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We Don't Hope that Helps: Satirical Facebook Pages as Counter-Institutional Resistance

Gavin Lawrence Kirkwood
Western Kentucky University, gavin.kirkwood341@topper.wku.edu

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WE DON’T HOPE THAT HELPS: SATIRICAL FACEBOOK PAGES AS COUNTER-INSTITUTIONAL RESISTANCE

A Thesis Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Communication
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Gavin Kirkwood

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WE DON'T HOPE THAT HELPS: SATIRICAL FACEBOOK PAGES AS COUNTER-INSTITUTIONAL RESISTANCE

Date Recommended 4/14/17

Dr. Holly Payne, Director of Thesis

Dr. Blair Thompson

Dr. Angela Jerome

Dean, Graduate School  5/3/17
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Through the examination of a satirical Facebook page called Hope that Helps (HTH) this study filled a gap in communication research on humor and resistance within online communities. The qualitative content analysis of the HTH page showcased satire’s role in acts of resistance. Using jokes, impersonation, and ridicule HTH resisted large corporations, government institutions, messages from public figures, and entitled American consumers. HTH also used humor to resist social constructs including Whiteness, transphobia, and American nationalism. Along with page creators, HTH followers were active participants in the humor and resistance acts on the page. HTH served as a space for page followers to express support, give suggestions, and vent about their own difficulties in customer service roles. Prescriptions for communication researchers interested in the intersection between humor and resistance in online environments are discussed.
Chapter 1: Introduction

Satire has flourished in social media environments, creating large webs of influence that were previously unattainable in older media forms. Satirical social media can be classified as humor, ridicule, irony, or hyperbole that is communicated through a social media channel such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc. This type of humor is in part used for entertainment as seen in satirical news sources like *The Onion* (Sinkovich & Brindisi, 2016) but may also be used for political reasons, such as the White supremacist group, Alt-Right, who used memes to spread racist propaganda (Schrank, 2016). Satirical social media also may be used as a form of counter-institutional resistance, much like counter-institutional websites. This case study explored a Facebook page called Hope that Helps (HTH) which used satire to impersonate companies, disrupt corporate agendas, and engage in acts of counter-institutional resistance. While previous communication researchers have examined the relationship between humor and counter-institutional resistance, there was a glaring gap surrounding counter-institutional humor in social media channels (Gossett & Kilker, 2006; Mikkonen, Moisander, & Firat, 2011).

Two theoretical frameworks were utilized in this case study. These theoretical frameworks focused on the study of humor and the study of resistance. Lynch’s (2002) theoretical framework was used to understand the paradoxes of humor, where control and resistance can both be accomplished by humor. Furthermore, Lynch (2002) explained that humor should be studied by looking at the motivations of the humorist, the content of the humorous messages, and the impact of the humorous act. This case study originated from a pilot study (Kirkwood, 2016) which evaluated the motivations of HTH creators,
Nick Price and Ben Palmer, and continued Lynch’s framework through content analysis of the page itself.

The resistance framework came from Ashforth and Mael (1998) who defined resistance as, “intentional acts of commission or omission that defy the wishes of others” (p. 90). Ashforth and Mael also explained that resistance acts have a symbolic value independent of tangible outcomes. In this case study the symbolic value of HTH content was analyzed in addition to concrete reactions from HTH followers.

This case study filled research gaps in how communication researchers understand the paradox of control and resistance within humor. The study also illuminated how external stakeholders engage in counter-institutional resistance through social media. The research questions included:

RQ1: How is humor used as a tool for resistance on the satirical Facebook page Hope that Helps?

RQ2: How do Hope that Helps Facebook page followers use the page as a space for discourse and resistance?

To answer the research questions, I used qualitative content analysis. To conduct the content analysis, I archived six months of content from the HTH Facebook page which included the posts, public commentary, and the number of like/shares each post received. The qualitative content analysis allowed for access to rich data which answered the research questions and provided a deeper understanding of the complex emergent field of counter-institutional social media sites.

The next chapter reviews relevant literature from communication research regarding general humor theories, humor in the workplace, satirical social media,
resistance and power, comedy’s role in resistance, and the pilot study that was used to interpret case study findings. The literature review is followed by the findings from the content analysis and how the findings can inform past research in these areas. Prescriptions for future directions are discussed.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

Humor is a part of the human experience, yet this form of communication serves multiple goals and is contextually and culturally based. Traditionally communication scholars have found it difficult to measure humor and find empirical evidence to test humor communication theories (Wigley, 2012). Humor is paradoxical in nature, which makes it an especially difficult phenomenon to describe (Veatch, 1998). Humor communication has been explored, yet is riddled with gaps. One of the largest gaps in humor communication is how humor can be used as a tool for counter-institutional resistance.

General Humor Overview

For communication scholars, humor is complex and serves a multitude of functions both individually and relationally. There are many theories on why humans are compelled to make each other laugh as a global phenomenon. Meyer (2000) explained that humor serves four key social functions: identification, clarification, enforcement, and differentiation. Understanding humor as an identification tool explains that humor can be used to express agreed upon meanings in a group. Agreed upon meanings are often revealed through inside jokes (Meyer, 2000). Clarification is when people use humorous anecdotes to capture attention and stimulate memory within a group of people (Meyer, 2000). While identification and clarification are the social functions that unite individuals, the enforcement and differentiation functions are divisive. Enforcement is often characterized by humorous criticism of people who break social norms, often expressed in teasing within a group. Lastly, differentiation is a humorous way to distinguish individuals from a group (Meyer, 2000). It is common for communication
researchers to examine the double-edged nature of humor, that it can spark positive or negative effects depending on the context.

Related to humor’s potential for division, communication scholars have examined the negative effects that humor can have for marginalized groups (Bergmann, 1986). Omi (1989) explained that racist humor can solidify racial stereotypes and further oppression. Park, Gabbadon, and Chernin (2006) studied the function of racially charged humor in media messages and explained that if an audience finds racist humor funny it is because the humor is based on already accepted beliefs of racial groups. While there has been much communication research on how humor can be used to reinforce racist stereotypes and solidify out-groups, there has not been much research on whether humor can dispel them.

In addition to humor being a device of division, other researchers have explored the ways that humor can spark an attack. DiCioccio (2012) explained that humor can be classified as aggressive communication. Humor can be used by an individual to express underlying hostility, verbal aggressiveness (identified by teasing, bullying, or excessive sarcasm), or character attacks on another (DiCioccio, 2012). These observations add another layer of understanding for humor scholars who had previously only viewed the positive effects of humor.

Research centered on the negative aspects of humor was furthered by Wigley (2012) who explained how humor can be used as verbal trigger events (VTEs). Wigley (2012) described VTEs as acts of aggression that are provoked by a verbal statement-including humorous statements. This view shows that there are maladaptive forms of humor which could trigger negative VTEs intentionally, while adaptive humor could
spark aggression unintentionally (Wigley, 2012). Per this view, humor is a catalyst to feelings of aggressiveness and victimization. Wigley (2012) explained that humor’s classification as a VTE is something that has been speculated in communication research but not empirically tested or examined on a larger scale.

**Workplace Humor**

Since humor is contextual, it is not surprising that humor has been examined in the workplace. Organizational communication researchers have looked at other social functions that humor serves in workplace situations including information delivery, managing stress, solidifying employee identity, and role sensemaking. Civikly (1986) found that humor can help mediate the delivery of difficult information. Lynch (2002) explained that humor can be used as a coping mechanism when employees are faced with stressful situations to prevent burnout. Tracy, Myers, and Clifton (2006) explored humor as a sensemaking tool that helped emergency service workers select, maintain, reproduce, and solidify their preferred work identity. In addition to the identity sensemaking, humor allowed these workers to avoid boredom, distance themselves from difficult situations, and was used to create mnemonic phrases to help remember protocol/procedures. These researchers explained that workplace humor has been under-researched especially in relation to role identity, collaboration, and sensemaking in the workplace (Tracy et al., 2006).

Recent research has connected humor with organizational dissent expression. Taylor and Bain (2003) have explained the detrimental effects that difficult customers can have on an employee’s well-being but how organizations do not have channels for employees to cope with that stress. To study informal channels where employees could
have discourse about customer induced stress, Sayers and Fachira (2015) explored a
group of hairstylists that used social media to cope with difficult customers. Often the
messages (or gripes) about difficult customers were humorous in nature and were cited as
informal resistance acts. This study was valuable because it revealed humor’s role in
resistance and the ways humor can unite people in informal channels. Sayers and Fachira
(2015) urged other researchers to continue exploring the relationship between social
media humor and organizational resistance to test the transferability of their findings.

Garner, Chandler, and Wallace (2015) explored the relationships between humor
and dissent by surveying student interns at three American universities. These researchers
found that students used humor to express hidden messages of dissent, suggest
alternatives, accomplish some type of individual or organizational change, cope
emotionally with stress, make others laugh, and avoid workplace punishment (Garner et
al., 2015). While students often succeeded with using humor for emotional release or
expressing hidden messages of dissatisfaction to their supervisors, few students saw
humor usage result in change. Garner et al. explained that their use of quantitative
methodology was an expedient way to reach many participants, but urged that further
qualitative research be used to confirm their research findings. The authors argued that
since humor is such a complex communication phenomenon it is best to conduct
emergent qualitative research including the opportunity to observe humor in action.

Garner et al. (2015) and the work of Sayers and Fachira (2015) legitimized the
need for this case study to utilize qualitative methods. These experts both urged future
researchers to qualitatively examine rich comedic messages and the ways in which humor
advances acts of resistance. The content analysis detailed in this study explored rich humor messages and provided context for how comedy facilitates resistance movements.

**Satirical Social Media**

Beyond face-to-face channels of humor, computer-mediated-communication has become a popular forum for expressing societal and organizational critique. We live in an age of authentic satire, where satirical news articles or advertisements can seem like legitimate sources to the untrained eye (Sinkovich & Brindisi, 2016). One of the leading satirical media outlets is *The Onion* which started as a print satirical news source in 1988 (Sinkovich & Brindisi, 2016). Now *The Onion* is an exclusively online media outlet that reaches 10 million followers via social media channels: social media accounts for forty percent of its traffic and an increasing amount of page views each day (Sinkovich & Brindisi, 2016). *The Onion*’s popularity is sparked by its ability to, “offer comic relief from coverage of social issues, politicians and politics, celebrities and business news” (Sinkovich & Brindisi, 2016, p. 76). The most surprising aspect of this satirical news source is that, while it is comedic in nature, some people think the stories are true. There are examples where major news sources, both domestic and abroad, have fallen prey to *The Onion*’s clever writing and reported the satirical stories (Sinkovich & Brindisi, 2016). At one point so many Facebook users were confused about whether *The Onion*’s headlines were real or not, that Facebook started to tag the posts as “satire” to prevent confusion. Satirical media’s ability to appear legitimate and trick people is quite jarring.

Considering the extraordinary influence that a satirical outlet, such as *The Onion*, can have, researchers have questioned whether satirists react to opinion leaders or if satirists have become opinion leaders. Crittenden, Hopkins, and Simmons (2011) asserted...
that throughout history satire had been used to raise awareness and critique society, but now satire has become its own highly influential genre. These researchers presented four types of satirical opinion leaders which include the traditionalist, creator, rookie, and technologist (Crittenden et al., 2011). The traditionalist was defined as a professional satirist who relies upon a message, in this way the satire reacts to public opinion or culture at large. A creator is a professional satirist who has the skills to produce visual satire via social media and is prepared to address millions of followers in a social media environment. The rookie is a nonprofessional satirist and might not be skilled at creating satire, but can accomplish general humor without any underlying contextual message. The final category is the technologist who is a nonprofessional satirist skilled at social media environments and can use the medium to distribute satirical messages. Crittenden et al. (2011), established excellent descriptive categories for the types of satirists, but urged researchers to explore how these satirists can use social media as opinion leaders, to examine the impact their satire has with the public. This case study furthers Crittenden et al.’s (2011) prescriptions because it evaluated a satirical Facebook page and its creator’s drive to create an impact with followers.

In addition to seeing satirists as opinion leaders, Hill (2013) explained that satire can be considered as a counternarrative that can critique mainstream discourse. Hill (2013) identified the ways that counternarratives in satire can serve the interests of marginalized groups because of satire’s reflexive and critical nature. Hill (2013) stated, “To that end, as a type of counternarrative, political satire should, at least, assent to show how things could be otherwise by highlighting the gaps and fissures present in master narratives structuring society” (pg. 331). This piece explained the ways that satire can
challenge mainstream narratives that might oppress certain groups. In this case study, satire was used to challenge ideology that oppressed the transgender community and racial equality movements such as Black Lives Matter (BLM). This case study provided real-life examples of Hill’s (2013) observations of satire that were not empirically based or tested.

Since the mid-1990s, communication researchers have examined humor utilized in forums, email signatures, chat rooms, and instant messaging (Baym, 1995; Nastri, Pena, & Hancock, 2006; Rains, Tumlin, & Knapp, 2009). While these pieces detailed how humor operated in a technological setting, many of these studies were unable to address the complexities of humor in social media, a space where electronic self-disclosure is the new normal and selves are managed with intense surveillance and scrutiny.

In recent years, humor in social media has become an emergent field. Pennington and Hall (2014) researched humor in Facebook profiles and how an individual’s use of humor affected approval from their Facebook friends. Pennington and Hall found that the most popular type of humor was life event orientated humor, where users poked fun at their own situations or circumstances. Popular culture humor references were also an emergent theme in Pennington and Hall’s piece as they found that popular culture was used for humor and self-identification (i.e. I’m a Tim Burton fan, etc.). Lastly, Pennington and Hall found that self-related humor was an emergent theme, where self-related humor that was not categorized as self-depreciating received the highest number of likes from a user’s sphere of influence. Pennington and Hall urged researchers to continue exploring the ways in which humor interacts with individuals through Facebook,
as there are so many nuances between the use of humor and the construction of identity in this space. This case study answered Pennington and Hall (2014), who called for researchers to examine the intricacies of humor on Facebook, especially by examining the relationship between external stakeholder identity with corporate profiles.

Beyond social media spheres of influence with individual spheres of influence, Winkler (2015) provided insight on the public nature of image management provided by social media channels including Instagram. Winkler (2015) stated, “If all the world’s a stage, social media has given us each leading roles in the performance” (p. 17). Winkler explained how pictures of rising Instagram models may look like candid photos of people enjoying their lives, but represented a product of multiple takes, precise editing out of flaws, and possibly much frustration and insecurity through the process. While vanity is nothing new, the realm of influence that a social media platform offers is a new factor in our technological environments. For instance, Winkler’s (2015) piece spotlighted an Instagram model who had half a million followers. Social media is a forum where an everyday person can offer up an image, a video, or a status and see that content be shared with hundreds of thousands of people, a quantity of people previously unreachable unless an influencer was a celebrity or politician.

