Online justice in the circuit of capital: #MeToo, marketization and the deformation of sexual ethics

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Social media has emerged as a powerful mechanism for the circulation of counter-hegemonic and feminist discourses of sexual violence (Michael Salter, 2013). There is now a burgeoning scholarship on the utility of social media for survivors and social movements against gendered violence (Fileborn, 2016; Keller, Mendes, & Ringrose, 2018; Loney-Howes, 2018). However, social media does not merely facilitate political communication. Through its architecture and embedded incentives, it *produces* sociality and shapes political discourses and practices in specific ways (Milan, 2015). Using the example of #MeToo, this chapter explores how social media directs online justice-seeking in a manner conducive to its underlying commercial interests, generating contradictions and moments of rupture in social movements. Adapting Dean's (2005) conceptualization of "communicative capitalism", the chapter examines three allegations of sexual misconduct that departed in significant ways from #MeToo's prior focus on seeking justice for victims and survivors of sexual violence and harassment. The analysis suggests that market imperatives had a significant role to play in undermining and contradicting #MeToo's promotion of ethical sexuality, and argues that online social movements should develop a more strategic orientation towards social media and networked technology.

The development of the MeToo media template

The scholar Jenny Kitzinger (2000) coined the term "media templates" to describe the way in which key events become journalistic "short hand" for a specific construction of social problems. In the case of #MeToo, the paradigmatic "media template" was undoubtedly the revelation that Hollywood mogul Harvey Weinstein, well known for his support of progressive politics and Democratic candidates, was credibly accused by multiple women of sexual misconduct including rape (see Gabriotti and Hopp, this collection, for a discussion about a similar situation in Argentina). The broader context to Weinstein's alleged offending was his outsized influence in the film industry as founder of the entertainment company Miramax. Women's resistance to Weinstein's advances and assaults could curtail or destroy an acting career, while acquiescence and silence could secure career advancement. Weinstein's behavior was an open secret in Hollywood where the tradition of the "casting couch" - in which female talent is expected to trade sexual favors for roles - has been public knowledge since the early 20th century.

The call to join #MeToo was expressly in sympathy with the women victimized by Weinstein, in which social media users were encouraged to identify their own experiences with the features of the case. While evincing a general concern about

the ubiquity of sexual threat in women's lives, the #MeToo media template emphasized four key interrelated elements: 1) sexual harassment/assault typically involving 2) men exploiting a superior position in a workplace or industry in which 3) resistance or acquiescence had career implications for the victim and 4) a lack of consequences for the perpetrator, often due to institutional complicity or a failure to investigate. The #MeToo media template has had the effect of highlighting the commonalities of sexual harassment across a diverse set of experiences, from the comparably wealthy women of Hollywood to the everyday social media user or fast food attendant (Orleck, 2018). Unlike other political hashtag phenomena such as Occupy or the Arab Spring, #MeToo did not generate its own mass protests, but instead politicized individual experiences of sexual harassment and leant momentum to efforts to combat sexual violence and discrimination across the globe.

The corporate choreography of online activism

The taken-for-granted role of Facebook and Twitter in #MeToo demonstrates the naturalization of a relatively recent phenomenon, namely how contemporary political activism is "shamelessly appropriating corporate social networking sites like Facebook or Twitter" (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 2). Reflecting on the impact of social media on the Egyptian revolution of 2011, Gerbaudo (2012) describes the role of social media in political activism in terms of a "choreography of assembly". He defines this choreography as "a process of symbolic construction of public space", specifically "an emotional space within which collective action can unfold" (p 5). This is an apt descriptor of the effects of #MeToo, in which participation via Twitter, Facebook and other platforms generated feelings of solidarity, recognition and outrage (Mendes, Ringrose, & Keller, 2018). Not only did social media host this "emotional space", but it also directed public attention to particular examples of harassment and inequality. Emanating from #MeToo were calls for men accused of sexual misconduct to be sacked or otherwise professionally and socially exiled, intended as informal substitutes for the formal sanctions that are rarely applied in such cases.

