Instagram as a Heterotopia of the Twenty-First Century: The Representation of Women on Instagram in the Post-#MeToo Era

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Abstract

Michel Foucault's conceptualization of space has often been associated with fields which study concrete, material spaces, such as Architecture. Nevertheless, if one believes in the reciprocal nation-fiction relation, Foucault's definition of the heterotopia as a space between the real and the unreal can prove to be valuable for various fields of representation. Nowadays, as part of a globalized consumer society, we increasingly rely on social media to create, shape and change our perception of ourselves and of others. In this context, social media websites can be considered as heterotopias and this article will highlight how Instagram can be understood as an alternative space where female users exist in the real, localizable, world while simultaneously living in an imaginary bubble that is shaped by external societal expectations, shaping the audience's perception of women outside of it. Additionally, this article will question whether and how the popularity of the #MeToo movement on social media affected the representation of women on the social media platform. To do so, in addition to Foucault's six principles of heterotopia, new historicism will be used to analyse the issue.

Keywords: *Heterotopia, Instagram, Representation of women, #MeToo, New Historicism, Contemporary Feminist Movement.*

1. Introduction

Instagram, the social media platform on which this paper is based, is an American photo and video sharing service launched by Kevin Systrom and Mike Krieger in 2010. As it brings together millions of users all around the

world and regroups all types of people from various walks of life, the analysis of the latter will be based on some characteristics found within the social media itself and will be illustrated with a case study of the account of the most followed woman on Instagram as of December 2021, Kylie Jenner. This paper will try to prove that Instagram, along with other social media websites, can be considered as a form of heterotopia and explain how this heterotopic nature plays a role in the representation of women on the social media website. To do so, New Historicism will be combined with Michel Foucault's six principles of heterotopias outlined in the lecture notes which inspired the writing of this article.

The term 'New Historicism' –as opposed to Historicist literary theory which regards History as facts and to New or Practical Criticism, which consists of a text-centered study of Literature in isolation from its sociohistorical and economic context – was coined by American critic Stephen Greenblatt in his 1982 book entitled *The Power of Forms and the Forms of Power in the Renaissance* which deals with the Literature of the Sixteenth-Century. In it, he uses the term in an attempt to explain the method he has recourse to in his analysis of Renaissance texts. Greenblatt's works on Shakespearian plays are viewed as the foundation of the movement and theory.

Although most scholars consider Greenblatt's works as the starting point for this approach, Professor Peter Barry points out the following:

[S]imilar tendencies can be identified in work by various critics published during the 1970s [...]. This book [*The Tragedy of State: A Study of Jacobian Drama* by J.W. Lever] challenged conservative views about Jacobian theater, and linked the plays much more closely with the political events of their era than previous critics had done (Barry 2009: 166).

Professor Barry's observation indicates that the concepts and principles on which New Historicism are built are not proper to Greenblatt's works or to nineteen-eighties and nineteen-nineties criticism. Nevertheless, Stephen Greenblatt's coinage of the term that will identify this 'approach',

which he will later on prefer to refer to as "Cultural Poetics", helped put into words and label the combination of multiple assumptions and concepts into one coherent approach.

It is also important to point out the fact that, in his essay for *The New Historicism*, Stephen Greenblatt considers New Historicism as more of a practice than a theory or a doctrine and recognizes that one of the theory's main characteristics is how "unresolved" and "in some ways disingenuous" (Greenblat 1989:1) he, and therefore his method, has been about its relation to literary theory. This ambiguity makes of defining the main concepts of New Historicist criticism quite the hard task which is why it is imperative to isolate and define the main assumptions and ideas selected for this paper. As such, the two New Historicist assumptions and concepts which will inform this analysis are Michel Foucault's Power-Knowledge-Discourse relation and pervasiveness and Louis Montrose's referential relation between the text(s) and its co-text(s).

Power, discourse and knowledge are recurrent themes within Michel Foucault's works but one common idea when it comes to these concepts is how pervasive and unescapable they are. In his work entitled *The History of Sexuality Volume 1*, Foucault argues that power can be repressive or normalizing and that the latter is more insidious and subtle (Foucault 1978: 5). He also discusses how normalizing forms of power mould behaviours and activities that people do into forms of discourses that are used to produce power (Foucault 1978). While in this particular book, the French philosopher focuses on the idea that sexuality is a social and historical construct, an idea which is prevalent in feminist discourse to this day, his arguments will be used in this paper as a foundation for the analysis of the social media platform. In other words, here, Instagram will be assumed to be a normalizing form of power while the material shared on it will be regarded as the discourse being circulated to uphold said power structures in place.

