so because they feel lonely.
Porn	Code used to describe perpetrators of sexual assault doing so because they have been exposed to damaging portrayals of sexual violence through pornographic content.
Power	Code used to describe perpetrators of sexual assault doing so to assert power and control over another person.
Trauma	Code used to describe perpetrators of sexual assault doing so because of past abuse or trauma.
Uncontrollable urges	Code used to describe perpetrators of sexual assault doing so because they do not want to or are unable to stop themselves from taking sexual activity further.
Wanting what u can't have	Code used to describe perpetrators of sexual assault doing so because they want someone or something that they are unable to obtain for various reasons.
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Q12: Gender and FA	Code family used to refer to various ways a person's gender plays a role in the likelihood of making false allegations, or being falsely accused against.
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Gender does play a role in FA	Code used to describe the belief that gender does influence false allegations in some way.
Gender doesn't play a role in FA	Code used to describe the belief that gender does not influence false allegations in any way.
Men less likely to FA	Code used to describe the belief that men, because of their gender, are less likely than women to make a false report.
Men more likely to be FA'd	Code used to describe the belief that men, because of their gender, are more likely than women to be falsely accused.
Men more likely to FA	Code used to describe the belief that men, because of their gender, are more likely than women to make a false report.
Men more likely to FA against women	Code used to describe the belief that men, because of their gender, are more likely make a false report specifically against women.

White women most likely to FA	Code used to describe the belief that white women, specifically, are the most likely to make a false report.
Women just likely to report	Code used to describe the belief that women, because of their gender, are more likely than men to make any report of sexual harassment, false or not.
Women more likely to FA	Code used to describe the belief that women, because of their gender, are more likely than men to make a false report.
Women more likely to FA against men	Code used to describe the belief that women, because of their gender, are more likely make a false report specifically against men.
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Q13: Social Class and FA	Code family used to refer to various ways a person's social class or economic status plays a role in the likelihood of making false allegations, or being falsely accused against.
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Lowerclass more likely to FA	Code used to describe the belief that members of lower social classes or economic statuses are more likely to make a false allegation.
More money -> more opportunity to FA	Code used to describe the belief that individuals with greater wealth affords greater opportunities to falsely accuse someone and to be successful.
Public Perception: social class plays a role	Code used to describe the separation of self from public perception with the belief that the broader public would believe that social class plays a role in false allegations.
Social class does play a role in FA	Code used to describe the belief that social class or economic status does influence false allegations in some way.
Social class doesn't play a role in FA	Code used to describe the belief that social class or economic status do not influence false allegations in any way.
Upperclass less likely to make FA	Code used to describe the belief that members of upper social classes or higher economic statuses are less likely to make a false allegation.
Upperclass likely to make FA	Code used to describe the belief that members of upper social classes or higher economic statuses are more likely to make a false allegation.

Upperclass more likely to be FA'd	Code used to describe the belief that members of upper social classes or higher economic statuses are more likely to be falsely accused of sexual assault.
Q14: Race and FA	Code family used to refer to various ways a person's race or ethnicity plays a role in the likelihood of making false allegations, or being falsely accused against.
Black men more likely to be FA'd	Code used to describe the belief that Black men are more likely to be falsely accused of sexual assault because of their race.
Black men perceived more violent	Code used to describe the belief that Black men are more likely to be perceived as violent perpetrators in "uncomfortable" sexual experiences.
Historically white women FA Black men	Code used to describe the historical pattern and significance of white women falsely accusing Black men of sexual harassment or assault.
Race does not play role in FA	Code used to describe the belief that race or ethnicity does influence false allegations in some way.
Race does play role in FA	Code used to describe the belief that race or ethnicity does not influence false allegations in any way.
White more likely to FA	Code used to describe the belief that white people are more likely than non white people to make false allegations.
White women most likely to FA	Code used to describe the belief that white women are the most likely group to make false allegations.
Q15: Sexuality and FA	Code family used to refer to various ways a person's sexual orientation plays a role in the likelihood of making false allegations.
Heterosexual more likely to FA	Code used to describe the belief that people who identify as heterosexual are more likely to make false allegations.
Public Perception: Sexual orientation plays role	Code used to describe the separation of self from public perception with the belief that the broader public would believe that sexual orientation does play a role in false allegations.
Sexuality does play role in FA	Code used to describe the belief that sexual orientation does influence false allegation in some way.