Just as individuals can use social media as a platform to promote their image, larger groups can use social media to promote larger political agendas. Scholars have examined how satire and coarse racist humor can solidify feelings of ethnocentrism (Miczo & Welter, 2006). Alt-Right is a White supremacist political group that used humorous memes on social media to influence large groups of people and subvert larger political agendas (Schrank, 2016). Alt-right is known for coining terms such as
“cuckservatives” to describe Republicans who embrace racial equality and “libtards” for anyone who identifies as a Democrat or a Liberal (Schrank, 2016). The group has hidden codes for its followers, such as using three parentheses to distinguish a public figure as Jewish, but overall tries to manufacture content that appeals to millennials at large (Schrank, 2016). Alt-Right has received media attention lately for their support of President Donald Trump, and their unique reasons for supporting him (Schrank, 2016). To members of Alt-Right, whether Trump won or lost the 2016 election was irrelevant as they gained influence to spread their humorous messages and memes. This humorous content has a simple goal: if Alt-Right can get millennials laughing at overt racism then racist ideology can be used as an acceptable form of discourse (Schrank, 2016). Humor’s framing in social media is a way for competing groups to gain influence, but there has been little communication research evaluating these influences. This case study filled the gap addressing the role of humor in gaining online influence by looking at a page aimed at subverting corporate agendas and critiquing society at large.

**Resistance and Power**

Resistance theories can inform the way communication scholars view social media influencers who rebel against organizational sites of power. Ashforth and Mael (1998) defined resistance as, “intentional acts of commission or omission that defy the wishes of others” (p. 90). With this framework, counter-institutional resistance can be understood as intentional acts of commission or omission that defy the wishes of larger institutions or corporations. Ashforth and Mael’s concept of resistance was threefold-their first assertion was that organizations are systems of domination and control. The scholars’ second assertion was that an act of resistance has a symbolic value that
transcends the tangible impact of the act. With the second assertion, whether an act of resistance changes an organization or system of power does not negate the power of the act itself. Ashforth and Mael’s third assertion was that resistance works as a cycle where an organization imposes control, an act of resistance challenges the organization, and this causes the organization to engage in counter control ultimately challenging the stability of the entire organization. Ashforth and Mael’s resistance framework has strong implications for communication research in counter-institutional resistance, especially in the context of marginalized stakeholders. This case study furthered Ashforth and Mael’s work on the symbolic value of resistance acts through empirical analysis.

Zoller (2014) explained that from a broad perspective, acts of resistance can be categorized as either overt or covert. Overt forms of resistance can include public statements, protests, or open defiance in an organization. Covert forms of resistance can include hidden disobedience, anonymous statements against an organization, and hidden acts that disrupt an organizational system of power. Zoller explained, “Questions of change and the degree of risk involved in communicating resistance are important ways to distinguish among different, contextualized forms of power struggle” (p. 608). Zoller’s framework suggested that resistance researchers should evaluate the context including the risk and desired outcome of the act of resistance.

Counter-institutional resistance has been studied through external stakeholders online. Mikkonen, Moisander, and Firat (2011) studied consumer cynicism in anti-Christmas forums and blogs as an act of resistance. These researchers explained that these anti-Christmas sites presented an empirical opportunity to examine acts of resistance against the commercialization of the Christmas season. They explained that
these sites of resistance were a way to give voice to individuals who resisted the social norm of holiday cheer—some using sarcastic humor in the process. The dominant frame throughout Mikkonen et al.’s piece was Michael Foucault’s idea of resistance against the social order of Western consumer culture. Mikkonen et al.’s piece created space for future scholars to identify resistance in online sources of cynicism and sarcastic humor.

Gossett and Kilker (2006) also researched forms of resistance and dissent mediated through online communication. By examining the counter-institutional website, radioshacksucks.com, these researchers found that a variety of stakeholders could voice their concerns and frustrations with Radio Shack. These researchers categorized the online posts as a form of dissent because the website gave voice to criticisms directed at Radio Shack leadership (Gossett & Kilker, 2006). Gossett and Kilker explained that this counter-institutional website was a device to give voice to stakeholders that might otherwise be silenced, “Counter-institutional Web sites can provide an important mechanism for overcoming discursive barriers within the organization and enable members to take part in discussions that might normally be discouraged” (p. 68). Gossett and Kilker analyzed over a thousand radioshacksucks.com posts and found that this was a space for customers and employees to express dissent, use humor, give tips on how to disrupt company operations, and urge Radio Shack executive leadership to change. Gossett and Kilker mentioned that this research was groundbreaking in that it examined a site of dissent and resistance that was outside the organization itself. These researchers explained that further investigation on external sites of dissent and resistance could further voice and dissent research as a whole—especially on marginalized stakeholders who would not have a voice within the organization they are critiquing. In addition to
Gossett and Kilker’s piece, Barnes and Taska (2012) speculated that social media can be an external site of organizational resistance. This study continued the work of researchers who asserted that online spaces can facilitate organizational resistance because the data was pulled from Facebook and dealt with resistance messages.

**Comedic Resistance and Humor Paradoxes**

Satire and humor are considered ways of critiquing society, but researchers have also evaluated them as acts of resistance. Lynch (2009) identified humor as an act of resistance where “workers can safely use resistance humor to express grievance, resist, and challenge unfair and/or burdensome managerial restraints” (p. 459). Humor has also been cited as a form of political resistance against government bodies, Sorenson (2008) explained how humor was used in the Serbian Otpor resistance movement. Sorenson explained humor’s potential for forging alternative resistance cultures when he stated:

> Humor does have a powerful potential in facilitating outreach and mobilization, a culture of resistance, and turning oppression upside down. How this power is exercised depends on the situation, but humor’s main source of power is its ability to turn things upside down and present them in a new frame. (Sorenson, 2008, p. 185)

Sorenson argued that there is a difference between serious and humorous messages, but humor can reframe serious messages in powerful ways. As a researcher, Sorenson explained that humor is significantly under-researched in relation to resistance, especially as a nonviolent way to change public attitudes and peacefully fight oppression.

Regardless of which type of humor a researcher is describing or which medium the humor operates in, humor is paradoxical in nature. Humor can unite and divide,
power or relinquish it. Early humor scholars thought that humorist motivations go back to early man’s struggle for survival and is rooted in aggression and gloating (Rupp, 1951). While the superiority theory can be supported by some types of humor, it only provides a narrow view of a multifaceted and complex human experience. Veatch (1998) explained that one prominent paradox of humor is that an individual can create a humorous response by knowingly violating societal norms. Another paradox of humor is that humor can be used as an expression of superiority (Lynch, 2002). An example of this paradox is comedians who make fun of themselves. On one hand comedians who make jokes about themselves are engaging in an act that can humiliate or tarnish their reputation. However, often comedians who make jokes about themselves are depicted as having a special type of confidence or power.

Ultimately the paradox of control and resistance in humor is a continuum as a “joke may be neither wholly control nor wholly resistance, but rather interpreted through the degrees of control and resistance present in the expression” (Lynch, 2002, p. 439). Lynch (2009) urged communication researchers to do more research on humor as a communication phenomenon and its influence on organizational life. Lynch stated, “It is time for the field to delve deeper to grapple with humor and establish a communication-based understanding of humor” (p. 440). Lynch proposed that to take a holistic approach to studying the paradoxes of humor, a researcher must examine the motivations of the humorist, evaluate the content of the message, observe the environment the message is expressed in, and measure the audience’s reaction to the message. This thesis answered Lynch’s call for researchers to explore humor with multiple perspectives including the motives behind the messaging and the context of the message itself.
**Pilot Study on Humorist Motivations**

Lynch (2002) explained, “Communication acts as the medium in humor between the structure of social settings and the motivations of individuals” (p.424). Using Lynch’s framework, I conducted a qualitative pilot study to discover the motivations behind the creators of the popular satirical HTH Facebook page (Kirkwood, 2016). To conduct the pilot study, I used semi-structured interviews and field observation. To conduct these interviews, I used purposeful sampling because this type of sampling could provide richer information, especially when the studied phenomenon is not commonly experienced (Creswell, 1998). It is rare to find people who would devote their lives to satirical social media and counter-institutional resistance, so I deliberately sought out my participants. Consent for the study was approved by the university’s Internal Review Board (IRB) and informed consent was obtained from each participant before the interviews started (Creswell, 1998). Due to the unique public nature of the HTH Facebook page I received direct permission from participants to use their real names in the study. Interviews were recorded and transcribed, then analyzed using the constant comparative method, axial, and in vivo coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

HTH creators, Ben Palmer and Nick Price, were motivated by a dissatisfaction with corporate greed, anger over entitled consumers, desire to empower marginalized customer service workers, and passion for challenging bigoted discourse (Kirkwood, 2016). Ben and Nick explained that they also used the page to take suggestions from their followers to improve the type of content they created. HTH creators also clarified that while they wanted the page to make a broader impact, it was a priority that the page be entertaining because Ben Palmer wanted to start a professional career in comedy. When
the motivations were explored, the paradoxes of comedic control and resistance emerged from the findings. The humor paradoxes included a paradox where Ben and Nick thought that hacking, creating hoaxes, and causing disruptions to corporations could help further their resistance movement against greedy corporate conglomerates. Ben and Nick thought their resistance efforts could control companies and force corporations into acts of social responsibility. Another paradox was that Ben and Nick thought they could empower customer representatives through their work, but as external stakeholders did not know how their work affected these employees. It is possible that, while funny, the HTH posts created work challenges for the employees that Ben and Nick wanted to help.

The pilot study featured satirist motivations and paradoxes of control and resistance that helped contextualize the relationships between humor and resistance in the current case study. While the pilot study revealed the motivations of HTH creators, motivations alone were insufficient for studying HTH comedic messages (Lynch, 2009). This case study filled research gaps surrounding the relationship between humor and counter-institutional resistance within online environments. The case study included a content analysis of the HTH Facebook page that gave context to HTH comedic messages and the ways that HTH followers interacted with the material.

Due to a lack of prior research in the relatively new phenomenon of satirical social media, I used a qualitative approach focused on inductive reasoning and emergent findings. The following questions guided this research:

RQ1: How is humor used as a tool for resistance on the satirical Facebook page Hope that Helps?
RQ2: How do Hope that Helps Facebook page followers use the page as a space for discourse and resistance?
Chapter 3: Methodology

While the pilot study consisted of an investigation into the motivations that Hope that Helps (HTH) creators had in starting the page, this thesis project analyzed the content of the HTH Facebook page. To answer the research questions, an inductive study using naturalistic inquiry was utilized. In naturalistic inquiry, the researcher is considered the instrument used to collect data (Baxter & Babbie, 2003). This case study consisted of a qualitative content analysis of HTH posts over a period of six months, the archive was from July 10th, 2016 to January 10th, 2017. A qualitative content analysis was appropriate because qualitative methods brought out the richness of the data in a way that quantitative research methods could not (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

Data Collection

Netvizz software was used to archive six months of data from the HTH Facebook page. This export created a text (txt.) file which included 135 archived post URLs, descriptive categories, comments from followers, user identification numbers, the number of follower likes, and any hashtag identifiers utilized. The text export was uploaded in Microsoft Excel so that the data could be organized, observed, and interpreted. To conduct data analysis, I used the provided URLs to visit all 135 posts so that I could do in vivo coding and classify the posts appropriately. In vivo coding was done in a separate document that would be easier to read, revisit, and subject to multiple rounds of coding.

Data Analysis

Owen’s (1984) criteria for theme analysis: recurrence, repetition, and forcefulness was used to analyze the data set. While recurrence and repetition may seem similar, recurrence is when a theme is repeated with similar wording, while repetition refers to
themes that occur with the same exact wording (Owen, 1984). In some of the posts, exact terms or phrases helped identify the strength of the themes. In other categories, the strength in the theme was from similar ideas being expressed with varied terminology. Forcefulness is when a theme might not be repeated often, but uses strong language or an extreme viewpoint such that a theme emerged. A small number of themes detailed in the findings section were a result of forcefulness rather than repetition.

HTH content was analyzed with in vivo coding through the constant comparative method (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Throughout the in vivo coding process, I utilized microscopic analysis to ensure I did not miss any possible themes (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Microscopic analysis ensured that I read through each of the 135 HTH archived posts before coding and identifying emergent themes. After reading the archived posts I conducted line-by-line analysis of in vivo coding. During in vivo coding, I created a separate document where I took the pertinent information from each post and put it in an easy-to-read format. Pertinent information included the cell number of the post (that way I could easily revisit the post using the URLs listed in the Excel document), the date of the post, whether the author of the post was an HTH creator or follower, what the post was about using exact wording found in the post, and any meaningful reactions (number of likes, follower comments, number of shares, etc.). Once all the posts were listed in this document, I marked the archived transcripts with meaningful words or phrases. The compilation of these in vivo codes was used to create a master code list (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Once I had the list of in vivo codes I began axial coding.

During the axial coding process, I grouped similar in vivo codes together and put emphasis on themes that were common amongst multiple participants. While certain
themes were not applicable to the research questions in this case study, each post was coded and organized throughout the process. If something was repeated often or if a Facebook user gave a strong opinion on a topic, it was included in the axial code list. For the HTH archive I went through 3 rounds of axial coding. With the final list of axial codes organized completely (See Appendix A), I went back and pulled exact quotations from the post URLs to include in the analysis.

Verification

The method of verification I used was detailed coding description. To bring rich understanding to how the HTH Facebook page was used and establish the most prominent themes I engaged in microanalysis including open, axial and in vivo coding. Strauss and Corbin (1998) explained, “Microscopic analysis obliges the researcher to examine the specifics of data.” (p. 65). In the researcher role, microscopic analysis ensured that I did not miss any significant thematic findings.

Ethical Considerations

HTH was a publicly viewed Facebook page that can be followed by anyone, so Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was not required for the qualitative content analysis. HTH posts including comments and posts from followers could be freely accessed on the page, so individuals were not required to give permission for the analysis of content.

Prior IRB approval was obtained for the pilot study with HTH contributors. Since the HTH page explicitly listed the contributors by name, I obtained approval from participants to use their real names in the case study. The participants were aware that their real names would be mentioned in thematic analysis and commentary (Kirkwood,
2016). The pilot study IRB approval was pertinent to this project because the content analysis was analyzed considering pilot study findings. Participants in the pilot study were not paid for their participation and were subjected to no possible risk or harm through the interview process.
Chapter 4: Findings

Themes surrounding counter-institutional resistance emerged from the qualitative content analysis of HTH posts. HTH used satire to express resistance against private corporations, public institutions, influential celebrities, and social constructs including transphobia, racial bigotry, excessive entitlement, and American nationalism. In addition to HTH posts, its Facebook followers also emerged as actors who used humor as a vehicle for counter-institutional resistance. HTH followers used the page to give suggestions to contributors, express encouragement for the page, imitate the humor found on the page, and vent about their own experiences from working in customer service roles. The following themes showcased the intermingled acts of humor and resistance crafted by HTH and its respective fans/followers.