As for Louis Montrose, his ideas will be used in a more straightforward way as this article will juxtapose the text, namely Instagram, with various co-texts (Montrose 1989: 23), or what is often viewed as secondary texts, including Foucault's "Of Other Spaces" as well as other

sources in relation to Instagram or posts found on the website. In his famous essay for Veeser's *The New Historicism*, Montrose highlights how Literature is not, and cannot be, detached from its socio-political, cultural and economic context. Furthermore, he argues that the act of reading and writing Literature is, in itself, a socially and politically determined act as it is heavily influenced by both the reader and the writer's surroundings, beliefs and values as well as the dominant ideas circulating within their social spheres (Montrose 1989: 23). To put it differently, the information compiled on the Me Too era, on Instagram as a platform, on its usage and on the people using it will be used as tools to examine the narratives and representations found on the website.

2. #MeToo

Before diving into the main topic at hand, it is important to first establish a clearer picture of what has become part of the contemporary feminist movement, #MeToo. The 'Me Too' Movement is a social movement against sexual abuse, harassment and assault which bloomed based on the initiative of African American activist Tarana Burke. She first used the phrase in 2006 on then popular social media platform Myspace to help victims of sexual abuse, especially children and women of colour who are, according to research on the concept of 'Adultification'¹, less likely to be taken seriously by the authorities², with the help, resources and support they need to heal from the traumatic events they have experienced (Burke, History and Inception). Nowadays, #MeToo is a Global phenomenon with over 3 million public posts

¹ Adultification is defined by Linda Burton as follows: "adultification comprises contextual, social, and developmental processes in which youth are prematurely, and often inappropriately, exposed to adult knowledge and assume extensive adult roles and responsibilities within their family network" (Burton 2007).

² A 2017 study published by the Georgetown Law Center on Poverty and Inequality demonstrates that, "the perception of Black girls as less innocent and more adult-like may contribute to more punitive exercise of discretion by those in positions of authority, greater use of force, and harsher penalties" (Epstein, Balke, and González 2017).

having been shared using the hashtag on Instagram alone as of December 2021. Burke was a victim of sexual assault herself and shared on her organization's website that the catalyst for her initiative was her inability to say the two words that will become known worldwide as defining for the antisexual assault movement, "me too", to a little girl called Heaven when the latter, at thirteen, confided her own experience with sexual assault in Burke who, at that time, was not ready to help as she was dealing with her own trauma (Burke, History and Inception).

Nonetheless, the Me Too movement as we know it at the time of the writing of this thesis has seen its rise to fame when, after hearing about the Harvey Weinstein allegations, American actress Alyssa Milano wrote a tweet encouraging women all around the world to use the hashtag #metoo to talk about their own experiences with sexual abuse in an attempt to demonstrate the magnitude of the issue at hand³. Milano will later on acknowledge the existence of a movement which uses the same phrase prior to her use of the hashtag and share the link to Burke's work on her Twitter account (Milano 2017).

In an article written for Time, Burke describes her initial reaction to seeing the hashtag #MeToo go vital on Twitter in 2017 as the following:

Y'all know if these white women start using this hashtag, and it gets popular, they will never believe that a Black woman in her forties from the Bronx has been building a movement for the same purposes, using those exact words, for years now. It will be over (Burke 2021).

While she follows this quote by saying that, after reading a testimony she found linked on Twitter under the #MeToo written by a stranger on her personal blog, she realized that "[her] work was happening right in front of [her]" (Burke 2006; Burke 2021), Burke's first instinctive reaction to the viral hashtag contained some part of truth as the movement's media coverage in

³ The original tweet goes as follows: "If you've been sexually harassed or assaulted write 'me too' as a reply to this tweet." (Milano 2017).