Capturing attention is, Tufekci (2017) observes, key to the success of both social media and social movements. Social movements can gain attention and support on social media with unprecedented speed, making social media an indispensable forum for contemporary activism. However, social media is not a neutral platform for public discourse. In accordance with the underlying business model of Web 2.0, which commodifies the data generated through user-generated content and interaction, social media platforms are built to incentivize users to seek attention and engagement on as wide a scale as possible (Van Dijck, 2013). Social media users who adapt their political claims and activities in accordance with social media mechanics and incentives will necessarily find greater "success" (that is, a heightened public profile, reach and influence) than those who do not. Processes by which some social media contributions are ignored and others amplified exert an implicit effect over online discourse and practice, as users are disciplined to adopt those discursive frames and positions that "rate" on social media and discard alternative forms of expression. In this process, users and platforms mutually benefit, since platforms profit directly

from the spikes in activity that result from highly salient online phenomena, simultaneously boosting profit and user profile and connectedness.

The effect on political discourse is considerable, denying visibility to forms of political expression that do not stimulate quantifiable metrics and lack advertiser salience. Indeed, social media platforms can suppress political phenomena that are deemed to be insufficiently advertising-friendly in favor of other social movements with a more commercial flavor (Tufekci, 2017). Thus, the "choreography of assembly" (Gerbaudo, 2012) on social media is not self-determined by the activists and users involved, but rather it is channeled in particular ways that conform to the corporate nature of the platform. This effect is obscured by a prevailing techno-utopianism that posits social media as the solution to complex social problems. Claims about the democraticising and socially transformative effects of the internet and social media that attends outbreaks of online political activism, whether it be Occupy, the Arab Spring or #MeToo, are coterminous with the corporate interests and self-perceptions of the technology industries. As Dean (2009, p. 9) notes, "new media activists celebrate, even fetishize, the latest communication gadgets, unaware that their message is indistinguishable from Apple's". However, close analysis of social media political movements over the last ten years have consistently revealed their fragility. The amassing of large, spontaneous online "collectives" has not reliably translated into durable movements capable of opposing entrenched interests (Fuchs, 2014; Gerbaudo, 2012; Salter, 2017; Tucekci, 2017).

Communicative capitalism and #MeToo

In her account of "communicative capitalism", Dean (2005) emphasizes the disconnection between "politics circulating as content and official politics" (p 53). She suggests that the proliferation of political debate and discussion online appears robustly democratic but is in fact disconnected from institutionalized power and questions of political economy. Key to communicative capitalism is the exclusion of the very means of online communication from the horizon of political analysis. That is to say, within the mythos of e-democracy, online platforms are characterized as neutral or democratically orientated, rather than services delivered by for-profit engines of global capital. Moreover, she argues that the diversity of online communicative opportunities may disperse the energies necessary for alternative political formations:

> Instead of engaged debates, instead of contestations employing common terms, points of reference, or demarcated frontiers, we confront a multiplication of resistances and assertions so extensive that it hinders the formation of strong counterhegemonies. The proliferation, distribution, acceleration, and intensification of communicative access and opportunity, far from enhancing democratic governance or resistance, results in precisely the opposite, the postpolitical formation of communicative capitalism (Dean, 2005: 53).

Dean's (2005) contribution is focused on the apparent gap between the online political discourse and the democratic politics of the early 2000s. This gap was

particularly apparent between the robust anti-war sentiment online and the zeal with which the American government and allies pursued catastrophic military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan. That gap has arguably narrowed although not closed, as governments and corporations have become selectively responsive to online discourse. However, her concept of "communicative capitalism" in which "the market, today, is the site of democratic aspirations, indeed, the mechanism by which the will of the demos manifests itself" (Dean, 2005: 54) captures how commercial prerogatives, embedded in online metrics and architecture, continue to shape political discourse as "spectacle", delimiting reflection on material relations and economic conditions.

Drawing on the theoretical perspectives outlined above, the following sections analyse three case studies of sexual misconduct allegations associated with #MeToo to illustrate the complex but pervasive effects of market forces on the movement. The case studies emphasise the disciplining of online politics and political subjectivities by the entangled commercial prerogatives of social and mass media, which shape the efforts of journalists, social media users and political activists to gain and hold mass attention. The chapter suggests that the corporate choreography of #MeToo has been particularly problematic since it has generated moments of ethical contradiction and failure in a movement that is ostensibly in support of sexual ethics.