Humor as a Tool for Resistance

Research question one addressed how HTH used humor as a tool of resistance. To answer this question, four overarching themes emerged. These overarching themes included HTH counter-institutional resistance against corporations, government institutions, public figures, and entitled consumers. HTH contributors used humor to highlight the problems with powerful private and public organizations, question the messages of public figures, and ridicule entitled consumers. HTH satirical strategies to express resistance included impersonation, mocking, character attacks, and hyperbole.

Resistance against corporate image and greed. First, HTH critiqued corporate greed and mocked corporate image as a way of communicating cynicism about the intentions of large corporations. HTH perceived that their targeted organizations had
proven time and time again that profit meant more than people. A clear example of a post that critiqued corporate greed included:

*FACEBOOK user posted on the NBC Olympics page:* The people of Brazil are starving, but they have excellent new soccer stadiums.

*HTH posed as a fake “NBC Olympics” and page responded:* You make an excellent point, Justin. However, we must point out that we do offer food inside the stadiums. Our hot dog prices start out at 30 Brazilian Real…Wow what a deal! (see Appendix B1)

In this example, HTH spotlighted that major news outlets gladly cover the Olympics hosted in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil despite the social issues facing Brazilians. HTH pointed out that amidst starvation, large companies were only concerned with their ability to raise profit margins.

Another example of HTH critiquing corporate greed was when they created a fake page to pose as the popular app-based transportation service called Uber. Using this fake page, HTH posted that “In honor of the New Year each Uber ride costs $2,017” (See Appendix B2). Uber has been known for raising its prices during peak demand times, especially in late night hours and on holidays. HTH used hyperbole to illustrate that many Uber customers believed that the price raises were unclear and they had been taken advantage of. Another element of corporate greed was evidenced by the comment of a follower on this post. An HTH follower commented “But the driver will still make a sweet 90 cents a mile 10 cents a minute minus 25 percent Uber commission” (See Appendix B2). This comment brought attention to another level of Uber’s greed: the greed towards its own employees. Despite the price hikes imposed on customers, the
HTH follower explained that Uber drivers did not see a raise in pay, even though they were working late hours or holidays.

HTH’s use of satire not only critiqued corporate greed, but also mocked corporate image. By using a fake “Bud Light” page, HTH posted on the real Walmart Facebook page stating “Bored while shopping at Walmart? Crack open a Bud Light” (see Appendix B3). HTH mocked the corporate image of Bud light joking about the hypothetical posting of unprofessional comments on social media to advertise their product. American consumers have come to expect corporations to follow certain rules- they expect corporations to appear professional, they expect corporations not to reference their competitors, and they expect corporations to use social media channels to communicate with its own customer base. This post’s humor lies in its violation of the unspoken expectations surrounding corporate image, poking fun at the ways in which corporations seem fake and sterile to the American public.

In this example, an HTH follower joined the resistance act by mocking the shopping experience of Walmart in the comments. The follower stated that if someone started drinking a beer while shopping at Walmart, that no one would notice or care (See Appendix B3). In this way, both HTH and the follower joke that Walmart provided a poor customer experience, a situation that alcohol could make more bearable and exciting. Corporate image campaigns often sell the fantasy of an experience or product that cannot be achieved. By mocking the Walmart customer experience and claiming it was boring, unsophisticated, and full of apathetic customers and employees HTH rebelled against the clean, vibrant, and fun Walmart featured in commercials full of quality items and attractive models.
Resistance against government institutions. HTH posts were not only expressed resistance against large corporations, but also expressed resistance against government institutions. HTH created a fake “City of Atlanta” Facebook page and had a series of posts centered on fake city ordinances. These posts became so widely viewed, that there was a collection of local news stories centered on the satirical posts and the motivations that HTH contributors had behind the content they created (Wolfe, 2016). An example of a fake “City of Atlanta” HTH post included a post where they stated “If you are caught being poor anywhere near or around Atlanta, you will be fined and subject to arrest” (See Appendix B4). This post highlighted the growing problems of gentrification in Atlanta and the marginalization of poor Americans across the nation. The resistance was evident in HTH’s ability to take their beliefs, in this case the belief that Atlanta disdains its lower-class citizens, and make it overt through satire.

Another example of HTH content that resists government institutions is a fake “City of Atlanta” post where they joked “We’re closed tomorrow. If you need to use Atlanta you’ll have to wait till Thursday. Take care” (See Appendix B5). The satirical posts characterized Atlanta’s bureaucracy as uncaring, ineffective, and not working towards the best interests of its people. This sentiment was further illuminated when HTH used the fake “City of Atlanta” page to post “If you just moved here, please come to our office to pick up your parking ticket. New residents receive one parking ticket to help them get used to life in Atlanta” (See Appendix B6). In this post HTH identified city government as greedy, a city that gladly penalizes its own citizens with tickets and fines. HTH used hyperbole and satire to mock the image of Atlanta’s city government and in
doing so they expressed resistance against a bureaucratic structure that is quick to harm rather than help its constituents.

**Resistance against public figures.** In addition to targeting large corporations and government institutions, HTH also highlighted resistance efforts against public figures (celebrities, politicians, and mainstream religious leaders). This subcategory of themes was related to resistance against corporations and city governments because the targeted public figures were representatives of larger institutions. For instance, HTH impersonated Joel Osteen, religious leader of an American evangelical megachurch, who has a net worth of $40 million. In addition to HTH impersonations of Joel Osteen the page also attacked former North Carolina Governor Pat McCrory known for discriminating against his LGBTQ constituents, and political commentator Tomi Lahren known for her right wing talk show.

During the 6 months archived for the content analysis, the most popular HTH public figure attacks came from making a fake page for Tomi Lahren. HTH referred to Tomi as a “conservative mouthpiece” and used the fake page to attack her reputation because she perpetuated extreme right-wing conservatism. An example of the resistance against Tomi included:

*Tomi Lahren fan sent a direct message to the HTH page, thinking it went to Tomi:*

Hey Tomi…Thank you for everything you do! You truly make a difference in this country and the people that care. I know things have been busy lately and I’m sure you don’t have time, but can I take you on a date sometime? Like a true date that you deserve.
HTH posed as Tomi Lahren and responded: Wow Shane, thank you! It’s always great to hear from fans and supporters. What did you have in mind for a date? I am currently looking for someone to hate minorities with. (See Appendix B7)

By using celebrity impersonation, HTH expressed resistance for a public figure who was known for railing against Black Lives Matter, supporting Donald Trump, and demeaning people who protested for women’s rights. The hyperbole that Tomi looked for “someone to hate minorities with,” expressed the disdain that HTH had for this public figure as someone whose opinion was contrary to the progressive values of the page.

Resistance against customer entitlement. HTH not only targeted rich, powerful, influential organizations and celebrities—they also targeted individual consumers. To express solidarity with people who worked in the customer service industry, HTH posted resisted customers whose extreme entitlement was rampant and concerning. An example of HTH responding to an entitled customer included:

Customer posted on Denny’s Facebook page: I brought my family into your restaurant to eat before heading over to the Six Flags amusement park. Since we had driven in from out of town, we had two cars. As such, we decided to consolidate into one car and drive over to the park. Upon returning to our parking space in your lot at approximately 4:30pm, we were extremely disappointed to find that our vehicle had been towed…Is this a way to treat a loyal customer? I would think that by having a restaurant strategically located around an attraction such as Six Flags, you would be appreciative when a customer visits your restaurant prior to or following a visit to the amusement park.
HTH created a fake page “Denny’s Cares” and responded to the post: Brian, I understand you had an unfortunate experience being towed out of our parking lot recently, but you have to understand that we can’t turn away paying customers, all day, for you to have a free parking spot for the amusement park. Sometimes Brian, we think that getting towed is good for the soul. It just drops you back into the system and recharges your battery a little bit so next time you’ll be a little more careful about where you park and the consequences that may come with it. We advise to shake it off and come back sometime and have a delicious Meat Lovers Skillet!! Coffee is on us, as long as you tip. Just don’t get repo’ed. We can’t really help you with that. Hope that helps. (See Appendix B8)

The customer who posted on Denny’s page tried to argue that eating at the restaurant entitled him to park his car there all day free of charge. In response, HTH used a fake page to explain the absurd nature of the complaint. HTH used satire to advocate rationality, explaining that the customer was being unreasonable in his complaint. The top comment from this post included a HTH follower who stated “How fucking entitled do you have to be. Boohooohoo I couldn’t park in a private lot and go elsewhere for the rest of the day, bad Denny’s!” (See Appendix B8). Even HTH followers recognized that certain consumers had ridiculous expectations for the businesses they visited.

While some customers complained for not receiving something they believed they were entitled to, other customers complained about receiving free product in exchange for inconvenient situations.

Customer posted on Starbucks Facebook page: So I would like to share, I went to Starbucks today in Garfield hts, Ohio. I ordered a tall mocha and it came to
almost $5 which was fine. So I pull to the drive through window and go to hand the cashier a $50 bill. She looked at me like I was crazy and said I can’t accept that I have to get my manager. Manager comes to the window now and tells me ITS AGAINST OUR POLICY TO ACCEPPT $50 BILLS!!!! WHAT!!!!...Then with an attitude she says the coffee is on us. And I said I’m not looking for free coffee and she says no just take it and I handed the lady 2 singles to put in the jar. I have ever felt so embarrassed in my life!!

HTH created fake “Starbucks Corporation” page and responded: Jessica, we gave you free coffee. Let it go. (See Appendix B9)

HTH purposely responded to this post because it demonstrated the extreme reactions customers had to minor inconveniences. HTH followers also considered this woman’s complaint to be disproportionate to the situation. One of the top comments from an HTH follower included, “This poor woman, what if the people in her country club found out?” (See Appendix B9). This comment pointed out the privilege of the customer to have $50 to pay for coffee, as well as the audacity to say that a coffee shop giving her free coffee was the most embarrassing moment of her life. In this way, the satire highlighted the customer’s unrecognized privileged position.

Resistance against Social Constructs

In addition to resisting large corporations and entitled consumers, HTH rebelled against social constructs that oppressed marginalized groups. The social constructs that HTH expressed resistance towards included racial bigotry, transphobia, and American nationalism. Like the customer entitlement subcategory, this grouping of themes also dealt with the ways that HTH critiqued individual consumers.
**Resistance against Whiteness.** A strong preference for White culture and a strong reaction against groups like “Black Lives Matter” (BLM) emerged in the customer complaints that HTH responded to. An example of resistance against Whiteness included:

*Customer posted on the “Ford Motor Company” Facebook Page: Since BLM [Black Lives Matter] means more to the company than All Lives, my White money will be spent elsewhere. I own two Ford’s…And this is a slap in the face. Shouldn’t be surprised though. Ford also supported Hitler too.*

*HTH made a fake page called “Built Ford Tough” and responded: Lisa, so you’re saying that you were okay with buying two vehicles from us after we supposedly supported Hitler, but you’ll never spend your “White money” with us again because we support racial equality? Unfortunately, we have to warn you that you should stop driving your two Fords immediately. Not because there’s anything wrong with them, but because it’s extremely dangerous for you to be driving a vehicle with your head that far up your ass. We hope this helps. (See Appendix B10)*

The customer who complained on Ford’s page viewed BLM, a movement rooted in achieving racial equality, as an attack on White culture. The customer used racially charged language when referencing her “White money” and compared the Ford Motor Company’s support of Black Lives Matter to supporting Hitler. In a response, HTH explained how ridiculous this woman’s complaint was, and how it was disappointing to see her disdain for racial equality. It was clear that to HTH, insulting racists expressed support for racial equality and rebelled against social constructions of Whiteness.
HTH also resisted Whiteness from public figures. One of the public targets of HTH’s resistance against Whiteness was Former North Carolina Governor Pat McCrory. McCrory had a merchandise website to raise money for his reelection campaign and one of the items featured was a “McCrory” hat. HTH found the post, created a fake page called “NC Governor Pat McCrory” and commented: “Now introducing Pat McCrory oppression shackles! For only $25 you can buy our real-life slave shacklers to remind you of our attempts to restrict the black person from voting!” (See Appendix B11). By creating this false page and posting on behalf of Pat McCrory, HTH publicized historical oppression of Black Americans (which may or may not be related to McCrory’s right wing conservative values). By spotlighting the historical oppression Whiteness has perpetuated, HTH further resisted Whiteness as a social construct.

**Resistance against transphobia.** In addition to the oppression of racial minorities, HTH attacked people who oppressed the transgender community. These posts emerged amidst Target’s decision to allow patrons to use the restroom of the gender they currently identified with, regardless of the biological sex they were assigned at birth (Lang, 2016). An example of a transphobic post that HTH responded to included:

*Customer [Dennis] used another person’s [Patricia] Facebook account to post on Target’s Facebook page:* Dennis speaking here…voicing my first amendment rights to register my concern of Targets bathroom’s policy. I would not encourage anyone in my family, friends or acquaintances to shop at your store because of the danger of allowing men who see themselves as women to use the ladies bathroom. Not only is it dangerous because of predators but it makes no sense. It is amazing that a store that has so much wisdom in the marketing world would be
lacking in common sense. I have compassion for those who are confused concerning their gender but to put 99% of the female population at risk and at a minimum embarrassment at the chance of offending a transgendered person is nonsense and anti-intellectual honesty.

*HTH created fake “Target Customer Care page: Hi Dennis, can you give the computer back to Patricia? Thanks. (See Appendix B12).*

By selecting this post, HTH brought attention to people who wrongfully equate transgender women with sexual predators. The humor in this post came from making fun of someone with antiquated views of gender, calling transgendered individuals “gender confused.” An HTH follower commented, “It’s funny how they recognize that men are the problem but only think men who dress as women sexually assault women. I’ve only been sexually harassed by men who were dressed like men” (See Appendix B12). This follower’s comment explained frustration of those who argue transgender women will assault women but do not hold cisgender heterosexual males accountable for sexual assault. HTH clearly was against people who used social media to marginalize the issues facing the transgender community.

**Resistance against American nationalism.** The last major social construct that HTH expressed resistance against was the use of American nationalism in customer complaints. Some posts emerged with forcefulness where individuals equated poor products or dissatisfactory customer service as un-American or anti-American. A post where HTH critiqued a customer who cited American ideals as justification for a customer complaint included:
Customer posted on Barnes & Noble Facebook Page: The Nook HD is the most
God awful table ever made. I can’t even run the Olympics App and keep updated
on one of the most important events in our history. B&N you need to replace this
tablet with something that can actually run android apps. I really am beginning to
believe that B&N must be aligned with the North Koreans or China or both to
create a tablet that is so anti-American. B&N if you really are an American
company and believer in American values and what America stands for then you
would replace every single Nook HD ever sold.