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2017 onward did almost exclusively revolve around well-established -mostly white- women who are part or were working within the Entertainment industry. Indeed, because many high profit celebrities from different parts of the entertainment industry -be it film, music, television or others- such as Angelina Jolie, Lady Gaga, Rose McGowan, Uma Thurman, Sarah Hyland, Cara Delevingne, Reese Witherspoon, Jennifer Lawrence and many more came forward and spoke up about their own encounters with American producer and media mogul Harvey Weinstein and/or other highly positioned executives actively working in the industry, the discussion within the media quickly turned into Hollywood's version of a witch-hunt leading to Burke's work being, to some extent, overshadowed by the high-stake accusations and court cases that the movement helped push forward.

While the Weinstein case is not an isolated occurrence and the Me Too movement goes beyond the latter, it is important to acknowledge that the allegations which were made against the producer as well as his condemnation three years later (2020) to 23 years of imprisonment after being found guilty of rape in the third degree were important milestones and marked a turning point for the anti-sexual assault movement. Not only did Weinstein's fall from grace give birth to the hashtag which will be used by millions of women to openly talk about their sexual assault and harassment experiences, leading to what some media outlets referred to as the 'Weinstein Effect'⁴ his condemnation proved that even the people who people most thought of and, most importantly, thought of themselves as untouchable can be persecuted and taken down.

⁴ 'The Weinstein Effect' or 'Weinstein Ripple Effect' are phrases used by the media to describe the cross-industries accusations made against other high-profit, powerful men as a result of the raise in popularity of the #MeToo movement and public condemnation of Harvey Weinstein. Vanity Fair (Busis 2017), CBS (CBS News 2014), Flare magazine (Flare staff 2018) and many other newspapers and magazines have all published their own lists of men who, as a consequence of the Weinstein effect, were under scrutiny for past sexual misconduct.

Though the hashtag was able to find its way out of social media websites and into the real world in the form of marches, rallies and community gatherings, the Me Too movement remains mainly active, globally speaking, on the internet. This is because the way that social media websites are set up and constructed give the opportunity for anyone to publish anything, be it under their own name or under a pseudonym, as well as give them the chance to be read by thousands of people and get feedback instantaneously which makes it easier and, arguably, less traumatic to speak up.

From this short introduction to #MeToo, the relationship between the movement and social media seems to be direct, natural and complementary. As for the relation between the now infamous hashtag and heterotopias, the issue is much more complex and ought to be carefully considered. Michel Foucault is a name which often rings a bell within many academic fields and circles. The French philosopher's works on Discourse, Power, Madness, Surveillance and Sexuality, to only cite a few, are, to this day, incredibly influential within the various areas of research which form the Humanities. Heterotopia is a concept which is rarely, if ever, explored within Foucault's main corpus of works but it was made by the latter to be the main focus of notes written for a lecture given to architecture student in March 1967 entitled "Of Other Spaces".

3. Instagram as an 'Other Space'

In "Of Other Spaces", while he recognizes the importance of issues related with time in the modern era, Foucault argues that the main problem of the latter is with space rather than with time. He explains how, in modern societies, space is constantly being desanctified leading to the erasure of boundaries between oppositions or what is considered as 'sacred' and what is not. Nevertheless, he points out that some opposition between spaces still stand such as the separation between the private and the public space, the family space and the social space as well as the space of leisure and the space of work (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986).

While it was definitely the case in the late sixties when Foucault was writing these lecture notes, it could be argued that these oppositions no longer

stand in our present contemporary era as we are collectively moving away from what Lev Manovich coined as the 'Home Mode' in which social media is mainly or exclusively used to share and capture family events (Manovich 2017). To illustrate the merging of the oppositions mentioned by Foucault, one can refer to the history of Photography. Mass Photography started as a way to capture big life events such as birthdays, weddings and other forms of social gatherings which would happen in what the French philosopher would refer to the 'family space' and would be stored in a family album. Nowadays, not only are those events photographed and filmed for the family and loved ones to reminisce on, that 'family space' is broadcasted to thousands to see, monetized and turned into virtual capital in the form of followers and money. In our contemporary digital spaces, Home Mode seems to have been replaced by what I would refer to as 'Influencer Mode'. It is also important to note that, while lack of privacy is an important issue to consider when discussing this shift, it should also be highlighted that Photography, be it before or after its digitalization, is one of the few Arts and disciplines which were democratized from their very beginnings (Dragon 2021). Instagram, just like Photography as a hobby and a career, allows women to display creativity, be in charge of their image and, most importantly, offers them with the equal opportunities to capitalize on the latter themselves instead of working under, more often than not, male dominated corporations.