Aziz Ansari

In January 2018, the previously obscure website *Babe.net* published an online article describing an alienating sexual encounter between a young woman called Grace (a pseudonym) and US comedian Aziz Ansari (Way, 2018). At this point, the #MeToo media template had been sustained on mass and social media with a high degree of coherence, foregrounding multiple examples of high-profile men who had sexually coerced or assaulted women (and some men) over whom they wielded considerable power. The *Babe.net* article maintained some aspects of this media template but disposed with others. While Ansari was certainly famous and wealthy, he was not exploiting a position of formal power over Grace, and the ethical status of his conduct was arguably more ambiguous. Unlike previous contributions to #MeToo, the article did not describe a *prima faci* case of sexual wrongdoing. Instead, the article's narrative conformed to a familiar heterosexual "sexual script" (Gavey, 2005) (sexual patterns that conform to hegemonic gender stereotypes), characterized by Ansari's eagerness for sexual intercourse and Grace's discomfort and uncertainty.

Grace was clear to *Babe.net* that she felt violated by her encounter with Ansari. Initial responses on social media insisting that, if Grace felt she had been raped, then she had been, gave way to assessments that the article did not describe criminal sexual misconduct. The details provided in the article suggested that Ansari had been persistent but responsive to Grace when she declined sexual intercourse. In their discussion of the case, social media users and journalists explored the spectrum between "awkward sexual encounter" and "sexual assault"; a spectrum that has long been the subject of feminist analysis (e.g. Kelly, 1988; Russell, 1984). These discussions maintained their focus on the content of

the *Babe.net* article and elaborated upon the fraught issues of consent and mutual desire, but generally avoided rehabilitating Ansari or defending him from the significant reputational damage caused by the article.

In contrast, a parallel stream of responses questioned the legitimacy of the article and its consequences for Ansari, pointing to *Babe.net*'s journalistic and editorial practices as evidence that the site was motivated by a desire for profile and profit (Bunch, 2018; Framke, 2018; Tiffany, 2018). It emerged that Grace did not approach *Babe.net* but that *Babe.net* had heard rumors about Ansari and spoke to several people in their efforts to find Grace and convince her to speak publicly (Stelter, 2018). The interview and fact-checking of the story took place within the same week that the article was published, and Ansari was only given six hours to respond before publication (Framke, 2018). The haste of publication and *Babe.net*'s efforts to capitalize on the #MeToo groundswell was spectacularly successful, with over 2.5 million people reading the story within two days of it going online (Stelter, 2018). The website then leveraged the attention garnered by the Ansari piece to launch its first email newsletter, promising subscribers more details about the story.[1]

These facts remained persistently outside the mainstream of #MeToo discourse. Writing in the Guardian, Solemani (2018) characterized the controversy over the Babe.net article as a conflict between those who normalize or trivialize male sexual wrongdoing, and the proponents of a "bigger, brighter historical movement" towards gender inequality. For Solemani, the reputational destruction of men such as Ansari was just "collateral damage" in pursuit of a better future. In this framing of the debate, discussion of the underlying commercial imperatives underlying the publicisation of the allegations against Ansari were irrelevant at best, and politically suspect at worst; a veiled form of anti-feminist attack. This refusal or inability to acknowledge the media production processes underlying the Ansari article produced a moment of ethical contradiction within #MeToo, in which a movement for sexual ethics lacked the collective will or conceptual resources to address its vulnerability to questionable or potentially unethical journalistic practice.

Junot Diaz

In May 2018, at the Sydney Writers Festival, the Dominican American novelist Junot Diaz was on stage when he was asked by writer Zinzi Clemmons about his treatment of her six years ago (Alter, Engel Bromwich, & Cave, 2018). She later wrote, on Twitter, that she had invited him to a workshop and Diaz had forcibly kissed her as they left together, and that she is "far from the only one he's done this 2".[2] Clemmons' foreshadowing of further allegations was in accordance with the broader #MeToo narrative. Rumor and accounts of questionable behavior had preceded major revelations about Weinstein and others. In Diaz's case, however, subsequent reports were limited to reports of conflicts with Diaz at professional or social events. On Facebook, author Monica Byrne described being

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[1] https://twitter.com/elenimitzali/status/952661498891063297
[2] https://twitter.com/zinziclemmons/status/992299032562229248

shouted at by Diaz at dinner (Grady, 2018a). On Twitter, author Carmen Maria Machado claimed that Diaz had subjected her to "a blast of misogynist rage" at a literary event after she asked him about his characters' "pathological" relationships with women.[3]