Sexuality does play role in reporting	Code used to describe the belief that sexual orientation does influence likelihood of making any report of sexual assault, false or not.
Sexuality doesn't play role in FA	Code used to describe the belief that sexual orientation does not influence false allegation in any way.
Q16: Sexual history and FA	Code family used to refer to various ways a person's sexual history plays a role in the likelihood of making false allegations, or being falsely accused against.
Less sex -> more likely to FA	Code used to describe the belief that people with less active sexual histories are more likely to make false allegations.
Less sexual history could get away with FA	Code used to describe the belief that people with less active sexual histories are more likely to have their false allegations be believed.
More sex -> more likely to FA	Code used to describe the belief that people with more active sexual histories are more likely to make false allegations.
Public Perception: More sex -> less credible	Code used to describe the separation of self from public perception with the belief that the broader public would believe that people with more active sexual histories are less likely to be believed for any allegations.
Public Perception: Sexual history plays role in FA	Code used to describe the separation of self from public perception with the belief that the broader public would believe that people with more active sexual histories are less likely to be believed for any allegations.
Sexual history does NOT play role in FA	Code used to describe the belief that sexual history does not influence false allegation in any way.
Sexual history does play role in FA	Code used to describe the belief that sexual history does influence false allegation in some way.
Perception of FA	Code family used to describe the perspectives of and opinions on false allegations of sexual assault.
False reporting is NOT common	Code used to refer to the belief that false allegations do not occur frequently.
Not worried abt FA	Code used to refer to lack of concern or worry about personally being falsely accused of sexual assault.

Learned consent is not attractive	Code used to describe the socialization that occurs that instills the belief that consent is unattractive.
Sexism is everywhere	Code used to refer to the belief that sexism is rampant, uncontrollable, and unstoppable.
Unsure if SV	Code used to refer to description of an event of sexual violence but participant fails to describe it as such.

Specific examples	Code family used when participants specified someone who has been accused of sexual assault
Aziz Ansari	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Aziz Ansari.
Butler FA Case	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the false sexual assault allegations at Butler University.
Chris D’Elia	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Chris D’Elia.
Deshaun Watson	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Deshaun Watson.
Drake	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Drake.
Duke Lacross Case	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against the Duke Lacross team.
Harvey Weinstein	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Harvey Weinstein.
Kevin Spacey	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Kevin Spacey.
Larry Nasser	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Larry Nasser.
Louis C. K.	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Louis C. K.
Mason Greenwood	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Mason Greenwood.
Matt Lauer	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Matt Lauer.

Ohio State FA	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the false sexual assault allegations against player at Ohio state.
Patrick Kane	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Patrick Kane.
Scooby Johnson	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Scooby Johnson.
Sean Oakman	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Sean Oakman.
Trevor Bauer	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Trevor Bauer.
Trump	Code used to describe a reference or discussion of the sexual assault allegations against Donald Trump.
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Sports	Code family used to describe experiences and perceptions of the impact of sports on their life and construction of self, especially gender identity.
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Encouraged aggression	Code used to refer to experience with sports that encouraged behaving more aggressively and forceful.
Encouraged homophobia	Code used to refer to experience with sports that encouraged homophobic dialogue and behavior.
Encouraged sexism	Code used to refer to experience with sports that encouraged sexist dialogue and behavior.
Not emotional	Code used to refer to experience with sports that discouraged any expression of emotion.
Play up masculinity	Code used to refer to experience with sports that encouraged the emphasis of or to highlight how their masculinity.
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