Further into the short work, Foucault identifies the existence of two types of spaces –the internal and the external spaces– but indicates that, for the sake of this lecture, which was directed towards students in Architecture, he will focus on external spaces which themselves are divided into two: the utopia and the heterotopia. The French philosopher describes utopias as, "fundamentally unreal spaces" where, "society itself" is presented, "in a perfected form" (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986: 24). In contrast with utopias, heterotopias are presented as counter-spaces which location can be pointed out within the real world but also as, "a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" (24). To illustrate these in-between the "absolutely real" (24) and the "absolutely unreal" (24)

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places, Foucault uses the example of the mirror in which one can see their physical reflection which also needs to "go through this virtual point which is over there" (24) in order to be perceived. From this, one could define heterotopias as places that exist and are normalized within our world but simultaneously constitute a separate echo-chamber which is governed by and follows its own rules and regulations. Places such as prisons and asylums are great examples of such places as they are accepted by all modern societies as part of their realities despite the fact that what happens inside these institutions remains, for the most part, unfamiliar to the vast majority of people. Additionally, the societal rules inmates and patients have to obey as well as the way that their lives are organised varies based on that specific heterotopia's internal rules. In that sense, these places exist both within and outside of the societies they are attached to.

He goes on to highlight six principles that separate the heterotopias from their imaginary counterparts. In an effort to prove that Instagram as a social media platform should be understood as a heterotopia, each of the six principles will be juxtaposed with some of the functions and characteristics of the platform.

Foucault claims the first principle to be that all societies create heterotopias which then can be classified under heterotopias of crisis and heterotopias of deviation (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986). Based on that, it can be argued that, in order to go viral on Instagram, one is bound to act in a deviant and crisis like manner. Instagram is a space where deviance, such as harmful pranks, and crisis, such as filmed mental breakdowns, create traction and therefore exposure. Nowadays, we often say that there is no such thing as a 'bad buzz'⁵ due to the fact that going viral, even for negative reasons, attracts more eyes onto the account making the owner of the latter more notorious resulting in an increase in following and, consequently, in potential sponsorships and monetary gain through advertisement.

Indeed, in the world of Instagram and contrary to mainstream media, having a good reputation is not an indicator of financial success; it is the

⁵ By bad buzz is meant going viral for saying or doing something that would be seen in a negative light.

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number of followers and interactions on one's profile that make up one's worth and value to sponsors. This explains why internet "trolls"6 and controversial internet stars such as Trisha Paytas are popular on the platform and have become significantly wealthy despite getting "cancelled" multiple times. Paytas have7 been involved in many controversies throughout the years with major names in the social media entertainment industry -such as David Dobrik, Ethan Klein, Charli D'Amelio and Jeffree Star to only cite a few- and internet communities, including but not limited to the Transgender and Dissociative Identity Disorder (DID) communities. By portraying themselves as being in crisis and acting in a deviant manner online, they have been able to stay relevant and accumulate an estimated net worth of ten million dollars (Celbrity Net Worth 2022). Posting Instagram stories (Paytas 2019) and Instagram livestreams (Paytas 2020) of themselves in the middle of a crisis, whether real or simulated being unimportant when discussing the impact of such posts but still being the subject of many debates online, enabled Paytas to keep public attention on them for long enough to build a brand and name for themselves.

The second principle is that a heterotopia's function may change with time (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986). While this is fairly self-explanatory, by looking at how the social media application has evolved throughout the years, we can observe a clear move from being a place where people shared everyday occurrences with their loved ones to a monetized commercial space. For a great portion of Instagram's users, it is no longer a space to casually share pictures but one that needs to reflect the best version of themselves and therefore look aesthetically pleasing. Just like professional influencers, the everyday user of Instagram will cater their feed to what they think others will

⁶ Internet Trolls can be understood based on the following statement: "In the late 1980s, Internet users adopted the word "troll" to denote someone who intentionally disrupts online communities" (Schwartz 2008).