Following the allegations, Diaz was suspended and placed under investigation by his employers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and the Boston Review, and was forced to stand down from various professional responsibilities. However he was reinstated to MIT and the Boston Review after the conclusion of separate investigations into his conduct did not uncover evidence of wrongdoing (Grady, 2018a). Some social media users interpreted the fact that he was not sanctioned for his actions as exemplary of the lack of accountability for perpetrators of sexual harassment. However, it is not entirely clear what, precisely, Diaz should have been punished for. Clemmons' description of an unwanted kiss from Diaz is the only public allegation that approaches sexual misconduct, although Diaz has categorically denied that this kiss took place, and Clemmons has chosen not to elaborate upon the circumstances (Flood, 2018). Clemmons, Machado and Byrne have all intimated that they have heard worse allegations against Diaz, but none have been forthcoming.

To support their claims, Byrne and Machado have argued that their personal disagreements with Diaz are indicative of his propensity for sexually aggressive violence. Byrne characterized Diaz's tone at a dinner party as an example of "verbal violence", characterized by "aggression and violence and anger and hate coming at you that is meant to produce fear, to silence to you. It has that effect, and it's deliberate" (Grady, 2018b). Byrne is reportedly compiling a dossier of first- and second-hand accounts of his misconduct, including a tweet from a man who claimed that Diaz belittled his manuscript in a writing workshop. When queried by a journalist on whether such an account describes a "sexual abuser or a jerk", Byrnes responded by asking "What is the difference?" (Shanahan & Ebbert, 2018).

Machado's report of being publicly humiliated by Diaz was contested when an audio recording of their encounter was published on Twitter. The recording shows that Diaz was calm if somewhat exasperated in his discussion with her. Machado defended her account of his "misogynist rage" but went on to describe their conversation as a "weird interaction", and one that did not rise to the level of "abuse" (Shapiro, 2018). Much of Machado's stated concern about Diaz relates to his treatment of women in his novels (Shapiro, 2018), which she derided as "misogynist trash".[4] When Machado claimed on Twitter that Diaz has "treated women horrifically in every way possible",[5] many assumed she was referring to acts of sexual misconduct and assault, however the comment may refer to his *fictional* portrayal of women .

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[3] https://twitter.com/carmenmmachado/status/992318613494218753?lang=en
[4] https://twitter.com/carmenmmachado/status/992318615004172288?lang=en
[5] https://twitter.com/carmenmmachado/status/992318618032455686

The allegations against Diaz were not brokered by any media outlet in particular, but rather they were made in person (Clemmons) or on social media (Byrne and Machado), garnering press and social media circulation. However, the linking of these complaints to #MeToo, and their subsequent framings of those allegations on social media, reflect similar logics to those deployed by *Babe.net* in an effort to garner as wide an audience for the Ansari story as possible. The allegations against Diaz were a poor fit within the #MeToo media template, painting a picture of a conflicted and volatile literary figure rather than a sexual offender. However, key interlocutors strategically sought to blur the boundaries between upsetting personal interactions, criticisms of Diaz's fiction and sexually aggressive misogyny. An uncomfortable public debate became a "blast of misogynist rage", a disagreement at a dinner party became "verbal violence" and the distinction between sexual assault and "horrific" fictional portrayals of women became unclear. On the facts presented, the allegations might have struggled for public purchase. It was only through a metaphorical association between speech, writing and violence that the link to #MeToo was maintained, buttressed by Clemmon's reference to an unwanted kiss.

The notion that a lack of courtesy or manners may be symptomatic of underlying prejudice, justifying public shaming and other acts of retaliation, has been popularized with the rise of social media (Ronson, 2015). Outright calls for Diaz to lose his employment and face banishment from literary circles on the basis of the transgressions described above can be situated firmly within so-called 'call out' culture. Nagle (2017) connects the pervasiveness of this milieu online with the hierarchical competition for attention, reach and impact on social media, which has normalized outsized responses to individual impropriety in a manner that has had major impacts on progressive political organizing. By its very architecture, social media privileges simplistic but shocking claims and mass 'pile-ons' in a manner that has, Nagle (2017) suggests, shifted contemporary political culture as a whole. However the economic and technological conditions underlying the form that online politics takes is almost inevitably beyond the grasp of that politics. Much like the case of Aziz Ansari, many #MeToo advocates took the widespread circulation of these allegations against Diaz as the *de facto* evidence of their truth. Social media now hosts ongoing claims that Diaz is a "rapist" and "predator" although he was never accused of such.