HTH created a fake “Barnes & Noble” page and responded: Hello Ekim, I can
confirm that your suspicions are true. We have aligned with North Korea. Nook
HD is being discontinued to focus more on missile programs. We will destroy
America. (See Appendix B13)

The Barnes & Noble customer took a complaint about a specific app on the Nook HD
tablet device and turned it into a nationalist argument. When a customer calls a product
anti-American just because they do not like it, it reveals the deep nationalist ties that
customers have with the United States such that they equate American products as well
made and without errors. HTH used hyperbole to acknowledge that a rant about anti-
American ideals does nothing to fix the app issue- instead it revealed a confused aspect of
American identity.

In addition to calling out the extreme commitment to American nationalism
customers have when complaining about a service or a product, HTH critiqued people
who cite fallen soldiers to bolster credibility of a viewpoint or argument. In a satirical
critique, HTH created a “The Men and Women Who Died for Our Freedom” Facebook
page and posted “Stop using us in your arguments” (See Appendix B14). This post critiqued people, both on the right and the left, who argue that fallen soldiers agree with their political worldview. A HTH follower added commentary by stating, “Lol yes!!! My husband is a disabled veteran. He loves it when people voice opinions for him. He loves it even more when he can interject and let them know that their version of his thoughts and feelings are incorrect” (See Appendix B14). This HTH follower comment used sarcasm to explain that men and women who can fight in the armed forces do not need someone to tell them what they think.

A Space for Discourse

It was evident that the HTH Facebook page was not only a place for HTH to post content, it was also a space for followers to interact with contributors and each other. The second research questions asked how HTH followers used the page as a space for discourse and resistance. To answer this question four themes emerged: HTH followers affirmed and imitated the humor on the page, gave HTH ideas about which individuals or organizations to target, and vented about their own experiences with difficult consumers.

Followers gave suggestions. One of the most prominent ways that HTH followers interacted with the page was by giving HTH ideas of which customer posts or corporate messages to respond to. An example of an HTH follower giving a suggestion is when a follower posted, “You definitely need to troll the people over a Covergirl, who are all up in arms about their new model, who is male…They are so ridiculous!” (See Appendix B15). The follower posted a screenshot of the Covergirl complaints where customers said, “Last time I will use Covergirl! Do you notice it is Cover GIRL not Cover BOY! Gross! What is wrong with the world?” HTH responded to this post from
their follower by stating, “Thanks for the heads up!” HTH followers enjoyed seeing customers and companies being critiqued and mocked, so much so they encouraged HTH to go after certain people or specific issues.

Some HTH followers also gave suggestions of how HTH could create more material to critique Walmart. One follower posted, “Go to Wal-Mart’s page. You might find some material there” (See Appendix B16). Another follower even suggested a hoax that HTH could perpetuate by hanging signs around the store to make employees think that a secret employee union meeting would take place (See Appendix B17). By giving suggestions, HTH followers took an active role in perpetuating humor and resistance on the page. It was clear that fans of the page were invested in seeing new content and had expectations for what that content should look like.

**Followers gave affirmation and support.** As seen in the resistance findings, each HTH post became a space for followers to make their own jokes, imitate HTH humor, or give general affirmation. An example of an HTH follower’s affirmation involved HTH response to a customer complaining about Target’s bathroom policy:

*Customer posted on Target’s Facebook page:* Quarterly earnings a miss, as expected. Your stock dropped like a rock. My family will continue to boycott until you retract your policy on shared bathrooms.

*HTH used fake “Target Customer Cares” page to respond:* Hi Steve, we just checked our quarterly fucks, and it looks like there is none given. Check back with us in a few months to see if anything changes. It won’t. Hope that helps.

*HTH follower commented:* Someone call the intensive care unit for burn victims, just checking to see if Steve is recuperating. (See Appendix B18)
In the above example, the follower used humor to praise HTH for making fun of the transphobic Target customer. This was just one example of many instances when an HTH follower used a post to join the mockery of the customer/company being critiqued and express general support for the page.

In addition to affirmation in the comments, HTH followers often posted their support directly on the page. An example of this is when an HTH follower posted “I love this page” (See Appendix B19). General affirmation and support varied from followers expressing how much they loved the page to followers who posted how much they missed the posts when there was a lag in content. HTH had a loyal fan base that wanted the contributors to keep posting content.

Some HTH followers loved the page so much that they imitated the satire or wanted to become a contributor of the page. One HTH follower posted on the page, “I’m serious, I can start tomorrow AND bring my own beer” (See Appendix B20). This HTH follower thought that HTH contributors made a career from the page and he wanted to join the movement.

In addition to HTH followers asking to become contributors, some followers imitated HTH satire on their own volition. An example of this is when an HTH follower posted an interaction she had with a customer who posted on Starbucks Facebook page. In the interaction, the customer complained about the Oprah Chai brand not being sold at Starbucks locations. In response, the HTH follower tried to explain that the discontinuation of the product was because nobody likes Oprah anymore (See Appendix B21). This was an example of an HTH follower targeting customer posts on a company’s page, using humor and then taking screenshots to share the interaction.
Another example of followers who imitated HTH satire was the large number of users who played along with HTH’s sense of humor by commenting on HTH posts. A Facebook user had mistaken the Hope that Helps page as an actual tech support page for Facebook, he posted concerning an issue he was having with logging into the correct account and navigating to his personal page. This Facebook user even asked to be contacted by phone between 10am and 5pm. It was evident that this user was not familiar with the satirical nature of the HTH page or social networking in general. In the comments of the post, an HTH follower joked, “Did you try giving up and never using a computer ever again?” (See Appendix B22). The HTH follower’s sarcastic comment demonstrated the page’s function of space for sarcastic discourse. HTH followers were such big fans of the page that they were imitating the satire and sarcasm when interacting with other Facebook users and pages. The above example is just one instance of an HTH follower imitating the comedic style of the page, other followers posted humorous articles, YouTube videos, and their own attempts at satire.

**Followers vented about their own work experiences.** In addition to using the HTH Facebook page as a place to express affirmation, imitation, and support, some HTH followers used the page as a space to vent about their own work experiences. HTH often targeted entitled customers to express solidarity with the customer service workers who must deal with them. One HTH follower posted, “Well it finally happened. I’m a CSR (Customer Service Representative) among other things where I work and a customer finally went so far down the ignorance hole I had to pull out a ‘Hope that Helps’ response” (See Appendix B23). This post showed that HTH followers saw a resemblance
between the entitled customers HTH features on the page with the customers they had to deal with in their own jobs.

Another example of an HTH follower using the page to vent about experiences at work included a follower who complained about incompetent customers. This follower worked in a CSR role where she had to process documents and explained that a customer she was working with tried to scan and send her a document. Instead of scanning the printed side, the customer scanned the blank backside of the paper. When the HTH follower asked for a correct scan, the incompetent customer complained and asked the follower to flip the copy over (See Appendix B24). This post detailed a follower who, without being prompted, voiced her frustrations in customer service thinking that her experience could resonate with other followers on the page.

The emergent themes revealed the institutions, individuals, and ideals HTH resisted. The themes also demonstrated the ways that HTH followers used the page as a form of discourse including affirmations, comedic imitation, suggestions, and complaints about their own work experiences. The themes have strong connections to past communication research on humor and resistance as well as the pilot study (Kirkwood, 2016).
Chapter 5: Discussion

To answer both research questions, the findings from the content analysis were evaluated using past communication research and the pilot study (Kirkwood, 2016). By evaluating the findings with the pilot study, this case study followed Lynch’s (2002) assertion that research on comedic messages requires the content of the message be observed with the motivations of the humorist. In our digital age, it is common for anonymous actors to create humorous content online (satirical articles, memes, humorous comments, YouTube videos), making it difficult to identify content creators and investigate the motivations they have in creating their material. One of the main theoretical contributions of this research is that the pilot study explored the motivations behind HTH so the content could be understood within that context.

The humor of HTH described in the analysis was, in part, an act of resistance. Lynch (2002) explained that jokes or acts of humor can be evaluated on a continuum of control and resistance. This continuum is present because humor is used to enforce or resist social norms. Lynch advised that context would allow communication researchers to determine the degree in which a humorous message is an act of resistance. The pilot study and the content analysis of the HTH page provided the context for understanding humorous resistance messages holistically.

In addition to using communication research on humor, the research questions also required that the findings be evaluated using communication research on resistance. Zoller (2014) explained that resistance acts need to be evaluated with the desired outcome of resistance. When the content analysis findings were evaluated with the pilot study, the content of the HTH page was examined considering HTH’s vision. As many
contributors of resistance messages need to stay hidden, this study presented a rare opportunity to analyze content considering the contributor’s visions and goals. Evaluating the findings from the pilot study with the content analysis of the HTH page was vital to the continuation of communication research on humor and resistance.

Lastly, this study used Ashforth and Mael’s (1998) understanding of resistance as an intentional act of commission that interferes with the wishes of another person or entity. On a broad level, HTH subverted the goals of large corporations by impersonating the entities, oftentimes using impersonations to insult customers. Ashforth and Mael emphasized that resistance acts cannot be defined solely by tangible outcomes. Instead, these researchers argued that acts of resistance have symbolic value that transcends the results of the act (Ashforth & Mael, 1998). Oftentimes the posts that HTH created were deleted by the company who facilitated the Facebook page where the comments were posted. HTH largely posted content by using screenshots, as their material could be deleted by companies at any time. It was not possible to observe all the tangible effects of HTH resistance- I was not able to see corporate representative reactions to the impersonations or measure how a customer felt when duped by the satirical page. Regardless, the symbolic value of HTH content was rich, meaningful, and furthered understanding on the relationship with humor and resistance in our modern digital world.

**Humor and Resistance**

The first research question asked: How is humor used as a tool for resistance on the satirical Hope that Helps Facebook page? The first group of findings that emerged indicated that HTH content was used to express resistance against corporate image, corporate greed, government institutions, and influential public figures. This group of
findings connected with the motivations of HTH contributors from the pilot study as well as past research on humor and resistance movements.

The first finding was that HTH used humor to express resistance against corporate image and greed. HTH often made a spectacle of companies through their impersonation pages, poking fun at the ways in which companies control the world’s resources while perpetuating an appearance of professionalism. This finding connected with the pilot study when Ben and Nick explained their outrage over companies who worked on greedy conquests at the expense of their employees and against the best interests of American consumers. Ben and Nick explained in the pilot study that large companies were making so much money while neglecting the customers who posted on their social media pages. These contributors felt that by impersonating companies and responding to customers, they were illustrating how little these companies cared about external stakeholders. This finding also related to Zoller’s (2014) that effective resistance acts can include public statements as HTH could be viewed and followed by anyone with a Facebook account. Lastly, this finding supported Gossett and Kilker’s (2006) claim that online networks can serve as an effective space to criticize corporations because it is a space that corporations generally cannot control.

HTH also used satire to resist public figures and their respective cultural influence. HTH contributors primarily focused on political commentators and religious opinion leaders. This finding related to the pilot study, as the public figures critiqued were symbolic of the materialism and right wing conservatism with which HTH contributors disagreed. For instance, when impersonating right-wing political commentator Tomi Lahren, HTH contributors highlighted that she perpetuated White
privilege by joking that her hobby was hating racial minorities. This finding confirmed Sorenson’s (2008) argument that humor can be used to reframe popular figures and political issues. The joke about Tomi Lahren being a racist was in part funny because it reframed her talk show and undermined her legitimacy as a political commentator. Whether HTH’s joke reframed the way people viewed Tomi Lahren did not undermine the symbolic value of this resistance act (Ashforth & Mael, 1998).

Along with private institutions and celebrities, HTH used humor to resist government institutions. They did this by posing to be city government pages and mocking the impersonal bureaucracy of city ordinances that do not enrich the lives of citizens. By poking fun at the City of Atlanta, HTH creators expressed their disdain of excessive traffic tickets, congested highways, ineffective governance, and a political system that benefits the rich over the poor. Like resistance against public figures, this finding also connected to research by Sorenson (2008) who explained that humor can be used to reframe public discourse and evolve into resistance movements. While HTH had not sparked protests or proposed changes in legislation, their humor surrounding the satirical Facebook posts addressed the ways in which the government did not operate in the best interest of the governed.

The ways in which HTH used satirical impersonations of corporations, government institutions, and public figures showed how satire has shifted from being reactionary to being an influential force itself. Crittenden, Hopkins, and Simmons (2011) classified types of satire and described the phenomenon in which satirists were becoming opinion leaders themselves. Previously satirists were seen as a group that antagonized people or organizations in power, but did not have as much power and influence in and of
themselves. Hill (2013) explained that satire is a counternarrative to mainstream discourse but can still be heavily influential in and of itself. While communication researchers have analyzed the power of satirical TV programs or news outlets, there has not been a focus on satirists who impersonate companies to subvert corporate interests. Communication researchers should keep looking at satire, impersonation, and the humorous deception used against powerful people and corporations through social media.

The findings also illustrated paradoxes in the ways that HTH used humor to express resistance messages. When evaluating the impact of this resistance, a paradox emerged in which HTH contributors thought that humorous character attacks could be used to critique society at large. The justification behind HTH character attacks were that the attacks were directed towards individuals who exhibited negative character flaws (racism, bigotry, transphobia, or severe entitlement). It seemed counterintuitive that hurting a group of people could help society, but HTH thought that attacking the character of individuals because they were racist or spoiled could discourage those qualities in other people. HTH overestimated their capacity for using humor as moral instruction, most especially because attacking individuals was a way for the page to get more attention and possibly advance Ben Palmer’s career aspirations (Kirkwood, 2016). Paradoxes are often marked with competing goals, in this case the competing goals were Ben Palmer’s desire for a comedy career which is selfish with a goal of critiquing society to improve it which is selfless.

The largest emergent theme was that HTH content expressed resistance against customer entitlement. This finding connected to the pilot study in that HTH contributors felt that their work could empower customer representatives that were victim to these
customers. In the pilot study, Ben and Nick described customer service representatives as the biggest victim in our service based economy, as they had to appease both entitled customers and negligent bosses (Kirkwood, 2016). HTH contributors also detailed that we live in an age where people are blind to their first-world privileges and let materialism ruin their lives. From the pilot study, these contributors felt that by ridiculing entitled customers they were making a broader critique of the cultural problems that created this entitlement.

The resistance against customer entitlement finding confirmed Taylor and Bain’s (2003) claim that difficult customers can cause distress for customer service representatives. This finding also echoes Sayer and Fachira’s (2015) finding that employees use social media to gripe about difficult customers. These researchers specifically looked at the ways hair stylists vented about difficult customer experiences with one another. HTH’s form of resistance against customer entitlement was similar in that it focused on customers with whom customer representatives might find difficult to serve. What makes HTH unique is that the page and its followers were not affiliated with any particular company. HTH was essentially griping about customers with which the respective company’s employees must serve. Through attacking difficult customers from other businesses, HTH illustrated the permeability of stakeholders in our digital age.