⁷ As of March 2022, Trisha Paytas identifies as non-binary and therefore uses "they/them" as their pronouns. The video in which they address their gender can be found here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wz0BuayROQU.

enjoy seeing by editing all images posted to stay in the same tonality, aesthetic and theme.

The third principle is that heterotopias should juxtapose a real space with several other spaces (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986). In this instance, the real space which is being juxtaposed is the actual place, body or event that is being captured in the photograph which will be posted but because it will, more often than not, be posed, angled and heavily edited, by the time the photograph is posted, the real space may not even match the space shown on the final Instagram post. In that sense, through image modification, Instagram juxtaposes real spaces with fictional, warped spaces.

The fourth one revolves around the fact that heterotopias create heterochronies (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986). Simply put, this means that time may appear differently within the heterotopia than it does outside of it. This principle is easily proven to be true for this case study as social media is often associated with wasting extended amounts of time (Statista Research Department, 2022). This is due to the fact that the consumption of information on Instagram is set up using what almost seems to be an infinite data base. The more one scrolls through their homepage, others' stories or Reels, the more photos and videos get posted trapping the consumer into an infinite cycle of audio-visual consumption. What may feel to be five minutes can quickly turn into hours and vice versa. Time loses its objectivity and becomes perceived relatively depending on the person's level of entertainment.

The principle that heterotopias are spaces which appear to be welcoming you inside but are, at the same time, closed comes fifth (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986). In the case of Instagram, one's public profile could be said to be a form of opening, much like the living room of a house, into the person's private life but because the user chooses what others can or cannot see, what is to be posted or not, this openness is often illusionary. More times than not, what we think to be inside the house, the real person behind the screen, is in reality the porch of said house; a place between the inside and the outside that is inviting while preventing the majority of people from entering into the privacy of the person's home or, in the case of Instagram, real life.

The last principle is that heterotopias represent two extreme versions of our lives. Once again, Foucault argues that there are two types of heterotopias that fall under this principle, the heterotopia of illusion and that of compensation (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986). It is without a doubt that one can declare the perfect, aesthetically pleasing and curated Instagram feeds they see as a mere illusion as well as a way for the person behind the profile to compensate for the perfect life, face and body they, along with their followers, cannot physically reach naturally. A great illustration of this point could be found on the profile of ex-Instagram model and influencer Essena O'Neill. The then eighteen-year-old social media influencer deleted hundreds of pictures and edited her captions to include the behind-the-scenes stories of each 'perfect' shot. In these new and edited captions, she highlights the brand deals behind each post, her experiences with disordered eating and struggles with mental health developed in an attempt to project a polished image of herself and, most importantly, makes the distinction between Instagram and 'real life' (Hunt 2015).

Based on this juxtaposition, Instagram seems to fulfil all six of Foucault's principles proving that the social media website is indeed a heterotopia, what remains to be determined is the platform's connection to the Me Too movement. In order to understand the thread that runs between the movement and Instagram, it is crucial to keep in mind that the hashtag has been shared on public Instagram profiles alone more than 3 million times as of December 2021. Furthermore, Instagram themselves cited #MeToo as part of their top advocacy hashtags in the website's 2018 retrospective, using this information and statistics to push a positive and progressive image for themselves by claiming that the website should be seen as a tool which could be used to make people's voices heard (Instagram 2018).

4. A Case Study of Kylie Jenner's Instagram profile

While the popularity of the hashtag as well as its continuous and renewed relevance on Instagram is great news for contemporary feminists, when looking into the concrete changes made and observed as a result of said popularity, it is hard to determine whether the latter can truly be considered

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as a turning point for the American women's rights movement outside of Popular Culture. While the hashtag brought comfort to victims of sexual assault and harassment by providing them with multiple platforms to speak up on and with a supportive community to speak up to, statistics show that the number of sexual assaults increased from 2017 to 2018 while a vast majority of violent crimes remain unreported as of 2018 (Morgan and Truman 2020). In fact, it could be argued that Me Too highlighted how long predators and aggressors are able to get away with committing such crimes and abusing their power before justice can be served, that is, if they ever get caught.