Cory Booker

Dean (2005) describes utopian visions of online political discourse as a "disavowal of a more fundamental political disempowerment or castration" (p 61). In techno-utopianism, the persistence of political conflict, and pervasive feelings of powerlessness, are mystified by fantasies of "unity, wholeness, or order" (p 63). Rather than approach technology as a mode of action, or in terms of its production via historical, social and economic contingency, technology is instead reified as a discrete material object or system invested with fantasies of power and completeness. In this process, "the complexities of politics - of organization, struggle, duration, decisiveness, division, representation, etc. - are condensed into one thing, one problem to be solved and one technological solution" (Dean 2005: 63). However, the political naivety of techno-utopianism is

actively promoted by the technology industries and operates as a legitimizing mechanism for its extractive business practices. This utopianism was evident in the widespread belief animating #MeToo that the more women disclosed sexual harassment and assault on social media, and the more pressure that was applied to employers and others to sack abusive men, then the greater the rebalancing of gender inequality would be.

The sexual assault allegations made against US senator Cory Booker in late 2018 suggest a far more complex picture, in which institutionalized power not only ignores the pressure exerted by online sexual assault disclosures but can actively repurpose and subvert them. Booker is well known as a prominent supporter of progressive causes, including LGBTIQ rights and gender equality, and is reviled in conservative circles. This acrimony only increased during the September 2018 nomination process of conservative judge Brett Kavanaugh to the US Supreme Court, when Christine Blasey Ford, a psychology professor, alleged that she had been sexually assaulted by a drunken Kavanaugh when they were both teenagers (Stolberg & Fandos, 2018). Shortly after her report was made public, two other women came forward to describe being subject to sexual misconduct by Kavanaugh when he was a young man. The allegations were firmly rejected by Kavanaugh and his advocates, who claimed there was a political conspiracy afoot amongst progressives and Democrats to block his nomination (Shabad, 2018). In the press and online, the allegations against Kavanaugh were widely situated within the #MeToo 'moment'. Vocal in his support of Kavanaugh's accusers, Booker actively sought to prevent Kavanaugh's nomination through his role on the Senate Judiciary Committee. When Ford testified to the Committee, Booker personally delivered her coffee while she was speaking, becoming one of her most visible supporters.

On October 20, three weeks after Ford testified against Kavanaugh, an anonymous allegation of sexual misconduct perpetrated by Booker was widely circulated on Twitter, garnering over six thousand 'retweets' and eight thousand 'likes'. [6] The tweet linked to a four-page statement on a Google Drive document. The statement was purportedly written by a gay man who described Booker locking him in a toilet and sexually assaulting him in 2014. The piece sought to accuse Booker of sexual assault and hypocrisy, given his support for Ford, and indicted the #MeToo movement for bias on the basis of "gender, sexual orientation or political affiliation". While the author goes to some lengths to characterize himself as a "liberal", the statement is riddled with right wing sentiment, including claims of discrimination against Republicans, gratuitous use of right-wing shibboleths such as "safe spaces" and "triggering", and pejorative references to the Kavanaugh allegations as a "debacle".

The allegation was then popularized on the fringe far-right blog, the Gateway Pundit. The Gateway Pundit, it should be noted, has recently been implicated in an alleged attempt to solicit false allegations of sexual harassment against Robert Mueller, in order to derail ongoing investigations into Russian interference in the US election (Darcy, Scannell, & Shortell, 2018). The anonymous and

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[6] https://twitter.com/TheeDeepThroat/status/1053521823843811328

uncorroborated allegation against Booker was widely shared through conservative circles on Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and conservative podcasts, and was discussed on the right wing Fox News television channel. While the allegation did not break through to mainstream media, its repetition in right-wing circles only further added to ongoing online attacks on Booker and the #MeToo movement as a whole, which was widely blamed amongst conservatives for encouraging and supporting Ford's allegation against Kavanaugh.

The use of false allegations to discredit the movement against sexual violence is not a new tactic, nor is it unique to social media. Australian feminist Anne Summers has recently described how, in the mid-1990s, false claims were circulated in the mass media that she was to be charged with sexual harassment (Summers, 2018). Summers had a high-profile role in drafting and tightening Australian sexual harassment laws, and she attributes the false allegations to a "calculated and orchestrated attack" designed to discredit her and her work. However, with the advent of social media, Tufekci (2017) argues that inundating audiences with false information, has become a new form of censorship:

> In the networked public sphere, the goal of the powerful often is not to convince people of the truth of a particular narrative or to block a particular piece of information from getting out (that is increasingly difficult), but to produce resignation, cynicism, and a sense of disempowerment amongst people (p 228).

In the aftermath of MeToo, the promotion of false allegations of assault appears to have become an automated tactic for conservative and right wing operatives. During Kavanaugh's nomination process, automated Twitter accounts known as "bots" actively circulated false allegations of sexual assault against Booker and other politicians (de Haldevang, 2018). The availability of this strategy signals that neither disclosures of sexual violence nor their circulation on social media are inherently liberatory or transformative, but rather they are operative within the broader economic, political and social relations and structures. Social and political conflicts are dynamic, and their strategic orientation to systems such as social media *shifts* in response to opponent's own adaptive movements. Hence the political impact of social media is not static but rather evolves over time, reflecting changes in the socio-technical arrangements that contextualise social media use. Just as oppressive state authorities adapted to the use of social media by opposition forces, developing effective strategies to neutralise online dissent (Tufecki, 2017), so too have right-wing and conservative forces proven adept at using mimicry and vexatious complaints to parody and confuse feminist claims of victimisation (Nagle, 2017). The techno-utopianism that has driven online movements such as #MeToo assigns a fixed political meaning and utility to social media that is in the interests of social media platforms and advertisers, but mystifies the production and application of technology within economic and political antagonisms.

Conclusion

In their research with women who have disclosed sexual assault as part of online activism, Mendes (Mendes et al., 2018, p. 238) emphasize the "complex terrain of emotions" and "sleepless nights" that accompanied participation in movements like #MeToo. They also described the positive role of online validation and support that can accompany online sexual assault disclosures (p 239). The "emotional space", and feelings of solidarity and support extended to innumerable participants in #MeToo has been powerful and, in the history of anti-rape activism, unprecedented in scope. In turn, it has catalysed an increased political consciousness of sexual violence as well as individual and collective action, including formal complaints to authorities and community and workplace organising. However, this chapter has illustrated how deeply felt, shared aspirations for justice and social change are "choreographed" by social and mass media companies to maximize profit in ways that can profoundly reshape and compromise those movements, bringing online justice into the circuit of capital.

Online politics does not operate externally to or against "communicative capitalism" (Dean 2005) and yet struggles to take its own political and economic context into account. The convergence of profit motives in online political activism and discourse thus potentiates a kind of "spectacle" (Debord, 1998) or "hyper-reality" (Baudrillard, 1988), in which the appearance of political activism obscures, rather than analyses or seeks to transform, the very conditions of its emergence and possibility. Opposing the fetishisation of social media as a neutral tool or democratic instrument, the chapter emphasizes the importance of attending to the dynamism of socio-technical arrangements in online political activism. It is apparent that social media movements such as #MeToo can evoke powerful emotion and debate, contribute momentum to collective action, and exert influence over institutions with formal, decision-making power. However, the commercial mediation of the relationship between social media and institutional power requires critical analysis by movements for gender equality.

A movement for ethical sexuality, such as #MeToo, is potentially imperiled by the objectifying and instrumental tendencies of social media platforms, which are built to commodify user interaction, enable micro-targeted advertising, and direct public attention *en masse* in profitable directions. Mass outrage and grief over sexual violence can be hijacked by 'old' and 'new' media companies seeking to redirect and rework political movements to profitable ends. Indeed, such strategies are so pervasive on social media that they are internalized and reworked by individual social media users in their own efforts to assert their political claims, reproducing forms of political discourse that mirror commercial imperatives. The need for online movements to interrogate the complex interdependence between public discourse and its socio-technological conditions is made only more urgent by the evident availability of social media for anti-feminist and anti-democratic aims. Communicative capitalism is fundamentally amoral in its orientation, and without a critique of this amorality, movements such as #MeToo risk their own ethical integrity.

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