Discourse between customers and companies are done in public spheres, where external stakeholders can weigh in without having a relationship to the organization. Communication researchers should continue to examine the ways that external stakeholders, like HTH, can subvert, resist, and attack corporate communications by targeting consumers.
In addition to resisting entitlement, HTH content also resisted Whiteness. They did this by sarcastically responding to customers in ways that highlighted the customer’s bigotry. The racial bigotry featured on HTH consisted of customers voicing disdain for the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, threatening to boycott companies that voice support for BLM, and asserting that “all lives matter.” “All lives matter” has been cited as a racist term that disregards the struggles of Black Americans and reifies the concept of White privilege (Kluger, 2016). When HTH contributors spotlighted racial complaints, they drew attention to the systemic racial issues that operated in public spaces, where people feel that it is good to boycott companies who support racial equality. There is much communication research on how humor can reify racial stereotypes and further oppression against minority groups, (Omi, 1989; Park, et. al, 2006) but this finding suggested that humor could also be used to police racial bigotry. The possibility that humor could both be used to enforce and dispel racist discourse could affirm Hill’s (2015) claim that satire as a counternarrative can empower marginalized publics. The dual function of humor as a catalyst and barrier to racist discourse could also be an illustration of humor’s paradox of control and resistance (Lynch, 2009).

Just as HTH content was against materialism and racial bigotry, HTH content also made a statement against transphobia. Many of the transphobic posts were directed at Target, who refused to engage in gender policing of its bathrooms and made a public stance in support of the Transgender community (Lang, 2016). HTH responded to transphobic posts by questioning their logic, challenging their worldview, pointing out their contradictions, and critiquing their character. This finding connected with the pilot study when Ben and Nick explained that the HTH humor helped people engage in
perspective taking and shed light on marginalized transgender publics. This finding confirmed Hill’s (2013) assertion that satire can present a counternarrative to benefit marginalized publics.

The last form of resistance on the HTH Facebook page was resistance against American nationalism. It was surprising that some HTH posts responded to customers who justified their complaints with their ideals of American values and citizenship. For instance, in the Barnes and Noble example (See Appendix B13), it was odd that the customer complained about his tablet technical issue because it did not align with his nationalistic views on manufacturing or American innovation. Furthermore, while researchers including Taylor and Bain (2003) have named a variety of reasons why a customer might be considered difficult, American nationalism has not been one of them. Future communication scholars should examine the relationship between patriotism and customer entitlement to test the transferability of this finding.

While we may never know how the HTH posts impacted the people they critiqued, the public sphere of influence a Facebook post cannot be underestimated. We live in a world where a woman can take pictures of herself, call herself an “Instagram model” and, reach half a million people (Winkler, 2015). The type of satire that HTH used against individuals was aggressive in that it often insulted individual consumers. DiCioccio (2012) argued that humor is used to communicate aggressiveness, sarcasm, and attack someone’s character. HTH justified the individual attacks because the customer used overt transphobic, racist, and entitled language. In the pilot study, Nick and Ben explained that their brand of satire can advance society by illuminating different perspectives and giving voice to marginalized publics. HTH contributors thought by
attacking an individual in the public sphere, they could advance a progressive agenda (Kirkwood, 2016). HTH posts were never meant as an interpersonal interaction between HTH and the individuals they criticized, the posts were meant to be shared to a larger public of HTH followers. By sharing the posts to a larger public, HTH content had inherent symbolic value aside from the tangible outcome of their critiques (Ashforth & Mael, 1998).

**Space for Discourse**

The second research question asked: how do Hope that Helps Facebook page followers use the page as a space for discourse and resistance? The findings revealed that followers used the HTH page as a space to give suggestions, express support, vent about their jobs, imitate HTH humor on their own Facebook accounts, and imitate HTH humor on the page.

The first finding was that HTH followers gave suggestions about the companies and customers that HTH should target next. This finding confirmed the transferability of Gossett and Kilker’s (2006) conclusion that online forums can be places where ideas and suggestions are shared. This finding also reflected a theme that emerged during the pilot study, where Ben explained that the suggestions that the page’s followers could help give notes on HTH content that could be used to improve the content they created (Kirkwood, 2016). However, while followers seemed eager to give ideas, HTH contributors rarely acknowledged those posts; this raised questions about the extent that Ben and Nick truly wanted ideas and feedback from their followers.

The second finding was that HTH followers used the page to give affirmation and support. This finding echoed the research of Mikkonen et al. (2011) who studied
consumer cynicism in anti-Christmas blogs and forums. Oftentimes the contributors to these anti-Christmas blogs united with one another over their disdain for the commercialized aspects of the Christmas season. Some of the forum contributors felt alone when expressing their disdain for Christmas in their personal lives, so the blog became a place for users to affirm each other’s holiday cynicism and express social support for one another. In the same way, HTH followers used space on comments to affirm HTH perspectives and worldviews. Users affirmed HTH contributors in highlighting the problems with transphobia and racial bigotry, often adding a voice to the conversation.

The theme of affirmation and support was also revealed by how some HTH followers wanted to imitate HTH humor or join HTH in a contributor role. Meyer (2000) explained that humor can create space for people to identify with one another using agreed upon meanings. The humor featured on the HTH page offered space for people with a similar sense of humor to identify with the page and practice HTH tactics in their own lives. While the finding that humor encourages identification among groups is not a new finding, the blurring of lines between followers, imitators, and contributors in social media was an emergent area in computer mediated communication that researchers should keep exploring.

The final finding was that HTH followers used the page to vent about work, often complaining about difficult customers and imitating HTH humor in the process. This finding is complementary to Gossett and Kilker’s (2006) research on radioShackSucks.com who found that the anti-Radio Shack website was used as an anonymous space for customer service representatives to complain about both external
customers and internal management. This finding also connected with the motivations of HTH contributors as detailed in the pilot study— they wanted this to be a page that would enrich the lives of customer service agents from a wide variety of industries, a site of empowerment (Kirkwood, 2016). On a theoretical level, Lynch (2009) explained that humor can be a way for employees to express workplace grievances and frustrations. This finding confirmed Sayers and Fachira’s (2015) claim that social media can be a space for employees to gripe about difficult customers.

HTH used jokes, impersonation, and ridicule to resist large corporations, government institutions, messages from public figures, and entitled American consumers. HTH also expressed resistance against social constructs including Whiteness, transphobia, and American nationalism. Followers of the page were active participants in resistance and used the page to express support, give suggestions, and vent about their own difficulties in customer service roles. The major contributions of the case study included the methodological contribution of examining the content of a satirical social media page using satirist motivations. Another major contribution was the analysis of humor paradoxes in satirical social media and identifying the role that third-party influencers (people who are neither employees or consumers) can have in subverting corporate interests. In the following section, future directions and implications are discussed.
Chapter 6: Conclusion

Social media was an optimal environment to study the nuanced relationship between humor and resistance. HTH used satire to express resistance acts against government institutions, corporations, messages from public figures, and difficult customers from a variety of organizations. In addition to organizations, HTH used humor to resist Whiteness, transphobia, and American nationalism. Major contributions from the case study included a rare example where a content analysis of a Facebook page was analyzed using the humorists’ motivations. Another major contribution was the identification of third party influencers who used social media to subvert corporate agendas even though they did not have employment or consumer ties to the organizations they resisted. The findings from this study presented implications and future directions for communication researchers who are interested in the intersection of humor and resistance online.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

While this study provided insight for comedy and counter-institutional resistance in online environments, there are limitations to consider. Past communication studies have evaluated only one counter-institutional website at a time, often with one forum that can feature multiple threads (Gossett and Kilker, 2006). Facebook, as a medium, featured significantly more data points to evaluate including pictures, hashtags, likes, emoji reactions, and a plethora of links to hundreds (or thousands) of other pages/Web sites. The main limitation of this study is that I only evaluated one Facebook page. While the data was rich, a case study on a similar satirical Facebook page could help test the transferability of the findings. Future communication researchers should evaluate
multiple satirical Facebook pages to examine the relationship between comedy and resistance.

There are also intercultural communication factors that were underexplored in this study. In the pilot study, Ben and Nick explained that their page inspired a set of copycat pages in other countries (Kirkwood, 2016). The HTH page also had links to foreign pages that used the same profile picture and practiced the same type of satire. Since humor is contextual and culturally based, it would also be helpful for intercultural communication scholars to see how humor and resistance operate in Facebook pages facilitated by other nations. By studying similar Facebook pages in other cultural contexts, the transferability of this case study could be tested.

Finally, HTH engaged in counter-institutional resistance but I did not observe how the institutions reacted to these resistance acts. Ben and Nick would screenshot their posts because it was likely that their posts/comments would be deleted by the company or organization they resisted. But in the case of HTH’s City of Atlanta Facebook page, the city government had to take legal actions in an attempt to take down the page (which was unsuccessful as the page was still online). During the legal battle the satirical page was highly publicized (Wolfe, 2016). Since the legal battle over the page was publicized and gained attention, the city government image repair attempts were underexplored. Communication scholars interested in corporate crisis or image repair should explore the ways that satirical social media can damage the reputation of organizations and how organizations should respond.
Implications

The main methodological implication of this study is that when communication researchers analyze online content, rich data can come from speaking to the content creators. In our age of anonymous authors of videos, memes, jokes, and web pages it can be hard to identify authors, much less contact them. In following Lynch’s (2009) framework that humorous messages should be studied with humorist motivations in mind, this study affirmed that the complicated nature of humor can be clarified by revealing humorist motivations.

Another implication from this study for communication researchers interested in resistance is that technological tools have made it easier than ever to subvert corporate interests. HTH simply copied and pasted images, or used open source coding from corporate websites to create convincing impersonations. The impersonations made it hard for the public to decipher fake messages, this diminishes an organization’s ability to control the messaging about itself. Organizations are more vulnerable and permeable than ever, so communication researchers should keep evaluating the impact that external stakeholders can have in resistance movements.

Lastly, this study further illuminated the complexities with humor and its ability to help marginalized publics. There has not been much research on satire’s ability to challenge racial stereotypes or misconceptions about the LGBTQ community. Communication researchers should continue exploring the ways that satire can challenge bigoted discourse and advocate for marginalized groups in the process.
Conclusion

The relationship between humor and resistance is a web of complex intricacies. These intricacies evidence humor’s power as a force that can unite or divide depending on the context. The HTH page provided an opportunity to analyze satirical resistance messages with accessible creators who were open about their goals and motivations for the page. The way that HTH resisted large corporations, government institutions, messages from public figures, and American consumers demonstrated the extraordinary amount of influence external stakeholders can have online. The ways that HTH followers expressed affirmation, suggested ideas, and vented about their own jobs demonstrated the type of humor and resistance discourse that can be facilitated in online environments. It is my hope that this study can encourage communication researchers to keep exploring the relationship between humor and resistance online.
APPENDIX A

Methodology- Data Pulled from 7/11/16- 1/11/17, Total of 135 posts

Legend

Author Legend:
HTH- Hope that Helps Page and Creator
V- Visitor of the Page, this could be someone who follows the page regularly or someone who posted occasionally.

Type Legend:
CE- Resistance against Customer Entitlement
CG- Resistance against Corporate Greed
EP- HTH encouraging follower participation
FS- Follower’s suggestion to HTH
GI- Critiquing Government Institutions
GS- General Support for the page
IC- HTH tries to influence the companies they critique
MCC- Mocking Company Competition
PF- Resistance against a Public figure
RM- Resistance against Media
RN- Resistance against American nationalism
RT- Resistance against Transphobia
RW- Resistance against Whiteness
SP- Self Promotion of HTH page or contributor
VI- Visitor Imitation
VAW- Venting About Work
WTJ- Wants to join, when a visitor volunteers to be a HTH contributor

*If a cell is bolded it is because it is exemplar of its respective category

Code Category

Cell #:
Date:
Author: HTH (Hope that Helps) or V (Visitor)
Post: In Vivo Coding (Quick Abbreviation of the post, preferably in the creator’s own words)
Resistance Type:
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes):

Posts that were not available (possibly visitor deleted page or post): #122, #82 (was a HTH post shared on another person’s page), #72 (possibly deleted by visitor), #56 was a duplicate of the same post in cell #57, #39 was a duplicate post, cell #1 is for labels in the export document so not a post
Confused FACEBOOK Users

Cell #: 136
Date:  7/11/16
Author: V
Post: User is having an issue logging into Facebook, thought that HTH page was customer support for Facebook
Control Type: Confusing FACEBOOK Users
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): Comments from HTHF “Did you try giving up and never using a computer ever again?”

Suggestions from Followers (On Individual Users)

Cell #: 135
Date: 7/18/16
Author: V
Post: Screenshot of Citibank customer from their support page, V urges HTH to “troll” the customer because she posts personal info in public comments, V is certain that the woman “would give up her social security number” *Laughing Emoji*
Resistance Type: FS-individual
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): No likes, comments, or acknowledgment

Cell #: 80
Date: 08/27/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor posts a screenshot of a customer who was complaining that they could not order takeout from a bike cafe
Resistance Type: FS-individual
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 41
Date: 10/6/16
Author: V
Post: visitor posts a link about a person who complained about Wal-Mart because they had her escorted for using too many coupons
Resistance Type: FS-individual
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post.

Cell #: 21
Date: 11/14/16
Author: V
Post: V shares actual Joel Osteen post and says “I thought it was Joel Oldsteen [the HTH parody page]… but then realized it was real. I’m not sure if that’s better or worse.”
Resistance Type: FS-individual
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 9
Date: 12/30/16
Author: V
Post: V suggests that HTH responds to anti-vaxxers who were posting on Mattel’s page
Resistance Type: FS-individual
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not like the post

Cell #: 106
Date: 08/14/16
Author: V
Post: HTH follower posts a screenshot of a woman who complained on Cracker Barrel’s page about a rude server she had who she felt discriminated against her due to her Mexican-American heritage.
Resistance Type: FS-individual
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post.

Cell #: 18
Date: 11/20/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor says “Only in America” and shares a screenshot of someone complaining that their fries from McDonalds are not fresh.
Resistance Type: FS-individual
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 11
Date: 11/30/16
Author: V
Post: V says “Are you going to be trolling any people from this year’s Black Friday?”
Resistance Type: FS-individuals
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH liked the post

Cell #: 4
Date: 1/3/17
Author: V
Post: Visitor posts a short video of a sermon where the pastor talks about punching a kid for Jesus, calls it more “Joel Oldstien comedic goal”
Resistance Type: FS-individual
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Suggestions from Followers (On Companies)

Cell #: 87
Date: 08/26/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor goes on HTH and suggests that they go to Hardee’s FACEBOOK page for material because customers were complaining about their commercials.
Resistance Type: FS- on company
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH liked it

Cell #: 64
Date: 9/12/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor posts saying that HTH should go look for ideas on Kroger’s page because people are boycotting over a sponsorship of Adrian Foster
Resistance Type: FS- on company
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH liked the post

Cell #: 38
Date: 10/8/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor suggests HTH goes on IKEA’s page to find good complaints to respond to
Resistance Type: FS- on company
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 37
Date: 10/8/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor suggests HTH goes on IKEA’s page to find good complaints to respond to regarding vaccine protest goods who were using the IKEA parking lot illegally.
Resistance Type: FS- on company
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 35
Date: 10/12/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor suggests HTH goes on Covergirl’s page for material.
Resistance Type: FS- on company
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post
Cell #: 23
Date: 11/2/16
Author: V
Post: V suggests that HTH find comments on Starbucks’s page to respond to by saying “Any plans for helping those poor folks at Starbucks and their new non-holiday-they-are-just-green-seriously-people cups?”
Resistance Type: FS-on company
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 13
Date: 11/30/16
Author: V
Post: V posts a screenshot of the outrage of Covergirl customers over a male Covergirl model, says HTH should respond to them
Resistance Type: FS-on company
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH liked the post and thanks the V for the suggestion

Cell #: 94
Date: 08/19/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor posts that she heard Dollar General were making their restrooms unisex, but she wasn’t sure because she hadn’t heard anyone complaining about it.
Resistance Type: FS-company
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH does not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 75
Date: 9/1/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor suggests that HTH posts signs around Walmart advertising a fake union meeting and then wait around to see what happens.
Resistance Type: FS-Company
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 105
Date: 08/16/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor suggests that HTH goes on Wal-Mart’s page for ideas on satire
Resistance Type: FS-company
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH acknowledged the post by liking it.
Resistance against Corporate Greed

Cell #: 123  
Date: 08/08/16  
Author: HTH  
Post: FACEBOOK user puts on NBC Olympics that the people of Brazil are supposedly starving but have excellent Olympic facilities/ HTH creates a fake NBC Olympics page and jokes about hot dogs being available for the starving people but starting at 30 Brazilin real which would be almost $10 US, jokes it’s a good deal.  
Resistance Type: CG- people are starving but companies like NBC are just there to make money off the Olympics.  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.2K likes, top comment criticizes HTH “Normally I would be laughing at this kind of shit but this is actually really problem. I know this is satire” – 127 likes  

Cell #: 8  
Date: 1/1/17  
Author: HTH  
Post: Using a fake Uber page, HTH jokes that uber will charge 5K per ride on New Year’s Eve  
Resistance Type: CG  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.5K likes, top comment “Damn, time to drive drunk again”-111 likes  

Cell #: 6  
Date: 1/1/17  
Author: HTH  
Post: Using a fake Uber page, HTH jokes that uber will charge $2,017 per ride on New Year’s Eve  
Resistance Type: CG  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.3 K likes, top comment “But the driver will still make a sweet 90 cents a mile 10 cents a minute minus 25 % Uber commission”- 7 likes (example of affirming comment)  

Resistance against Customer Entitlement

Cell #: 134  
Date: 7/20/16  
Author: HTH  
Post: Screenshot of Subway customer complaining “I am disturbed” that they received no napkins with their meal “a full tuna”, threatens to contact “corpret head quarters”  
HTH responds with three jokes and one critique  
Joke #1: Subway does not sell entire tuna fishes whole  
Joke #2: If customer is so upset about napkins they should ask for some napkins instead of typing a complaint on FACEBOOK  
Critique: Calls out customer’s poor spelling/grammar
Joke #3: Customer said they were disturbed so HTH quotes the band Disturbed’s top hit “down with the sickness”
Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): Over 6.6 K likes, 387 comments, Top Comment “In my day getting a ‘Full Tuna’ meant something else”- received 325 likes

Cell #: 131
Date: 08/1/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains to “perdue chicken” about not getting 19-21 chicken nuggets in the frozen package as detailed on the label, says the company had “one job”/ HTH makes fake “perdue farms” page and jokes about the chicken nuggets being mutated together and that’s why there were so few.
Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 547 likes, comments without much interaction between other followers.

Cell #: 130
Date: 08/1/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer posts a picture on ConAgra foods of a chicken nuggets with a feather still in it/ HTH creates a fake Benjamin Franklin page and jokes that the figure dropped his quill pen in a bag of chicken nuggets
Resistance Type: CE/ possibly resistance against the food industry to even find the post
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 977 likes, comments where followers joke about someone complaining when they purchase processed foods.
Customer post critiquing the customer “Insists on eating the carcass of a dead thing/ Complains that it’s not flawlessly cleared of evidence of life”- HTH follower received 20 likes

Cell #: 129
Date: 08/01/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains on Target page that in the ad it looks like a woman is “jacking off” and he saw it while playing a Facebook game/ HTH has a fake “Target Inc.” page were they respond that the model is actually “rubbing one out” and thanks the customer for their concerns
Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.5K likes, top comments include a follower joking that it’s called “jilling off” not “jacking off”- follower received 43 likes.

Cell #: 125
Date: 8/4/16
Author: HTH
Post: customer complains on Denny’s page about his car being towed after leaving it there all day to save on parking fees at Six Flags, starts off by saying “I have been a regular customer at Denny’s restaurant since I was a child”/ HTH creates a fake page called “Denny’s Cares” jokes that “being towed is good for the soul” and that his expectation to leave his car parked there all day was ridiculous
Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.4 K likes, Top comments “How fucking entitled do you have to be. Boohoo I couldn’t park in a private lot and go elsewhere for the rest of the day, bad Denny’s!” received 330 likes. “Server- ‘Hey we need to tow that car that’s been sitting here all day’/ Manager- ‘No, no, he’s a loyal customer. Fill up the tank and give it a good wash.’” –received 402 likes

Cell #: 124
Date: 08/08/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer posts on Coca-Cola’s page that they are offended that another language besides English was featured in an ad, says she will only buy Pepsi products/ HTH creates fake Pepsi page and jokes that they don’t want her as a customer.
Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 4.2K likes, top comment received 266 likes “what a depressing job it must be for the person who actually has to manage social media for these large companies, and watch all these people piss and moan, and threaten boycotts all day. ‘You depicted gay people as a regular family? I will no longer be buying your products! Good day, sir! BLEHRRRRREEE!’” (affirming comment)

Cell #: 121
Date: 08/10/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains on Red Robin Burger’s page that tables have self ordering/self pay kiosk machines/ HTH creates fake page “Red Robin” and jokes that customers who are against electronic devices should not use phones or computers, that this man is a hypocrite
Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.3K likes, top comment “If I don’t get a real live waitress to sexually harass, the terrorists have already won” – got 156 likes

Cell #: 118
Date: 08/10/16
Author: HTH
Post: customer complains to Subway that they are unable to order a sandwich without bread, even if they are willing to pay full price/ HTH creates fake page “Subway cares” and jokes that the bread is a gift and she is impolite by refusing it
Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 750 likes, top comment “They do sell it without bread it’s called salad”- 250 likes.

Cell #: 117
Date: 08/11/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains to Jimmy John’s that vandalism in the bathroom of stick figures performing lewd acts ruined his experience/ HTH creates a page called “The Manager” and responds that he is calling the police about the stick figures and will dedicate his life to getting “justice for your (the customer) granddaughters.
Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 864 likes

Cell #: 112
Date: 08/12/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains to Subway “Because Subway caters to Muslims and has commercials in Spanish I and my family and anyone I communicate wit that I can converse will no longer buy anything from subwat.” / HTH uses fake page “Subway Cares: to joke about the customer’s poor spelling and grammar.
Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 5.5 K likes- top comment “Hilarious how the complaints about things being in Spanish always come from the people who are just about illiterate in their native English” – 579 likes.

Cell #: 95
Date: 08/16/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains that their car was broken into on a Chili’s parking lot and complains that the restaurant is taking ‘zero’ responsibility for what happens outside the restaurant./ HTH jokes that if the customer would have parked inside the restaurant they could do something about it.
Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.4K likes/ Top comment: “I was manager at Starbucks and a customer came running inside from the patio yelling ‘your bee just stung me!!!’ Starbucks has bees now? And we’re responsible for their behavior? *laugh Emoji*-267 likes. [Comment venting about work]

Cell #: 91
Date: 08/21/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains about going to Dollar General because the cashier was huffing helium/ HTH has a fake dollar general page and asks the customer to describe how the cashier looked and how she sounded when huffing helium as a joke to lead her on, customer catches on and complains about the company even more
Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 382 likes/ comment “Not to make excuses, but we are talking about a store whose clientele is basically expected to show up in their pajamas.” - 77 likes

Cell #: 89
Date: 08/23/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains to Starbucks about not being able to pay with a $50 bill, even though they gave her the coffee for free, customer says “I have never been so embarrassed in my life” / HTH creates fake page “Starbucks Corporation” and jokes “We gave you a free coffee, let it go”
Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 3.4K likes, one of the top comments “This poor woman, what if the people in her country club found out?” - 372 likes

Cell #: 84
Date: 08/26/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains to Best Buy that they should cancel Black Friday and let its employees spend time with their families/ HTH uses fake page “Geeks Squad” and jokes with the customer saying that it is only August so they should not be complaining this early
Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.1K likes, top comment is about how they don’t understand when people are against Black Friday because many employees are “desperate for hours” - 104 likes

Cell #: 69
Date: 9/9/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains on Petsmart page that they will not allow her to take her pet skunk in the store/ HTH has fake page “Petsmart Cares” and references the skunk from Looney Toons and states that the skunk is not welcome in the store because it harasses other animals.
Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.2K likes, one top comment is “So because you have an uncommon pet it means a store should allow you to have it in their store? Guess tigers will have to be allowed in stores in some states then.” - 61 likes

Cell #: 54
Date: 9/17/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer posts on Kroger FACEBOOK that their cashier was rude because she did not make small talk with the customer/ Kroger follower comments on her post saying she
is ridiculous for being mad over a small thing and asks her to consider that the cashier may not have been in the mood to small talk. In all caps the Kroger customer responds to the follower and says “YOU CLEARLY ARE NOT A MEMBER OF KROGER SO YOUR OPINION IS IRRELEVANT.” HTH uses fake “customer service” page and comments “Perhaps the reason nobody wants to talk to you is because you’re so angry and entitled. We kindly suggest that you calm the fuck down.”

Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 2,700 likes, top comment “Who the fuck cares. Get your fucking food and go home. People getting paid minimum wage aren’t your dancing monkey lady” – 347 likes

Cell #: 46
Date: 10/5/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains to Wet Seal about the privacy breach they had, she comments that she received 13 emails that were not from her account. HTH has a fake page called “ISIS” and jokes that the terrorist group says “Hi Carolina, We have your information. You are a size medium and your email is carolinalovespuppies749@gmail.com”

Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 611 likes, top comment “I want to make a more relevant comment than this, but having never heard of this clothing line before, I’m still busy amusing myself with the phrase ‘wet seal.’” – 25 likes

Cell #: 3
Date: 1/3/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains to Starbucks about spilling his coffee, HTH poses as “Starbucks Corporation” and goes back and forth trying to get the customer to explain why that is Starbucks’ responsibility

Resistance Type: CE
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 2,600 likes, top comment “Everyone who has worked customer service is laughing their ass off. Some people just need to be shocked out of complacency” – 86 likes

Resistance against Whiteness

Cell #: 108
Date: 08/13/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains that because Ford supports Black Lives Matter, she will boycott the company, says she is not surprised because “Ford supported Hitler, too.” HTH creates fake page “Built Ford Tough” and jokes “Lisa, so you’re saying that you were okay with buying two vehicles from us [Ford] after we supposedly supported Hitler, but you’ll never spend your ‘white money’ with us again because we support racial equality?” jokes that customer has her head “far up her ass”

Resistance Type: RW
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 12 K likes, mix of political comments from HTH followers on BLM. 
(Quote showcases HTH views BLM as racial equality and references “white money”)

Cell #: 49
Date: 9/27/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains on Target’s page about towels that are arranged with monograms to say BLM (three sets next to each other), she takes it to mean that they stand for Black Lives Matter and she is completely disgusted/ HTH uses Target customer care to joke and say that it stands for “Be Less Mouthy” and asks her to stop complaining about random “shit”
Resistance Type: RW
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 4.1K likes, top comment “Black Lives Matter? It’s okay Heather. They’re on white towels. They’ll go perfect with the white sheets you wear.”- 730 likes (affirming comment)

Cell #: 132
Date: 07/30/16
Author: HTH
Post: Created “NC Governor Pat McCroy” page to post on the real Pay McCroy’s page-commented on his post marketing hats and joked that the Governor sells “oppression shackles” to remind him of ways they have tried to keep black people from voting.
Resistance Type: RW
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 544 likes, Top Comment from a visitor who advocated for the Republican party- met with 45 comments of followers who largely were opposed to political conservatives.

Cell #: 103
Date: 08/16/16
Author: V
Post: HTH follower posts a screenshot of a man complaining on Wal-Mart’s page because they do not fire employees who support Black Lives Matter
Resistance Type: RW
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post.

**Resistance against Transphobia**

Cell #: 101
Date: 08/17/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer posts on Target’s page that their quarterly earnings are declined because himself and others are boycotting Target due to their accepting Transgender bathroom policy/ HTH creates fake “Target Customer Care” page and jokes “We just checked our
quarterly fucks and it looks like there is none give. Check back with us in a few months to see if anything changes. It won’t”
Resistance Type: RT
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 5.5 K likes, one top comment reads “someone call the intensive care unit for burn victims, just checking to see if [customer] is recuperating” – got 73 likes

Cell #: 100
Date: 08/17/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer posts on Target’s page that they have renewed their boycott over the company’s restroom policy/ HTH uses fake page “Target Customer Cares” and jokes that they would like to cancel their subscription to her comments.
Resistance Type: RT
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.5K likes

Cell #: 99
Date: 08/17/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer uses another person’s FACEBOOK account to explain to Target that their bathroom policy puts women’s safety at risk/ HTH jokes that he should had back the computer to the person who actually has a FACEBOOK account.
Resistance Type: RT
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 2K likes, top comment “It’s funny how they recognize that men are the problem but only think men who dress as women sexually assault women. I’ve only been sexually harassed by men who were dressed like men.”– got 417 likes (affirming comment)

Cell #: 98
Date: 08/17/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains that Target’s bathroom policy is unsafe and the boycott is interrupting her Christmas shopping/ HTH asks her to provide a reason how their policy harms women/children jokes “I’ll wait”
Resistance Type: RT
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 2.1K likes/ top comment “My 6 year old and I used the bathroom at Target today and neither of us were raped. I’m calling it a win.– 604 likes.

Cell #: 97
Date: 08/17/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer praises Target for offering single stall, unisex restrooms, but is concerned about the dressing rooms as “there have been more than a few stories of perverts recording or snapping pics of people changing…I’d love to hear how Target plans to
deny access in the fitting rooms”/ HTH jokes “We plan on installing cameras in each
dressing room to keep watch for the perverts”
Resistance Type: RT
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.5K likes, top comment
“Man, so many people doing everything in their power to keep men and women apart.
It’s like they’re trying to establish Sharia Law or something” - 86 likes

**Resistance against American Nationalism**

Cell #: 120
Date: 08/10/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains to Baskin-Robbins because her son didn’t like a scoop of ice
cream and she wanted him to get another scoop for free, the manager said he would have
to charge for another scoop and she said it was “un-American and wrong”/ HTH creates
fake Baskin Robbins page and says they will refund the money after they put the cash
through the page shredder
Resistance Type: NC
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 907 likes/ top comment
was HTH which linked to the real post where a fellow customer explained that the person
complaining made racist comments about the Baskin-Robbins workers. – 130 likes

Cell #: 109
Date: 08/13/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer complains about the Nook HD app on Barnes and Noble FACEBOOK,
says it is the “most God awful tablet ever made” suspects B & N are aligned with “the
North Koreans or China or both to create a tablet that is so anti-American” suggests that
“B&N if you really are an American company and believe in American values and what
America stands for than you would would replace every single Nook HD ever sold”/
HTH creates fake Barnes and Noble post and jokes that Barnes and Noble has been
aligned with North Korea and that the Nook HD updates are not in effect because they
are working on a missile program to destroy America.
Resistance Type: NC
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.2 K likes, one of the top
comments “Why can’t I watch videos on my flip phone? There’s only one explanation-the
phone is anti-American” – 84 likes

Cell #: 58
Date: 9/14/16
Author: HTH
Post: HTH creates fake page “The Men and Women Who Died for our Freedom” saying
“Stop using us in your arguments”
Resistance Type: NC
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 3.3 K likes, top comment
“lol yes!!! My husband is a disabled veteran. He loves it when people voice his opinion
for him. He loves it even more when can interject and let them know that they’re of his thoughts and feeling are incorrect *smiley Emoji.*- 142 likes.

**Encouraging Participation**

Cell #: 93  
Date: 08/20/16  
Author: HTH  
Post: HTH posts about another page they have called “Crazy Customer Posts” where their followers can post customer posts that HTH should respond to.  
Resistance Type: EP  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 104 likes

Cell #: 83  
Date: 08/26/16  
Author: HTH  
Post: HTH explaining that they are always looking for ideas from their followers  
Resistance Type: EP  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 35 likes

Cell #: 119  
Date: 08/10/16  
Author: HTH  
Post: HTH asking their followers if they have any “further questions”/ inviting them to give ideas about which pages to go after next  
Resistance Type: EP  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): not a high amount of likes/comments, a few ideas from followers of companies/institutions they would like to see made fun of

**Self-Promotion**

Cell #: 133  
Date: 7/29/16  
Author: HTH  
Post: Ben promoting his comedy show  
Resistance Type: Self-Promotion  
Meaningful Reactions: Only 12 showed interest in the event, 25 liked the post

Cell #: 102  
Date: 08/16/16  
Author: HTH  
Post: HTH contributor Ben Palmer posts article from his personal page, a news article about an “Uber Drive Day”, link had been deleted when this data was sourced  
Resistance Type: Self-Promotion
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 126 likes, some comments about Ben

Cell #: 67  
Date: 9/10/16  
Author: HTH  
Post: HTH makes a page for conservative commentator Tomi Lahren, and mentions that many fans are messaging the account.  
Resistance Type: Self Promotion  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 262 likes

Cell #: 63  
Date: 9/12/16  
Author: HTH  
Post: HTH posted a link to a comedy show event that Ben was doing  
Resistance Type: Self Promotion  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 4 likes

Cell #: 60  
Date: 9/13/16  
Author: HTH  
Post: HTH posted a link to a comedy show event that Ben was doing  
Resistance Type: Self Promotion  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 0 likes

Cell #: 32  
Date: 10/13/16  
Author: HTH  
Post: In reference to the fake “City of Atlanta” page, HTH posts a picture of Ben Palmer with a fake news title that says “Man agrees to take down City of Atlanta parody page in exchange for trolley rides”  
Resistance Type: Self Promotion  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 682 likes, top comment “He should have negotiated a standing yearly hotel room for DragonCon for life”- 34 likes.

Cell #: 31  
Date: 10/13/16  
Author: HTH  
Post: HTH linked to a local news story on their fake “city of Atlanta” Facebook page. HTH jokes they will take down the satire city page in exchange for $60, forgiven parking tickets, and a free trolley ride  
Resistance Type: Self Promotion  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.5K likes, top comment: “We will not negotiate with satirists (in all caps)”- 94 likes
Cell #: 20
Date: 11/19/16
Author: HTH
Post: HTH posted a link to a comedy show event that Ben was doing
Resistance Type: Self Promotion
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 44 likes

Cell #: 10
Date: 12/20/16
Author: HTH
Post: HTH posted a link to a comedy sketch video from Ben Palmer that TBS posted on their page.
Resistance Type: Self Promotion
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 152 likes

Influencing Companies

Cell #: 85
Date: 08/26/16
Author: HTH
Post: Ben posts a screenshot of an interview where he is asked for his advice on how companies should improve their social media, he suggests that they don’t delay in responding, don’t use preset responses, and don’t spoil their customers like someone who might spoil their children.
Resistance Type: IC
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.2K likes

Mocking Company Competition

Cell #: 79
Date: 08/29/16
Author: HTH
Post: HTH created a fake Bud Light page and posted on Walmart saying that if shoppers are bored they should crack open a Bud light
Resistance Type: MCC
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 442 likes

Cell #: 78
Date: 08/29/16
Author: HTH
Post: HTH created a fake Bud Light page and posted on Toys R Us saying that if shoppers are annoyed by their children they should crack open a Bud light / HTH also created a fake Toys R Us page to agree with the Bud Light post.
Resistance Type: MCC
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 967 likes/ Top comment
“Next thing you know, business are gonna have feuds the way rappers do”- 21 likes

Cell #: 77
Date: 08/29/16
Author: HTH
Post: HTH created a fake Trojans condoms page and posted on Babies R Us saying that their goal is to put Babies R Us out of business.
Resistance Type: MCC
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 4.3K page, top comment has 130 likes the follower suggested that HTH poses as Planned Parenthood and does a similar joke

Cell #: 71
Date: 9/9/16
Author: HTH
Post: HTH created a fake Bud light page and posted on Petsmart saying that dogs love Bud Light
Resistance Type: MCC
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 451 likes

**Resistance against Religious Leaders**

Cell #: 126
Date: 08/4/16
Author: HTH
Post: Joel Osteen writes a post about “God’s promise” to give his followers more in life, HTH has a fake “Joel Oldsteen” page where they impersonate the PF and makes a joke about how he is exploiting his followers for money.
Resistance Type: PF
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 869 likes, followers talk about how if God were real he wouldn’t approve of Joel Osteen ministries.

**Resistance against Public Figures**

Cell #: 66
Date: 09/10/16
Author: HTH
Post: HTH posted a screenshot of a message from a fan for their fake Tomi Lahren page, he asked her out on a date, HTH responds and jokes that she would love to go on a date with someone she can “hate minorities with”
Resistance Type: PF
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 528 likes, top comment “Please send him somewhere ridiculous to meet her on a date like inside Disneyland” – 19 likes
Cell #: 62  
Date: 9/12/16  
Author: HTH  
Post: FACEBOOK user sent a direct message to HTH’s fake Tomi Lahren page, talks about how big of a fan he is and how beautiful he thinks Tomi Lahren is/ HTH responds back to the flattery and jokes “let me know if your 24 year marriage falls through”  
Resistance Type: PF  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 411 likes, top comment “my absolute favorite thing about this one is that you didn’t say anything outright crass, you kept the guise going and that guy genuinely believes he got such a response, AND it’s hilarious. Fucking incredible *smiling Emoji*.”-33 likes

Cell #: 57  
Date: 9/14/16  
Author: HTH  
Post: HTH has fake Colin Kapernick FACEBOOK page, posts screenshots of people who criticize him. FACEBOOK user posted “You’re a piece of shit. Nuff said” HTH responded thanking the man for his kind words, then the FACEBOOK user said that Colin should be concerned about getting his job back, to which HTH responded “Nah, I thought I’d take the day off and convince one of my haters that he’s really typing to Colin Kapernick”  
Resistance Type: PF  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 317 likes

Visitor Imitation

Cell #: 128  
Date: 08/04/16  
Author: Visitor  
Post: Visitor posting a video of another FACEBOOK page that reads customer complaints in a dramatic way- not acknowledged by HTH (trying to promote themselves)  
Resistance Type: VI  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): No likes, no comments

Cell #: 127  
Date: 08/04/16  
Author: Visitor  
Post: Visitor posting a video of another FACEBOOK page that reads customer complaints in a dramatic way- not acknowledged by HTH (trying to promote themselves)  
Resistance Type: VI  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): No likes, no comments

Cell #: 116  
Date: 08/11/16  
Author: V
Post: Visitor posts a picture of a cucumber and a funny sarcastic customer experience from someone who used to be involved with the HTH page.
Resistance Type: VI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH acknowledged it by liking it.
Cell #: 111
Date: 08/13/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor posts a screenshot of someone who posted “Supway” on Subway’s Facebook page
Resistance Type: VI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH acknowledged the post by liking it.

Cell #: 110
Date: 08/13/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor posts a link of satire article labeled “4,000-Year-Old Ancient Babylonian Tablet is Oldest Customer Service Complaint Ever Discovered”
Resistance Type: VI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): No acknowledgement from HTH or its followers.

Cell #: 81
Date: 08/27/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor posted a screenshot of someone using an airline booking software where the program suggested a flight with a 47 year layover
Resistance Type: VI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH liked the post

Cell #: 68
Date: 9/10/16
Author: V
Post: HTH follower posts a satire Youtube video called “If call center employees were honest”
Resistance Type: VI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 59
Date: 9/14/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor posts a link to an article about someone who is sarcastic with a grocery store on social media/ not affiliated with HTH
Resistance Type: VI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 55  
Date: 9/15/16  
Author: V  
Post: HTH follower posts a product information sheet with the same picture that HTH uses for its profile (just a stock picture of a woman with a headset)  
Resistance Type: VI  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 50  
Date: 9/25/16  
Author: V  
Post: Without context, visitor posts a link to a delta complaint (link was broken)  
Resistance Type: VI  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post.

Cell #: 86  
Date: 08/26/16  
Author: V  
Post: Visitor posts two screenshots of him using satire on Speedway and T Mobile’s page  
Resistance Type: VI  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH liked the post

Cell #: 53  
Date: 9/17/16  
Author: V  
Post: Visitor posted a screenshot of a customer complaining about Wal-Mart advertising scary movies that they call “Satanic”  
Resistance Type: VI  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH does not respond.

Cell #: 28  
Date: 10/24/16  
Author: V  
Post: Visitor saw a link where a company used the same stock photo of a customer service rep that HTH does, V comments that if there is any sign that you should not buy something from a company it would be that they use this photo  
Resistance Type: VI  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post
Visitor posts screenshot of woman complaining that Macys stopped offering their plus line in stores, in response the Macy’s customer rep answers the complaint and says “hope that helps”- V thinks it’s funny reps are seriously using that phrase
Resistance Type: VI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Visitor posts a screenshot of someone complaining to Starbucks about pulling chai from the stores, Visitor responded in a similar way to HTH and jokes it’s because “no one likes Oprah”
Resistance Type: VI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Visitor writes “Did the fat Jew ever pay your invoice”/ could be an inside joke and refer to another page?
Resistance Type: N/A
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH acknowledged the post by liking it.

Visitor posts “And this page gets to see it first” without context
Resistance Type: N/A
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH acknowledged the post by liking it.

Visitor talks about how the HTH post on Ford is funny but that the real Ford Company would never say something like that.
Resistance Type: N/A
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): No activity/HTH did not acknowledge the post.

Cell #: 90  
Date: 08/22/16  
Author: V  
Post: Without context, visitor posts a picture of a dead rat and states “hope that helps”  
Resistance Type: N/A  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH acknowledged the post by liking it.

Cell #: 76  
Date: 08/29/16  
Author: V  
Post: Visitor posts a link to a GoFundMe page she created to help her during a financially tough time.  
Resistance Type: N/A  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 65  
Date: 9/10/16  
Author: V  
Post: Without context, visitor posts a picture of a customer service phone number with the digits blacked out  
Resistance Type: N/A  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 22  
Date: 11/12/16  
Author: V  
Post: V posts a link to a spoken word video and asks people to share its positive message  
Resistance Type: N/A  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

**Follower Affirmations/Support**

Cell #: 92  
Date: 08/20/16  
Author: V  
Post: Visitor posts “I love this page”  
Resistance Type: GS  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH does not acknowledge the post

78
Cell #: 88  
Date: 08/25/16  
Author: V  
Post: Visitor posts a link to a youtube video he made where he talks about a Campbell’s soup post that HTH made, says he is “giving credit where it’s due”  
Resistance Type: GS  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH liked the post

Cell #: 73  
Date: 9/6/16  
Author: V  
Post: Visitor posts a link of Joel Osteen and asks if HTH’s satire version “Joel Oldsteen” makes appearances.  
Resistance Type: GS  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 51  
Date: 09/23/16  
Author: V  
Post: HTH follower posts about how she was upset when HTH posts where not showing up on her news feed, said she loved their page  
Resistance Type: GS  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH liked the post

Cell #: 30  
Date: 10/14/16  
Author: V  
Post: Visitor says “you guys are famous” and links to an article on top internet trolls via https://attorneycarlosagamino.com/2016/09/07/4-amazing-internet-trolls/  
Resistance Type: GS  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 5  
Date: 1/1/17  
Author: V  
Post: Visitor posts “Oh you’re back”  
Resistance Type: GS  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH liked the post

Cell #: 29  
Date: 10/17/16  
Author: V
Post: Visitor posts a link to a college humor post featuring funny satire posts, visitor says that college humor should have credited HTH since they feature some of their posts. [link https://www.facebook.com/321110228013854/posts/1382018585156815]
Resistance Type: GS
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 33
Date: 10/13/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor posts a screenshot of an old HTH Campbell’s soup post and tells them that they won a comment award on Instagram.
Resistance Type: GS
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 16
Date: 11/23/16
Author: V
Post: V posts “When are you gonna do more comic that Hopes to Help? I miss them…”
Resistance Type: GS
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH responds that they will do those posts again when the time is right.

Venting About Work

Cell #: 70
Date: 9/7/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor posts a screenshot without context of someone posting “Putting in my two weeks on Monday and getting the fuck out of here.”
Resistance Type: VAW
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 115
Date: 08/11/16
Author: V
Post: Visitor states “Well it finally happened. I’m a CSR among other things where I work and a customer finally went so far down the ignorance hole I had to pull out a ‘Hope that Helps’ response.”
Resistance Type: VAW
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH acknowledged the post by liking it.
Cell #: 19  
Date: 11/19/16  
Author: V  
Post: V “Scanned document received in customer service was blank, person scanned the blank side and emailed it, and when it was rejected, said ‘Can’t you just flip it over’!  
Resistance Type: VAW  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

**Spam**

Cell #: 36  
Date: 10/10/16  
Author: V  
Post: without context visitor posts “your pumpkin associated was smelling badly”- looks like a spam post from a fake account  
Resistance Type: N/A  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

Cell #: 27  
Date: 10/25/16  
Author: V  
Post: V posts “akilu”- is a spambot  
Resistance Type: N/A- spam  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH did not acknowledge the post

**Followers want to be HTH contributors**

Cell #: 113  
Date: 08/12/16  
Author: V  
Post: V writes “I’m serious, I can start tomorrow AND bring my own beer.”  
Resistance Type: WTJ  
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH acknowledged the post by liking it.

Cell #: 96  
Date: 08/19/16  
Author: V  
Post: Visitor posts link from a Times article on how Trolls are ruining the internet. Visitor writes “Wait, people come online to bitch in the first place, we just show them how utter stupid they are being…Hope that helps.”  
Resistance Type: WTJ, uses words like “we”
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH acknowledged the post by liking it.

Cell #: 15
Date: 11/29/16
Author: V
Post: V says “Yo shoot some Thanksgiving/black Friday trolls our way.”
Resistance Type: WTJ
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): HTH liked the post

Responding to Misc. Customers

Cell #: 74
Date: 09/4/16
Author: HTH
Post: Customer puts spam on Sam’s Club FACEBOOK page about how he is a part of an exclusive club that can help their business/ HTH has a fake Sam’s Club page and jokes that they already run an exclusive club that he can join for $45/year
Resistance Type: N/A
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 410 likes

Government Institutions

Cell #: 48
Date: 10/5/16
Author: HTH
Post: Making a fake “City of Atlanta” page HTH says “If you are caught being poor anywhere near or around Atlanta, you will be fined and subject to arrest”
Resistance Type: GI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 596 likes, top comment “COPS is filmed on location with the defenders of the 1%. All suspects are considered guilty until proven rich in a court of law.” - 44 likes

Cell #: 47
Date: 10/5/16
Author: HTH
Post: Making a fake “City of Atlanta” page HTH says “Fuck it, pee wherever you want”
Resistance Type: GI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.1K likes, top comment “you know, at one point hundreds of years ago, I think during like the Renaissance era, one city painted crosses all over the walls everywhere in an effort to stop people urinating on them” - 9 likes

Cell #: 44
Date: 10/6/16
Author: HTH
Post: Making a fake “City of Atlanta” page HTH says “Our goal is to eliminate poverty in the city of Atlanta by 2017. We will do this by removing all of the poor people and placing them in Alabama.”
Resistence Type: GI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 924 likes, top comment “Surely it’s easier to do what the Conservatives did; change the definition of poverty”- 38 likes

Cell #: 43
Date: 10/6/16
Author: HTH
Post: Making a fake “City of Atlanta” page HTH and jokes that the city is installing cameras on the street to take pictures of people running red lights so they can generate enough revenue to install cameras in people’s homes to watch them shower/defecate.
Resistence Type: GI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 482 likes

Cell #: 42
Date: 10/6/16
Author: HTH
Post: Making a fake “City of Atlanta” page HTH and jokes that Atlanta is deemed a “car-only city” and that it is legal to hit pedestrians and bikers”
Resistence Type: GI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 328 likes, top comment “Drivers will accrue points according to the value of their victim (chart to follow). They will be redeemable for Atlanta Fun Bucks ™”- 28 likes

Cell #: 40
Date: 10/7/16
Author: HTH
Post: Making a fake “City of Atlanta” page HTH and jokes that Atlanta is overcrowded and that 200,000 need to report to a Marta Station for extermination
Resistence Type: GI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 771 likes, top comment “I think my favourite is the chick flipping out over how this is a reference to the Holocaust because of the use of the word exterminate.”- 8 likes

Cell #: 34
Date: 10/12/16
Author: HTH
Post: Making a fake “City of Atlanta” page HTH and jokes that Atlanta’s traffic is so bad that they have approved an open container law so people can drink while driving.
Resistence Type: GI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.1K likes, top comment “I was losing hope for new content amongst this page until the City of Atlanta page popped up. Fucking comedy gold”- 2 likes

Cell #: 26
Date: 10/26/16
Author: HTH
Post: Making a fake “City of Atlanta” page HTH and jokes that Atlanta has been nominated as one of the best cities to be robbed at gunpoint.
Resistance Type: GI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 506 likes, top comment “But…here in DC we have great Monuments to serve as the backdrop for losing all your cash and credit cards…”

Cell #: 25
Date: 10/26/16
Author: HTH
Post: Making a fake “City of Atlanta” page HTH and jokes that Atlanta has removed all speed limit signs because “no one was paying attention to them” the city asks drivers to “feel it out”
Resistance Type: GI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 1.5K likes, top comment “areas tested without speed limit signs and stop lights find that people drive safer. Seriously, look it up” -44 likes

Cell #: 17
Date: 11/23/16
Author: HTH
Post: Making a fake “City of Atlanta” page HTH and jokes that Atlanta is adding speakers in the city to play “trap music”
Resistance Type: GI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 432 likes

Cell #: 14
Date: 11/23/16
Author: HTH
Post: Making a fake “City of Atlanta” page HTH and jokes that the city is closed and “If you need to use Atlanta you will need to wait until Thursday.”
Resistance Type: GI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 708 likes

Cell #: 12
Date: 11/30/16
Author: HTH
Post: Making a fake “City of Atlanta” page HTH and jokes that people who move to the city need to go to the city office and pick up a parking ticket so they get used to life in Atlanta
Resistance Type: GI
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 694 likes

Resistance against Media

Cell #: 7
Date: 1/1/17
Author: HTH
Post: Making a fake Weather Channel Page, HTH jokes that anybody’s guess about the weather is as good as theirs.
Resistance Type: RM
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 2.1K likes, top comment “Our prediction for this week: 100% chance of weather”- 72 likes.

Cell #: 61
Date: 9/12/16
Author: HTH
Post: HTH posts a screenshot from CNN talking about Hillary Clinton’s health during the election, HTH creates a fake FACEBOOK page called Werner Hertzog who says in the CNN comments “Such concern over the health of another makes no sense. Finality will consume us all, as it will consume all that we have made and done” – making fun of existentialism
Resistance Type: RM
Meaningful Reactions (Comments/Shares/Amount of Likes): 314 likes
APPENDIX B

Figure B1.
Figure B2.
Figure B3.
Figure B4.
Figure B5.
Figure B6.

Hope That Helps shared City of Atlanta’s post.

City of Atlanta
November 30, 2016
If you just moved here, please come to our office to pick up your parking ticket. New residents receive one parking ticket to help them get used to life in Atlanta.

Darla DeCook All of these are great for Detroit. Please do Detroit next so I can share them. 😊😊😊

Doug Elkins Siobhan, this might be a good initiative for Cottesloe. 😊

Adam Groves Marc Kennedy and Mike Conaway is this how it works over there?

Like · Reply · 1 · January 1 at 3:21am
Like · Reply · November 30, 2016 at 5:19pm
Like · Reply · November 30, 2016 at 6:17pm
Figure B7.
Figure B8.

Hope That Helps
August 4, 2016

Denny's

Brian
Yesterday at 1:06pm

I have been a regular customer at Denny's restaurants since I was a child. Your family diner atmosphere and menu options have always keep us coming back. Until our most recent visit, I have always recommended your food and service to our friends and family. Although, due to a recent occurrence on March 18, 2016 when visiting your store at 839 N. Watson Road, TX 76011 (store 7853), my opinion of your company has drastically changed.

I brought my family into your restaurant to eat before heading over the Six Flags amusement park. Since we had driven in from out of town, we had two cars. As such, we decided to consolidate into one car and drive over to the park. Upon returning to our parking space in your lot at approximately 4:30pm, we were extremely disappointed to find that our vehicle had been towed.

I understand that you have a business to run, and are constantly looking for ways to improve your service for recurring business and positive recommendations to others. Unfortunately, your recent actions have completely changed my view of your restaurant and service. Is this a way to treat a loyal customer?

I would think that by having a restaurant strategically located around an attraction such as Six Flags, you would be appreciative when a customer visits your restaurant prior to or following a visit to the amusement park.

Denny's Cares Brian,

I understand you had an unfortunate experience being towed out of our parking lot recently, but you have to understand that we can't turn away paying customers, all day, for you to have a free parking spot for the amusement park. Sometimes, Brian, we think that getting towed is good for the soul. It just drops you back into the system and recharges your battery for a little bit so next time you'll be a little more careful about where you park and the consequences that may come with it. We advise to shake it off and come back sometime and have a delicious Meat Lovers Skillet! Coffee is on us, as long as you tip. Just don't get repo'd. We can't really help you with that. Hope that helps.

Krista Cohen How fucking entitled do you have to be. Boohooohoo I couldn't park in a private lot and go elsewhere for the rest of the day. bad Denny's!

Like · Reply · 330 · August 4, 2016 at 7:01pm

17 Replies
Figure B9.

---

Hope That Helps shared Ben Palmer’s photo.

Starbucks

Jessica

2 hrs

So I would like to share, I went to Starbucks today in Garfield hts, Ohio. I ordered a tall mocha and it came to almost 5.00 which was fine. So I pull to the drive through window and go to hand the cashier a 50.00 bill. She looked at me like I was crazy and said I can’t accept that I have to get my manager. Manager comes to the window now and tells me ITS AGAINST OUR POLICY TO ACCEPT 50.00 BILLS!! WHAT!!! Then she says don’t you gave a card, I said if I did I wouldn’t have been giving you this money!!! Then she proceeded to look at me like I’m stupid and I tell her then ok you can keep your coffee no problem you don’t want to take my money. Then with an attitude she says the coffee is on us. And I said I’m not looking for free coffee and she says no just take it and I handed the lady 2 singles to put in the jar. I have never felt so embarrassed in my life!! Who refuses money and can somebody please tell me where it’s posted they don’t accept 50.00 bills!!! Horrible!!!

Starbucks Corporation Jessica,

We gave you free coffee. Let it go.

Ben Palmer

August 23, 2016

Starbucks

Like Comment Share

You and 3.4K others

Jessica Adams Booker When I worked at Starbucks years ago, we were never to keep anything other than $1s, $5s and $10s in the register. Anything bigger than a $10 went in a box beneath the register upon contact. So, a $50 would be extremely hard to break especially dependi... See More

Like Reply 529 August 24, 2016 at 12:33am Edited

View previous replies

Rachel Borene "Minor inconvenience". More like there were times where a customer pulled this same bullshit with me and I’d already had a customer with a $50 before them and I literally could not make change for them. The transaction could not happen and I couldn’t t... See More

Like Reply 77 August 24, 2016 at 12:06am Edited

View more replies

Marcus Burkhalter This poor woman, what if the people in her country club found out?

Like Reply 372 August 23, 2016 at 11:34pm

8 Replies
Figure B10.

Hope That Helps with Caruana Jody and 2 others.
August 13, 2016

Ford Motor Company

Lisa
8 hrs

Since BLM means more to the company than All Lives, my white money will be spent elsewhere. I own two Ford's... And this is a slap in the face. Shouldn't be surprised though. Ford also supported Hitler too.

Like Comment Share

Built Ford Tough Lisa, so you're saying that you were okay with buying two vehicles from us after we supposedly supported Hitler, but you'll never spend your "white money" with us again because we support racial equality?

Unfortunately, we have to warn you that you should stop driving your two Fords immediately. Not because there's anything wrong with them, but because it's extremely dangerous for you to be driving a vehicle with your head that far up your ass.

We hope this helps.

Like Comment Share

😊 12K
Figure B11.
Figure B12.

Hope That Helps shared Ben Palmer's photo.
August 17, 2016 ·

Target

Patricia  Target
1 min ·

Dennis Punches speaking here...voicing my first amendment rights to register my concern of Target's bathroom's policy. I would not encourage anyone in my family, friends or acquaintances to shop at your store because of the danger of allowing men who see themselves as women to use the ladies bathroom. Not only is it dangerous because of predators but it makes no sense. It is amazing that a store that has so much wisdom in the marketing world would be lacking in common sense. I have compassion for those who are confused concerning their gender but to put 99% of the female population at risk and at a minimum embarrassment at the chance of offending a transgendered person is nonsense and anti-intellectual honesty.

Like  Comment  Share

Target Customer Care Hi Dennis,
Can you give the computer back to Patricia? Thanks

Ben Palmer
August 17, 2016 ·

Target

Like  Comment  Share

Darla DeCook It's funny how they recognize that men are the problem but only think men who dress as women sexually assault women. I've only been sexually harassed by men who were dressed like men.

Like · Reply · 418 · August 17, 2016 at 4:12pm · Edited
Figure B13.

Hope That Helps shared Ben Palmer’s photo.

August 13, 2016

He’s gonna freak out when he reads this

Ekim

1 hr.

The Nook HD is the most God awful tablet ever made. I can’t even run the Olympic APPS and keep updated on one of the most important events in our history. B&N you need to replace this tablet with something that actually can run android apps. I really am beginning to believe that B&N must be aligned with the North Koreans or China or both to create a tablet that is so anti-American, B&N if you really are an American company and believe in American values and what America stands for than you would would replace every single Nook HD ever sold. As for me I have not made a purchase from B&N in over three years and never will because of this.

Barnes & Noble

Hello Ekim,

I can confirm that your suspicions are true. We have aligned with North Korea. Nook HD is being discontinued to focus more on missile program. We will destroy America.

Ben Palmer

August 13, 2016

Barnes & Noble
Figure B15.

Figure B16.
Figure B17.

Idea for Trouble: Make some signs that say
"Attention Walmart Associates
Secret Union Meeting
Break Room - 8pm"
Then haphazardly hide them around Walmart.
Figure B18.

Quarterly earnings a miss, as expected. You stock has dropped like a rock. My family will continue to boycott until you retract your policy on shared bathrooms.

Target Customer Care Hi Steve,

We just checked our quarterly fucked, and it looks like there is none given. Check back with us in a few months to see if anything changes. It won’t. Hope that helps.

Ben Palmer
August 17, 2016

Target

Like Comment Share

5.5K

Write a comment...

Brian Andrew Marek Wow, that’s a long attention span Steve has…at least compared to the usual sort of person who gets worked up over shit like this. Haven’t Limbaugh and O’Reiley and their ilk already given you half a dozen new topics for outrage yet?

Like · Reply · 103 · August 17, 2016 at 3:40pm

5 Replies

Christine Haughton someone call the intensive care unit for burn victims, jus checking to see if Steve is recuperating

Like · Reply · 73 · August 17, 2016 at 3:40pm

2 Replies

Figure B19.

love this page

Like Comment Share

Write a comment...
Figure B20.

This post was coded and described during the in vivo coding process but was deleted by the author before a screenshot could be prepared for this manuscript.
Figure B22.
Figure B23.

Well it finally happened.
I’m a CSR among other things where I work and a customer finally went so far down the ignorance hole I had to pull out a “Hope That Helps” response.

Figure B24.

Scanned document received in Customer Service was blank, person scanned the blank side and emailed it, and when it was rejected, said “Can't you just flip it over”!
References