Another component that should be looked at when trying to establish the efficiency of the Me Too movement in bringing concrete change for women is the representation of the latter within Instagram. Indeed, as discussed earlier, because Instagram can be considered to be a heterotopia, i.e., a space which is anchored in reality but also exists outside of it, analysing representations within it can give an insight into our realities. As this paper is only meant to propose an alternative way of looking at Social-Media-born movements that have bled through to the real world, the following analysis will be focused on the most followed woman on the platform, Kylie Jenner, however, this method can be applied to most female influencers' public Instagram profiles.

Looking through Jenner's profile, it does not take much time to notice that it is a product of, not only the Male Gaze but society's gaze in a more general sense as, nowadays, we all collectively partake in scrutinizing women's appearances through social media. The young woman appears, in every photo posted, to be dressed, glammed or even oiled to present the ideal, "goals" worthy face, life and, in this case most importantly, body. Being aesthetically pleasing is the key to success on Instagram since influencers are paid through product placements which depend on how many followers the person has but also how "good looking" they are as visual ambassadors and endorsers for the brand. What is important to note is that, at the time of the writing of this paper (December 2021), Kylie Jenner was already pregnant with her second child while posting bikini shots and promoting her new swimwear line (Jenner 2021). This proves that, in order to reach a certain

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threshold of followers on this visual platform, women are expected to vehiculate a polished and edited image of themselves no matter the circumstances and the consequences. Furthermore, what this highlights is that in order to maintain this popularity and, consequently, financial success, they ought to constantly maintain these standards which are unattainable in real life even for themselves. In this heterotopia, aesthetics primes over everything else, including health, making it a space which warps the real into the unreal while existing between the two.

While it is easy to blame the likes of Jenner and other influencers for projecting unattainable, unrealistic and surgically modified ideals which other women who do not have the same resources would need to look 'Instagram' ready', one has to take into consideration the role of the public in maintaining such warped representations of women in the forefront of popular culture. It can be argued that Kylie Jenner is just a mere product of the constant public's gazing into her daily life through the family's television show Keeping Up with The Kardashians but also through the Paparazzi, Tabloids as well as her own Instagram followers commenting on the images she posts of herself. Because of its heterotopic nature, Instagram gives its users the ability to create a persona for themselves to hide behind therefore allowing them to detach what they see and what they say from reality. Users tend to consider what they see on the social media to be fake and therefore feel comfortable, protected by the lack of physicality that the platform allows for, to type words which they might never say out loud to someone else. Based on this brief analysis of Kylie Jenner's profile as well as on Foucault's principles, I would argue that not only is Instagram a heterotopia, it is the contemporary heterotopia par excellence since, much like Foucault's boat, it is a floating piece of space, "a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over", rather than, "to the infinity of the sea" (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986), to the infinity of the internet.

Conclusions

Instagram, as one of the main global visual social media platforms having over one billion annual users, can indeed be considered as a heterotopia as it fulfils all six of Foucault's principles and exists both outside of reality as well as physically within our phones and in the form of its headquarters. This article has demonstrated that, while the concrete impact of the hashtag Me Too on the representation of women on the platform and on the issue of sexual assault in real life is limited, it is still used by many to this day and provides people with a sense of belonging to a supportive community. This was supported by the analysis of the Instagram profile of Kylie Jenner who, despite the controversies around her and her family, is the most followed woman on the social media platform. This lack of a concrete impact despite the movement's popularity online may be explained by the fact that Instagram is a heterotopia par excellence, meaning a place that exists in our real world but that also mainly exists outside of it making it difficult for what happens within said bubble to reach the outside world in a significant manner. What should be inferred from this is that, while social media is undeniably a powerful tool for social activism and the distribution of various forms of knowledges and discourses, the heterotopic nature of Instagram does not allow it, to a certain extent, to create deep changes within the social and political structures in place.

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Selected publications:

- (2022): "The Representation of Women in Bombshell, The Assistant and Once Upon a Time... In Hollywood Post #MeToo" (Hana Lina Dalel Berraf), in *Americana: E-Journal of American Studies in Hungary*, volume 18, issue 1.
- (2022): "Book Review of Me, Not You: The Trouble with Mainstream Feminism written by Alison Phipps" (Hana Lina Dalel Berraf), in *Americana: E-Journal of American Studies in Hungary*, volume 18, issue 1.
- (2022): "Telling Her Story: The Women in Hamilton: An American Musical (2015)" (Hana Lina Dalel Berraf), in *Károli Book Workshop*. Budapest: Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary.